The “White Dialect” of young Arabic speakers from Qassim (Saudi Arabia)

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Chapter 4

Young Qassimi Arabic vs. Old Qassimi Arabic

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of variation in Qassimi Arabic (QA) as it is used by its speakers in their everyday lives when speaking to other members of the QA speech community. The goal is to compare the six linguistic variables chosen for this study between two generations: the old and the young speakers. This chapter thus aims to provide a clear picture of how the six linguistic variables are realised in conversations of QA speakers among each other. This chapter also explores the effect of the topic being spoken about, the type of education that the participants received, and gender on the QA used by the younger speakers.

The chapter consists of three main parts. The first part presents the results of the realisation of the six linguistic variables by the old generation. The second part of this chapter presents the realisation of the six linguistic variables in the speech of the young generation in conversations on everyday topics with friends or family members. The six linguistic variables were investigated in two different settings: when the speakers were talking about personal topics, and when they were talking about general topics. The third part concludes with a comparison of old QA and young QA.

4.1 PART 1: The Qassimi Arabic of the old speakers

4.1.1 Methodology

As mentioned previously in Chapter 3, this chapter investigates six QA variables. In this chapter, each linguistic variable is described in two groups: old female speakers (OF1-10), and old male speakers (OM 1-10

4.1.2 Analysis

Different from some previous studies, we do not follow the method of simply calculating the frequency of the use of a variant. This method has been used in many previous studies that were conducted to investigate linguistic change in Najdi dialects, and involves counting how many times a variant is used by the participants in the study. This method can lead to unreliable results: in many of these previous studies, researchers came to the conclusion that a certain variant was abandoned by the speakers on the basis of the observation that the linguistic variant did only appear once or not at all in their data; however, it appears that there were no contexts in the data where one would have expected the form to appear, in whatever form. An example is Al-Azraqi (2007) when she stated that, according to her data, the male speakers are giving up the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix. The reason behind her conclusion might be because the male participants did not talk to a female interviewer or, as Al-Rojaie (2013) commented, it is possibly caused by the formality of the situation, as Al-Azraqi did not seem to have a close relationship with her male informants. A similar situation occurred in the present study with the realisation of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the male group. In my recordings, the *ts* variant was hardly used by the male group, but this was not because the participants were avoiding it, but rather because this type of affrication mainnly occurs when directly addressing female interlocutors. In a context where the data of the male participants was collected by male interlocutors, this of course did not apply.

In order to avoid this kind of incorrect conclusion, the data in the present study were analysed using a modified method, not unlike methods already used by Labov in the 1960s. In my analysis, I first establish two main values: the number of uses where it could have appeared, and the actual number of uses. The number of uses where it could have appeared will be called the "expected number" here. The "actual number" is the number of times that a variant was actually used. The percentage of usage of a certain linguistic variant is the difference between its expected number and actual number. If the two values are identical, this implies that the variant is a feature of daily use for the participant; if the expected number is high and the actual number is low, this is an indication that the speaker does not use the variant, either because it is no more part of the speaker's variety, or because the speaker is actively avoiding it. Each graph used in this chapter shows these two values per participant: the left-hand column presents the expected number, while the right-hand column presents the actual number and the relevant percentages.

In most cases, establishing the expected number for the six QA variant was straightforward. Thus, the pronominal markings show a simple binary opposition between originally QA forms and (originally) non-QA forms. Things are a bit more difficult where differences in the phonetics in stems are concerned, as forms may differ not only regarding the specific phonetic feature that is investigated, but also in other ways. This was the case of the affrication of *k* to *ts* and or *g* to *dz* in stems. I chjose only to take into account those cases where the absence affrication presents the only difference with (original) QA, like in *tsibi:r* and *kibi:r* 'big', while cases where there are more differnces, like *tsa:lmuh* and *kalmuh* 'call him', were left out.

For each linguistic variable in this chapter, the data analysis procedure comprised the following stages:

1- data transcription	I transcribed all the recorded sessions for all the 20 participants in the two groups. No software was used in this stage: I transcribed using pen and paper
2- finding the expected number	I counted the expected number of the variable for every participant in each group (how many times it is expected to be used in the context, regardless of whether it was actually used by the speaker)
3- finding the actual number	I counted the actual number of the variable for each individual participant (i.e., only the times when the variable was actually used by the speaker)
4- processing the data using Microsoft Excel	After finding the expected number and the actual number for each linguistic variable for each participant, I calculated the average expected number and the average actual number for the whole group. Then, I divided the average actual number by the average expected number, and calculated the percentage. After finding the finding the difference between the expected number and actual number, a *t*- test is performed to investigate if there is a significant difference between the two groups.

Each linguistic variable is discussed individually. Part 1 ends with a summary section that provides an overview of the realisation of the linguistic variables between the two groups: the old female speakers, and old male speakers.

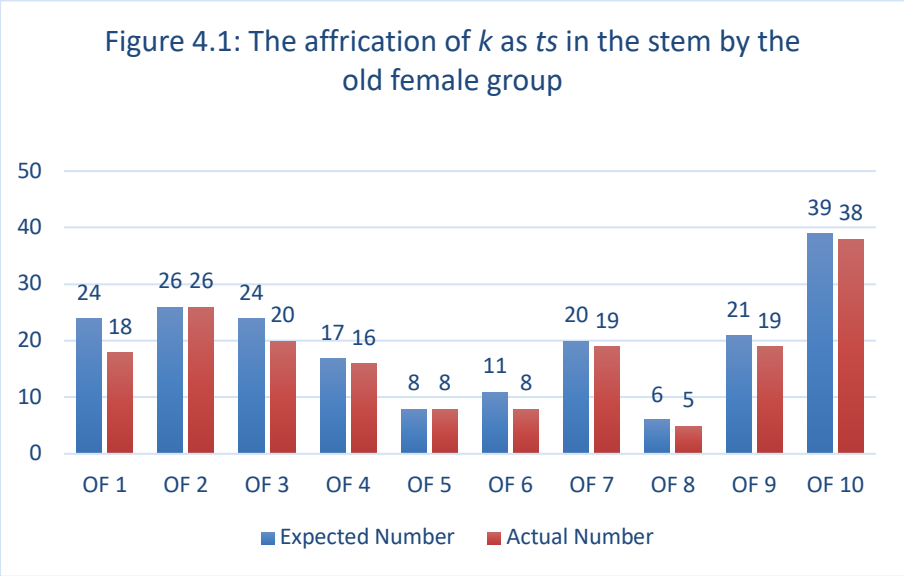
4.1.3 Results

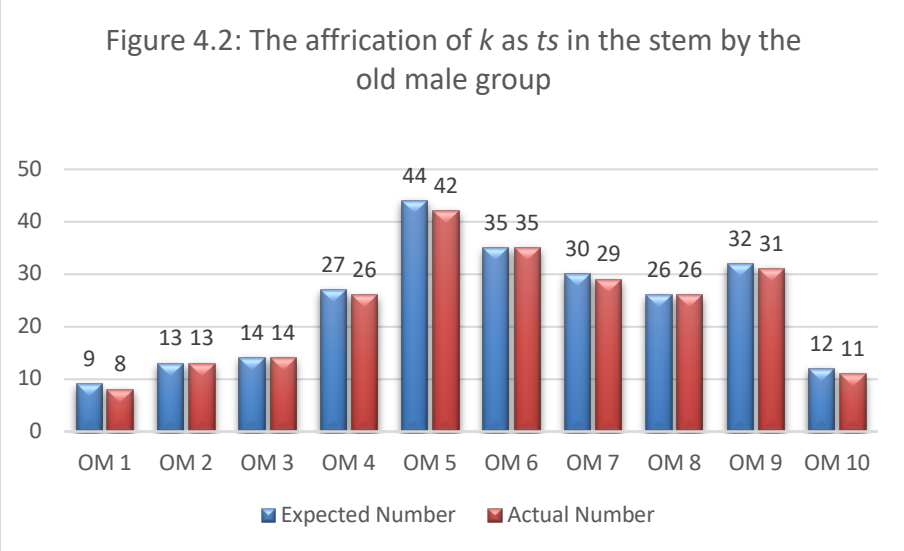
In this section I present the data concerning the realisation of the six linguistic variables in the speech of the old QA speakers. For a description of each of the QA variables, see Chapter 3.

The affrication of *k* as *ts* in stems

Figure 4.1 shows the expected number and the actual number of occurrences of this variant by the old female QA speakers, while figure 4.2 shows the expected number and the actual number of occurrences of this variant by the old male QA speakers.

Note that the expected number in this variant was established by counting the cases where *ts* is a possible realization in QA, and by disregarding words where *ts* is unacceptable as in words like *ka:n* 'he was' and loan words as *ku:rah* 'ball'.





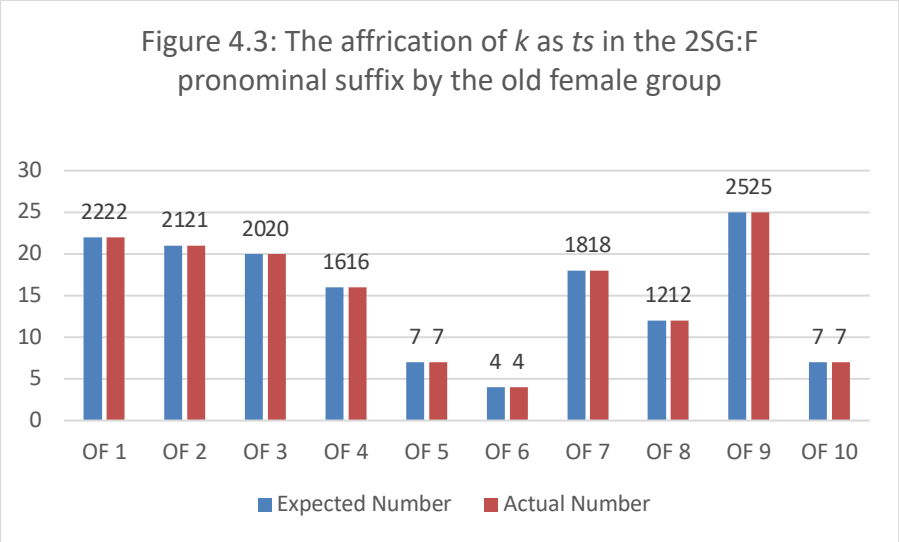
Old female participants used the *ts* variant extensively in their speech at a rate of 90%. The *ts* variant was also used extensively by the old male speakers at a rate of 97.11%. Together, Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show that *k* in the stem is produced with affrication in the large majority of instances by all the female and the male speakers. The difference between the two group is not significant as indicated in Table 4.1.

