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مجلة علمية محكمة فصلية، تصدر باللغة العربية، تختص بنشر البحوث العلمية والدراسات الأكاديمية في مختلف التخصصات، تتوفر فيها شروط البحث العلمي في الإحاطة والاستقصاء ومنهج البحث العلمي وخطواته، وذلك على صعيدي العلوم الإنسانية والاجتماعية والعلوم الأساسية والتطبيقية.

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- توطيد الشراكات العلمية والفكرية بين جامعة حلب في المناطق المحررة ومؤسسات المجتمع المحلي والدولي.
- أن تكون المجلة مرجعاً علمياً للباحثين في مختلف العلوم.

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- ١- تنشر المجلة الأبحاث والدراسات الأكاديمية في مختلف التخصصات العلمية باللغة العربية.
- ٢- تنشر المجلة البحوث التي تتوفر فيها الأصالة والابتكار، واتباع المنهجية السليمة، والتوثيق العلمي مع سلامة الفكر واللغة والأسلوب.
- ٣- تشترط المجلة أن يكون البحث أصيلاً وغير منشور أو مقدم لأي مجلة أخرى أو موقع آخر.
- ٤- يترجم عنوان البحث واسم الباحث والمشاركين أو المشرفين إن وجدوا إلى اللغتين التركية والإنكليزية.
- ٥- يرفق بالبحث ملخص عنه باللغات الثلاث العربية والإنكليزية والتركية على ألا يتجاوز ٢٠٠-٢٥٠ كلمة، وبخمس كلمات مفتاحية مترجمة.
- ٦- يلتزم الباحث بتوثيق المراجع والمصادر وفقاً لنظام جمعية علم النفس الأمريكية (APA7).
- ٧- يلتزم الباحث بألا يزيد البحث على ٢٠ صفحة.
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- ٩- يلتزم الباحث بإجراء التعديلات المطلوبة خلال ١٥ يوماً.
- ١٠- يبلغ الباحث بقبول النشر أو الاعتذار عنه، ولا يعاد البحث إلى صاحبه إذا لم يقبل، ولا تقدم أسباب رفضه إلى الباحث.
- ١١- يحصل الباحث على وثيقة نشر تؤكد قبول بحثه للنشر بعد موافقة المحكمين عليه.
- ١٢- تعتبر الأبحاث المنشورة في المجلة عن آراء أصحابها، لا عن رأي المجلة، ولا تكون هيئة تحرير المجلة مسؤولة عنها.

جدول المحتوى

- ٩ مستوى مهارات ما وراء الذاكرة.....
د. عبد الحي المحمود
- ٥١ قلق المستقبل وعلاقته بتقدير الذات لدى طلاب الجامعة في الشمال السوري.....
أ. أحمد المحمود د. محمد الحمادي
- ٩٣ أثر التوزيعات النقدية في القيمة السوقية للشركات باختلاف الصناعة.....
د. عبد الحكيم المصري
- ١٢٧ مفهوم المكر في القرآن.....
أ. مؤمنة رياض السّكعة د. ماجد عليوي
- ١٨٥ القسم المسبوق بالأداة (أما) في شعر مجنون ليلى وابن الدُمينة.....
أ. جابر فرحان السلامة د. ضياء الدين عبد الغني القالشي
- ٢١٣ أزمة الهوية وعلاقتها بحل المشكلات.....
أ. حسين الكنشي د. عبد الحي المحمود
- العامل الاقتصادي وأثره في التنافس السوفيتي - الأمريكي في الخليج العربي بين عامي (١٩٧١ -
٢٣٩ (١٩٧٣م).....
أ. أحمد ازعيتير د. سهام هندراوي
- ٢٦٣ أثر السياق في الدلالات الخاصة لصيغ جموع التكسير.....
أ. هيفاء شيخ محمّد د. أحمد محمّد العمر
- ٢٨٥ التحول إلى اللهجة الحضرية من قبل متحدثي اللهجة البدوية من سنجار في.....
أ. محمد العزام د. عبد الحميد معيكل
- دور إدارة الاحتواء العالي في تعزيز الصحة التنظيمية لدى العاملين في جامعات الشمال السوري
٣٠٧ باستخدام نمذجة المعادلات البنائية.....
أ. حسام إبراهيم د. محمود علي عريض د. عمر دره



التحول إلى اللهجة الحضرية من قبل متحدثي اللهجة البدوية من سنجار في
شمال غرب سورية

إعداد

أ. محمد العزام د. عبد الحميد معيكل

ملخص البحث:

