Jordan Journal of Modern Languages and Literatures Vol.15, No. 1, 2023, pp 135-145

JJMLL

Is Religion a Social Factor in the Variation of (ðˤ)? The Case of Khirbit Al-Wahadneh, Jordan

Ibrahim Darwish *
Department of Translation, Yarmouk University, Jordan

Noora Abu Ain
Department of English, Jadara University, Jordan

Sada Bader
Department of English, JUST University, Jordan

Received on: 27-7-2021 **Accepted on: 9-9-2021**

Abstract

This is a sociolinguistic study investigating the variation of the phonological variable (ðˤ) in Al-Wahadneh town in Jordan where Christians and Muslims live together peacefully and harmoniously. The phonological variable (ðˤ) has two variants: a traditional [ðˤ] and an innovative [dˤ]. The main objective of this study is to examine if religion is a statistically significant social factor in relation to the variable in question. The data is elicited from recorded sociolinguistic interviews and analysed via Rbrul. The results show that religion has no statistically significant influence on the pronunciation of the linguistic variable under investigation. The pattern of linguistic change with regard to (ðˤ) seems to be a typical change in progress away from the traditional variant [ðˤ] in favour of the innovative variant [dˤ]. This change is clearly led by the young female generation. The findings regarding the nonsignificant role of religion on variant choice in Al-Wahadneh can be interpreted in relation to how Christians and Muslims live in the town and how they both view themselves as Jordanian Arabs regardless of their religious affiliation.

Keywords: Religion, Variationist Sociolinguistics, Age, Gender.

Introduction

As most linguists agree that homogeneity in speech communities is a fallacy, no speech community exists without 'inherent variation', i.e., the linguistic variations speakers exhibit in their everyday spontaneous natural speech. Intriguingly, such differences can even be noticed in the speech of the same speaker when speaking to different people in diverse settings (Labov 1969). Interestingly, "linguistic change is not to be identified with random drift proceeding from inherent variation in speech" (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968, 187) because language variation is often set apart by 'orderly or structured heterogeneity'". In addition, synchronic variation is often a reflection of diachronic change. As language consists of sounds, words, phrases or sentences, these variations or 'alternations' can be

* Doi: https://doi.org/ 10.47012/jjmll.15.1.7
* Corresponding Author: **darwish1470@yu.edu.jo**

phonological, morphological or syntactic. In variationist sociolinguistics, they are referred to as 'linguistic variables' and are often triggered by linguistic or social factors, such as age, gender, class, education, power, solidarity, etc. (Tagliamonte 2016). Labov (1972) distinguishes between variables, indicators and markers. Gauged by its perceived saliency, a linguistic variable can change status to an 'indicator' when its saliency increases or to a 'marker' when its saliency is so high that all speakers are aware of it. The saliency of a linguistic variable and the speakers' awareness of it are often associated with factors, such as "stigmatization, linguistic change, phonetic distance, and phonological contrasts" (Trudgill 1986, 11). In extreme cases, a stereotypical pronunciation of a highly salient marker might be tragic; "often such stereotypes are stigmatized everywhere, and in at least one reported case (see Judges 12: 4–6 in the Old Testament) a stereotypical pronunciation of 'shibboleth' had fatal consequences" (Wardhaugh and Fullerp 2015, 152). The historical story behind the word 'shibboleth' goes back to an ancient battle between two Semitic tribes near The Jordan River. The winning tribe installed a blockade to catch the fleeing enemies trying to cross the River to safety. To differentiate fleeing enemies from friends, a phonological marker /ʃ/ was used as it existed only in the dialect of the winning tribe. Those who wanted to cross the river were asked to say 'shibboleth' which means 'ear of grain' in Hebrew. Failure to pronounce the word with the initial /ʃ/ meant that the speakers were enemies; therefore, they were slaughtered. Similarly, during the nineteen seventies, religion was an important 'societal divide' in Belfast where Catholics and Protestants sent their children to separate schools. At the time, religion decided how one names the letters of the alphabet; therefore, "thugs would stop people at roadblocks and ask people to spell out words in order to identify their affiliation" (Tagliamonte 2016, 18). Incidentally, religion is rarely included as a social factor in variationist sociolinguistic studies.