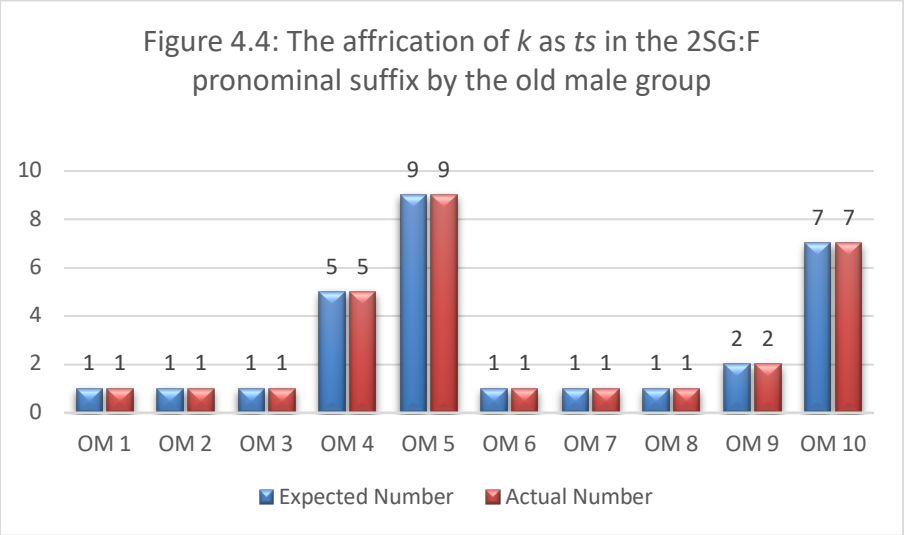
Table 4.1: The *t*-test results of the difference in the use of *ts* variant in the stem between the old female and old male group.

	number	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
old female group	10	1.9	1.91	= 0.08
old male group	10	0.7	0.67	

The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 show the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the old female and male, respectively.





The two figures 4.3 and 4.4 show that the *ts* variant is used in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the old QA speakers at a rate of 100%. The low rate of occurrence in the male group can be attributed to the methodology on how the data were collected from the old male speakers (Chapter 2). It was collected by a male research assistance. As mentioned previously in section (4.1.2), the 2SG.F pronominal suffix occurs mainly when directly addressing female interlocutors. The higher occurrence of use by the male speakers: OM4, OM5, and OM10 was because those speakers were reporting a dialogue with a female partner in their interviews.

The affrication of *g* or *q* as *dz*

Figures 4.5 and 4.6 show the use of the variant *dz* by the old female and old male participants, respectively. Note that the expected number in this variant was established by counting the cases where *dz* is a possible realization in QA, and disregards cases where only *q* or *g* are possible.

Figure 4.5: The affrication of *g* and *q* as *dz* by the old female group

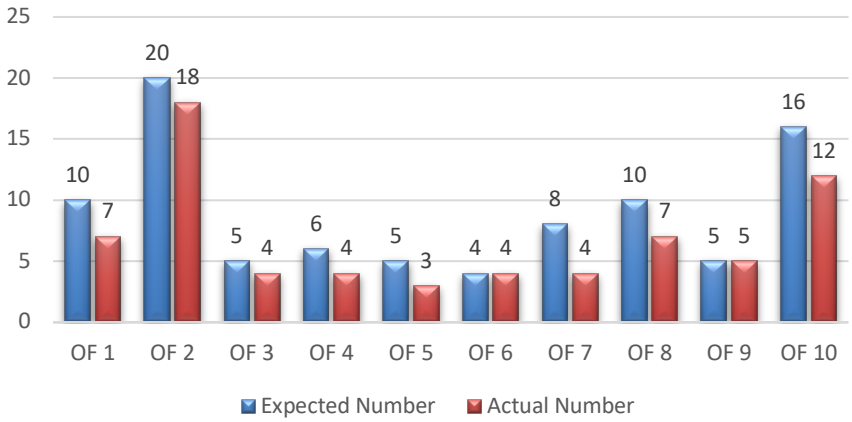
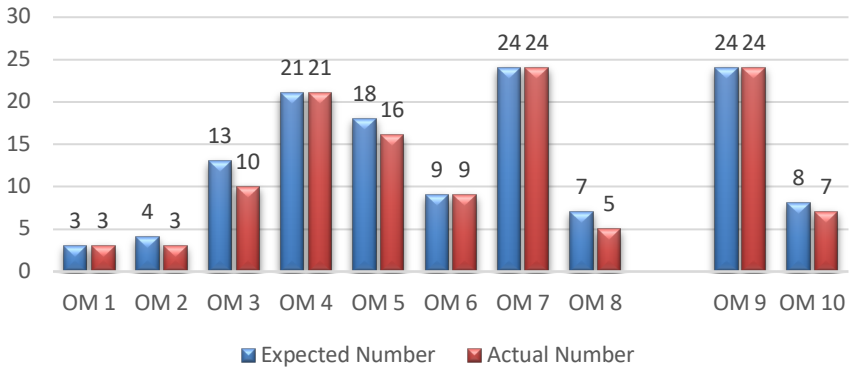


Figure 4.6: The affrication of *g* and *q* as *dz* by the old male group



The data show that the variant *dz* was used by the old female group with a rate of 76.40%. The old male group show a much more extensive use of the variant *dz* with a rate of 93.13%. The difference in the use of the variant *dz* between the two groups seem to be (close to) significant as the *t*-test result shows in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: The *t*-test results of the difference in the use of the *dz* variant between the old female and old male groups.

	number	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
old female group	10	2.1	1.45	0.05
old male group	10	0.9	1.10	

Additional notes on the use of *ts* in the stem and *dz* by the old QA speakers

The use of *dz* varies slightly among the older speakers, in contrast to *ts* in the stem which seems to be stable. For instance, *tsibi:r* 'old, or big' was never pronounced as *kibi:r* by any of the old speakers, but *miʃra:dz* 'place facing the sunrise' was pronounced sometimes as *miʃra:g* by old speakers – even by those who showed a high percentage of *dz* use otherwise. However, even though the use of *dz* is not fully stable among the old QA speakers, the data show no evidence of intra-speaker variation in the use of *dz*. In other words, with regard to this variable, the same speaker consistently pronounces a certain word in the same way.

It is also important to mention that names of people (e.g. *ibn ʕadzi:l*) and places (e.g. *sʿʕa:fi:dz*) always display affrication. As for the noun paradigm, the old speakers do not have affricated *dz* in all the forms of a noun. For instance, sometimes diminutive forms and plural forms are affricated while the single form is not, as in the following example: (Note that not all the following examples presented themselves in interview, I asked for them after the recording sessions).

wrigih	singular	'a (piece of) paper'
wrigtein	dual	
awra:g	plural	
wreidzih	diminutive singular	
wreidztein	diminutive dual	
wreidza:t	diminutive plural	

In other nouns the singular noun of *g* is affricated with *dz*, while its plural or diminutive forms are not affricated, as in the following example:

dzirbih	singular	‘a goatskin water bag’
dzirbtein	dual	
grab	plural	
greibih	diminutive singular	
greibtein	diminutive dual	
greiba:t	diminutive plural	

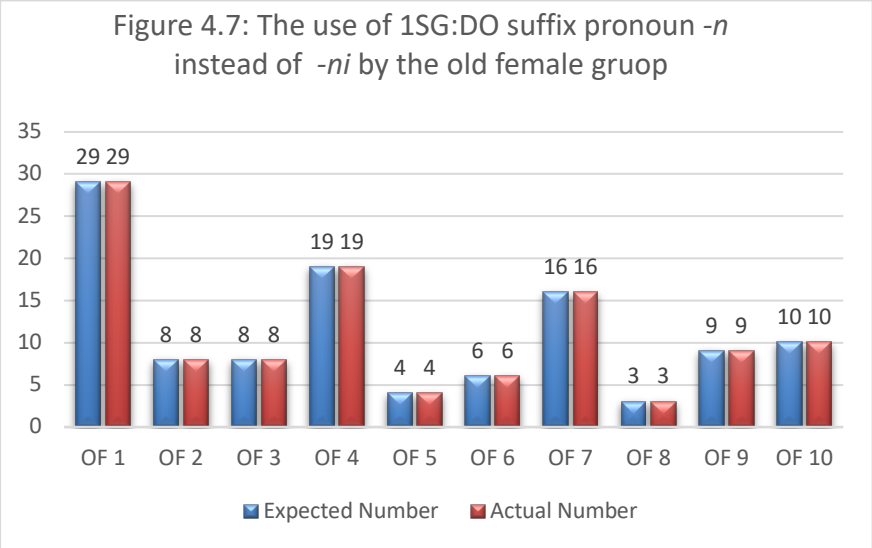
Note that there were no attestations of diminutive forms by the younger speakers of QA. Instead, they tended to add the adjective *sˁiɣi:r* ‘little’ after the nouns, as in *walad sˁiɣi:r* ‘a small boy’, rather than using the diminutive form *wleid*.

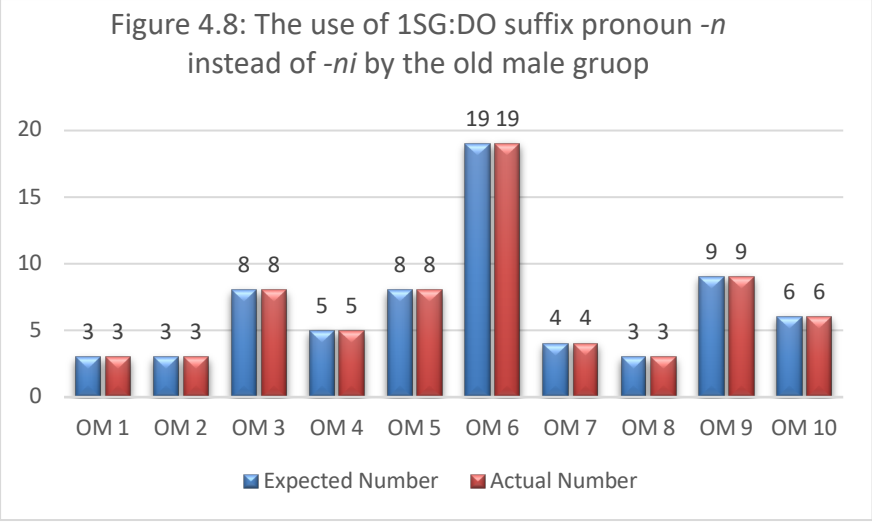
Variation in the use of *dz* among a word and its derivatives is not limited to nouns, but may also occur in verbs and adjectives, for instance:

maxru:g	adjective	‘it is pierced’
xarag	simple past verb	‘he pierced’
xridz	passive present perfect verb	‘it has been pierced’
jɛxridz	simple present verb	‘he pierces’

The use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*

Figures 4.7 and 4.8 show the use of the variant *-n* instead of *-ni* by the old female and old male participants, respectively.