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في التحول باللهجة من اللهجة البدوية إلى اللهجة الحضرية من قبل النازحين البدو من ناحية سنجار، حيث اللهجة السائدة هناك هي اللهجة البدوية بسبب الطابع القبلي لمنطقة سنجار. في المقابل، تستخدم اللهجة الحضرية على نحو رئيس في المناطق الريفية والمدن. كما تتناول الدراسة مجالات التحول اللغوي في اللهجة وأسبابه. ولتحقيق الغرض من هذا البحث، استُخدم تصميم بحثي مختلط يشمل الأساليب النوعية. وفي أداة الاستبيان، أجاب خمسون متحدثاً باللهجة البدوية من خلفيات تعليمية مختلفة يعيشون في مخيم للنازحين داخلياً في منطقة قاح على الاستبيان، وأجريت مقابلات شخصية مع عشرة متحدثين باللهجة البدوية يعيشون في نفس المخيم في منطقة قاح. أما في أداة الملاحظة، فقد جرى ملاحظة محادثات شفوية ومحادثات واتساب. تظهر النتائج أن المتحدثين باللهجة البدوية يتحولون إلى اللهجة الحضرية في المجتمعات الحضرية المضيفة لتمكين الآخرين من فهم ما يقولون، وذلك لأن التحول إلى اللهجة الحضرية يُسهل الحوار والتواصل. وإضافة إلى ذلك، فإن موضوع الحديث والمكانة المهيمنة للهجة الحضرية والقوالب النمطية الشائعة التي تصور البدو على أنهم "متخلفون" و"بدائيون" هي من بين الأسباب التي تجعل متحدثي اللهجة البدوية يمزجون بين اللهجتين أو يتحولون إلى اللهجة الحضرية بهدف كسب الاحترام والقبول في المناطق التي يعيشون فيها في شمال غرب سورية.

تقترح الدراسة على الباحثين الآخرين دراسة ظاهرة تحويل اللهجة من اللهجة الحضرية إلى اللهجة البدوية من قبل متحدثي اللهجة الحضرية، ويمكن أن تكون دراسة التحول في اللهجة من قبل الفئات العمرية المختلفة موضوعاً مثيراً للاهتمام.

كلمات مفتاحية: اللهجة البدوية، اللهجة الحضرية، النازحون الداخليون، الأسباب، المجالات، المواقف.

Dialect-switching to the Urban Dialect by Speakers of Sinjar Bedouin Dialect in Northwestern Syria

Preparation by:

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating dialect-switching from the Bedouin dialect to the Urban dialect by IDP Bedouin speakers from Sinjar sub-district where the dominant dialect is the Bedouin one due to the tribal character of Sinjar area. The Urban Syrian dialect, on the other hand, is spoken mainly in rural areas and cities. It also examines the domains and reasons for the switching. To achieve the purpose of this research, a mixed-method research design including both qualitative and quantitative methods was used. In the questionnaire tool, (50) Bedouin dialect speakers, from various educational backgrounds, living in an IDP camp in Qah area completed the questionnaire. In the interview tool, (10) Bedouin dialect speakers living in the same IDP camp in Qah were interviewed in-person. While in the observation tool, communications and WhatsApp chats were observed and analysed. Results shows that Bedouin dialect speakers dialect switch to the Urban dialect in the host Urban communities to make themselves understood as dialect switching makes interaction and communication easier. Topic of the conversation, the dominant status of the Urban dialect, and the widespread stereotypes of Bedouins as “backward” or "primitive" are among the reasons that lead Bedouin dialect speakers to mix or switch to the Urban dialect in order to gain respect and acceptance in the areas where they are residing in northwestern Syria. The study suggests that other researchers investigate dialect switching from the Urban to the Bedouin dialect by Urban dialect speakers. In addition, dialect switching by different age groups can be an interesting topic to study.

Key Words: Bedouin Dialect, Urban Dialect, Dialect Switching, Internally Displaced People, Reasons, Domains, Attitudes.

Kuzeybatı Suriye'de Sincar Bedevi Lehçesi Konuşanlar Tarafından Kent Lehçesine Geçiş

Hazırlayanlar:

