



Intralingual Translation among Saudi Dialects: Bidialectal Code-switching from Bedouin Hijazi Dialect to Urban Hijazi Dialect in Jeddah

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Abstract

This paper aims to study the impact of the urban life of the modern city of Jeddah on the linguistic features of Bedouin Hijazi immigrants, specifically, female members of the Harbi tribe. A quantitative approach is followed to measure the frequency of participants' code-switching from the bedouin dialect to the urban dialect. The paper concludes that from the three morphological variables examined, the dropping of the verb nominative marker /-un/ is the most frequent. However, the overall percentage of the participants' dialectal code-switching is low. Thus, female of the bedouin Harbi tribe show no great tendency in adopting the urban dialect linguistic features.

I. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the outcome of the contact between two dialects of the modern Hijazi spoken in Jeddah. By that I mean, the Bedouin Hijazi dialect (hereafter BHD) and the Urban Hijazi dialect (hereafter UHD). Urban Hijazi spoken in Jeddah is highly influenced by surrounding cities such as Makkah and Al-Madinah Al-Monawara. On the other hand, the bedouin Hijazi is the pure dialect of bedouin tribes living in small towns in the area between Jeddah and Al-Madinah Al-Monawara. To be precise, bedouin under consideration are members of the the Harb tribe, whose hometown is Wadi Al-Safra in the north-east of Al-Madina Al-Monawara. (see map1 below)

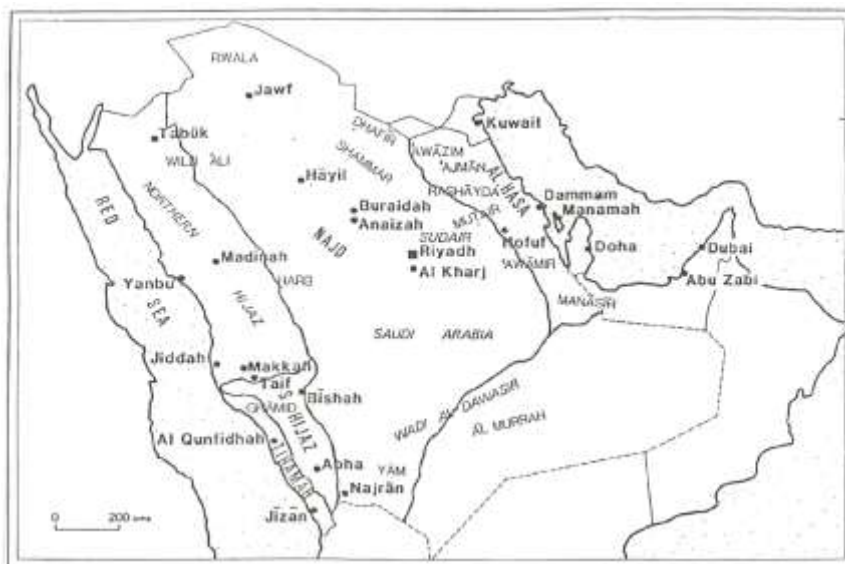


Map 1: Tribal areas in Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1994)

Culture in Saudi Arabia is in general more traditional and conventional than other Arab countries. Tribes form important units in the structure of the Arabian Peninsula citizens. Before King AbdulAziz Al-Saud unified the kingdom in 1932, each tribe had its own authority among the tribe members. Each member of the tribe feels proud of belonging to his/her tribe. Different tribes have different dialects, or if not totally different dialect at least some distinguishable linguistic features. These linguistic features are considered ethnic identity markers. Therefore, they seem to be socially inherited from one generation to the other.

1.1. Statement of the problem

Shortly after the discovery of oil in the Eastern province of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the early 1940's, three main centers began to develop. These three centers are Dammam in the East; Riyadh in the Center; and Jeddah in the West (See map2 below).



Map 2: Modern Cities in Saudi Arabia (Al-Shehri, 1993)

A major consequence of the emergence of these urban centers is the triggering of a mass migration of bedouin (nomadic) and rural (peasants) population to the developing cities. A direct byproduct of the encounter between immigrant and local population has been a dialect contact situation between speakers of different dialect backgrounds. In an attempt to minimize dialect differences between the immigrants' native dialects on the one hand and those of the local urban population on the other, some sort of dialect accommodation, affecting at least salient linguistic features, has taken place in the speech of bedouin immigrants.