Although the tempting idea of associating religions with certain languages can be easily debunked as "there is no one-to-one correspondence…, it is nonetheless the case that each religious variety has, as Fishman's first principle proclaims, a variety or cluster of varieties associated with it" (Spolsky 2006, 4). No one can deny the fact that the diffusion of religions has often accompanied the diffusion of specific languages or linguistic varieties (Spolsky 2006). To illustrate, "the Islamic spread of Arabic is the most obvious case, followed by the Christian missionaries who brought literacy and European languages to much of the world" (Spolsky 2006, 7). However, in some areas religion competes with other social factors, such as ethnicity, patriotism and heritage. In Jordan for example, Christians and Muslims "identify themselves as Jordanian Arabs and speak Arabic in its both forms: the Standard and the Colloquial. Although Standard Arabic is the language of the Holy Quran, Christian Arabs value it very highly as it is also attached to Arab Nationalism" (Darwish and Bader 2014, 77). Following a variationist sociolinguistic approach in data collection and analysis, this study focuses on religion as an extralinguistic factor in the variation and change in the dialect of Al-Wahadneh, a small town in Jordan where both Christians and Muslims live.

Locale

Al-Wahadneh (also known as Khirbit Al-Wahadneh) is a village/town in the Governorate of Ajloun in the North of Jordan. It is located on a beautiful hill overlooking The Jordan River. It was previously known as *ʕnēbbeh*, a diminutive of *ʕinab* 'grapes', which has various cultural and religious connotations of joy, Jesus Christ and paradise. The name of the town changed to *Al-Khirbih* 'ruins' and later to *Khirbit Al-Wahadneh* 'the ruin of Al-Wahadneh' (Al-Gharaibeh 1998). There are various explanations for the origin of these names but this issue is beyond the scope of this study. In 1994, the Royal Hashemite Court decided that the village/town be known as *Al-Wahadneh* due to the negative connotations the term *Khirbih* 'ruins' carries (Al-Gharaibeh 1998). According to the Jordanian Department of Statistics (2020), the population of Al-Wahadneh is 7,573 (3,758 females and 3,815 males). The majority of the population are Sunni Muslim and approximately seventeen per cent of the population are Christian. Muslims and Christians have co-existed in Al-Wahadneh since the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (Al-Jaloudi and Al-Bakhit 1992). The relationship between Muslims and Christians in Al-Wahadneh has always been friendly, and they both respect each other's rights to practice their religions freely (Oliphant 1880). In fact, they share numerous uniting factors as they both identify themselves as Arabs and Jordanians and share Middle Eastern customs and traditions.

Aims of the study

This study explores the speech of Christian and Muslim Jordanian Arabs living in Al-Wahadneh, North Jordan. Specifically, it tries to answer the following research questions: 1) "Is there a linguistic 'ethnoreligious identity' for Christian Jordanian Arabs?," 2) "Does religion play a crucial role as an extralinguistic factor in the speech of Christian Jordanians in relation to the phonological variables (ðˁ) in Al-Wahadneh?" and 3) "Does religion compete with other social factors in the speech of Christian Jordanians in Al-Wahadneh?."

Language and religion in Jordan

Al-Wer (1991) examines the sociolinguistic variation in the speech of 116 female speakers in three Jordanian cities: Ajloun, Al-Salt and Al-Karak. Although her main focus was to investigate the variables (Q), (ðˁ), (θ) and (dʒ) in relation to age and education, her sample consisted of almost equal numbers of Christian and Muslim female speakers. The results show statistically significant impact of age and education on the pronunciation of the four phonological variables in question. Specifically, Al-Wer (1991) found that "the younger and more educated a speaker [was] the more she [varied] between the local and non-local features" (197). However, Al-Wer (1991) noticed that religion had no impact on any of the pronunciation of the four variables (cf. Al-Wer, Horesh, Herin and Fanis 2015).

