

Gender and Phonological Variation in Cairene Arabic (*)

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Abstract

Gender in relation to social class and language variation among different speech communities has attracted a great deal of research. Language use by men and women often reflects gender exclusive roles, social status and power. If their social roles overlap, their use of speech forms overlaps by producing different quantities or frequencies of the same speech form. The purpose of this study is to examine the role of gender in the production of variants of the long vowel /aa/, /ee/, /aa/ among the lower working (LWC) in the Cairene speech community. Open-ended interviews were conducted with 24 informants. Five jurists completed a forced choice to judge the vowel length of the long vowel /aa/, /ee/, /aa/. Results of the Z-test confirm that LWC women use the extra-long variants [aa:], [ee:] and [aa:] significantly more than the LWC men. Using the stigmatized extra-lengthened forms by women is considered a sign of showing solidarity with members of their local community and of constructing a social identity of the forceful and assertive women whose opinions should be valued. Vowel lengthening is interpreted as an attempt to resist the sociocultural norms that describe their role as only subordinate to men in Arabic speaking communities.

Keywords

gender, social class, social identity, quantitative, phonological variation

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المخلص:

إن ظاهرة مد حروف العلة بشكل مبالغ من الظواهر الشائعة في طريقة الحديث بين متحدثي اللغة العامية القاهرية في القاهرة الكبرى. وهي ظاهرة يتصف بها حديث أغلب أفراد الطبقة الاجتماعية العاملة الدنيا في المجتمع على وجه الخصوص. ولذلك تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استخدام منهج لابوف الكمي (Labov, 1966; 1972; 1990) لبحث الكيفية التي من خلالها تنشأ علاقة متبادلة بين الطبقة الاجتماعية في القاهرة وبالأخص مستوى الطبقة الوسطى العلي، وطبقة العمال الدنيا والمتغيرات الصوتية. وعلى مستوى المتغيرات الصوتية الوظيفية، سيتسلط الضوء على حروف العلة الطويلة: صوت /aa / و /aa / و /ee / وبدائلهم الصوتية القصيرة [a; a; e] والطويلة [aa; aa; ee] والطويلة جداً [aa::; aa::; ee:]. كما ستبحث الدراسة تأثير عامل الجنس والعمر للمتحدث على طريقة نطقه لحروف العلة في الحديث. قد تم جمع البيانات واستخلاص المعطيات عن طريق المقابلات المفتوحة مع أربعة وعشرين متحدث باللغة العامية القاهرية من الطبقة العاملة الدنيا. وبعد نسخ المقابلات قام خمسة محكمين بالحكم على طريقة نطق حروف العلة عن طريق استكمال مهمة الاختيار القسري (Shutze & Sprouse, 2014). وباستخدام الاختبار الإحصائي Z-test أكدت النتائج وجود فروق ذات دلالة إحصائية بين الرجال والنساء من الطبقة الاجتماعية العاملة الدنيا. فالنساء ينطقن حروف العلة الطويلة جداً أكثر بكثير من الرجال الذين يميل عدد كبير منهم لنطقها بالطريقة الصحيحة النموذجية. إن استخدام النساء للمتغير الصوتي الطويل جداً لحروف العلة قد يكون للتعبير عن تضامنهن مع أفراد المجتمع اللغوي الذي ينتمين إليه، كما أنه يشير إلى رغبتهن في بناء هوية اجتماعية لهن تتصف بالقوة والثقة بالنفس لإثبات الدور المهم الذي يقمن به في المجتمع الذي يهيمن عليه الرجال ويرى أغلب النساء كتابع للرجال فقط. (Bourdieu, 1977).

الكلمات المفتاحية

علاقة متبادلة، طبقة اجتماعية، متغيرات صوتية، جنس، منهج كمي، هوية اجتماعية

1. Introduction

1.1. Theoretical background about gender and language research

Gender and language is an erudite field that is rapidly developing. Since the early 1970s, gender differences in speech behavior have been

investigated in linguistic studies from various perspectives. The early pre-feminists regard men and women's language use as reflections of biological distinctions, whereas feminist linguists believe that language symbolizes gender roles in the society. Past theoretical models to gender and language research have focused on the speech behavior of men and women rather than how men and women construct their identity through language (Eckert, 2000; Wodak & Benke 1998). Examples of these models are the 'deficit', the 'difference' and the 'dominance'. (Litosseliti, 2006). The 'deficit' model argues that women's language is relatively inferior to men's. Lakoff (1973) claims that women's language is weak and lacking because of their hesitations, use of hedges and superficial or empty vocabulary among other linguistic codes that signals sexist bias. Lakoff's assumptions have ignored the social context in which the interaction occurs and the communicative function of linguistic codes.

The 'dominance' theory has thus emerged as a reaction to the 'deficit' model. The 'dominance' theorists studied men and women's speech in mixed and single interaction. Their research was guided by the power structures existing in the society and ideology contributing to women's oppression (Wodak & Benke, 1998). They studied various aspects of interaction such as topic initiation, control and particular questions and assumed that any differences in the speech of men and women during interaction is a sign of men's exploitative behavior and women's submissiveness in the interaction. Women are seen as the subordinate group in many societies dominated by men in almost all cultures. In contrast to the 'deficit' and 'dominance' theorists' views, researchers who adopt the cultural 'difference' approach argue that boys and girls learn different verbal and non-verbal skills in their same sex peer groups (Wodak and Benke, 1998). They argue that 'gender roles and ideologies create different ways for men and women to experience life, culture, and society' (Eckert, 1989, p. 247). Thus, it is neither power nor social status that affects communication between men and women; it is the subcultures and social interactions they are engaged in.