Muhammed El-Azzam Dr. Abdülhamid Maikel

Özet

Bu çalışma, Sincar bölgesinin kabile karakteri nedeniyle baskın şivenin Bedevi şivesi olduğu Sincar alt bölgesinden Yerinden Edilmiş İnsanlar Bedevi konuşmacıları tarafından Bedevi şivesinden Kentsel şiveye, şive geçişini araştırmayı amaçlamıştır. Öte yandan, Kentsel Suriye şivesi, esas olarak kırsal alanlarda ve şehirlerde konuşulmaktadır. Ayrıca, anahtarlamının etki alanlarını ve nedenlerini de inceledi. Bu araştırmanın amacına ulaşmak için hem nitel hem de nicel yöntemleri içeren karma yöntemli bir araştırma tasarımı kullanılmıştır. Anket aracında, çeşitli eğitim geçmişlerinden gelen, Qah bölgesindeki Yerinden Edilmiş İnsanlar kampında yaşayan (50) Bedevi şivesi konuşanlar anketi doldurdu. Görüşme aracında, (10) Kah'taki aynı Yerinden Edilmiş İnsanlar kampında yaşayan Bedevi şivesi konuşanlarla yüz yüze görüşüldü. Gözlem aracındayken, iletişim ve WhatsApp sohbetleri gözlemlendi ve analiz edildi. Sonuçlar, Bedevi şivesi konuşanların şivesinin, şive değiştirmenin etkileşimi ve iletişimi kolaylaştırdığı için kendilerini anlaşılır kılmak için ev sahibi Kentsel topluluklarda Kentsel şiveye geçtiğini göstermiştir. Konuşmanın konusu, Kent şivesinin baskın statüsü ve Bedevilerin "geri" veya "ilkel" olarak yaygın klişeleri, Bedevi şivesi konuşanların kuzeybatı Suriye'de ikamet ettikleri bölgelerde saygı ve kabul görmek için Kentsel şiveye karışmalarına veya geçmelerine neden olan nedenler arasındadır. Çalışma diğer araştırmacıların Urban şivesi konuşmacıları tarafından Urban'dan Bedevi şivesine geçiş şivesini araştırdıklarını göstermektedir. Ek olarak, farklı yaş gruplarına göre şive değiştirme çalışmak için ilginç bir konu olabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Bedevi şivesi, kentsel şive, şive değiştirme, ülke içinde yerinden edilmiş insanlar, nedenler, alanlar, tutumlar.



Introduction

Dialect contact leads to language variation and change. Such changes and variations manifest themselves in situations when speakers of mutually intelligible varieties accommodate their speech to adapt it to the style of the interlocutor. In accommodating speech, speakers switch to or mix between their native dialect and the dialect of the other conversation partner. This switch between two codes is called dialect switching. Varieties in a language exist due to two reasons: migration and language change. A dialect is a variety of different versions of a language and is different from other varieties in terms of pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary (Trudgill, 1975, as cited in (Abdul-Zahra, 2010, p. 284).

Syria is a multi- faith and multi-ethnic country inhabited several ethnic groups, like Kurds, Turkman, Arabs, Armenians, Assyrians, Aramaic, etc., and this accounts for the existence of many dialects and leads to a linguistic phenomenon known as “dialect switching”. When Bedouin communities from Sinjar sub-district were internally displaced to north-western Idlib in Syria, they came into contact with the host community members. As a result, the Bedouin dialect of the IDP population from Sinjar sub-district has noticeably been affected by the local urban dialect of the host community, and Bedouin dialect speakers started to soften their Bedouin dialect. “When two speakers of different varieties of the same language which are completely mutually intelligible come into contact and converse, items may be transferred from one of the varieties to the other” (Trudgill, 1986, p. 1). This phenomenon, namely, dialect switching, has to do with the ‘Speech Accommodation Theory’ that was developed by Howard Giles in the early 1970s, describing human tendency to attune their communication according to the situation and the communication partner. Speech accommodation is defined as accommodating speech style toward (convergence) or away from (divergence) the perceived style of the person being talked to (the hearer) in order to win approval. Convergence is accommodating a speech style that attempts to emphasise social closeness by using forms that are similar to those used by the person being talked to. Divergence, on the other hand, is adopting a speech style that emphasises social distance by using forms that are different from those used by the person being talked to (Yule, 2014, p. 261).

The Bedouin dialect in Syria is known to differ from the other Syrian dialects in many ways, such as word choice and sound variations. Also, a speaker's geographical area can be deduced from the dialect he/she speaks due to the distinction between the dialects. Some sounds in particular will be chosen to conduct this study. These are the /dʒ/ or /g/ variant of the (Q) variable, and the /tʃ/ variant of the (K) variable, which are key features of and peculiar to the Bedouin dialects. In addition, some words that are used exclusively by Bedouin speakers will be examined, such words that are realised with /tʃ/ or /g/, for example 'gaal' (meaning 'said' in English) in which the /Q/ is realised as /g/, and 'tʃiis' (meaning 'bag' in English) in which /K/ is realised as /tʃ/, to mention but a few. An example of words that are peculiar to Bedouin dialect speakers is the word 'alhaaz' (meaning 'now' in English), and its urban word equivalent is the word 'hallaq'. A noticeable feature of the Bedouin dialect is the use of the voiced velar stop sound /g/ in place of the uvular stop sound /q/, and the use of the voiceless affricate post-alveolar sound /tʃ/ in place of the voiceless velar stop sound /k/ (Abushihab, 2015, p. 87).

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this topic has never been researched previously in northwestern Syria. There is therefore a lack of pre-existing literature on this topic. This research is hoped to be used as a reference and guidance for other researchers to do similar studies in the target area. The result of this research can assist in providing insights on how and why dialect switching occurs. Furthermore, studying dialect switching shows how speakers draw upon their linguistic resources to adapt to changes in the context and situation of the conversation. In addition, studying the phenomenon of dialect switching helps us better understand the sociolinguistic factors that lead to this behaviour, i.e., to accommodate and fit in with the host community.