Furthermore, sociolinguistic studies across the Arabic-speaking world have shown that the general tendency of language variation and change is in the direction of the "prestigious" urban varieties, which are the vernaculars used in the main urban centers (Abdel-Jawad, 1986; Al-Ahdal, 1989; Al-Wer, 1991).

In these studies, the speakers of the non-urban dialects have shifted away from their hometowns dialects although it symbolized local identity and a source of prestige at home or within the family members.

1.2. Significance of the study

According to Al-Shehri (1993), most, if not all, sociolinguistic investigations of variation in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf, as well as other Arab regions, have only used phonological variation, which he assumes is less significant than other linguistic levels of analysis as far as variation in spoken Arabic is concerned.

Urban Hijazi has been examined by Sieny (1978), who described syntax of urban Hijazi, and by Jarrah (1993), who described the phonology of urban Hijazi. However, bedouin Hijazi has not yet been fully investigated. Al-Mozaini (1981) has described the phonology of bedouin Hijazi. The literature still needs more to be reported on the structure of the bedouin Hijaz dialect. That will be the scope of this study.

1.3. Objectives of the study

This study aims to answer the following inquiries:

1) By investigating the structural features of the urbanized Bedouin spoken outcome (morpho-syntactic variables), this study attempts to identify the changing linguistic variables in a descriptive fashion.

2) what is the impact of intralingual translation between the Bedouin Hijazi dialect and the Urban Hijazi dialect on the final linguistic product.

3) what are the changes in the linguistic repertoire of the bedouin community in Jeddah influenced by socio-demographic indicators such as age, which includes length of time spent in Jeddah and place of birth.

I.4. Definitions of terms

Intralingual translation:add

Dialect is the term used to refer to the speech characteristic of the informal spoken variety of a certain language. The distinction of dialects may depend on the region of the speakers or the social status of them.

Regional dialect is the speech characteristic of a group of people in a certain region.

Social dialect is the speech characteristic of a certain group of people defined by social or occupational characteristics rather than by region alone. Regarding the Bedouin Hijazi and the Urban Hijazi, they are considered social dialects because they belong to the same region, i.e. Al-Hijaz.

Arabian Arabic refers to Arabic spoken in the Arabic peninsula.

Non-Arabian Arabic refers to Arabic spoken in other Arabic-speaking countries.

bidialectal code-switching refers to the alternative switch between two dialects of one language.

Contextual switching in speech is matching how one speaks to the identity of an interlocutor, or to the topic one is speaking about in a specific situation.

Throughout this study, we will be using **bidialectal-switching** and **contextual switching** alternatively to refer to bidialectal code-switching.

I.5. Scope of the study

Dialectology is the study of dialects which are the varieties of a language that are characteristic of particular groups and are determined by geographical, social, religious and other factors (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980).

The essence of dialectology is variation in language. Since it is a branch of general linguistics, there must be a relationship between dialectology and linguistic theories. Consequently, dialectology is the field that studies language variation and heterogeneity which are the central subject matter of language change. Francis (1983) states:

Over the last two decades attempts have been made to incorporate the findings of dialectology into models of language which provide for systematic heterogeneity as an inherent universal of language structure.

Coping with the field of dialectology, the study will seek language variation in the Bedouin Hijazi dialect of a specific tribe, i.e. the Harb tribe. The focus will be on differences between Urban Hijazi dialect and Bedouin Hijazi dialect on the grammatical (morpho-syntactic) level. The systematic approach to dialect differences is fundamental to structural Dialectology (Chamber and Trudgill, 1980).

II. Literature Review

II.1. Linguistic variation studies

The study of linguistic variation has certainly revolutionized dialectology, historical linguistics, and linguistics. However, there are some limits to its success. One is that its findings have to a large extent applied to **western** industrial countries, in which one language is dominant. There are not many large-scale studies using variationist methods in countries in which the majority of people are multilingual or in countries with large rural or bedouin population. Another shortcoming of this paradigm is that it does not deal with language as an **interactive** process, but focuses on the form of language and variation within the system (Mesthrie et al, 2000).