Al-Wer et al. (2015) rightly note that the large majority of available research on the sociolinguistic variation of Arabic in relation to religion is descriptive in nature as it tackles the issue at the macro-sociolinguistic level (for the dialects in Baghdad, see Blanc 1964, Abu Haidar 1991, Palva, 2009, and for the dialects in Bahrain, see Holes 1987). Al-Wer et al. (2015) make use of data collected over a period of 25 years in the city of Al-Salt in Jordan. They inspect a number of phonological and morphological

traditional variables (dark (L), (i) vs. (u), CaCīC/CCīC, and yiCCaCi(C)) correlated with religion as the principal sociolinguistic factor. Their results show that Christian speakers in Al-Salt, unlike their Muslim counterparts, tend to prefer the traditional linguistic features of the dialect over the innovative ones. They conclude that the "pattern of linguistic divergence observable among these two communities in Jordan not only highlights religion as an important constraint on linguistic variation, but in the case at hand we can actually observe the evolution of 'sectarian' linguistic stratification" (84).

Okour (2016) is one of the few variationist sociolinguistic studies that recognise religion as an extra-linguistic factor. It investigates the variation in the pronunciation of the variable (K) in two adjacent towns in the North of Jordan: Al-Husun and Al-Sarih. It draws on tape-recorded data of the speech of 30 participants: 10 Muslims and 5 Christians from Al-Sarih and 11 Muslims and 4 Christians from Al-Husun. Rbrul analysis showed that religion was the third most significant factor after age and gender. Contrary to the findings of Al-Wer et al. (2015), the results of this study showed that Muslims prefer the traditional pronunciation [tʃ] over the innovative [k]. Okour (2016) interprets the findings in relation to the different ways of life Christians and Muslims are leading in both towns. More specifically, he argues that the "Christian group live a more modern life than their Muslim neighbours. They imitate the western and foreign way of life more than the Muslims. The Christians' command of English is better than that of their Muslim neighbours" (46). In other words, the Christian males and females have more contact with outside speech communities and consequently they tend to use the innovative [k] more than their Muslim counterparts.

Darwish and Bader (2014) is a descriptive study that focuses on the impact of religion on a number of daily speech acts (greetings, farewells, oaths, condolences and naming) among Muslim and Christian speakers in Jordan. They argue that "although all Jordanians speak Arabic and identify themselves as Jordanians (with the exception of few ethnic groups) regardless of their faiths, there are some linguistic clues that can help them identify the religious affiliations of their interlocutors" (76). The data is based on personal observations, interviews and the Jordanian media. The findings show that "Jordanians rely on both linguistic and non-linguistic cues in order to identify the religious affiliations of others" (76). Darwish and Bader (2014) admit that their results are speculative and qualitative in nature; therefore, they recommend that further quantitative research be conducted on the same topic in order to have a more objective picture of the impact of religion on language in Jordan.

Atwa (2018) explores the so-called religiolinguistics (see Hary and Wein 2013) in Jordanian Arabic. He focuses on how Jordanian agnostics and atheists use Arabic in their daily conversations. He investigates the influence, if any, of not having a religion on the use of formulaic religious expressions that often appear in the natural spontaneous speech of Jordanians. Through interviews, Atwa (2018) collected the religious expressions, if any, used by Jordanian female and male agnostics and atheists. The findings of his study show that Jordanian agnostics and atheists "continue to use religious expressions, regardless of the length of their non-religious affiliation. In addition, women used religious expressions somewhat more than men. These results suggest that, regardless of one's non-theism, religious expressions seem to be indispensable to Jordanian Arabic speakers" (iii). Atwa argues that most of the

religious expressions in Jordanian Arabic are used beyond their literal meaning to serve as markers of speakers' politeness, trustworthiness, sincerity and morality whether they are religious or not.