Literature review

Arabic, as is the case with many other languages, is a multi-dialectal language. It is a diglossic language that has the standard dialect, called classical Arabic, and many other varieties, called dialects. This situation is called 'diglossia'. The standard version of Arabic is used formally in formal speeches, education, religious ceremonies and rituals, and broadcasting, while the varieties are used locally in everyday conversation and interactions.



This phenomenon, namely, dialect switching, has to do with the ‘Speech Accommodation Theory’ that was developed by Howard Giles in the early 1970s, describing human tendency to attune their communication according to the situation and the communication partner. Speech accommodation is defined as accommodating speech style toward (convergence) or away from (divergence) the perceived style of the person being talked to (the hearer) in order to win approval. Convergence is accommodating a speech style that attempts to emphasise social closeness by using forms that are similar to those used by the person being talked to. Divergence, on the other hand, is adopting a speech style that emphasises social distance by using forms that are different from those used by the person being talked to. The term ‘code’ is used to refer to a language or a variety of a language. A code is the particular language or dialect that a speaker uses on any occasion (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 101).

Definitions and Types of Code-switching

The term ‘code’ is used to refer to a language or a variety of a language. A code is the particular language or dialect that a speaker uses on any occasion (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 101). Code-switching is using alternatively two or more languages or varieties of the same language in a speech situation (Abdul-Zahra, 2010, p. 287). Codeswitching is what happens when people who speak multiple codes reflexively or subtly alternate between two or more usually within the same phrase or sentence to express themselves. Codeswitching takes place as people from different backgrounds come into close contact with one another in order to fit in and get on well (Arthur, 2017). Code switching is simply switching from one language to another in the same conversational setting as a result of a change in participants or topic of the conversation (Ifechelobi, 2015, p. 2). Studying code-switching is important in understanding the sociolinguistic factors that contribute to this phenomenon. Three types of code-switching: (1) inter-sentential code-switching, in which the switch is done at sentence boundaries. An example of inter-sentential codeswitching is the sentence “are we going to Chez Jule’s pour dîner? (English + French)” [Translation: Are we going to Jule’s place for dinner?]. (2) intra-sentential code switching, in which the switch is done in the middle of a sentence. An example of intra-sentential code switching is: it is dangerous, so La trooh outside (It is dangerous, so do not go outside [English + Arabic]). Here, the codeswitching occurs mid-sentence. (3) tag

switching (also called extra-sentential code switching), in which the switching is either of a single word or a tag phrase (or both). An example is: *bugün Tuesday, isn't it?* (Turkish + English) [Translation: today is Tuesday, isn't it?] in this case, a tag in one code is inserted into an utterance in another code (Esen, 2022).

Functions of Code-switching

There are five functions of code-switching. They are: (1) directive functions: to include or exclude others from a conversation when, for example, someone wishes to tell someone else a secret but does not want others around them to know about it. They would therefore switch to a language not understood by others around them; (2) expressed function: to preserve identity. This is to maintain ethnic identity and feelings; (3) referential function: to convey ideas when unable to convey them in one code. This is when one's language lacks vocabulary that speakers are unable to express themselves readily in one language. This is common in bilingual families; (4) emphatic function: to emphasise a point by repeating it in two different codes. The aim of this is to point something out; and (5) poetic function: to create creational states in a conversation (Biswas, 2019, pp. 72-73).

Code-switching may be utilised for the purpose of self-expression. It is a way of accommodating the way we speak for the sake of personal intentions. In addition, it may be utilised to establish intimate interpersonal relationships among bilingual speakers. In this spirit, it can be claimed that code-switching is a tool for developing linguistic solidarity particularly among individuals of the same ethnocultural identity (Sert, 2005, p. 2). The need for new communicative functions, which is a sociolinguistic factor, can result in language change. Languages serve as a means of communication, and speakers hence change aspects of language as a means to satisfy current needs for meaning (Albalawi, 2015, p. 28).

Attitudes towards and Domains of Code-switching

People show attitudes towards codes at all their linguistic levels: grammar, variety, accent, word choice, etc. and the majority of studies on attitudes towards languages are carried out on particular codes, varieties, and on certain aspects like pronunciation, spelling, etc. in sociolinguistic situations.



Language attitudes vary and change just as language behaviours do, and the changes reflect changes in society in general and the individual's environment. Language attitudes affect behaviour, and they both are a psychological process (Dewaele & Wei, 2013). As a matter of fact, we all judge others, and others judge us by the way we speak. The way we speak and our choice of words tell the people we talk to much about who we are and our background. That is why sociolinguists and linguists have long been interested in the way we judge others from the way they speak (Cavallaro and Chin Ng, 2009, p. 143).