Hence, to look at language variation and change as result of language use by speakers in actual daily use needs different kinds of studies. First, there is a need for studies that deal with

language use in bi-/multilingual communities. Second, studies on language contact, including maintenance, shift and death are also needed. All these kinds of studies contribute to analyzing linguistic variation and change.

II.2. Code-Switching in Bidialectal and Bilingual communities

This kind of study focuses on which language speakers choose to use in specific occasions and places, and how/why speakers sometimes code-switch, that is to switch back and forwards between languages, even during the same utterance.

According to Myer-Scotton (1998) the term code is a cover term for linguistic systems at any level, from separate languages to dialects of a single language to styles or sub-styles within a single dialect.

As Trudgill (1986) states, 'If a speaker accommodates frequently enough to particular accent or dialect, I would go on to argue then, the accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favorable.' Almost all Trudgill studies were based on data collected in the western world. The result will be dialect-switching.

On the other hand, Holes (1999) examines linguistic variation in Arabic-speaking communities. Particularly, he examines three Arabic modern cities, including, Bahrain, Amman and Bagdad. He concludes that there are aspects of contextual switching. Holes illustrates this phenomenon as, "contextual-switching in speech, that is matching how one speaks to the identity of an interlocutor, or to the topic one is speaking about- is a characteristic of life in **any** modern city."

II.3. Language contact studies

Language contact sometimes occurs when there is increased social interaction between people from neighboring territories who have traditionally spoken different languages (Mesthrie et al, 2000). Language contact is a term that covers contacts between dialects in monolingual settings. Language maintenance and shift are the products of language contact. These terms were proposed by Joshua Fishman (1964). Language maintenance denotes the continuing use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful language. The opposite of this term, language shift, denotes the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community. Among studies done on language contact are Benrabah (1992), Al-Shehri (1993) and Al-Essa (2004). These studies will be reviewed in the following section.

II.4. Studies in the Arabic-speaking world

Benrabah (1992) showed what happens when members of a family with their own Arabic dialect come into contact with an urban variety traditionally classified as rural: 'rubi/fallahi. The analysis of six phonological variables revealed that the family members adopted the urban variant in an ascending order as follows:

mother father son daughter.

The female subjects in the family stand on opposite sides: the mother is the most conservative and the daughter is ahead in language change. The daughter's percentage use of the 'new' dialect form was consistently high. For example, let us consider the results obtained for the variable (q). The scores in Table 1 show that the daughter's use of the 'new' urban variant is the highest.

Family members	% of old dialect pronunciation [k]	% of 'new' dialect pronunciation [q]
Fathers	66.66	22.22
Mothers	100	0
Sons	25	75
Daughters	0	100

Table II.1

Results (%) for variable (q) by family members (Benrabah, 1992)

This tendency to use the urban pronunciation by young females was constant for all the variables except one, which is the pharyngealised variant [ae']. Benrabah found that some young females in Oran consider the new variant [ae'] as non-urban and, therefore, less prestigious. 20% of the cases they used the old dialect pronunciation [a].

Al-Shehri (1993) is primarily concerned with the effect of social urbanization on the speech behavior of rural immigrants. Subjects of this study are Saudi citizens of Al-Manas (in the south-east of Saudi Arabia) who moved to live in the urbanized area of Hijaz. The study examines the applicability of the widely recognized sociolinguistic view that urban dialects are prestigious to the sociolinguistic situation in Hijaz. The informants of this study have been divided according to the three main social variables of age, education and gender. Six linguistic variables, covering phonological and non-phonological aspects of Arabic were examined. The linguistics variables analyzed are: (dz) the voiced palato-alveolar affricate, the interdental, the diphthong, the progressive aspect marker, the future tense marker and the relative pronoun. Results of the data analysis indicate that rural speakers' linguistic adaptation in the new environment is rather characterized by convergence to as well as divergence from the urban speech pattern, depending on linguistics and meta-linguistics factors.

