

Syntactic Change in the Use of *gid*: Language Contact Evidence in Abha Dialect

Munira A. Al-Azraqi

Associate Professor in Linguistics, College of Arts, University of Dammam, Saudi Arabia.

(Received 1/5/1434H; Accepted for publication 14/9/1434H)

Key Words: Arabic, *gid*, sociolinguistics, syntax, Abha, language contact.

Abstract. Since the mid-nineteenth century, people from various villages in the southwest of the Arabian Peninsula, who had distinctive dialects, have migrated and settled around the Abha Valley. Communication between these different groups of people in Abha is resulting in the development of a distinctive dialect, one of the features of which is the variation in the use of particles. One of these particles, *gid*, conveys the meaning of assuring the hearer that what is being said will occur or has occurred already. Some functions and uses of *gid* are becoming simplified. For example, younger speakers limit their use of *gid* to specific syntactic contexts. In the present study, syntactic change in the use of the particle *gid* in Abha is documented and light is shed on the change in use of *gid* over different generations as a result of some sociolinguistic variables.

1. Introduction

Britain and Trudgill (1999: 245) point out that, when mutually intelligible but distinct dialects of the same language come into contact, items from each dialect may be incorporated into the other, in a process of linguistic accommodation. They add that, when this contact is long-term, such as when English speakers from different dialect areas of the United Kingdom became resident in Australia and New Zealand, or when contact results from the development of new towns, accommodation can become permanent and a new dialect can emerge. The process of *koineization*, as Kerswill (2002: 673) notes, can take place relatively swiftly. It may take only two or three generations to complete. Siegel (1985: 358) claims that the development of a *koine* is characterized by reduction and simplification, which are processes that lead to a decrease in the referential or non-referential potential of a language.

From the mid-nineteenth century, people from villages in various parts of southwest Arabian Peninsula, with different spoken dialects, began to migrate and settle in the valley of Abha, as explained below. Communication among these different peoples in the Abha Valley has resulted in a distinctive dialect, which is used in the present day. A number of

linguistic variants that were features of some of the dialects became part of the mix. Some of these variants are syntactic; for example, the use of the demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, question words and particles. A wide range of particles in this dialect are present as a result of this dialect contact. Al-Azraqi (1998: 99-146) refers to the various particles used in daily life in Abha dialect.

Today, some of these particles are disappearing, one of which is the particle *gid*. After years of mixing of the dialects, some functions and uses of *gid* have become simplified, as these functions decrease in use, and some have even disappeared. Young educated speakers, the third generation, are appearing to limit their use of *gid* to specific syntactic contexts, as discussed below. It should be noted here that other particles such as coordinators, subordinators, response particles, negative particles, and even articles are becoming simplified and in some cases have disappeared. These cases might be indicators of *koineization* that have not been studied yet, as far as we know, (see Al-Azraqi, *ibid*). We should note here that this is not always the case in other modern cities, San'ā, for example has no single entity that can be called a *koine*. As Freeman (2002) explains, the current situation among the speakers in san'ā is that

there are at least two identifiable and distinct dialects in use. He wonders if there will be two *koinés* instead of one in San'ā in the future.