Codeswitching is considerably affected by attitudes to codeswitching. That is, people who are emotionally stable and tolerate ambiguity have more positive attitudes to codeswitching and can get along with speakers of diverse linguistic backgrounds. In addition, people with lowest and highest degrees of multilingualism, unlike the middle groups which are not necessarily associated with codeswitching, have more positive attitudes to codeswitching. Furthermore, adults who worked and lived in multilingual ethnically diverse settings have more positive attitudes to codeswitching (Imanova, 2017, p. 35). Skiba (1997, as cited in Esen, 2022) suggests that codeswitching is not a language interference, rather it provides continuity in speech as it supplements communication when there is an expression inability. In code switching, the term 'domain' refers to the social setting of conversation. Each domain has distinctive factors, namely, addressee, setting, and topic, which factors influence code choice. Every domain relates to a particular code or variety that is appropriate for use. That is to say, while one code may be used regularly in one particular domain, another code may be used in other domains (Holmes, 2013, p. 35). Many linguists emphasise that codeswitching is a communicative option available to bilinguals in speech communities on much the same basis as switching between styles or dialects is an option for the monolinguals (Romaine, 2001, p. 59). Speakers may use one dialect in a certain domain and switch to another dialect in a different domain. That is due to multiple factors. For instance, a dialect that is dominantly used in societal institutions would impact speakers of other dialects to consider it with prestige and switch to it when speaking in the domain where it is more appropriate. Using a language in education institutions can help promote maintenance or shift of a language when children learn reading and comprehension in that particular language (Wanjala, 2014, p. 6). Lexical choice carries meaning in dialect switching

and is a means for getting through appropriate social and linguistic information. Code-switching may encounter certain kinds of resistance. Various examples have been reported of speakers of various languages refusing to allow others to code switch and instead insisting on using the other's language, even if sometimes such use provided a poorer means of communication (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 108). Monolinguals may have a negative attitude towards those who code switch on grounds that codeswitching is a 'deficit' and 'lack of mastery' of both codes. Bilinguals may defend their codeswitching and attribute it to 'laziness' or 'sloppy language habits' (Baker, 2001, pp. 100-101).

Methodology

In this section, research design, participants, data collection instruments, data collection procedures, and data analysis will be displayed respectively.

Research design

The study used mixed-method design which involved collecting, analysing, and interpreting quantitative and qualitative data. In other words, the approach taken in this study was a qualitative and quantitative approach in which both quantitative and qualitative data was collected for the study. Quantitative data was collected by means of a questionnaire, while qualitative data was collected by means of in-person interviews and observation. 50 Bedouin dialect speakers completed the questionnaire that consisted of 14 questions. In the interview tool, 10 Bedouin dialect speakers were interviewed in-person for the interview tool that comprised 12 questions.

Participants

The study was conducted in an IDP camp in Qah area with IDPs from Sinjar-subdistrict. The IDP community studied for the research question was displaced from their areas since early 2018 due to fighting. The sample (50 Bedouin dialect speakers to complete the questionnaire and 10 Bedouin dialect speakers to participate in the interviews) selected were of various age groups ranging from 18 years of age to 70 years of age. All the participants and respondents were literate and had at least completed primary school and



are all Bedouin dialect speakers from Sinjar sub-district and are residing in an IDP camp in Qah area.

Data Collection Instruments

Various data collection tools, namely, a paper-based questionnaire, in-person interviews, and observation, were used to answer the research questions. The use of more than one data collection instruments was to enhance the validity of the results and strengthen and give credibility to the study. Following undertaking an exhaustive literature review and relevant studies, the researcher designed the research instruments. Several relevant studies related to dialect switching, mostly conducted in Jordan, were reviewed, such as Ahmad Sharaf-Eldin (2014), Abdulkafi Albirini (2014), Abdullah Almhairat (2015), etc. In the questionnaire, a 5-point Likert scale (Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree) was used mostly, while in the interviews, open-ended questions were used. For the observation, the researcher observed behaviours during interactions and communication between Bedouin and Urban dialect speakers to investigate dialect switching. (Sharaf-Eldin, 2014)

Data Collection Procedures

The researcher firstly introduced himself to the participants and explained the aims of the study. In the questionnaire and interview schedule, an introductory letter was used to introduce the participants and respondents to the aim of the study and secure their consent to participate in the study. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured, and participants and respondents were informed that they were not obliged to participate and that they could withdraw at any time. After doing each interview and questionnaire, participants were acknowledged and thanked for their participation in the study. Questionnaires and interview questions were translated into Arabic. 50 hard copies of the questionnaire were given to the respondents to complete individually, and the completed copies were then collected by the researcher. The researcher then entered the data into Google Forms for analysis and interpretation. On the other hand, participants' responses to the interview questions were recorded manually and were then translated into English and recorded electronically using MS Word. The observations were handwritten in a notebook and were then recorded

electronically using MS Word.

Data Analysis

Two types of analyses were used in the data interpretation process: quantitative and qualitative data analysis, to provide insights into dialect switching. Data from the closed-ended questions was analysed quantitatively through MS Excel, using percentages and frequencies. In preparation for analysis and interpretation, Google Forms tool was used to transcribe and analyse the responses in the paper-based questionnaires after responses were typed in from the paper questionnaire to the electronic medium. On the other hand, qualitative analysis was used to analyse data obtained by means of open-ended questions from interviews and observation after responses were electronically recorded using MS Word.