This paper is based on empirical research in the Hijazi city of Jeddah. Al-Essa (2004) aims to investigate the linguistic outcome of the contact between two major Arabic dialects: Najdi, a Bedouin dialect and Hijazi, a sedentary dialect. The linguistic situation under study is particularly interesting for two reasons. Firstly, although the immigration of Najdies to Hijazi cities such as Jeddah started more than sixty years ago, contact with Hijazi locals is mostly limited to formal encounters in the workplace, the market and schools. Secondly, Najdi and Hijazi dialects are distinct varieties of Arabic. Whereas Najdi Arabic (NA) is an Arabian dialect of Bedouin origin, the urban Hijazi dialect (HA) is the final product of a multitude of ethnicities that mixed with the indigenous Arabian locals in the melting pot of Hijaz. In spite of the social conservatism of the Najdi community in Jeddah, the data show that the Najdi dialect has undergone various degrees of leveling and change. The changes correlate with the degree of social contact, and age. The more frequent and intense the level of contact, the more Hijazi features are detected in the speech of Najdi speakers. As the socialization patterns of Najdi inhabitants of Jeddah are changing and the rules of social restrictions are increasingly relaxed, these linguistic changes are found to be accelerating in the speech of younger informants. In this paper, the researcher discusses the affrication in Najdi Arabic as it is manifested in three linguistic variables: (g), stem (k) and the second person feminine suffix (-k).

III. Hypothesis and Methodology

III.1. Hypothesis

Based on Myer-Scotton's code-switching, Trudgill's dialect-switching, and Holes's contextual-switching, the following hypothesis is created.

Taking into consideration the close relationship between urbanization and linguistic prestige in the Arabic-speaking in the multi-ethnic community of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the applicability of contextual-switching to the sociolinguistic situation will be examined.

III.2. Methodology

In its essence, this is a descriptive study because it provides descriptions of phenomena that occur naturally, without the intervention of an experiment. (Seliger, 1989). First, differences between the UHD and BHD chosen variables are designated. Then, to measure the correlation between linguistic repertoire of the bedouin community in Jeddah and the age factor, a quantitative method is followed. Quantification of data takes place after data of a general nature have been collected and categorized (Seliger, 1989).

III.2.a. Data collection and participants

Data collection takes place in Jeddah. Participants under consideration are only females of Al-Harbi tribe who are living in Jeddah. They represent four generations, ranging between 15 years to 70 years. Participants are divided into 4 categories. In the first category (I), the age range is 15-30; in the second category (II) the age range is (31-45); in the third category (III), the age range is (46-60); and finally, in the fourth range (IV), the age range is (61+). All participants have been chosen under the condition of having both parents belonging to the Harb tribe.

III.2.b. Procedure

Data collection includes audio recording of participant's conversation. As the researcher is an insider i.e., a female and member of the Harbi tribe, it is easy to mingle in the female community and observe its linguistic behaviour. The focus is on instances of bidialectal-switching to the urban dialect, only in contextual switching.

In each age category there are 15 participants. In each category and for each variable, the researcher counts the number of participants who switches to the urban variant, and those who don't switch to the urban variant. Consequently, a percentage is calculated. For example, if 9 participants switch to the urban variant of the progressive aspect marker variable (PAM), the equation will be: $(9 \times 100) \div 15 = 66\%$ of participants of this category switch to the urban (PAM).

III.2.c. Transcription

The International Phonetic Association's phonetic alphabet symbols are used. For more detail, the table of symbols used by the researcher in transcribing the data is provided in the Appendix at the end of this paper.

IV. Discussion and Analysis

This section highlights the linguistic switches that occur on some Bedouin Hijazi linguistic elements when in contact with Urban Hijazi dialect spoken in the modern city of Jeddah.

The present study investigates variation in the use of three linguistic variables. They are the verb nominative marker (/i-in/, /-in/, and /-uun/), the progressive aspect marker (PAM) and the future tense marker (FTM). They have been selected on the basis of their being dialectologically and sociolinguistically salient features. Moreover, in dialect contact situations, accommodation is most likely to begin at lexical and morphological levels before accommodation at the phonological level (Trudgill, 1986).