2. Migration and historical background

The earliest mention of the name of Abha, see Map (1), in reference to Abha valley was mentioned in the eleventh century, in the book of al-Hamadānī (al-Hāmadānī 1983: 230-231). It is the only classical book that mentions Abha in the Islamic era (Jrais 1997: 14). Before the nineteenth century, Abha was not known as a city, but as a collection of different villages within Abha Valley. As this collective became concentrated in one area, Abha began to be known as a city and in 1242 A.H./1827 A.D., Abha was selected as the capital of the government of Asīr lead by Ali al-Muġēdī. Since then, Abha grew in size and population, particularly during the Ottoman period (1289 A.H./1872 A.D., to 1336 A.H./1918 A.D.) and increased more during the Saudi period (since 1338 A.H./1920 A.D.), (Jrais 1997: 50). As in other parts of Saudi Arabia, the development of Abha encouraged many people from both nearby and distant villages to migrate to Abha looking for education, jobs and better services, bringing their own local dialects. The first people who settled in Abha came from the nearby tribes: Banī Muġēd followed by 'Alkam, Rabī'ah w-Rfēdah, Banī-Mālik and people from different tribes from different villages: Qaḥṭān, šahrān, Rijāl 'alma' and other places (an-Ni'mī (n.d): 6, šākir 1981: 72-74, hamzah 1968: 116.) The processes of Mixing and levelling of dialects take place when immigrants do not live in separate communities (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 75). Unlike Watson's findings for Šan'ānī Arabic (2007), no effect of tribal origins has been noticed on social networks in Abha community. People of different origins coexist, rather than living in separate groups. Many of them retain strong communicative ties with their relatives in their villages, but this does not translate into separate communities in Abha. They do not have closed neighborhoods; any neighborhood might have people of different tribal origins. They do not have exclusive gatherings. They and their children communicate with others at work, in schools, and in public places. It is obvious that they are well-integrated, not with their tribal groups, but with the Abha community as a whole. Sometimes, it is not possible to determine a speaker's tribal origin, especially when the individual is of the third

generation. This is translated into the unified dialect Abha speakers use nowadays.

3. The cognate of the particle *gid* in Classical Arabic

It is assumed that *gid* is cognate with the Classical Arabic particle *qad*. Classical Arabic *qad*, as explained by az-Zamaḥṣarī (1999: 78), is used with verbs in the Perfect and Imperfect aspects. *Qad* is used before Perfect verbs to denote assertion and to assure the hearer of the truth of what is being said, as in *qad qāmatāṣ-salāh* i.e. "it is the time for prayer". In contrast, *qad* is used before Imperfect verbs to indicate that it is not likely that what is being said will occur, as in "*inna al-kaḍūba qad yaṣḍuqu*" "the liar could tell the truth". According to aṣ-Šuyūṭī (1861: V.1, 205-206), *qad* is used only with a following verb. *Qad* could indicate the near past function of Perfect verbs, too, and when it occurs before Imperfect verbs, *qad* has a lessening effect. There are two cases: (1) it indicates that the action specified in an utterance is not likely to occur, as in "*qad yaṣḍuqu al-kaḍūbu*" "the liar could tell the truth", and (2) it could reflect "enhancement" as in "*qad narā taqaluba wajhika fi s-samā*" "we may see your face looking (more and more) at the sky". Imperfect verbs can be preceded by *qad* to indicate expectation or hope as well, as in *qad yaqḍum al-ġa'ibu* "the absent (man) may still come", or *qad tumṭiru s-samā* "it may rain". Al-Zabīdī (1888: V.2, 463) lists six functions for *qad* in verbal sentences, from which we may conclude that *qad* is used to provide assurance with Perfect verbs and to indicate expectation for the future with Imperfect verbs.

In a few cases, *qad* may also occur in nominal sentences in Classical Arabic. al-Anṣārī (n.d.: V.2, 525) specifies that *qad* can function as a noun on its own, expressing the meaning "enough", as in *qad hu raġīfun* "one loaf of bread is enough for him". In this case, according to al-Anṣārī, *qad* does not function as a particle, but as a noun that has a specific lexical meaning.

4. The use of *gid* in Abha

Gid is used in different syntactic contexts in Abha dialect (Al-Azraqi 1998). It frequently occurs in verbal and nominal sentences with various functions as explained below.

Gid is a function word with no independent lexical meaning. It depends on other parts of speech to complete its function. It occurs before verbal sentences, as with the Classical Arabic *qad*. It

precedes Perfect verbs to indicate certainty. It may correspond in its function to the English present Perfect tense, which involves a meaning whereby the effect of the action specified by the verb has continued up to and including the present, as in:

- a. *gid zurnāhā fi l-mustašfā*
We have visited her in the hospital
- b. *gid rāh luhum 'Alī*
Ali has visited them
- c. *gid gultlah w-fahhamtah bass innah mā iā hi*

I have already told him and explained to him, but he did not listen.

Gid occurs before Imperfect verbs to indicate possibility, as in:

- a. *gid yijthum bukrah*
He might come to them tomorrow
- b. *gid yi jibk*
you (m.s) might like it.