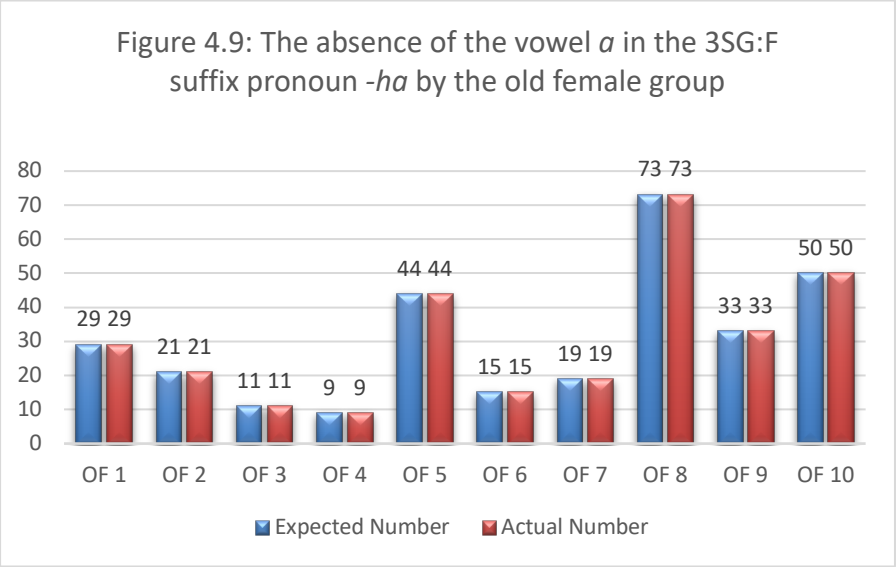


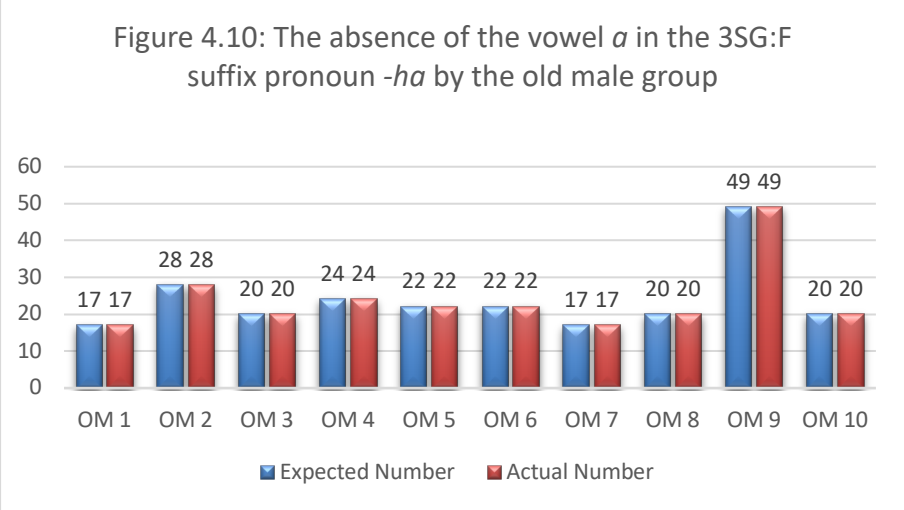


The participants in the two groups used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* 100% of the time. It might be noteworthy to mention that the old speakers also used the variant *-n* in religious quotes borrowed from Sandard Arabic (SA); for instance: *allˤah ʔʕtˤa:-**n** ija:ha* 'god gave it to me', and *allˤah akram-a**n** b-il-bani:n* 'god blessed me with children'.

The absence of the final vowel *a* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun *-ha*

Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show the use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun by the old female and old male speakers, respectively.

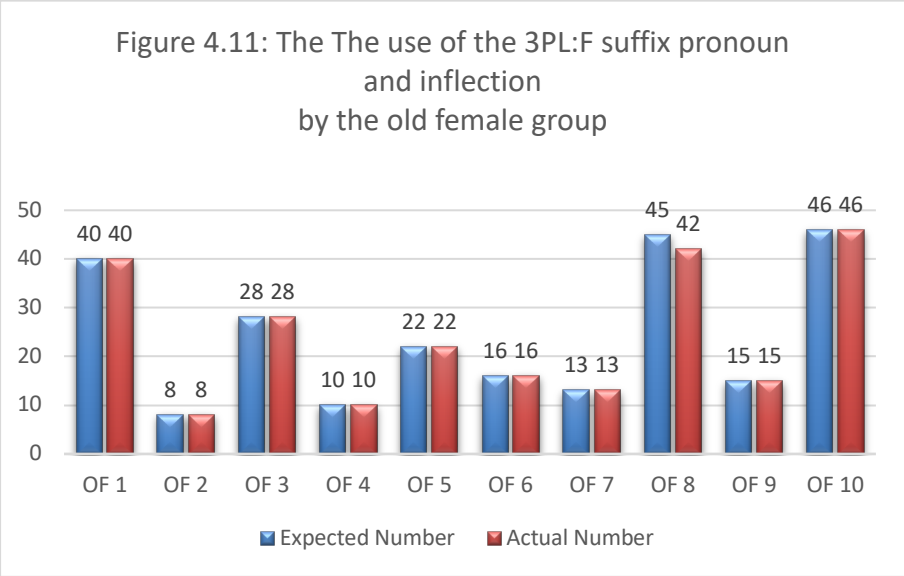


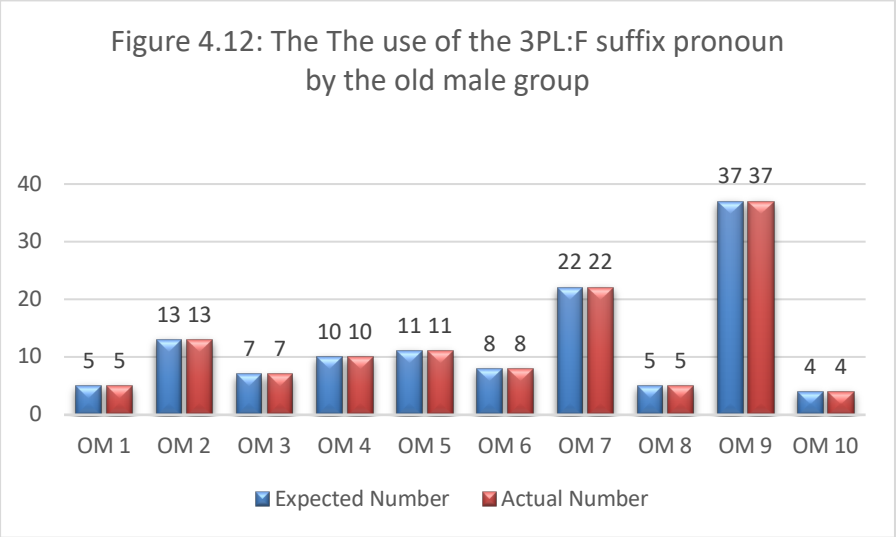


The participants in the two groups used the 3SGF suffix pronoun *-ah* instead of *-ha* 100% of the time. Similar to the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n*, the old speakers use the form 3SG.F *-h* also in religious quotes borrowed from SA, e.g., *marjam ʕaljah as-sala:m imraʔah qawjjah* 'Maryam peace be upon her is a strong woman'.

The use of dedicated 3PL.F suffix pronouns and inflections

Figures 4.11 and 4.12 show the use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection by the old female and old male speakers, respectively





Overall, all the participants in the two groups used the 3PL.F forms at a rate of 100%. The low rate of occurrence in the old male group can be attributed to the subjects they were discussing in their interview. In most of their answers, old men were narrating story using the word *an-na:s* ‘people’ which is treated as a masculine plural form, while old women talked mostly about women’s life in general.

4.2 PART 2: The Qassimi Arabic of the young speakers

4.2.1 Methodology

In this part, the use of each linguistic variable is described for two settings: when the participants talk about personal topics such as talking about their friends or previous embarrassing situations, and when they talk about general topics as their views about the feminist movement in Saudi Arabia. Two social variables are taken into account: gender and the type of education that the participants received. This study has two main groups: the male group (10 participants) and the female group (10 participants). Each group is divided into two subgroups: (FN1- FN5) young female participants who received a normal education, (FR1- FR5) young female participants who received a

religious education, (MN1- MN5) young male participants who received a normal education, and (MR1- MR5) young male participants who received a religious education.

4.2.2 Analysis

The data of the young generation was analysed in the same way as that of the old generation (section 4.1.2). I counted the number of times the variants were expected to be used, and then I counted the number of times the speakers actually used the variant. The percentage of the variant use was calculated from these two values. There was one minor difference when analysing the use of the 3PL feminine suffix pronoun. Counting the expected number for that particular variant was only in the situations when speakers used it to refer to feminine inanimate nouns, as the 3PL feminine suffix pronoun was never utilized by the young speakers when referring to actual women, since young QA speakers appeared to utilize alternate means to avoid it (discussed later in section 4.2.3).

Each linguistic variable is discussed individually. The discussion of each linguistic variable includes four figures: the first two figures present the results from the female group, and the other two figures present the results from the male group. Part 2 ends with a summary section that provides an overview of the realisation of the linguistic variables in relation to the social variables.

4.2.3 Results

In this section, I present the data concerning the realisation of the six linguistic variables in the speech of the young QA speakers, when they were talking casually with friends or family members. In each graph presented below, the leftmost five participants (FN1-FN5), (MN1-MN5) are those who received normal education and the other five (FR1- FR5), (MR1- MR5) are those who received religious education.

The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem

Figure 4.13 shows the use of this variant when the young female speakers were talking about personal topics. Figure 4.14 shows the use of this variant when the female speakers were talking about general topics.

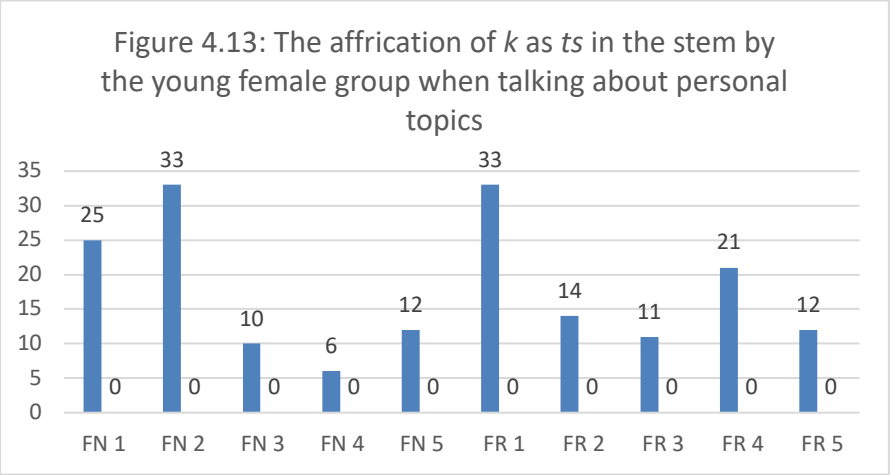


Figure 4.13: The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem by the young female group when talking about personal topics