IV.a. The Verb Nominative Marker (VNM)

In the old Bedouin Harb dialect, like other bedouin dialects, many features of the Classical Arabic **verb** system are preserved (Holes, 2004). For example, table IV.I below shows the verb affixes used in the **original** dialect of Harb spoken in their hometown (Wadi Al-Safra). From table IV.I below, and for the purpose of this paper, we will discuss the following suffixes:

- The second person female singular suffix (-iin)
- The second and third person female plural suffix (-in)
- The second and third person masculine plural suffix (-uun)

Person/ Gender	Number	
	Sg.	Pl.
I	a- ...	n-...
2 m.	t-...	t-...-uun
2 f.	t-... -iin	t-... -in
3 m.	y-...	y-...-uun
3 f.	t-...	y-... -in

Table IV.1

Original Harb tribe dialect: Affixes for person, number, and gender

Finite verb stems, in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), are specified for person, gender, and number by two sets of affixes, the prefix-stem (hereafter p-stem) and the suffix-stem (hereafter s-stem). The difference between the two is that the p-stem verbs describe actions in the present or future, while s-stem verbs describe actions in states that are completed or ended. The following tables IV.2 and IV.3 illustrates the paradigms of the MSA verbal affixes.

p-stem			
Number			
Person/ Gender	Sg.	Pl.	Dual
I	?- ...	n-...	(none)
2 m.	t-...	t-...-u: (na)	t-...-a: (ni)
2 f.	t-... -i: (na)	t-... -na	t-...-a: (ni)
3 m.	y-...	y-...-u: (na)	y-...-a: (ni)
3 f.	t-...	y-... -na	t-...-a: (ni)

Table IV.2

MSA p-stem verbal Affixes

S-stem			
Number			
Person/ Gender	Sg.	Pl.	Dual
I	...-tu	...-na	(none)
2 m.	... -ta	...-tum	...-tumaa
2 f.	... -ti	... -tunna	...-tumaa
3 m.	...-a	...-uu	...-aa
3 f.	... -at	... -na	...-ataa

Table IV.3

MSA s-stem verbal affixes

In table IV.2, the elements in brackets are markers of the nominative case. That is when the verb is not preceded by negative particles: /lam/ for negative completed actions, /laa/ for negative commands and /lan/ for negative actions in the future. If the verb is preceded by one of these negative particles, it will lose the nominative markers (in brackets).

This variable, the nominative marker, forms great interest to our study because it forms the most salient difference between the bedouin dialect and the urban dialect. This variable is overgeneralized in the bedouin dialect. It is used in all syntactic environments, either after negative particles or not (see table IV.1 above). However, in the urban dialect the nominative marker doesn't exist at all.

Nowadays, I observe that Harb speakers who are in their 50s (Living in Jeddah for more than 30 years) have already lost the second and third person plural gender distinction. The result is the neutralization of masculine plural marker and the female plural marker. For example,

Bedouin variant for third person

- (1) /albanaat yruuħin/ 'girls go' original form
- (2) /albanaat yruuħuun/ 'girls go' new form
- (3) /alaulaad yruuħuun/ 'boys go' new form

Bedouin variant for second person:

- (4) / inti truħhiin/ 'you (female) go'

Urban variant for third person

- (5) /albanat yiruħu/ 'girls go'
- (6) /alaulaad yiruħu/ 'boys go'

Bedouin variant for second person

- (7) / inti truħhi/ 'you (female) go'

To conclude, we will be comparing two bedouin variants in (2) and (3) for the and the plural marker for second and third person /-uun/ and (4) the singular marker for 2nd person female /-

in/ on one hand and the urban variants in(5), (6) and (7), i.e., /-u/ and /-i/ without the /-n/ on the other hand.

IV.a.1. The age factor and use of the (NM) variable

Age Category	Maintain the bedouin variant	Switch to the urban variant
I (15-30)	14 %	86 %
II (31-45)	34 %	66 %
III (46-60)	80 %	20 %
IV (61+)	100 %	0 %
Total	57 %	43 %

Table IV.4

The percentage of people switching to the urban variant of (NM)

From the results above, it is observed that young (15-30 old) female members of the tribe living in Jeddah are very close to final process of dropping the /-in/ and /-un/ altogether. That is shown by the high percentage they score (86 %). Compared to the other age groups, that is actually a significant percentage.

This tendency to accommodate the urban style in contextual switching may be attributed to the alienation of the /-n/ suffix in the Jeddah community, therefore the young females didn't want to be marked as different from their peers in school. In addition, linguistically, as illustrated above, the /-n/ suffix is overextended in the bedouin dialect to the extent that its existence violates the proper syntactic conditions in MSA. Thus, it lacks the standard form pressure, and consequently, easily dropped.