While the Classical Arabic *qad* is limited in use in non-verbal sentences, as explained above, in Abha dialect, *gid* frequently occurs in non-verbal sentences with various functions. It precedes nouns, personal and demonstrative pronouns, prepositions, statements of circumstances, and is used as a question pre-predicate that has the sense of investigating whether or not something has happened. In nominal sentences, *gid* often conveys the sense of change. It could have the sense of 'become', as follows:

- a. *gidk rajjāl*
You (became) a (young) man
- b. *gid ālMhammad indinā*
The Mohammad family (are) with us (now)
- c. *gid dēh bi-yinkisi*
This is going to break (now)
- d. *gid tahtina jīrān*
We now have neighbours downstairs
- e. *gidkum hinah?*
Are you here already?

Gid is used in Najdi dialects. Ingham (1994: 104-106) states that, when *gid* precedes the perfective, it produces the meaning "has done something". He adds that this particle corresponds to what has been called the "experiential perfect". This particle is used in Šan ānī Arabic, as well. Watson (1993) provides further details of the use of *gad* in Šan ānī Arabic. She considers it as a modal particle (p.323). It

precedes pronouns (p. 39) and Perfect verbs (p. 64) as well as the bare Imperfect *kān* (pp.69, 87). *Qad* precedes the predicand to denote the sense that what is predicated of the predicand already applies (pp. 98-99).

5. The aim of the study

The diffusion of linguistic features across dialects was studied in detail by Trudgill (1986). More recently, the phenomenon has been reviewed by Auer and Hinskens (1996), who show how the effects of dialect contact lead to the reduction of dialect diversity in the form of 'dialect levelling', or in more extreme cases, koineization, (Trudgill 1986:107). The aim of the study reported herein is to determine how the usage of *gid* particle changes among speakers of different levels of education and age groups. Some syntactic uses of the particle *gid* that are current in the Abha dialect are discussed.

The social variables, age and level of education, are considered, taking into account the claim that difference in age among speakers facilitates the study of linguistic change in progress. Theoretically, the best way to determine how the usage of *gid* differs over time would be to collect data on a particular community and then return at a later date, say after 20 years, to collect further data, (see Trudgill 1984: 88-89). This technique is known as the study of linguistic change in real time. However, such a strategy is obviously impractical if we wish to know what has been happening and what the current situation is, rather than what is going to happen. An alternative, and more immediate, method is to investigate linguistic change by comparing the speech of older people in a community with that of younger people, and assume that any differences are the result of linguistic change. In line with this approach, in this study, informants aged from 15 to 75 were grouped into four groups as follows: 61 to 75, 46 to 60, 31 to 45, and 15 to 30. Fifteen years is the range for each group because this range captures the common features of the different age groups. The informants were also grouped according to their level of education: (i) educated (people who had finished at least high school); (ii) semi-educated (people who can read and write fluently, regardless of whether or not they had any formal education); and (iii) uneducated (people who cannot read or write, or can read but only poorly). In Saudi Arabia, differences in the level of education reflect many patterns of social behaviour, including the use of language. Hence,

level of education is an important indicator when studying dialects in Saudi Arabia. Semi-educated and uneducated people are likely to use a very local dialect that is unaffected by the Classical variety of Arabic, because people are exposed to Classical Arabic almost exclusively through education. Elderly people are more likely to be uneducated than younger people since education in Abha started formally when the first school opened in 1936 (Jrais 1995:52). People, when school started, were not aware of the importance of education beside children were involved with working with their families in farming and other fields for living. This delayed education which explains why there are still people in the age of 60 and above are not educated.