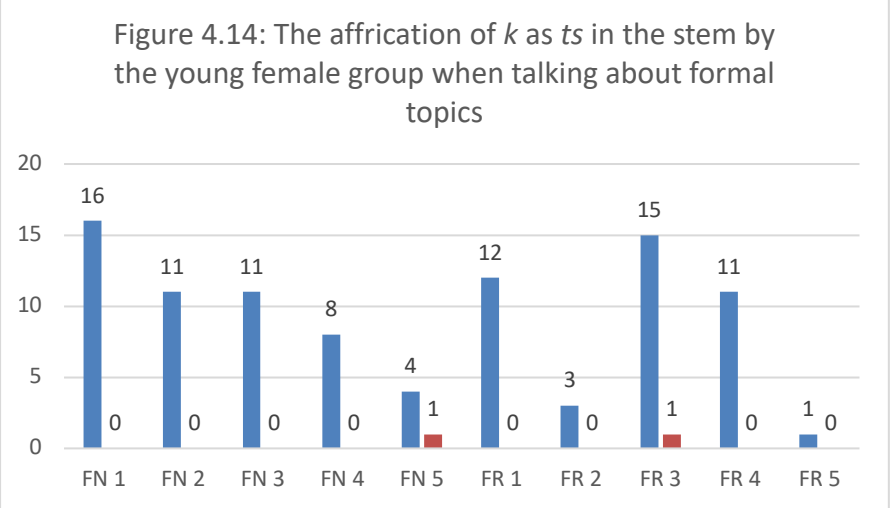
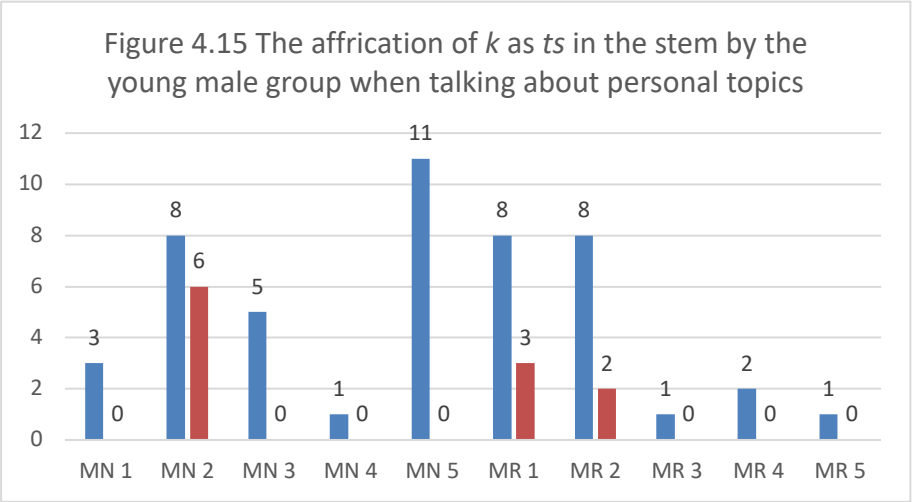
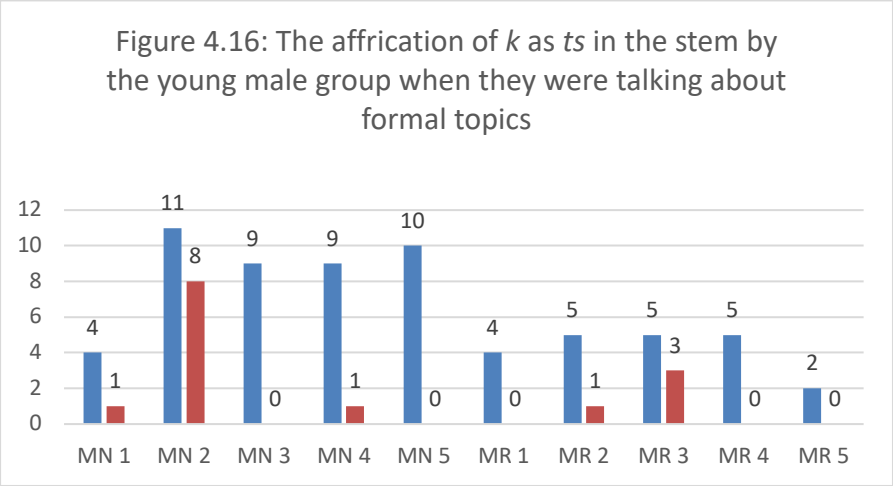


Figure 4.14: The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem by the young female group when talking about formal topics

As Figure 4.13 shows, none of the 10 young female participants, whether they received a normal or a religious education, used this variant in their speech when talking about personal topics. However, the variant was used once by two participants when they were talking about formal subjects, as shown in Figure 4.14. In both of these cases, the affrication happened specifically in one word, namely *tsiðb* 'lie, not true' and the derived singular feminine adjective *tsaða:bih* 'liar'. Together, Figures 4.13 and 4.14 show that *k* in the stem is normally produced without affrication by all the 10 female speakers in both types of topic.

Figure 4.15 shows the expected number and the actual number of occurrences of this variant when the male speakers were talking about personal topics. Figure 4.16 shows the expected number and the actual number of occurrences of this variant when the male speakers were talking about formal topics.





In Figures 4.15 and 4.16, the male group also shows a low percentage of usage of this variant, but it is much higher than with the female group. Overall, the male participants used the *ts* variant rather than *k* 22.32% of the time, while the female participants used it 0.74% of the time. As for the effect of topic on the male participants, there is no major difference in their use of the *ts* variant across the two settings. They used *ts* 22.92% of the time when talking about personal topics, and 21.88% of the time when talking about serious topics. The type of education does not appear to have an influence on the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem, as both the subgroups used the variable with similar frequencies in both settings. Unlike the results from the female participants, the range of words where the variant *ts* is used is not restricted to one word and its derived forms. Nonetheless, it is still limited to a few words: besides *tsiðb* and its derivatives, the participants affricated *k* as *ts* in the stem in the following words: *tsiða* ‘like this’, *tsinuh* ‘it looks like’, *tsibi:r* ‘big’, and *ba:tsir* ‘tomorrow’. The low number of attestations of the variant *ts* in the stem by the young QA speakers makes it difficult to perform a *t*-test to find out whether the differences between, or within, the groups, is statistically significant.

The results of the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem correspond to those obtained by Al-Essa (2009) who investigated this kind of affrication in the speech of Najdi immigrants in Jeddah city. It also corresponds with the conclusions of Al-Rojaie

(2013), who investigated dialect levelling in QA. Both authors report that young QA speakers had shifted towards the use of *k* instead of its variant *ts* in the stem.

The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix

Figures 4.17 and 4.18 show the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the female participants when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.

Figure 4.17: The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the the 2SG:F pronominal suffix by the young female group when talking about personal topics

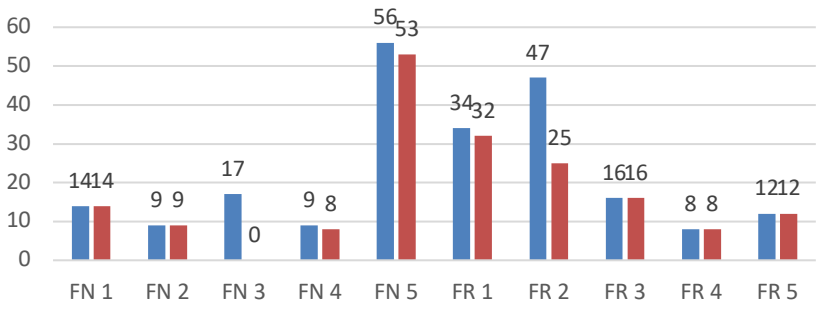
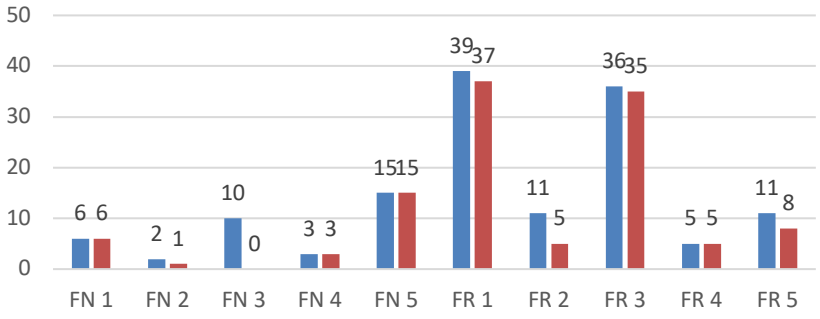


Figure 4.18: The affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG:F pronominal suffix by the young female group when talking about formal topics



Overall, the two figures show that the *ts* variant is still frequently used in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the young female speakers at a rate of 81.11%. In both types of topics, the two subgroups of education type do not show any significant difference in their use of the *ts* variant in the suffix, indicating that the type of education does not play a significant role in the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix as shown in Table 4.3. Comparing the two types of topics, the female participants used the *ts* variant in the suffix 76.58% of the time when they were talking about personal topics, and 83.33% of the time when they were talking about formal topics. This indicates that topic does not have an influence on the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix as there is no significant difference in the *ts* variance use in both the two types of topic as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3: *t*-test results for the difference between the two young female subgroups' use of the *ts* variant in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix.

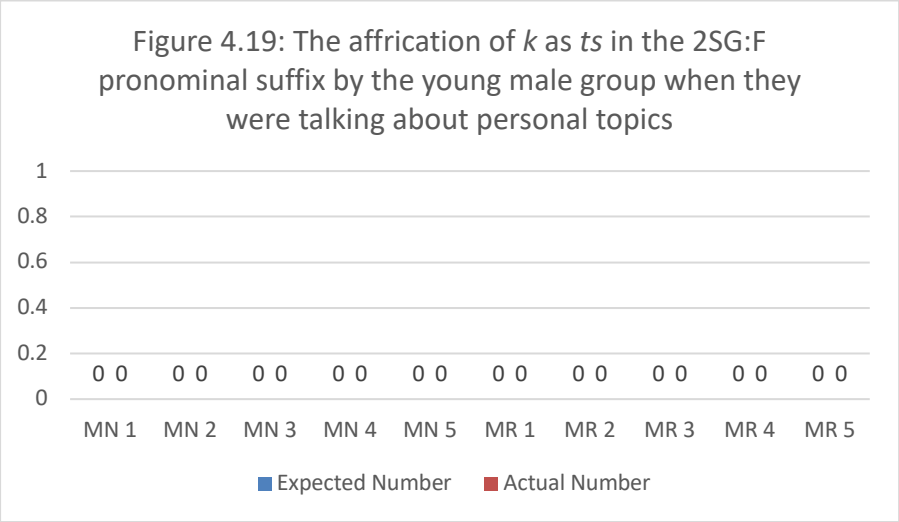
	number	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
FN1 - FN5	5	3.2	5.75	0.89
FR1 – FR5	5	3.6	6.74	

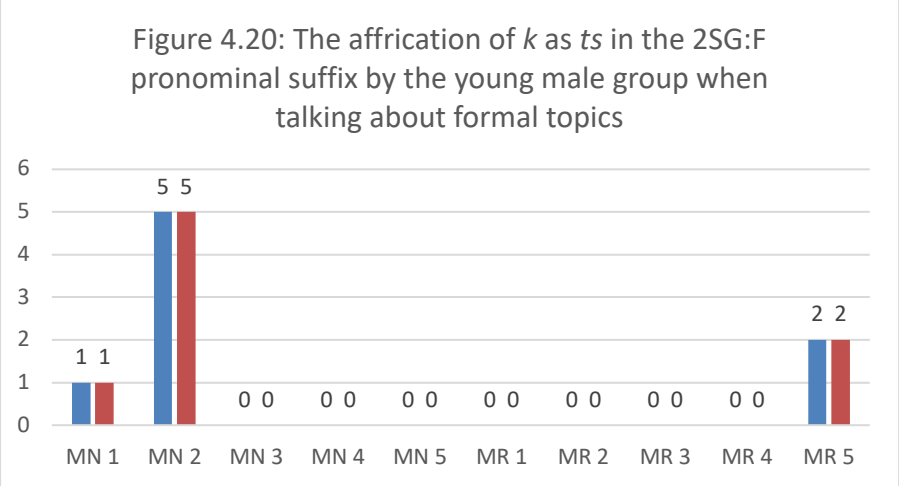
Table 4.4: *t*-test results for the difference between the young female use of the *ts* variant in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix in the two types of topics.