However, the overall percentage of number of female switching to the urban lack of /-n/ is considered not high (43 %), compared to a long period of time living in Jeddah (1940-2007).

IV.b. The Progressive Aspect Marker (PAM)

The progressive aspect marker variable involves variation between the Bedouin variant morpheme /ø /, indicating an empty slot, and the urban variant morpheme /bi-/. For example,

Bedouin variety:

- (1) /ø yaktub/ 'he is writing'
- (2) /ø taktub/ 'she is writing'
- (3) /ø naktub/ 'we are writing'

Urban variety:

- (4) /bi-yuktub/ 'he is writing'
- (5) /bi-tuktub/ 'she is writing'
- (6) /bi-nuktub/ 'we are writing'

In addition, the urban (PAM) variant may also be realized lexically as in:

- (7) /jaalis yuktub/ 'he is writing' or
- (8) /gaaʕid yuktub/ 'he is writing' or
- (9) /ʕammal yuktub/ 'he is writing'

The literal meaning of the synonyms /jaalis/, /gaaʕid/, and /ʕammal/ is 'sitting', but when they are used grammatically, they represent progressive aspect marking.

Concerning the cultural origin of the urban variants of the (PAM) variable, it is believed that the prefix bound morpheme /bi-/ and the particle /ʕammal/ are the result of linguistic influence from non-Arabian Arabic dialects (Ingham, 1971). The synonyms /jaalis/ and /gaaʕid/, on the other hand, which are both derived from the standard Arabic synonyms verbs /jalasa/ and /qaʕada/ 'to sit', are indigenous to the Arabian dialects (Al-Shehri, 1993).

IV.b.1. The age factor and use of the (PAM) variable

Age Category	Maintain the bedouin variant	Switch to the urban variant
I (15-30)	34 %	66 %
II (31-45)	53 %	47 %
III (46-60)	67 %	33 %

Age Category	Maintain the bedouin variant	Switch to the urban variant
IV (61+)	100 %	0 %
Total	63 %	37 %

Table IV.5

The percentage of people switching to the urban variant of (PAM)

The data in table IV.5 displays interesting and systematic correlation between the age groups and the realization of the (PAM) variable in contextual switching. The table shows us that the youngest the speakers are, the greater the chances of switching to the urban variant. However, the overall percentage of the female switchers is only 37 %, which is not considered a high score.

It is worth noting that the urban variants /bi-/ and /ʕammal/ were entirely avoided by all age groups as they represent a stereotype of a non-indigenous Arabian dialect. The three age groups (I, II and III) switched to the particle /gaaʕid/, which is more linguistically relevant to the bedouin dialect.

IV.c. The Future Tense Marker (FTM)

The future tense marker sows a pattern of variation between the bedouin variant morphemes /ba-/ and the urban variant morpheme /ha-/. For example,

Bedouin variety:

- (1) /ba-yruuh/ 'he will go'
- (2) /ba-truuh/ 'you will go'
- (3) /ba-nruuh/ 'we will go'

Urban variety:

- (4) /ha- yruuh/ 'he will go'
- (5) /ha-truuh/ 'she will go'
- (6) /ha-nruuh/ 'we will go'

The future tense marker may also be realized lexically as in:

- (7) /raayih yruuh/ 'he will go'
- (8) /bidu yruuh/ 'he will go'
- (9) /yibya yruuh/ 'he will go'

The literal meaning for the /raayih/ in (7) is 'going' whereas grammatically it signals a future tense. /bidu/ in (8) and /yibya/ in (9) literally mean 'he wants', but grammatically they indicate future tense.

Bedouin variety:

- (10) /yiba yaktub/ 'he will write'
- (11) /niba naktub/ 'we will wright'
- (12) /tiba taktub/ 'she will write'

The literal meaning of /yiba/ in (10) is also 'he wants', but grammatically it indicates a future tense.

IV.c.1. The age factor and use of the (FTM) variable

Age Category	Maintain the bedouin variant	Switch to the urban variant
I (15-30)	60 %	40 %
II (31-45)	67 %	33 %
III (46-60)	87 %	13 %
IV (61+)	100 %	0 %
Total	79 %	21 %

Table IV.6

The percentage of people switching to the urban variant of (FTM)

The results displayed in table IV.6, provide us with some interesting findings. The first finding is that age as a social parameter is highly relevant to the distribution of the variable.