Data was collected through the use of a questionnaire which had seven parts covering the use of *gid* in verbal sentences, as a predicate, before pronouns, and before prepositions. In total, there were 54 written sentences. For each item, the participants had to choose the sentence they use regularly. The plan was to have at least 130 informants, however, 112 informants agreed to do the questionnaire. 98 questionnaires were satisfactorily completed. Questionnaires were returned by e-mail, post, and in person. The informants were selected randomly. 5 assistants helped in distributing the questionnaire in their schools, universities and neighborhood. The main point in this process is to give the questionnaire to local people only. The informants were 20 students in the university, high schools and secondary, 11 teachers, 19 government employees, 21 business people, 20 Housewives, and 7 retired people. Some of them were interviewed personally by the researchers or one of the assistants especially for those who cannot read. The same questionnaire was used during the interview. Care was taken to ensure that the number of participants was approximately similar for level of education and age. Table (1) shows the total number of the informants, indicating their ages and level of education.

| Education Level | | | Age | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Educated | Semi-educated | Uneducated | 15-30 | 31-45 | 46-60 | 61-75 |
| | | | 36 | 33 | 29 | 21 |

Table (1) Total number of informants

6. Results and discussion

The establishment of new towns in the twentieth century in many parts of the world is the test bed of *koineization* (Kerswill & Williams 2005:1023). We can see that in Abha dialect, there is a process of *koineization*. For example, some features of the dialect are becoming simplified or have disappeared; these include coordinators, subordinators, response particles, negative particles, and articles which, indeed, need to be investigated in future studies. The use of *gid*, as a particle, has become simplified and it seems to be being used less and less. The third generation of speakers of the dialect limits their use of *gid*. This might exhibit a part of the process of *koineization* in Abha dialect.

6.1. Using *gid* in verbal sentences

Gid precedes Perfect and Imperfect verbs in verbal sentences. It is usually used before Perfect verbs to indicate that the result of the action of the verb is still operative. It functions like the English present perfect, as in:

a. *gid rāhat min 'isbū 'ēn*

She has been gone for (more than) two weeks.

Gid occurs before Perfect verbs to show certainty and express completion, as in:

a. *gid rasab marratēn*

He has failed twice

b. *gid 'iriftah min 'awwal*

I have known him for some time

The results show that the use of *gid* before Perfect verbs does not vary a great deal in terms of age and level of education. The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used in this manner among uneducated informants was 96%. Among the semi-educated informants it was 93%, and among the educated informants it was 82%, See Figure (1) below.

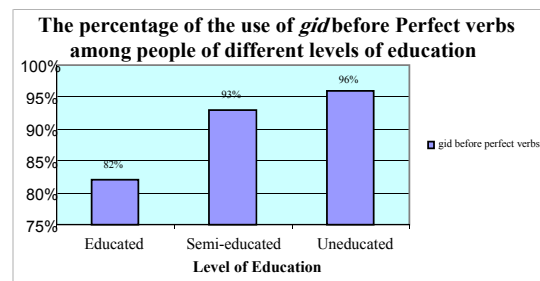


Figure (1). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before Perfect among people of different levels of education.

In terms of age, the average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before Perfect verbs among informants aged between 61 and 75 was 85%, in contrast to 72% among informants aged between 15 and 30, See Figure (2).

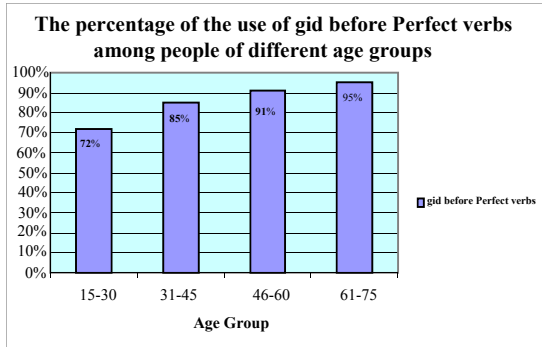


Figure (2). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before Perfect verbs among people of different age groups.

The results show substantially more inter-generational variation in the use of *gid* before imperfect verbs. In the Abha dialect, *gid* occurs before imperfect verbs to indicate expectation. In this context, *gid* could be considered as meaning "might be" similarly to that which Watson (1993) reports for Ṣan ānī Arabic. Interestingly, some older uneducated 'Asīri informants use it more often than Qaḥṭānī uneducated Arabs. It seems that this usage is a feature of some 'Asīr dialects. However, younger educated informants of both 'Asīri and Qaḥṭānī origins use it very rarely, (see Figures (3) and (4)). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* is used in this way among young and educated speakers is only 20% and 16%, respectively.