Salih and Bader (1999) investigate the naming practices used by Christian parents in naming their children in Jordan. The data was collected by four instruments: newspaper obituaries, phone directories, social networks and Yarmouk University yearbook. A total of 2550 personal names was collected and then analysed focusing on how religion impacts naming in Jordan. The results show seven categories of personal names: "Arabic or Arabicized names used by Christians only; foreign names used by Christians only; foreign names shared by other Jordanian citizens; doublets, triplets and quadruplets; names of prophets, angels, messengers, and Islamic figures; and Arabic names used by other citizens" (42). Furthermore, Salih and Bader (1999) argue that Christians in Jordan mostly use names of Arabic origin to show their attachment to their Arab identity. Concurrently, Jordanian Christians sometimes use personal names of purely Christian origin to "demonstrate their loyalty to their faith and their membership in their respective churches" (42). Put differently, the personal names used by Christians in Jordan show that they tend to balance between their Arab identity and their attachment to their religion.

Methods and procedures

Following the variationist approach, this study draws on empirical data collected via recorded sociolinguistic interviews conducted in Al-Wahadneh town. It explores the pronunciation of (ðˤ) as a phonological variable in the speech of Christians and Muslims in this so-called religiously mixed town. The sample consists of 27 Christian (n=10) and Muslim (n=17) participants who have been born and raised in it. Furthermore, the sample (14 females and 13 males) was chosen through the 'judgment' sampling procedure which made use of the social networks of one the researchers who has been born and raised in Al-Wahadneh. The initial planned scenario was to collect data via face-to-face interviews, but due to the restrictions imposed by the government over the COVID-19 pandemic, data was collected through telephone interviews. Each telephone interview lasted between 30-65 minutes and was only recorded after obtaining the interviewees' consent. At the beginning of each telephone interview, each participant was reminded that the interview was being recorded and was kindly asked to express his/her consent verbally. The interviews were neither formal nor strictly structured, but they revolved around five general questions: 1. How was life before the pandemic in the town?, 2. How is life during the pandemic in the town?, 3. How do you rate online learning during the pandemic?, 4. What do you plan to do when the pandemic is over?, and 5. Do you think life will ever be the same again?

In Modern Standard Arabic, there are four primary emphatic (or velarised) consonants: /ðˤ/, /dˤ/, /sˤ/ and /tˤ/. However, in most of the dialects in Jordanian villages/towns including Al-Wahadneh, there are only three primary emphatic consonants (/ðˤ/, /sˤ/ and /tˤ/) because /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/often merge into /ðˤ/. In other words, in the traditional dialect of Al-Wahadneh there is no /dˤ/ as a result of the afore-mentioned phonological merger. However, the researchers have detected a recent variation in the speech of the indigenous speakers in Al-Wahadneh, namely the alternation between /dˤ/ and /ðˤ/. To clarify, although /dˤ/ has long been merged to /ðˤ/ in the traditional dialect of Al-Wahadneh, it seems that it is coming back

as an innovative phonological feature and is competing with the traditional pronunciation: *marad^{ˤ} ~ maraðˤ* 'sickness', *bidˤaḥḥik ~ biðˤaḥḥik* 'funny', *ḥidˤir ~ ḥiðˤir* 'attended', *wadˤʕi ~ waðˤʕi* 'my situation', *dˤarūri ~ ðˤarūri* 'necessary', *fudˤūl ~ fuðˤūl* 'curiosity' and *mumarridˤah ~ mumarriðˤah* 'female nurse'. We can hypothesise that the afore-mentioned merger has been turned into a phonological split, or we can suppose that the incoming variant is adopted from the Standard or the supra-local variety due to prestige. According to the argument presented in Al-Wer et al. (2015), it is expected that Christian speakers in the town would be more conservative than Muslims when it comes to adopting the new pronunciation. Therefore, this study sets out to verify the previous argument by empirically studying the linguistic variation in question. Henceforth, the sociolinguistic variable in this study is typed between round brackets as (ðˤ) and its two variants between square brackets as the traditional [ðˤ] and the innovative [dˤ]. When there is a need to refer to the variants as phonemes, they are written between slant lines as /ðˤ/ and /dˤ/. Thus, we can say that the traditional variable (ðˤ) in Al-Wahadneh dialect has two variants: [ðˤ] (pronounced as a voiced velarised interdental fricative) and [dˤ] (pronounced as a voiced velarised dento-alveolar plosive).