Results

Results from the three data collection instruments will be shown below. First, results obtained from the three questions of questionnaire will be displayed in 5.1.1, 5.1.2, and 5.1.3, followed by results obtained from the interviews and observation in 5.2.

Results of the Questionnaire

Reasons for Dialect-switching

The majority of Bedouin dialect speakers (92% - 46 out of 50 respondents) dialect switch to make themselves understood. The second highest percentage of respondents (72% - 36 out of 50) believe that dialect switching makes communication with speakers of other dialects easier. 46% of respondents (23 out of 50) agree that the Bedouin dialect lacks flexibility, terms, and vocabulary, so they switch to the Urban dialect in their interactions. 40% (20 out of 50) agree that they dialect switch because the Urban dialect is more prestigious and used by educated people in the community where they are residing, 34% (17 out of 50) believe that the Urban dialect is more influential, 32% (16 out of 50) agree that it is due to internal displacement that they dialect switch, 14% (7 out of 50) say the switching is because the strong relationship with the Urban dialect speakers, 4% (2 out of 50) say they dialect switch due to marriage because one of the



parents speaks the Urban dialect. The majority of respondents (82% - 41 out of 50) 'strongly agree' that it is the topic of the conversation that makes me switch dialect. However, 8% (4 out of 50) reported that they 'agree' that the topic of the conversation is what makes them dialect switch, 4% (2 out of 50) reported that they are 'uncertain', 4% (2 out of 50) 'disagree' that the topic of conversation makes them dialect switch, while 2% (1 out of 50) 'strongly disagree' that the topic of conversation is what makes them dialect switch.

Domains of Dialect-switching

All respondents (50 out of 50, 100%) use only Bedouin dialect with parents, siblings, relatives, and clan members. In the market domain, 84% of respondents (42 out of 50) said that use a mix of the Bedouin and Urban dialects, whereas 10% of respondents (5 out of 50) reported that they use only Bedouin, and 6% (3 out of 50) reported that they use only urban dialect. In the work domain, the majority of respondents (84%, 42 out of 50) indicated that they use a mix of the Bedouin and the Urban dialects, whereas 8% of respondents (4 out of 50) reported that they use only Bedouin and 8% (4 out of 50) use only Urban dialect. In the public places/institutions domain, the results show that 84% of respondents (42 out of 50) use a mix of the Bedouin and Urban dialects; in contrast, 8% of respondents (4 out of 50) reported that use only Bedouin and 8% (4 out of 50) use only Urban dialect. In the domain of Urban dialect speakers, the majority of respondents (72%, 36 out of 50) reported that they use a mix of the Bedouin and Urban dialects, while 8% of respondents (4 out of 50) said they use only Bedouin, and 20% (10 out of 50) said they use only Urban dialect. The majority of respondents (98%, 49 out of 50) 'strongly agree' that they are emotionally attached to the Bedouin dialect; however, 2% (1 out of 50) 'disagree' that the Bedouin dialect represents their identity. 32% of respondents (16 out of 50) 'strongly agree' that they have a low opinion of Bedouin dialect speakers who switch to the Urban dialect, 24% (12 out of 50) 'agree', 14% (7 out of 50) are 'uncertain', 20% (10 out of 50) 'disagree', and 10% (5 out of 50) 'strongly disagree' to the statement that they have a low opinion of Bedouins who dialect switch to the Urban dialect. The majority of respondents (48%, 24 out of 50) 'strongly agree' that it is disloyal to the Bedouin dialect to switch to the Urban dialect, whereas 24% (12 out of 50) 'agree', 4% (2 out of 50) are 'uncertain', 18% (9 out of 50) 'disagree', and 6% (3 out of 50) 'strongly disagree' with the statement.

Attitudes towards Dialect-switching

The majority of respondents (98%, 49 out of 50) ‘strongly agree’ that the Bedouin dialect represents their identity, whereas 2% (1 out of 50) ‘agree’ that it represents their identity. 32% of respondents (16 out of 50) ‘strongly agree’ that they have a low opinion of Bedouin dialect speakers who switch to the Urban dialect, 24% (12 out of 50) ‘agree’, 14% (7 out of 50) are ‘uncertain’, 20% (10 out of 50) ‘disagree’, and 10% (5 out of 50) ‘strongly disagree’ to the statement that they have a low opinion of Bedouins who dialect switch to the Urban dialect. The majority of respondents (48%, 24 out of 50) ‘strongly agree’ that it is disloyal to the Bedouin dialect to switch to the Urban dialect, whereas 24% (12 out of 50) ‘agree’, 4% (2 out of 50) are ‘uncertain’, 18% (9 out of 50) ‘disagree’, and 6% (3 out of 50) ‘strongly disagree’ with the statement. The majority of respondents (46%, 23 out of 50) ‘strongly agree’ that by dialect switching, Bedouin dialect speakers dissociate themselves from their Bedouin origins.