	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
personal topics	4.5	8.06	0.24
formal topics	2.3	3.30	

It is interesting to note that the female participants avoided the use of *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix when sarcastically quoting outsiders, especially authority figures, but emphasised the affrication when quoting older people. For example, one speaker quoted her headmistress talking on the phone as saying *taʕa:l xið bint-ik* ‘come and take your daughter’, while on the other hand she affricated the *k* with emphasis when she quoted her mother *xawa:l-its! ʕa:di* ‘your uncles! it’s ok’.

Figures 4.19 and 4.20 show the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix by the male participants when talking about personal topics and serious topics, respectively.



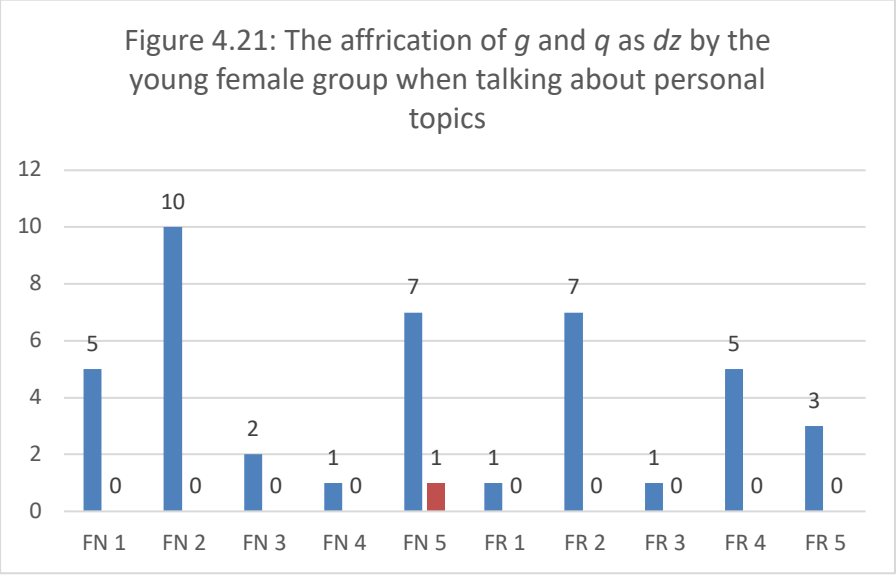


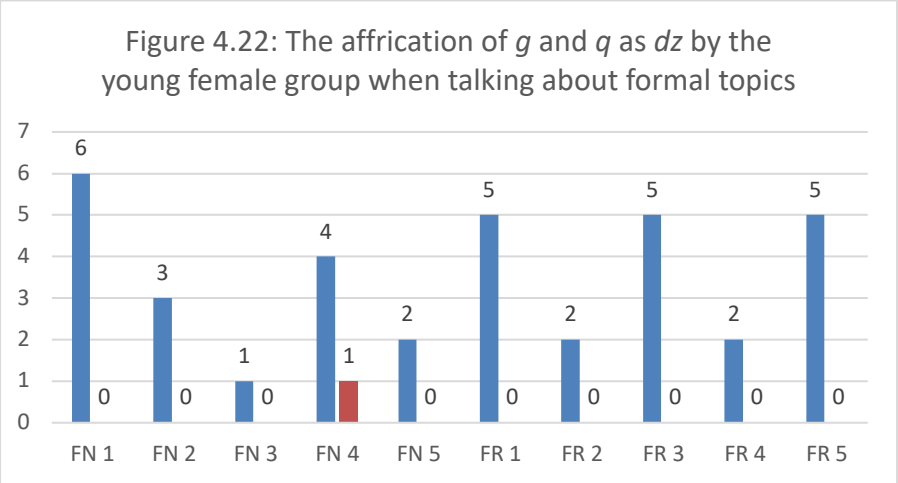
It was difficult to investigate affrication in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix in the young male group as this kind of affrication requires the participants to be directly addressing female counterparts in order to use it. Figure 4.19 demonstrates that the

participants never used the *ts* variant in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix, not because they were avoiding it, but because it was never the right context to use it in their speech. Figure 4.20 meanwhile indicates that, when the context was right, the male participants used the variable 100% of the time. Although they were not talking to female counterparts in these recording sessions, male participants sometimes reported conversations they had had with female interlocutors as in *min bijɛsˁi:r wili amr-its* ‘who’s going to be your legal guardian’, or as in in *iða ka:n alwa:ħid ʃa:ri-ts* ‘if the man values you’. Due to the overall low percentage of use by the male participants, the effect of topic and the type of education in the male group on the use of this specific variant cannot be determined.

The affrication of *g* or *q* as *dz*

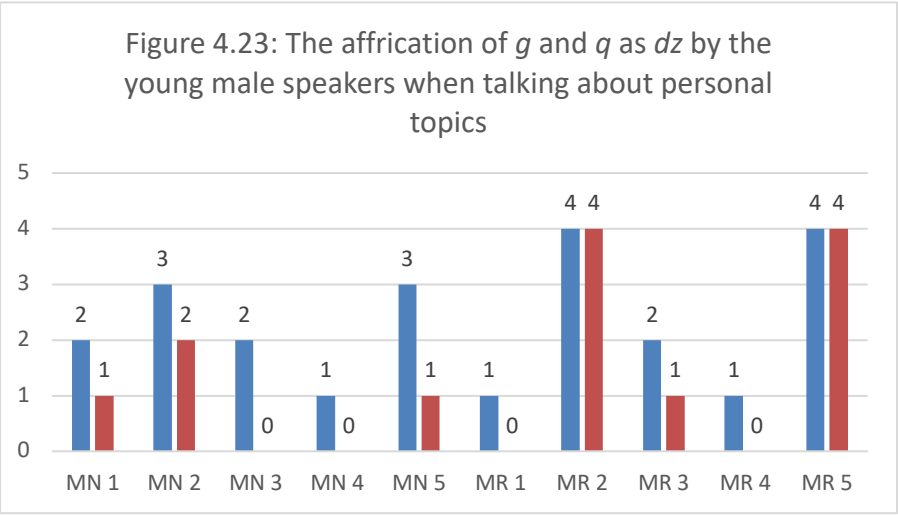
Figures 4.21 and 4.22 show the use of the variant *dz* by the young female participants when talking about personal and formal topics, respectively.

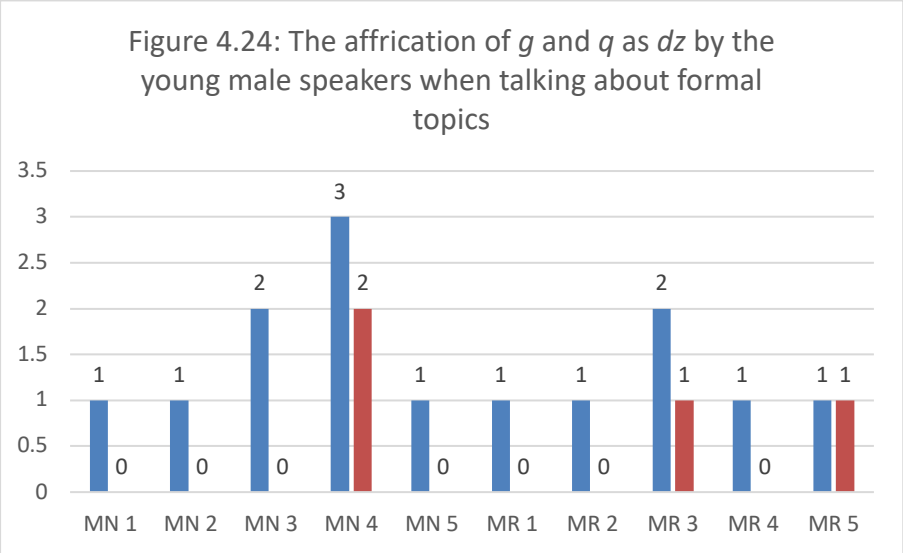




Overall, the female participants used the variant *dz* only twice, that is 2.6% of the expected occurrences. Such a low percentage of use overall means that it is not possible to determine the effect of topic or the type of education on the use of this variant among the young female speakers.

Figures 4.23 and 4.24 show the use of the variant *dz* by the young male participants when talking about personal and formal topics, respectively.





The data show that the variant *dz* is still used by the male group. Overall, the male participants used the variant *dz* rather than the other variants *g* and *q* 45.95% of the time. Topic seems to be a factor in the males’ use of this variant: the participants used the variant *dz* 56.52% of the time when they were speaking about personal topics (Figure 4.23), and 28.57% of the time when they were talking about formal topics (Figure 4.24). However, considering the low number of cases of *dz* in the young male group, the differences of use between the two types of topic may be just due to chance. The type of education does not seem to affect the use of the variant *dz*, as the subgroups were approximately equal in their use of the variant, in both topics. Similar to the situation of the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem, the use of the variant *dz* was limited to two words in particular. The first of these was *sˁidz* ‘real’ and its derivatives *sˁa:dz*, *sˁa:dzih* ‘he/she is honest’, *sˁidzijih* ‘it is real’ (however, note that the affrication never appeared on the verb sˁaddag ‘he believed’). The second word is *rifi:dz-i* ‘my friend’, which was used only by the male participants when referring to their lifelong friends.

Additional notes on the use of the two other variants *q*, *g* by the young QA speakers

The *dz* variant never appeared as a minimal pair with its other variants *q* and *g*. This may simply be a result of the limited occurrence of this variant in the data from the QA young speakers. One notes, however, that there are quite some minimal pairs between *q* and *g*. The following table presents examples of the minimal pairs that were used by more than five participants from both gender groups.

q	***g***
ðəʊq-uh, *ðəʊq-ah* his/her taste of something	*ðəʊg* an adjective for being well-mannered (used for both men and women)
mu:qif a critical situation, or incident	*mu:gif* a parking spot
ra:qi, *ra:qijah* elegant man/woman	*ra:gi*, *ra:gijah* he/she is going up / is up
daqi:qah she/it is very precise	*digi:gah* a minute
daqi:q exact, or he is precise	*digi:g* flour
tˁabqi apply a skill or a rule (singular feminine imperative)	*tˁabgi* close a lid or put one layer on another (singular feminine imperative)

It is important to mention that this obtains to words as used in a QA sentence. When speakers borrow a whole phrase from SA, *q* forms may be used also in words belonging to the second column of the table. For example, speakers sometimes used *daqi:q* 'exact, precise' to mean 'flour' when it was used in a phrase denoting a specific type of flour, as in *daqi:q að-ðurah* 'corn flour', as the whole noun phrase is borrowed from SA. Standing alone, *daqi:q* was never used to mean 'flour' in the data obtained from the young speakers of QA.

Sometimes the choice between the two variants *q* and *g* varies between a word and its derivatives. For example, when talking about his job, one participant said *riħt l-il-muqa:balah* 'I went to the interview', and in his next sentence he said *w-alli ga:bal miʕi:* 'the one who interviewed me'.