As for the coding procedure, the tokens extracted from the recorded sociolinguistic interviews are coded for the following social factors: age (young, middle and old), gender (female and male) and religion (Christian and Muslim). The variable context includes words having [dˤ] and excludes words having [ðˤ] because in the former we have alternation/variation and in the latter we do not as the sound is only realized as [ðˤ]. The tokens (n=741) are compiled in an excel sheet and coded carefully to meet the typing and formatting requirements of Rbrul, the software used to quantitatively analyse the sociolinguistic data in this study.

Results and discussion

As the use of the traditional variant [ðˤ] is the focus of this study, we ran Rbrul with [ðˤ] as the application value. Rbrul runs both step-up and step-down analyses; the results displayed in Table 1 are those extracted from the step-down analysis with the following order of significance: Age.group (3.49e-17) + Gender (3.7e-16). In other words, Rbrul returned religion as a statistically nonsignificant factor according to the results in Table 1.

Table 1: (ðˤ) age, gender and religion, Rbrul results

				R^2 0.539
Age group	**logodds**	**tokens**	**mean**	**centred factor weight**
old	1.568	351	0.974	0.828
middle	0.234	251	0.829	0.558
young	-1.803	139	0.755	0.142
(p<3.49e-17**)**				
Gender	**logodds**	**tokens**	**mean**	**centred factor weight**
Male	1.544	322	0.975	0.824
Female	-1.544	419	0.814	0.176
(p<3.7e-16**)**				

With reference to age as the a social factor correlated with the use of the traditional variant [ðˤ], the results in Table 1 show old and middle-aged speakers favour [ðˤ] more than young speakers in Al-Wahedneh. Statistically, the centred factor weights for the old (0.828) and middle-aged (0.558) groups are more than 0.5 and the logodds values for the old (1.568) and middle (0.234) age groups are both positive values. To clarify, a centred factor weight more than 0.5 and a positive logodds value mean that the application of the rule is favoured, i.e., statistically significant (see Johnson 2009, 361; Abu Ain 2016). As mentioned above, the application of the rule in this study refers to the use of the traditional variant [ðˤ]. These values can be used to argue that there is an ongoing change in progress towards the innovative variant [dˤ] and that this alleged change is being led by the younger generation of speakers in Al-Wahadneh. Interestingly, the pattern of linguistic change led by the younger generation has been attested by various linguists in Jordan (see Al-Sughayer 1990, Al-Wer et al. 2015, Abu Ain 2016).

As for gender as a social factor, the results in Table 1 show that it is the second significant social factor in the model generated by Rbrul. The results in Table 1 also show that males favour [ðˤ] more than female speakers in Al-Wahadneh. Statistically, the centred factor weight (0.824) for the male speakers is more than 0.5 and loggodds value (1.544) for the male is a positive value. In other words, the difference in the use of the traditional variant [ðˤ] between male and female speakers in Al-Wahadneh is statistically significant in favour of the male speakers. It seems that female speakers in Al-Wahadneh are leading a change towards the innovative variant [dˤ] and away from the local and traditional [ðˤ]. This pattern of linguistic change led by the female speakers has been confirmed in numerous studies in diverse speech communities worldwide (see Labov 1990, 1994; Abu Haidar 1989; Abdel-Jawad and Awwad 1989; Abu Ain 2016, amongst others).