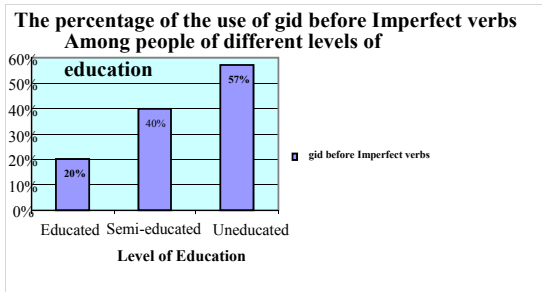


Figure (3). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* is used before Imperfect verbs among people of different levels of education.

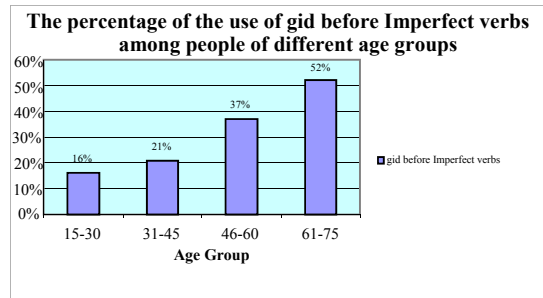


Figure (4). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* is used before Imperfect verbs among people of different age groups.

The following are examples of the usage of *gid* by older 'Asīri informants..

- a. *gid yuṣḍug*
He might tell the truth or he might do what he promised to do.
- b. *gid yikūn yi rif*
He might know.
- c. *gid yijūz*
It might be accepted.

6.2. Using *gid* in nominal sentences

Classical Arabic *qad* does not occur in nominal sentences except in specific contexts, as explained above. *gid* in Abha is found to be used by informants before a predicate structure to emphasize the information that is conveyed by the predication. The usage mainly concerns predication that conveys change or result, and assures the hearer that the change or result happened or will happen soon, as in:

- a. *gid 'aḥūhā bi-yitharraj min l-jām 'ah*
Her brother will graduate from university (soon).
- b. *Jithum gid in-nās 'induhum*
I came and the people were already there.

The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before a predicative structure was 97% among uneducated informants and 86% among educated informants as shown in Figure (5). It seems that educated young speakers may be affected by their exposure to Classical Arabic, in which *gid* is not used in this contexts.

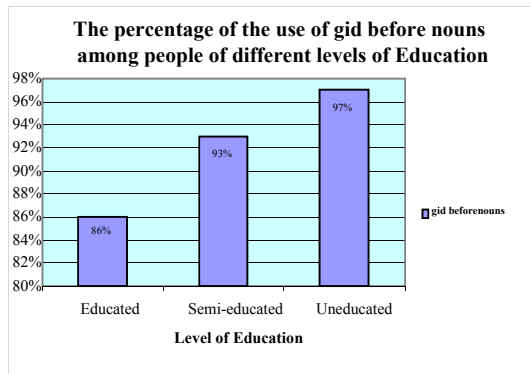


Figure (5). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before nouns among people of different levels of education.

Usage varies significantly by age. The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before a noun was 97% among older people, compared to 74% among younger informants, as shown in Figure (6) below.

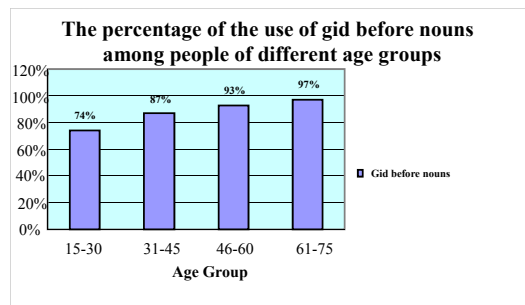


Figure (6). The average percentage of responses where *gid* was used before nouns among people of different age groups.

Qad in Classical Arabic does not usually precede pronouns, and bound pronouns do not attach to it, except in one particular context in ancient times: *Qad* preceded nouns or pronouns only when it carried the meaning of "it is enough for him" as in *qadhu raġifun* "one loaf of bread is enough for him". al-Anṣarī (ibid) mentions that *qad* is used in this context as a noun with the meaning of 'enough'.