The borrowing of *q* from SA into QA arises in two different ways. The first way is the borrowing of the whole word, which can be seen clearly in new derived forms of words that already exist in QA, as in the example mentioned above. The word *muqa:balah* is a lexical item relating to official employment, and thus a word that comes with the new, modern lifestyle of the Qassimi people, whereas the verb *ga:bal* ‘to meet someone’ or ‘to have a conversation with someone’ already existed in QA. The variant *q* in this type of borrowing cannot be switched to *g*; thus, *muqa:balah* is never pronounced as *muga:balah* in QA. Meanwhile, the verb *ga:bal* can also be pronounced as *qa:bal*, but they are semantically not at the same level, as *ga:bal* is used when referring to informal meetings with friends and family, while *qa:bal* is used for formal meetings as for a job interview or meeting a university professor. This type of borrowing is not limited to new derived forms of existing words in QA, as it can also be observed in new lexical items that did not exist in QA previously, as in lexical items with different local equivalents. Some examples are provided in the table below:

new lexical item	**QA equivalent**	**gloss**
atwaqqaʕ	*aðˁin*	I think
θaqa:fah	-	culture
al-wa:qiʕ	*asˁ-sˁidz*	the reality
al-ħaqi:qah	*asˁ-sˁidz*	the truth
qali:l	*iʃwaj*	little (for quantity)
taʔaqlam	*salak ~ taʕawwad*	he adapted

The second type of *q* borrowing from SA occurs in words that already exist in QA. In other words, speakers substitute dialectal *g* with SA *q* within existing words. This type of phonetic switching happens either intermittently, with speakers randomly alternating between *q* and *g*, or permanently, with speakers consistently replacing the dialectal *g* with the SA *q*. Sometimes, the shift from the dialectal variant to the SA also implies the vowels. A simple possible explanation for the vowel change is that

the variant *q* is borrowed from the source language along with the adjacent vowel. Examples of the second type of borrowing are presented in the table below.

SA form	QA form	QA form after *q* borrowing	Gloss
juqaddimu nafsa-hu:	*jigaddim nafs-uh*	*jiqaddim nafs-uh*	He presents himself
maqa:m-uka	*miga:m-ik*	*maqa:m-ik*	your status
qadi:m	*gidi:m*	*qadi:m*	old
muqawwas	*imgawwas*	*imqawwas*	curved

The choice between the two variants *q* and *g* may be prone to intra-speaker variation. Speakers seem to choose *g* when the word is associated with a personal matter, while choosing *q* for general concepts. For example, the female participants used *asˁ-sˁadi:qa:t* 'the female friends' when talking about friendship in general, but *sˁidi:ga:t-i* 'my friends' when referring to their close friends. A similar example was used by a male participant, who used *ʕuqu:bah* 'punishment' when he was speaking in the context of sexual harassment punishments, but used the form *ʕgu:bih* in another context when sarcastically referring to an incident that happened to him as a punishment from God.

The use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*

Figures 4.25 and 4.26 show the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* by the young female participants when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.

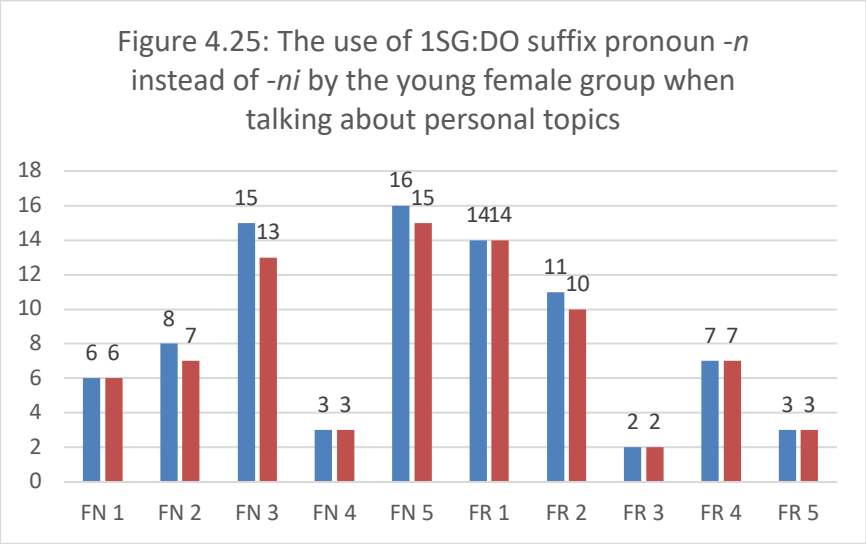


Figure 4.25: The use of 1SG:DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* by the young female group when talking about personal topics

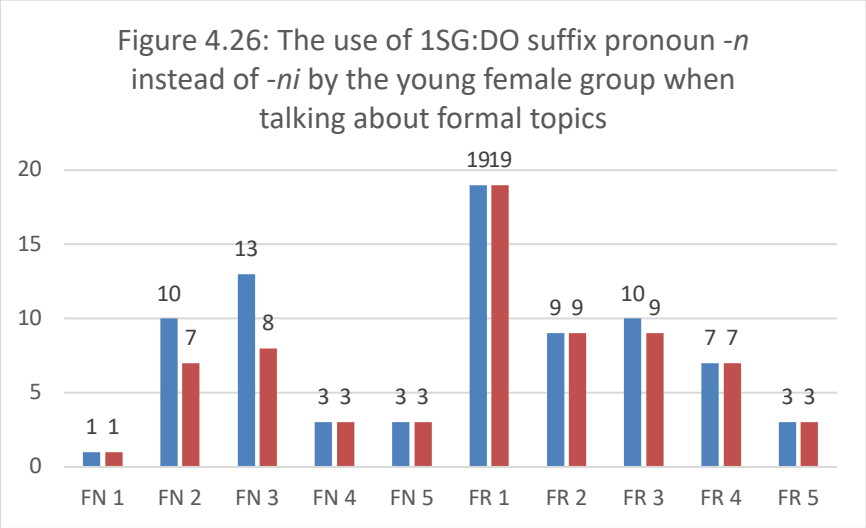


Figure 4.26: The use of 1SG:DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* by the young female group when talking about formal topics

Overall, the young female participants used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* 91.41% of the time. There is a slight difference regarding topic, as the female participants used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* 94.12% of the time when speaking about personal topics, but only 88.46% of the time when speaking about

formal topics. However, the effect of topic on the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* by the young female speakers is statistically not significant as shown in the *t*-test result in Table 4.5. As for the type of education, the two subgroups did not show any significant difference either. One remarks that when speaking about personal topics, the two subgroups were almost the same in their use of the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* ; however, when speaking about formal topics a difference emerged: those who received a normal education used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* just 73.33% of the time when discussing formal topics, while those who received a religious education used it 97.92% of the time. However, this difference is statically not significant as the *t*-test result shows in Table 4.6.

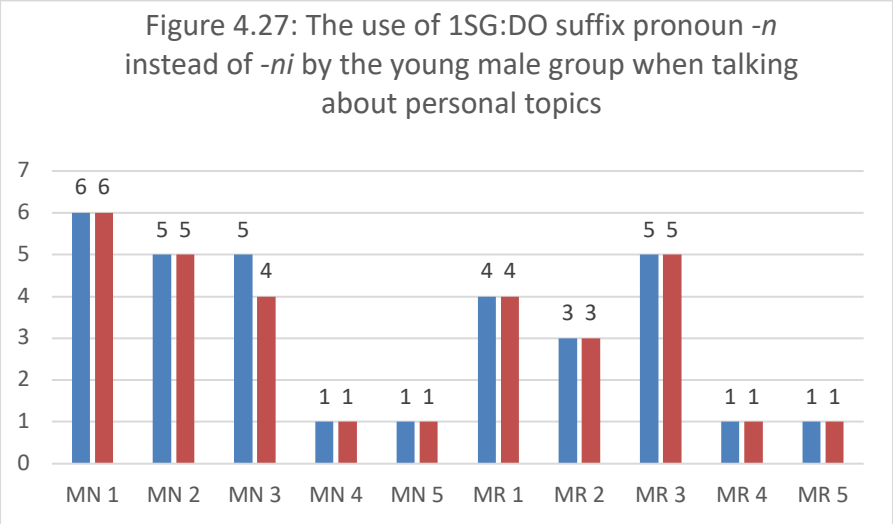
Table 4.5: *t*-test results for the difference between the young female participants' use of the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* in the two types of topic.

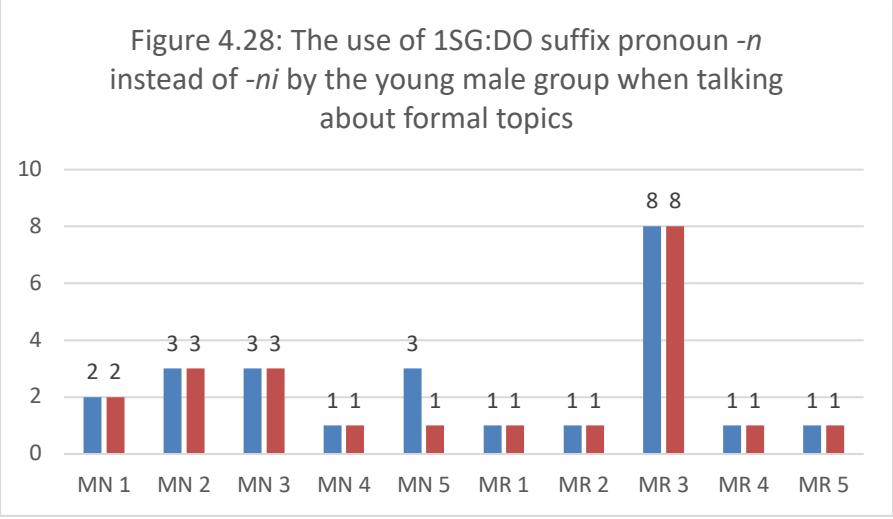
	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
personal topics	0.5	0.71	0.34
formal topics	0.9	1.73	

Table 4.6: *t*-test results for the difference between the two young female subgroups' use of the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*.

	number	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
FN1 - FN5	5	1.2	1.69	0.09
FR1 – FR5	5	0.2	0.42	

Figures 4.27 and 4.28 show the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* by the young male participants when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.





Overall, the male participants had almost the same rate of the use of the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* as the female participants, as they used this variant 94.64% of the time. The small difference between the two main groups of speakers is statistically not significant as shown in Table 4.7. Topic does not seem to have influenced the male participants who received a religious education, as they used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni* 100% of the time in both settings. However,

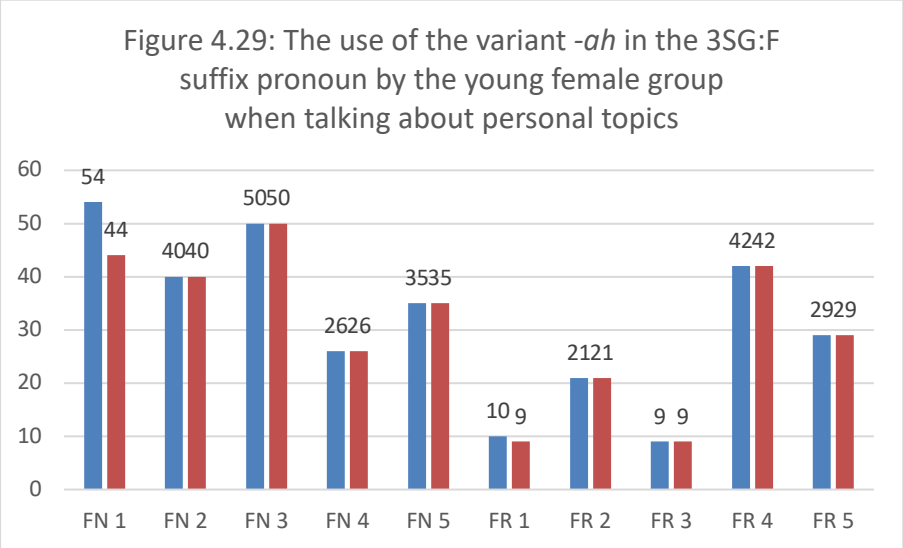
as in the female group, the male participants who received a normal education showed some difference in their use of the variant across the two settings: they used the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* 94.44% of the time when talking about personal topics, while when talking about formal subjects this was 83.33%.