Rbrul can generate calculations to show the interaction between age and gender. The cross tabulation of 'age' and 'gender' in relation to the use of the variable under investigation is displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Cross tabulation of 'age' and 'gender' with respect to the traditional [ðˤ]

	Age				
Gender	**Young**	**Middle**	**Old**	**Total**	**Tokens**
Female	0.381	0.812	0.939	0.814	419
Male	0.918	1.000	1.000	0.975	322
Total	0.755	0.829	0.974	0.884	741

As expected, the figures in Table 2 show that young female speakers are leading the change in progress towards the innovative variant [dˤ] as they use the traditional variant [ðˤ] the least (0.381). Among both the young female and male groups, the young female group shows significant tendency to change their pronunciation away from the traditional phonological feature [ðˤ] in favour of the innovative prestigious phonological feature [dˤ]. This linguistic behaviour is repeated in relation to both the middle-aged and old groups, i.e., the middle-aged (0.812) and old (0.939) female groups use the old-fashioned pronunciation less than the middle-aged (1.000) and old (1.000) male groups. This pattern of linguistic change is not surprising as it has been attested by a number of sociolinguists all over the world (see Abu Ain 2016; Alessa 2008; Thomas 1989; Hadjadj 1981). The variation between the old and innovative phonological variants can be explained in terms of prestige, stigma and/or dialect levelling. A simplistic

interpretation of the direction of the 'possible change in progress' can be based on the assumption that the innovative variant [dˤ] has more prestige than the stigmatised traditional variant [ðˤ] because the latter is local and the former is supra-local. A more sophisticated interpretation is to assume that the 'possible change in progress' is a consequence of dialect contact with other dialects, i.e., it is an example of 'dialect levelling'. The concept of 'dialect levelling' or 'supra-localisation' refers to "the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wide socio-spatial currency become more widespread at the expense of more localised forms" (Britain 2010, 194). We can argue that due to the speakers' mobility and coming into contact with other urban dialects, the dialect spoken in Al-Wahadneh is being levelled out.

Linking the results presented in Table 1 and Table 2 to the questions of the study listed previously, one can safely argue that Christian Jordanian Arabs do not clearly demonstrate an 'ethnoreligious identity' as 'religion' was proven to be a statistically nonsignificant social factor in the model generated by Rbrul (see Table 1) in relation to the phonological variable in question. Considering that the number of tokens extracted from the recorded sociolinguistic interviews was 741, one can rightly aver that 'religion' in Al-Wahadneh does not compete with other extralinguistic social values, such as gender and age. This can be interpreted in relation to how Christians and Muslims live together in Al-Wahadneh. Although there are no intermarriages between Christians and Muslims in this town, neither group live segregated. On the contrary, they are neighbours, friends and co-workers and they participate in the social events held by each religious group, i.e., they live in a non-segregated community where each group respects the other. More importantly, "both Muslims and Christians in Jordan view and identify themselves as Jordanian Arabs and speak Arabic in its both forms: the Standard and the Colloquial" (Darwish and Bader 2014, 77). To illustrate, Christians in Jordan and in other neighbouring Arab countries have long devoted themselves to serve the maintenance of Standard Arabic, the Arab Renaissance and the Arab Nationalist Movement (Bin Talal, 1995). The results in this study are not in line with the claims presented by Al-Wer et al. (2015) as no 'sectarian' phonological stratification is found in Al-Wahadneh. Unlike Al-Wer et al. (2015), the Christian speakers in this study do not show any conservative linguistic pattern of change, and unlike Spolsky et al. (2000) they do not show any innovative linguistic pattern of change. This study presents 'religion' as a statistically nonsignificant social factor. The findings cannot be generalised to other regions in Jordan, but they can be an indicator that more sociolinguistic research is needed on the relationship between language and religion in Jordan as well in other Arab countries such as Lebanon where Christians form a sizable proportion of the population.