In the syntactic contexts studied here, *gid* has the function of particles with the meaning of assertion; it precedes nouns, demonstratives, and free subject pronouns. Bound object pronouns attach to it as well.

The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before free subject pronouns and bound object pronouns was 97% among uneducated informants and 91% among educated informants, as shown in Figure (7).

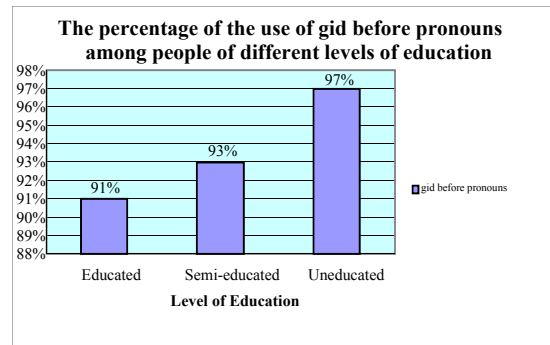


Figure (7). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before pronouns among people of different levels of education.

The dissimilarity in the rate of using *gid* among the informants of different ages is not very large. The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used was 98% among people aged between 61 and 75, and 84% among people aged between 15 and 30, as shown in Figure (8).

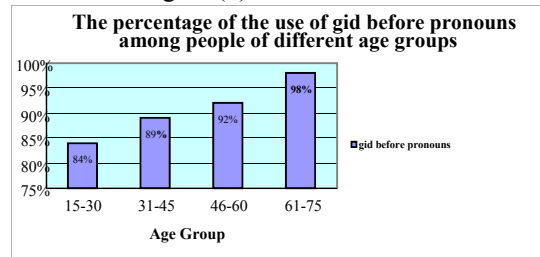


Figure (8). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before pronouns among people of different age groups.

gid was used by the informants before prepositions. This usage is not attested in Classical Arabic. It can be glossed as 'now', as in:

- a. *gid fōg nās*
Now there are people up there.
- b. *gid 'alēha 'arba 'ah*
Now she has four (children).

This usage is common mainly among older uneducated and semi-educated speakers, rather than younger educated speakers, as shown in Figures (9) and (10).

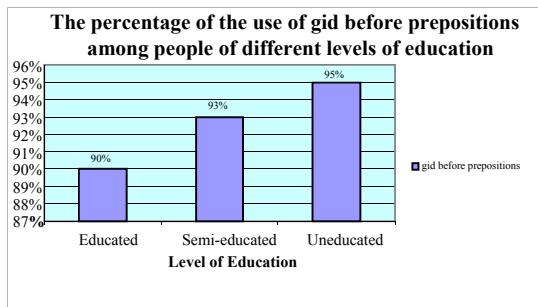


Figure (9). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before prepositions among people of different levels of education.

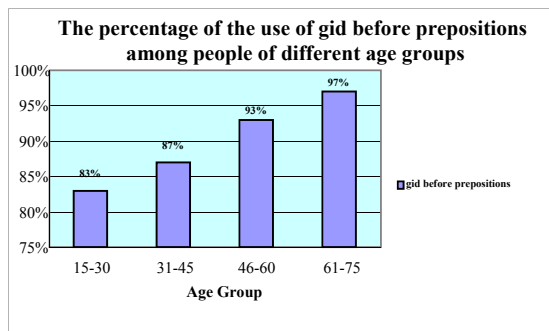


Figure (10). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used before prepositions among people of different age groups.

The informants also used *gid* in yes/no questions to ask about something that is/was expected. Below are some examples.

- a. *gid nagalō fi bēthum il-jidīd?*
Have they moved to their new house?
- b. *gid ḥallaṣō?*
Have they finished? Or, Are you serious they have finished?
- c. *gid bintahā ḥāmil?*
Has her daughter [become] pregnant?
- d. *gid ʾursuhum girīb?*
Is their wedding soon?

7. Conclusion

The study reported herein focused on the Abha dialect, which arose as a result of the coming together of people who spoke different dialects to form a single community. People have been migrating to Abha from the surrounding villages since the mid-nineteenth century. In the third generation, the use of the Abha dialect is well-established and it is difficult to determine a speaker's tribal origin. Features of some of the original dialects have

become part of the new dialect, such as the use of the particle *gid*. *gid* conveys the meaning of assuring the hearer that what is being said will occur or has occurred already. It has various syntactic functions where it occurs in verbal and nominal sentences as explained above.