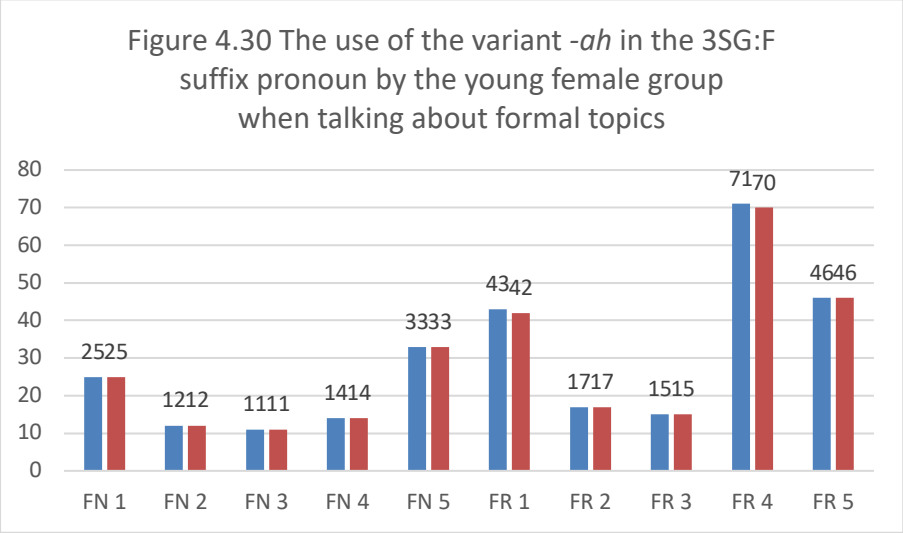
Table 4.7: *t*-test results for the difference between the two groups: young female and young male speakers in their use of the 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*

	number	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
young female group	10	0.70	1.30	0.08
young male group	10	0.15	0.49	

The use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun

Figures 4.29 and 4.30 show the use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun by the young female speakers when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.





Overall, the young female participants used the variant 96.19% of the time, which indicates that they used the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun in almost all their speech. Figure 4.29 shows that this was the case 96.52% of the time when talking about personal topics, and 99.30% of the time when talking about formal topics (Figure 4.30). Thus, the type of topic does not seem to affect the frequency of the variant *-ah* of the 3SG.F suffix pronoun in this group. The overall difference between the two education subgroups is also very small, suggesting that the type of education does not have an influence on use of this variant in the young female participants’ QA speech.

Figures 4.31 and 4.32 show the use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun by the young male speakers when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.

Figure 4.31: The use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG:F suffix pronoun by the young male group when talking about personal topics

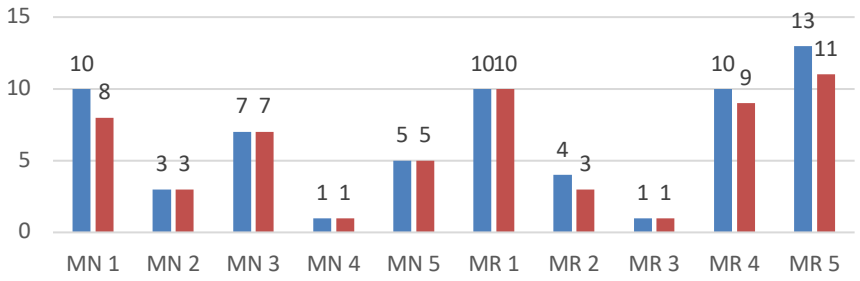
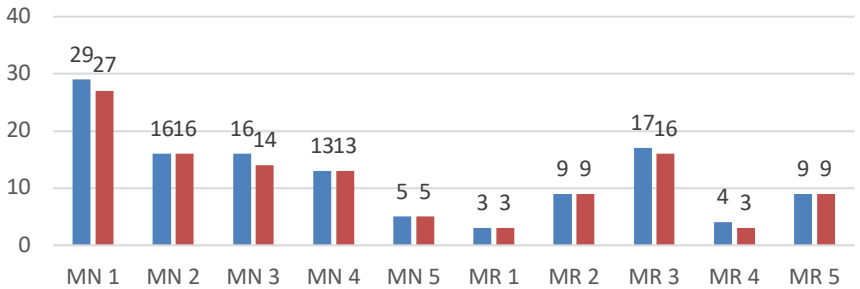


Figure 4.32: The use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG:F suffix pronoun by the young male group when talking about formal topics

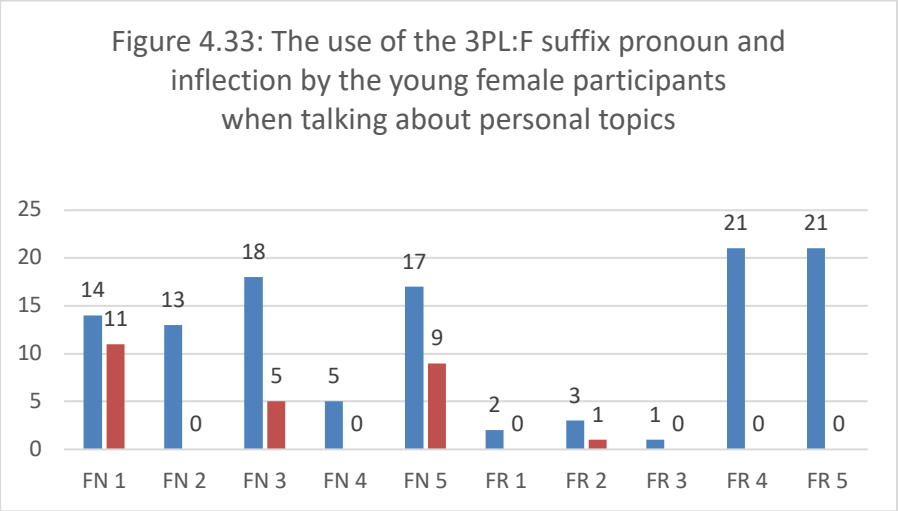


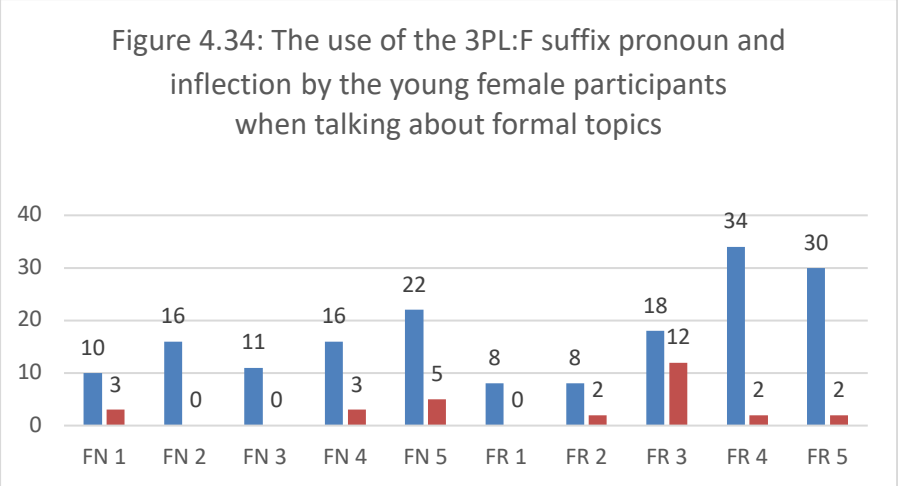
In general, the young male participants applied the variable 93.51% of the time, which is almost the same as the rate of usage by the female participants. The male participants used the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun 90.63% of the time when talking about personal topics (Figure 4.31) and 95.04% of the time when talking about formal topics (Figure 4.32). As in the female group, the small difference in percentage between the two topics, as well as the minimal difference between education subgroups, suggest that neither the topic nor the type of education affects

the use of the variant *-ah* in the 3SG.F suffix pronoun in the male participants’ QA speech.

The use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection

Figures 4.33 and 4.34 show the use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection by the young female participants when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.



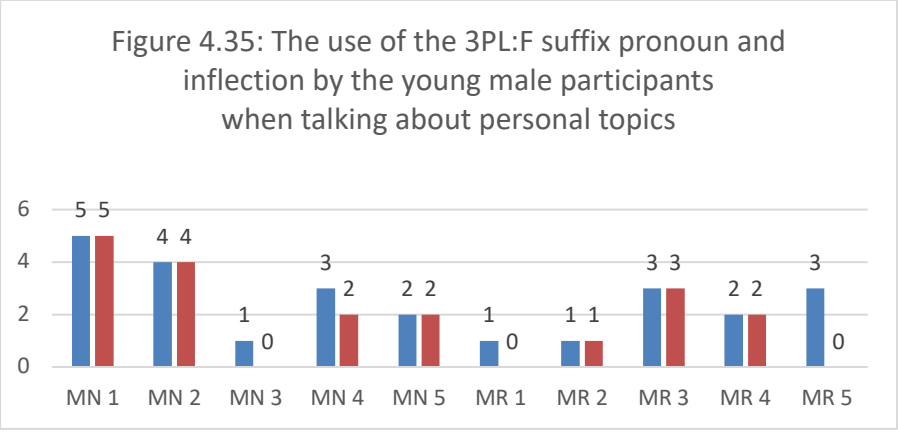


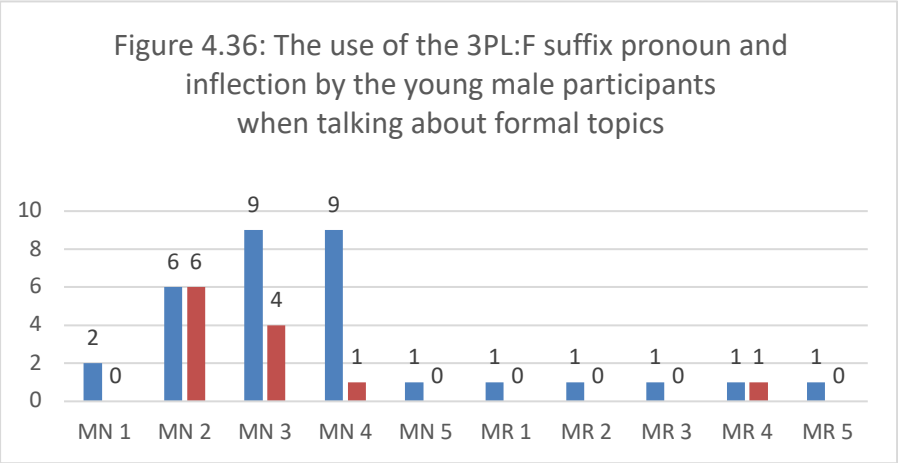
Overall, the young female participants used the variant 19.10% of the time. The numbers are different between topics: the special 3F:PL were used 22.61% of the time when talking about personal topics and 16.76% of the time when talking about formal topics. However, the difference in the use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun in the two different types of topic is statistically not significant as shown in the *t*-test result in Table 4.8. As for the type of education, the two subgroups showed different percentages of use across the two types of topic: when talking about personal topics, the participants who received normal education used the variant more than those who received a religious education, but this pattern is reversed for speech on formal topics.