Conclusion

Variationist sociolinguistic research often attends to the relationship between linguistic change and social factors, such as age, gender, class, education and ethnicity. The religious affiliation of the speakers is often neglected or descriptively highlighted without empirical evidence extracted from a representative sample of speakers. This is one of the very few variationist studies that code for religion as an independent social factor within Rbrul based on tokens extracted from recorded sociolinguistic

interviews. The findings of this study show that religion does not play a crucial role in language variation and change in Al-Wahadneh town. This means that the Christians and Muslims of Al-Wahadneh are not linguistically segregated by religion, but, like almost all speech communities, by age and gender. Perhaps, being an isolated small town on an overlooking hill surrounded by deep valleys, its population was not diluted by immigration or other similar factors. In other words, the Christians in Al-Wahadneh do not feel ethnically or religiously alienated or marginalised. In brief, available research on the role of religion on language variation and change in Jordan is not conclusive. Some suggest that Jordanian Christians are more linguistically conservative than Jordanian Muslims (Al-Wer et al. 2015); others argue the opposite (see Spolsky, Tushyeh, Amara and Bot 2000). Neverthless, the results of this empirical research suggest that religion has no bearing on the conservativeness or innovativeness of both Christian and Muslim speakers. It is more sensible to conclude that religion still needs to be further investigated in different Jordanian speech communities where Christians and Muslims coexist.

هل يعتبر الدين عاملاً اجتماعياً في التباين اللغوي للمتغير الصوتي (ظ) في خربة الوهادنة في الأردن

إبراهيم درويش
قسم الترجمة، جامعة اليرموك، الأردن

نورة أبو عين
قسم اللغة الإنجليزيّة، جامعة جدارا، الأردن

سعدى بدر
قسم اللغة الإنجليزيّة، جامعة العلوم والتكنولوجيا الأردنيّة، الأردن

الملخص

تبحث هذه الدراسة اللغويّة الاجتماعيّة في تباين المتغير الصوتي (ظ) في قرية الوهادنة في الأردن حيث يعيش المسيحيون والمسلمون معًا في سلام وانسجام. للمتغير الصوتي (ظ) لفظان: لفظ تقليدي [ظ] و لفظ متجدد [ض]. إن الهدف الرئيسي من هذه الدراسة هو استقصاء ما إذا كان الدين عاملاً اجتماعياً ذا دلالة إحصائية فيما يتعلق بالمتغير الصوتي (ظ). تم استنباط البيانات من المقابلات اللغويّة الاجتماعيّة المسجلة وتحليلها عبر برمجيّة (Rbrul). وبينت النتائج أن الدين ليس له تأثير ذو دلالة إحصائيّة على نطق المتغير اللغوي قيد البحث. يبدو أن نمط التغيير اللغوي فيما يتعلق بـ (ظ) هو تغيير نموذجي بعيداً عن المتغير التقليدي (ظ) لصالح المتغير المتجدد (ض). ومن الواضح أن جيل الشابات يقود هذا التغيير. يمكن تفسير النتائج المتعلقة بعدم تأثير الدين في السلوك اللغوي في الوهادنة على أساس كيفية عيش المسيحيين والمسلمين في القرية وكيف ينظرون إلى أنفسهم على أنهم عرب أردنيون بغض النظر عن انتمائهم الديني.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الدين، علم اللغة الاجتماعي، العمر، الجنس، الطوائف.

References

Abdel-Jawad, Hassan, and Awwad, Mohammad. 1989. Reflexes of Classical Arabic Interdentals: A study in Historical Sociolinguistics. *Linguistische Berichte* 122: 259-282.

Abu Ain, Noora. 2016. Language variation and change in the dialect of Saḥam, Jordan. PhD diss., University of Essex.

Abu Haidar, Farida. 1991. *Christian Arabic of Baghdad*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Abu-Haidar, Farida. 1989. Are Iraqi Women More Prestige Conscious than Men? Sex Differentiation in Baghdadi Arabic. *Language in Society* 18 (4): 471-481.

Al-Gharaibeh, Khleif. 1998. *Historical Geography of the Western Region of Ajloun Mountain (1864-1946)*. Irbid: Rouzana Press.

Alessa, Aziza. 2008. Najdi speakers in Hijaz: A sociolinguistic investigation of dialect contact in Jeddah. PhD diss., University of Essex.

Al-Jaloudi, Alian, and Al-Bakhit, Mohammad. 1992. *Ajloun District in the Era of the Ottoman Organizations*. Amman: Jordan History Committee Publication.