However, this study shows that the usage of *gid* is in the process of change. Some functions and uses of *gid* are becoming less common. Before Imperfect verbs, *gid* is used the least frequently among younger educated speakers whereas before Perfect verbs, its use varies a little in terms of age and level of education. In nominal sentences, *gid* is common although it is not the case in Classical Arabic but still varies among both older uneducated speakers and younger educated speakers.

Figures (11) and (12) show the gradual disappearance of the use of *gid* in the different syntactic situations covered in the study among younger educated speakers. The degree of change varies from case to case, as shown in Figures (1) to (10).

Intercommunication, education and age are essential sociolinguistic factors that affect the change. As mentioned above, the younger people in Abha are more educated than older people and being educated means having access to Classical Arabic where some syntactic functions of *gid* do not occur.

When we say *gid* has disappeared in some contexts, we might look at the alternatives. Sentences such as *gid zurnāhā fi l-mustaṣfā* i.e. "lit. we have visited her in the hospital" and *gid rāh luhum 'Alī* i.e. "Ali has visited them", in which *gid* is used before Perfect verbs, can be constructed without *gid*, as stated by some informants. Words such as *yimkin* in the sentence *yimkin yijūzi* i.e. "it might be accepted" and *ḥalāṣ* in the sentence *ḥalāṣ rāhat min 'isbū 'en* i.e. "she has gone for (more than) two weeks" are used instead of *gid*. *Wa*, a simple short word that means "and" is used in the place of *gid* in such sentences as *jūthum w in-nās 'induhum* i.e. "I came and the people were already there" instead of *jūthum gid in-nās 'induhum*, in which *gid* occurs in nominal sentence. Interestingly, we found that in yes/no questions in which *gid* is used to ask about something that is/was expected, some people simply use a rising tone instead of using *gid*. These changes need to be investigated further, to determine the use of *gid* and its alternatives in the Abha dialect and other modern dialects in the Arabian Peninsula in which *gid* is used.

Communication over three generations among speakers of different levels of education and age in Abha is causing a reduction in the use of *gid* in different syntactic cases. This change entails that the dialect is undergoing a process of simplification, which might cause *gid* and, probably, other particles to lose some of their syntactic functions.

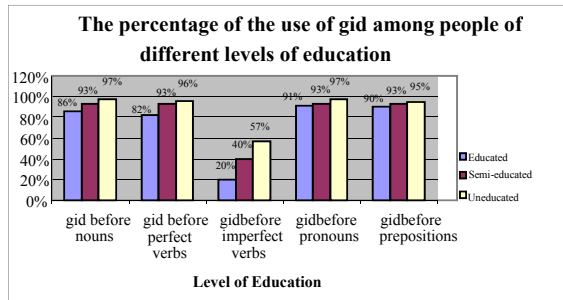


Figure (11). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used among people of different levels of education.

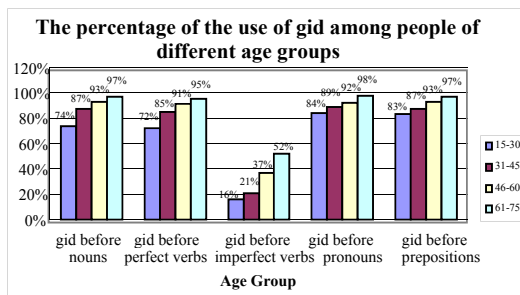


Figure (12). The average percentage of responses in which *gid* was used among people of different age groups.

8. Acknowledgments

The author is indebted to Professor Janet C.E. Watson (University of Leeds – UK) for reading the manuscript and her insightful comments, many of which have been incorporated, and Associate Professor Tariq Ali Bin-Mihsinah (King Khalid University – Abha) for reading the manuscript and his comments as a native speaker of Abha dialect. I would like to pass on my gratitude to my brother Hussein and his family who helped in distributing and collecting the questionnaires. And, finally, my regards to the people who understood the importance of this study and participated as informants.