MS Excel was used to analyse the data, and pie, bar, and column charts were used to present the data. However, in the following table, mean and standard deviations will be presented for the questionnaire items from which mean and standard deviations can be extracted.

No.	Question	Mean	SD
1	How often do you switch from the Bedouin dialect to the Urban dialect?	3.1	0.84
2	Do you think it is the topic of the conversation with the Urban dialect speaker that makes you switch dialect?	4.64	0.90
3	Do you think that the Bedouin dialect represents your identity?	4.98	0.14
4	Are you emotionally attached to your Bedouin dialect?	4.94	0.42
5	Do you have a low opinion of Bedouin dialect speakers who switch to the Urban dialect?	3.48	1.39
6	Do you think mixing or shifting from the Bedouin to the Urban dialect will lead to the loss of the Bedouin dialect with the passage of time?	4.72	0.86

7	Do you consider switching to the Urban dialect to be negative?	3.54	1.39
8	Do you consider switching to the Urban dialect to be positive?	2.4	1.34
9	Do you think it is disloyal to the Bedouin dialect to switch to the Urban dialect?	3.9	1.34
10	Do you think that, by switching dialect, Bedouin dialect speakers dissociate themselves from their Bedouin origins?	3.84	1.35
11	Do you think that by dialect switching you are more respected in the Urban dialect speakers' community?	2.82	1.53

Results of the Interviews

In what follows, the results from the interviews will be presented in terms of three topics: reasons, domains, and attitudes towards dialect switching.

Reasons for Dialect Switching

All (10 out of 10) interview participants indicated that they use dialect-switching to make themselves understood and make conversation easier. One participant said that they dialect switch to get along with speakers of the urban dialect in their interactions, and one participant stated that they dialect switch to avoid stigmatisation associated with being a Bedouin and exclusion.

Interview participants' responses to the question related to reasons for dialect switching involve the following: to make themselves understood, ease communication, to get along well with others, and to avoid stigma. In the words of an interviewee, "Many Urban dialect speakers hold the stereotype that the Bedouin dialect is inferior and is associated with coarseness and unreceptiveness. We are sometimes discriminated against and looked down upon due to the dialect we speak". The results here can be analysed in light of the results obtained from the questionnaire tool where the majority of responses indicate that the first two reasons for dialect switching were: to make themselves understood and to make communication easier.

Domains of Dialect Switching

When asked about the domains/topics in which dialect switching is utilised, all participants said that they dialect switch in the market when shopping, trading, and interacting with speakers of the other dialect, the urban dialect.

“When in the market or public institutions, I speak in the Urban dialect because I could be mocked when I speak in my Bedouin dialect. Some Urban dialect speakers would call someone they want to ridicule a ‘Bedouin’.”, reported an interviewee. In the words of another interviewee, “some Bedouins dialect switch when they communicate with Urban speakers just to sound classy and sophisticated.” This suggests that dialect switching is looked upon as something that is prestigious and a sign of sophistication for some people. This agrees with results from the questionnaire that demonstrate that 40% (20 out of 50) gave the prestige of the urban dialect as a reason for switching to the urban dialect, and this reason comes fourth preceded by the following reasons: to be understood, to make the conversation easier, and due to lack of terms that may be needed, in the Bedouin dialect.

All interview participants also indicated that they use only Bedouin when they converse with other Bedouins. However, in the market and public places domains, and with Urban dialect speakers, they use a mix of Bedouin and Urban dialects. It is worth noting that switching to the Urban dialect is not done completely.

Attitudes towards Dialect Switching

For those who have little contact and interaction with people from other dialects, dialect switching is viewed negatively as they have a strong connection to their dialect and identity and consider this phenomenon as alienation from the Bedouin tradition and heritage. An interviewee stated, “those who change to the dialects of the places where they go have no loyalty or sincerity towards the Bedouin dialect.” “Due to living among communities that speak a different dialect and in order to function in the community, we have to use the dominant dialect of this area but will continue to use our Bedouin dialect among ourselves and in our social circles”, in the words of an interviewee.



Discussion

Based on the results from the questionnaire, interviews, and observation, it was found that the majority of respondents said that they ‘sometimes’, but not always, switch to the Urban dialect. Switching is done to clarify a message because they may fail to get their message through in their Bedouin dialect in some situations and with words that are not understood by Urban dialect speakers. The status and influence of Urban dialect speakers may lead to dialect switching. In certain situations, Bedouins shift to the Urban dialect to demonstrate status and prestige as the Urban dialect is perceived as more prestigious and influential, making Bedouin dialects speakers switch to it in order to gain social acceptance. Despite the fact Bedouin speakers will sometimes find themselves having to switch to the Urban dialect in certain situations, they use only their Bedouin dialect amongst themselves as such switch may indicate disloyalty to the Bedouin identity and heritage.