Table 4.8: *t*-test results for the difference in the young female participants' use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun in the two types of topic.

	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
personal topics	2.60	3.39	0.06
formal topics	2.9	2.62	

Figures 4.35 and 4.36 show the use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection by the young male participants when talking about personal topics and formal topics, respectively.





Overall, the male participants used the variant 54.39% of the time. As in the female group, the numbers are a bit different depending on the topic, but this is not statistically significant as the *t*-test result shows (Table 4.9). As for the type of education, the male participants who received normal education seemed to use the variant more than those who received religious education.

Table 4.9: *t*-test results for the difference in the young male participants’ use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun in the two types of topic.

	mean	standard deviation	*t*- test
personal topics	0.6	0.97	0.11
formal topics	2	2.54	

Additional notes on use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection by young QA speakers

The 3PL.F forms were used by the female participants in two situations only:

- when quoting older people; for example, when one of the participants was quoting her father, she said *ru:ħan bas iftaɣlin* 'just go and work', and when a participant was quoting her aunt, she said *xalli:-hin jista:nsin* 'let them have fun'.

- when referring to feminine inanimate nouns or feminine abstract concepts, such as walls, shoes, or rules; for example: *alqwa:ni:n baʕaðˁ-hin* 'some of the rules', *nʕa:l istaθmiri bi-hin* 'shoes! invest in them', *jagʕidin ma: jaxarbin* 'they remain without getting ruined'.

The young female participants never used the 3PL.F suffix pronoun when referring to other women. The low rate of usage of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun can be attributed to the availability of two strategies for avoiding its use. The first way is to use the masculine plural pronoun as for both feminine and masculine uses, as is the case in the RA, e,g. *al-bana:t jidʒu:n* 'the girls come' instead of *jidʒin*, *al-bana:t tafki:r-hum* 'the girls, their thinking' instead of *tafki:r-hin*. The second method is to use the singular form, particularly for relative clauses. In this approach, a feminine plural noun subject is followed by a relative clause that is feminine singular. Thus, the agreement in the sentence is applied only for the gender, but not the number. This is considered grammatically incorrect in SA, but it seems to be accepted by the younger speakers of QA. On the contrary, the old QA speakers used the 3PL.F suffix with all feminine nouns whether animate or inanimate and they never used the 3PL.M suffix with feminine nouns. For examples: *ħari:m awwal jasˁbirin* 'old generation women are patient'; *kint ʔaɣassil aθ-θja:b wa ʔanfir-hin* 'I was washing the clothes and hang them to dry'.

Below are two examples of the second method of avoiding the use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun by the young female participants:

- *hi mu min al-bana:t alli tintiqid*
  she NEG PREP DET-girls REL 3SG.F.criticise
  ‘she is not of the girls who criticise (s)’ instead of 3PL.F *jintaqdin*.

- *al-bana:t at-ta:ʃha:t alli hamm-ah*
  DET-girls DET-silly:F:PL REL interest-3SG.F.POS
  ‘the silly girls whose (her) interest’ instead of 3PL.F *hamm-ihin*

The young female speakers’ new use of the 3PL.F suffix pronoun is fixed and non-arbitrary. They use it and drop it, even within the same sentence, based on the conditions described above. Take for example the sentence:

- *baʕðˁ al-bana:t jigisˁu:n gasˁsˁa:t jamniʕu:n-hin*
  some DET.girls 3PL.M.cut hairstyles 3PL.M.disallow-3PL.F.DO
  ‘some girls cut new hairstyles that they disallow’

Here the speaker uses the masculine (or, in this case rather neutral) plural inflection *j-…-u:n* in *jigisˁu:n* ‘they cut’ because it refers to the girls, but uses it in the direct object suffix *-hin* on the verb *jamniʕu:n-hin* ‘they disallow them’, where it refers to the hairstyles.

Similarly, the following sentence:

- *bana:t wiʃ ra:j-kum b-il-isbu:ʕein alli ra:ħan*
  girls what opinion-2PL.M.POS PREP-DET-weeks REL 3PL.F.go
  ‘girls, what do you think of the past two weeks’

Here, the speaker uses the F:PL form *ra:ħan* as it refers to the past two weeks.

The second method was used more by the male speakers, who used it to refer to both women and feminine objects, e.g. *aʃja:ʔ tgu:l-ah* 'things that you say (it)' instead of *tgu:l-hin*, *afʕa:l jisawj-ah al-wa:ħid* 'actions that someone does (it)' instead of *jisawji:-hin*.

4.2.4 Summary

Table 4.10 below summarises the social variables in relation to the linguistic variables as realised in the QA speech of the young generation. This is shown by means of the percentual difference between the highest of the two values (e.g., male gender) and the lowest of the two values (e.g., female gender). In this calculation, the percentual difference between the results for the two variables topic and type of education are calculated on the basis of the data from the two gender groups taken together.

Table 4.10: The social variables in relation to the linguistic variables.

linguistic variables	**social variables**		
	topic	type of education	gender
affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem	1.04%	0.06%	21.58%
affrication *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix	3.38%	4.57%	18.89%
affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz*	27.95%	9.18%	43.35%
use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*	8.39%	13.11%	3.23%
use of 3SG.F suffix pronoun *-ah* instead of *-aha*	3.6%	0.12%	2.68%
use of 3PL feminine suffix pronoun and inflection	22.18%	19.79%	35.29%
total average percentage for all the Linguistic variables	11.09%	7.81%	20.84%

The effect of the social variables in relation to the linguistic variables differed among the six linguistic variables chosen in this investigation. The effect of all the three social variable seems to be limited as its effect on the young QA speech does not exceed 20.84%. Among these social variables, gender has leads to higher differences than topic, and topic leads to higher differences than type of education.

It is important to note that the effect of gender on the affrication *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix cannot be determined accurately as the pronoun hardly surfaced in the corpus of the male group due to the absence of female counterparts in the conversation. The percentage was extracted depending on the relationship between the two values (expected number and the actual number) as they were equal, which seems to indicate that the male speakers, despite the low rate of usage, used the variants *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix whenever they were addressing (in citations) a woman.

4.3 PART 3: Old Qassimi Arabic versus Young Qassimi Arabic

All six QA variants were used extensively by the old speakers. Their percentages of use were never below 76%, for both the genders, and with one exception all between 90% and 100%. Table 4.12 summarises the use of QA variants by both the young and the old generations:

Table 4.12: The use of QA variants by both the young and the old generations.

QA variant	old females	old males	young females	young males
affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem	90.31%	97.11%	0.74%	22.32%
affrication *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix	100%	100%	81.11%	-
affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz*	76.40%	93.13%	2.60%	45.95%
use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*	100%	100%	91.41%	94.64%
use of 3SG.DO suffix pronoun *-ah* instead of *-aha*	100%	100%	96.19%	93.51%
use of 3PL.F suffix pronoun and inflection	98.77%	100%	19.10%	54.39%

Some QA variables are relatively stable over the two age groups, even though the younger group has a little bit more variation than the older group. These variables are: the affrication *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix, the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*, and the use of the feminine suffix *-ah* instead of *-aha* in the third person singular.

On the other hand, the younger generation did not give up the use of 3PL.F suffix pronoun completely, but they also found out alternative ways to avoid it. They also showed extremely weak usage of two QA variables: the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem, and the affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz*. The low percentage of use of these two variants by the young generation looks like a further development of a pattern already weakly present among the old generation. Even though these two variants are used at a high percentage by older QA speakers, they had the lowest percentage of use among all the six variants. This might suggest that the change in the use of these two variants have started in the old generation, with a sharp decrease in the young generation. Another cause of the dramatic difference between the two generations with regard to these two variables relates to the vocabulary choice of the young generation. In other words, many lexical items that contain *dz* or *ts* in the stem were either substituted with new or more common lexical items, or underwent more general phonological changes such as vowel changes. The following table shows some examples of words that contain *ts* in the stem or *dz* that were used by the old QA speakers alongside their new equivalents as used by the young QA speakers.

old QA form	**young QA form**	**description of the difference**	**gloss**
tsa:lmuh	*kalmuh* ~ *ittasˤli ʕali:h*	- longer vowels were substituted with shorter ones and vice versa - a new lexical item was adopted	call him
mitsna:t	*ama:kin*	a new derivative of the lexical item was adopted	places
al-ħatsi	*al-kala:m*	a new lexical item was adopted	the talk
tsibrat	*kbarat*	phonetic change, i.e., different form	she got older
ði:ts	*haði:k*	different form	that (feminine)
midzbil	*dʒa:j*	an existing lexical item with a similar meaning was used	he is coming
al-dza:blih	*bukra:*	a new lexical item was adopted	tomorrow
mdza:bil	*gidda:m*	a new lexical item was adopted	in front of
miʕlidz-in buh	*mwalliʕ-in buh*	a new lexical item was adopted	he burns it
midzfi	*mʕtˤi:k ðˤahr-uh*	a description of the adjective was used	he turns his back on you

However, it is important to mention that the data showed that the young generation avoided *ts* in the stem and *dz* even in some of the lexical items that are shared between the two generations, such as: *mitsa:n* > *mika:n* ‘a place’, *ʔatsil* > *ʔakil* ‘food’, *ʃardz* > *ʃarg* ‘east’, *ðˤi:dz* > *ðˤi:g* ‘narrowness’.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter presents the use of six QA variants used by two age groups. Part 1 of this chapter provides clear evidence that all six QA linguistic variants investigated in this

study are used extensively by the old QA speakers. This part also shows that there is no significant difference in the use of these QA variants between the old female speakers and old male speakers except in one variant, i.e., the affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz*.

Part 2 presents the use of six QA variants used by the young generation when speaking to friends or family members. The use of these six variants in the young generation was investigated in relation to three social variables: topic, type of education and gender. In general, the results showed that these three social variables do not have a major influence in the use of the six QA variants used by the young generation. However, there were important differences with old QA speakers' group. The young QA showed an extensive use in only three of the studied variants: the affrication *k* as *ts* in the 2SG.F pronominal suffix, the use of 1SG.DO suffix pronoun *-n* instead of *-ni*, and the use of the 3SG.F suffix *-ah*. As for the use of 3PL feminine suffix pronoun, the younger generation found out alternative ways to avoid it. On the other hand, the young speakers showed an extremely low usage of two other QA variables: the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem, and affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz*. This seems to continue a tendency already found in the old generation group. Besides the investigation of the six QA variants, part 2 also showed that the two other variants *q* and *g* appeared to create different words in the dialect that arise under diglossic situations.

Part 3 presents a comparison of the use of the six variants between the two age groups. It also suggests a reason for the low of use of the two variants: the affrication of *k* as *ts* in the stem, and affrication of *q* and *g* as *dz* by the young generation. The difference of use between the two generations with regard to these two variables can be related to the lexical choices of the young generation as they tend to substitute the words that contain both *dz* or *ts* in the stem with new more common vocabulary. However, the linguistic differences between the two generations are not limited to the six variants investigated in this study, but include phonological, syntactic, and semantic differences as well as differences in narration style.