9. References

9.1. Arabic References

Al-Anṣarī, Ibnu Hišām (died 761AH).

Muġnī al-labīb ‘an kutubi l-‘a ‘arīb. Ed. ‘Abdul laṭīf al-ḥaṭīb. Kuwait: Al-silsilah al-turāōiyah, 2000.

Al-hāmid, Abdul-rahmān. al-‘adāt w-taqālīd w-al-‘arāf fī iqlīm ‘Asīr. Abha: Nadī Abha Al-adabī, 2005.

Al-Zabīdī, Mohammad Murtaḍā (died 1204 AH). Tāj al-‘arūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs. Egypt, 1888.

Az-Zamaḥṣarī, Jār Allah Abū al-qāsim (died 535 AH) al-Mufaṣṣal fī ṣan‘at al-i-rāb, ed. by Emeely Yaqub. Beirut: Dār Al-kutub al-‘ilmīyah, 1999.

Aṣ-Ṣuyūfī, Jalāl ad-Dīn. (died 910 AH), Al-‘itqān fī ‘ulūmil-Qur‘ān. Egypt, 186.

An-Ni‘mī, Haṣīm. tārīḥ ‘Asīr fī al-mādī w al-hādir. Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1999.

Al-Hamadānī, Al-hasan. Ṣifatu jazīratu al-‘Arab. ed. Mohammad Al –Akwa . San‘a: Maktabat Al-irṣād, 1983.

Jrais, Ghithan. Abha: The modernized center of Assir, a documentary study. Riyadh: Al-farazdaq, 1997

Jrais, Ghithan. The history of Education in Assir. Abha: Dār Al-bilārd, 1995.

ḥamzah, Fouad. fī bilādī ‘Asīr. Riyadh: Maktabat Al-naṣīr, 1968.

ṣākīr, Mahmūd. ṣibhu jazīratu al-‘Arab (1) ‘Asīr. Beirut & Damascus: Al-maktab Al-islāmī, 1981.

9.2. English References

Al-Azraqī, Munira. Aspects of the syntax of the dialect of Abha (South-West Saudi Arabia), unpublished thesis, University of Durham, 1998.

Auer, Peter & Hinskens, Frans. “The convergence and divergence of dialects in Europe. New and not so new developments in an old area”. Sociolinguistica, 10, (2010), 1-30.

Britain David. & Trudgill, Petter. “Migration, new-dialect formation and sociolinguistic refunctionalisation: reallocation as an outcome of dialect contact”. Transactions of the Philological Society, (1999), 245-256.

Chambers, Jack & Trudgill, Petter. Dialectology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Freeman, Andrew. “Why there is no Koine in San‘ā”. Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics XVI, Papers from the Sixteenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics, ed. Samī Boudelaa. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, (2006), 63-82.

Ingham, Bruce. Najdi Arabic: Central Arabia. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1994.

- Kanakri, Mahmoud.** Style and style-shifting in Educated Spoken Arabic of Jordan. PhD Dissertation. University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1988.
- Kerswill, Paul.** "Koineization and accommodation". in J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The handbook of language variation and change*. Oxford, (2002), 669-702.
- Kerswill, Paul & Williams, Ann.** "New towns and koineization: linguistic and social correlates". *Linguistic*, 43 (5), (2005), 1023-1048.
- Kerswill, Paul.** "Migration and language". In Klaus Mattheier, Ulrich Ammon & Peter Trudgill (eds.) *Sociolinguistics/ Soziolinguistik: An international handbook of the science of language and society*. Vol 3 (2006).
- Labov, William.** *Principles of Linguistic change: internal factors*. Oxford & Cambridge: Blackwell, 1994.
- Milroy, Lesley.** *Language and social network*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1980
- Siegel, Jeff.** "Koinés and koineization". *Language in Society*, 14, (1985), 357-378.
- Trudgill, Peter.** *On dialects*, New York University Press, 1984.
- Trudgill, Peter.** *Dialect in contact*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986.
- Watson, Janet C.E.** *A Syntax of Šan ānī Arabic*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993.