The results of the current study support and are similar to those of Almhairat’s Code-switching from the Jordanian Bedouin Dialect to the Jordanian Urban Dialect, in Amman: A Sociolinguistic Study (2015), which showed that the majority of respondents use their Bedouin dialect in the home domain with their parents, siblings, relatives, and that the majority use both Bedouin and Urban dialects when talking to friends, neighbours, and in the market and workplace. The switching is hence less in the home domains compared to other domains.

The results of the current study are in agreement with Albirini’s ‘The socio-pragmatics of dialectal codeswitching by Al-‘Keidaat Bedouin speakers’ (2014). In his study, Albirini used examined two domains: a Bedouin wedding party at which there were also urban guests present, and the second domain was a workplace that was dominated by urban speakers, with Bedouin speakers being a minority. In addition, open-ended interviews with five participants were used. Albirini concluded that the Bedouin dialect was the preferred and dominant dialect at a Bedouin-dominated wedding party due to its value in this social domain, while the Urban dialect was the dominant dialect in the market and workplace due to the socioeconomic power of urban speakers. In the workplace domain, Bedouin speakers do not have the same privileges as urban speakers due to the education gaps between Bedouin and urban speakers. That is why Bedouins switch to the Urban

dialect in order to access urban-dominated institutions. According to Albirini's study, although Bedouins use the Urban dialect when communicating with unfamiliar interlocutors, they sometimes use their Bedouin dialect to achieve the goals of indexing identity and solidarity with other Bedouins and to attain a conventional role. On the other hand, Bedouins use their Bedouin dialect with other Bedouins in the workplace and when they are alone. When asked about the reasons for using the Urban dialect at the workplace, Albirini's subjects responded that they wanted to fit in and speak the dominant dialect of those around them. (Albirini, 2014) (Almhairat, 2015)

In a study entitled 'Language Attitudes toward the Rural and Urban Varieties in North Jordan', Al-Raba'a (2016) analysed the attitudes of urban and rural Jordanians towards the urban and rural dialects. A sample of 200 respondents was asked to evaluate the two dialects in terms of correctness, pleasantness, and social status. He found that the older rural respondents were interested in the correctness and pleasantness, rather than the social status, of their dialect and had a positive attitude to the urban dialect. On the other hand, the urban correspondents more invested in their own dialect and had mixed attitudes towards the rural dialect. He also found that the younger generation rural respondents favoured the urban dialect. On the other hand, the younger generation urban respondents had a considerable bias towards the urban dialect and against the rural one. He concluded that the preference for the urban dialect over the rural one is more revealed in the attitudes of the younger generation. (Al-Raba'a, 2016)

The contribution of the current study is that it explores reasons, domains, and attitudes towards dialect switching in this study area and adds to the body of literature in the field of code and dialect switching. likewise, the study contributes to the limited literature available on dialect switching in the area in which it was conducted.

Conclusion

Bedouin dialect speakers have a generally negative attitude towards dialect switching, but they ascribe a positive value to this switching as long as it makes communication and interaction easier and clearer. The reasons for dialect switching include the desire to get along well with a community and



talk like those around them or to convey meanings and thoughts that could be easier expressed in a specific dialect and to make the conversation smooth and malleable. The Urban dialect is used mainly when the Bedouins are in social contact with the Urban speakers.

The results show that Bedouin speakers demonstrate loyalty to their Bedouin dialect. However, Bedouin speakers do shift to the Urban dialect in their communication and exchanges with Urban dialect speakers due to the prestige and status of the Urban dialect and for pragmatic reasons sometimes when their Bedouin dialect lacks terms and vocabulary that they need in their conversations and self-representation in their new social context.

This study was conducted in an IDP camp in Qah in northwestern Idlib, Syria in 2022, and its findings are therefore restricted to the time and location mentioned. There may be some possible limitations in this study. The sample selected was relatively small and not representative of the whole Bedouin communities from the research population as the IDPs from Sinjar sub-district are scattered across different regions and governorates throughout the country. Therefore, this can impact the generalisation of the research findings. Furthermore, the Bedouin dialect itself has many non-identical varieties, making it difficult to generalise the findings or measure the dialect-switching patterns. In addition, the findings of this study are limited to its specific sample and the instruments used herein. This study was carried out in northwestern Idlib, Syria in 2022, and its findings are therefore restricted to the time and location mentioned.

Recommendations

This study investigated the reasons, domains, and attitudes towards dialect switching from the Bedouin dialect to the Urban dialect by the IDP communities from Sinjar sub-district in an IDP camp in Qah. Other researchers may use the findings and results of this study to investigate dialect switching in other areas not covered herein. In addition, switching from the Urban dialect to the Bedouin dialect by Urban dialect speakers may be a topic for research. The current study investigates only some aspects of dialect switching. There are still many aspects not covered in this study, including the syntactic and semantic aspects. Furthermore, dialect switching amongst different age groups can be an interesting topic to study. These can



become a topic for another similar research. A study may also be conducted to determine attitudes among Urban speakers toward Bedouin dialects in their areas.



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