That complies with the widely observed sociolinguistic phenomenon that younger generation tends to initiate linguistic innovations. The systematically increasing scores of urban variants as speakers scores are less on the age index may thus be seen as an evidence that linguistic change in the use of the (FTM) variable by urbanized bedouin speakers is in progress.

The second important finding is that the overall percentage of number of female switching to the urban variant of (FTM) is very low. Only 21% of the sample population switch to the urban variant of (FTM) in contextual switching. It is worth mentioning that only the /ha-/ and /yibya/ variants were adopted by the 21% of the sample, while the other lexical items such as /raayih/, /bidu/ were never used. One explanation is that the urban variants /raayih/, /bidu/ and /ha/ are of non Arabian origin. They are widely used in urban sections of Hijaz province, and according to Al-shehri (1993),

where the majority of population are of non Arabian origin, therefore, are regarded as typically of non indigenous urban speech of the regions. These variants are common forms of the dialects spoken in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. Their use by the urban community in Hijaz is the consequence of intensive migration of population from these Arabic-speaking lands to Western Arabia. (P. 186)

Consequently, probably they were avoided because they are alien to the indigenous Arabian dialect, and it indicates an ethnic group which is not similar to that of the Arab peninsula. Therefore, they are considered of lower prestige among the tribal population in Saudi Arabia.

V. Conclusion

This study concludes that Saudi bedouin females show no strong tendency for contextual switching to the urban dialect. The highest score of the female contextual switching to the urban dialect is 43% for dropping the /-uun/ and /iin/, then there is 37% for the urban progressive aspect marker /gaaʕid/ and only 21 % for using the urban future tense markers /ha-/ and /yibya/. That is consistent with the results of Al-Shehri (1993). He found that the percentage of rural women adopting urban variables is much lower than men's. In his study, males accommodated to urban variants [t] and [d] compared with rural variants [θ] and [ð] respectively 4% of their speech in urban communities, while women switched to the urban variants 0% of their speech in the same community.

To sum up, our data analysis shows that the sociolinguistic situation in Jeddah, in Saudi Arabia is **not** similar in other western or Arabic-speaking communities. Studies in those communities showed that there is a great tendency from women to adopt –in a very short run– the prestigious forms of the modern cities.

While the bedouin party considers itself superior for being naturally indigenous to the land, real citizens and keepers of tradition and conventions, the urban party sees itself superior as being more educated, sophisticated and open minded. Although studying together, working together and living together in the same neighborhood or even next door, the two parties still have hidden mutual dis-attraction. This distance has been shown through the very slow merging of the dialects.

Last but not least, I will end this discussion with a verse from the Holy Qur'an, "*And among his signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth, and the variations in your languages and your colours; verily in that are signs for those who know.*" (Surah 30 The Romans; v.22)

VI. Recommendations

There are remaining issues that need more investigations and in-depth analysis. First, a wider population, including the male section should be examined. Second, more variables including phonological and more morphological linguistic features need to be examined. Third, in-depth analysis of the frequency of the urban elements in the bedouin urbanized speech. Finally, it will give a brighter image if there is a classification of participants to social network

categories. For example, to examine the linguistic behaviour of the Harb speakers in the domains of school, work, the neighborhood and the informal friendship domain.

Appendix

Consonants

b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiceless dental stop
d	voiced dental stop
k	voiceless velar stop
g	voiced velar stop
ɣ	voiced velar fricative
q	voiceless uvular stop
ʔ	glottal stop
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced alveolar nasal
l	voiced alveo-dental lateral
r	voiced alveolar trill
f	voiceless labio-dental fricative
θ	voiceless inter-dental fricative
ð	voiced inter-dental fricative
ɸ	voiced interdental emphatic fricative
T	voiceless dental emphatic
D	voiced dental emphatic
s	voiceless alveolar fricative
S	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
ʃ	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
z	voiced alveo-palatal fricative
z	voiced emphatic alveo-palatal fricative
j	voiced alveo-palatal fricative
y	voiced palatal semi-vowel
w	voiced labio-velar semi vowel
x	voiceless velar fricative
h	voiceless glottal fricative
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative

Vowels

/a/,/i/ and /u/	: Short vowels
/aa/,/ii/ and /uu/	: Long vowels

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