Al-Sughayer, Kalil. 1990. Aspects of comparative Jordanian and modern standard Arabic phonology. PhD diss., Michigan State University.

Al-Wer, Enam, Horesh, Uri, Herin, Bruno, and Fanis, Maria. 2015. How Arabic Regional Features Become Sectarian Features: Jordan as a Case Study. *Journal of Arabic Linguistics* 62: 68-87.

Al-Wer, Enam. 1991. Phonological variation in the speech of women from three urban areas in Jordan. PhD diss., University of Essex.

Atwa, Osama. 2018. Godless Arabic: how lack of belief affects the inherently religious Arabic language. MA diss., Georgetown University.

Bin Talal, Hassan. 1995. *Christianity in the Arab World*. London: Arabesque.

Blanc, Haim. 1964. *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Britain, David. 2010. "Supralocal Regional Dialect Levelling." In *Language and Identities*, ed. C. Llamas and D. Watt, 193-204.Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Darwish, Ibrahim, and Bader, Sada. 2014. Language and Religion in Jordan. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences* 4 (26): 76-81.

Department of Statistics. 2020. *Estimated population of the kingdom by municipality and sex, at end-year 2020*. Retrieved from http://dosweb.dos.gov.jo/DataBank/Population_Estimares/ Municipalities2020.pdf

Hadjadj, Dany. 1981. Etude Sociolinguistique des Rapports Entre Patois et Français dans Deux Communautés Rurales du Centre de la France en1975. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 29: 71-98.

Hary, Benjamin, and Wein, Martin. 2013. Religiolinguistics: On Jewish-, Christian- and Muslim-Defined Languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 220: 85-108.

Holes, Clive. 1987. *Language Variation and Change in a Modernising Arab State: The Case of Bahrain*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Johnson, Daniel. 2009. Getting off the GoldVarb Standard: Introducing Rbrul for Mixed-effects Variable Rule Analysis. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 3 (1): 359-383.

Labov, William. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, William. 1990. The Intersection of Sex and Social Class in the Course of Linguistic Change. *Language Variation and Change* 2 (2): 205-254.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, Willaim. 1969. Contradiction, Deletion and Inherent Variability of the English Copula. *Language* 45: 715-762.

Okour, Osama. 2016. A sociolinguistic study of the (k) variable in Al-Hosun and As-Sarih in Jordan." MA diss., Jadara University.

Oliphant, Laurence. 1880. *The Land of Gilead with Excursions in the Lebanon*. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons.

Palva, Heikki. 2009. "From qəltu to gələt: Diachronic Notes on Linguistic Adaptation in Muslim Baghdad Arabic". In *Arabic Dialectology: In Honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Enam Al-Wer and Rudolf de Jong, 17-40. Leiden: Brill.

Salih, Mahmud, and Yousef Bader. 1999. Personal Names of Jordanian Arab Christians: A Sociolinguistic Study. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 140: 29-43.

Spolsky, Bernard. 2006. "Introduction: Part II". In Explorations in the Sociology of Language and Religion, ed. Tope Omoniyi and Joshua Fishman, 4-9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Spolsky, Bernard, Hanna Tushyeh, Muhammad Amara, and Kees Bot. 2000. *Languages in Bethlehem: The Sociolinguistic Transformation of a Palestinian Town*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.

Tagliamonte, Sali. 2016. Making Waves: *The Story of Variationist Sociolinguistics*. Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Thomas, Beth. 1989. "Differences of Sex and Sects: Linguistic Variation and Social Networks in a Welsh Mining Village". In *Women in Their Speech Communities: New Perspectives on Language and Sex*, ed. Jennifer Coates and Deborah Cameron, 51-60. London: Longmans.

Trudgill, Peter. 1986. *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wardhaugh, Ronald, and Janet Fuller. 2015. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov, and Marvin Herzog. 1968. "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change." In *Directions for Historical Linguistics*, ed. WP. Lehman and Y. Malkeil, 95-195. Austin: University of Texas Press.