Although the above models have contributed to the developing of the feminist thinking, they are not significant at present within feminist linguistics. These theories have not delved deep into how gender as an independent variable interacts with social and contextual factors. The social constructivist theorists have a broader view than the previous ones. They believe that men and women can demonstrate similar or different language behavior depending on the situational and social contexts in which their gender identities are constructed or being constructed by others. Social constructivists investigate how men and women's identities are constructed and affected by 'different positioning through different discourses; and what gender inequalities are created or maintained as a result' (Litosseliti, 2006, p.67). They have studied how gender roles are produced, reproduced at the workplace and through the communicative behavior of male and female in certain social activities.

When linguists have investigated the construction of gender identity across other social parameters such as race, ethnicity, culture and social class, they discovered that women who belong to the same cultural groups are more likely to have more in common than do women across cultural group or men across cultural groups (Christie, 2000, p. 14 as cited in Litosseliti, 2006). The distribution of patterns of linguistic variables can reveal social meaning or significance if it is associated with cultural attributes of social groups who use them more often. Thus, if women use a specific linguistic variant frequently, this variant may be used to construct a stereotypical female identity in discourse (Holmes, 1997, p.216). If a variant is associated with working classes, it is a 'culturally-recognized' attribute of working-class culture (Kiesling, 1998, p.94). Therefore, it is concluded that gender-specific linguistic variation must thus be studied in terms of the norms of the speech communities and social networks where gender interacts with many other parameters involved (Labov, 1991; Milroy, 1980, 1987; Eckert, 2000)

1.2. Gender, social class and language variation

Research in sociolinguistics has shown a strong correlation between patterns of social stratification and gender because of social and ethnic factors or pressures that can affect language structure and its mechanism (Labov, 1966, 2001; Romaine, 2000; Holmes, 2001; Bassiouney, 2009; Meherhoff, 2011). It was William Labov (1966, 1972) who first noticed the importance of the role of gender to collect reliable data in sociolinguistic research. His work revealed stratification of phonological variables according to gender, social class, age and situational context. He used the sociolinguistic interview to elicit different speech styles. Labov's main concern was language change that is as dynamic as the society. And accordingly he made generalizations about language and gender which he referred to as principles. He stated that women of all social classes used the standard forms of phonological variables more than men. In studying the use of /r/ in final and pre-consonantal position in New York City, women in higher classes used the standard variants more than their male counterparts. Similarly, lower middle class (LMC) women and working class used the standard variants of /r/ more than men. Labov argued that lower middle class women (LMC) have linguistic insecurity; they are aware that the way they speak reflects their social status and social class background. Thus, they attempt to gain social prestige and better social position by imitating the way middle class (MC) women speak. Labov also argued that women tend to use more of the incoming variants that are positively evaluated in the community than men do. LMC women tend to hypercorrect the use of the standard variants, such as [r] and [ɹ]. They even spread their use of the standard variants to other phonological contexts. This behavior is observed frequently in careful speaking styles. Their children eventually acquire this hypercorrect language behavior, and it becomes the perceived language in the community. Women, therefore, inspire and lead language change in the community because of the inherent feeling of linguistic insecurity.

Another study that has shown Labov's principles and emphasized the

concept of linguistic insecurity is Trudgill's (1972) Norwich study. In his survey of Norwich English, it was found that working class (WC) women used more the standard forms of the stable variable [ɪŋ] than men. The same pattern occurs in the speech of the MC speakers but with higher frequencies. Trudgill gave sociological reasons to interpret gender specific differences in men's and women's language behavior. WC men use the nonstandard variants [ɪn] to emphasize their group values, namely 'masculinity', whereas women are very sensitive to standard and non-standard variants. Women in western societies are judged by how they appear and men by what they do. When women were asked in self-evaluation tests which forms they produced, it was found that whereas women over-reported their use of the standard forms, men underreported them. Women used the standard forms to signal their social status denied to them through other channels, such as equal opportunities in education and employment.

Although research in different western communities have confirmed Labov's and Trudgill's findings about women's use of the overtly prestigious and standard forms significantly more than men (Labov et al, 1968; Macaulay, 1977; Kerswill, 1987; Labov, 1990; Romaine, 2000; Lynch, 2009; Shen, 2014), there are sociolinguists who are aware of the generalizations underlying Labov's associations of females' speech with the overtly prestigious, standard forms. Meyerhoff (2011) criticizes Labov's most robust findings; she argues that since the 1980s, sociolinguistic research in Arabic speaking communities has drawn attention to 'equally robust exceptions' to Labov's principles about gender and language variation. She states:

Over and over, studies of synchronic variation in Arabic seemed to be showing men using more of the overtly prestigious variants associated with Classical Arabic, and women using more of the variants associated with the local colloquial variety of Arabic. (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 229).

The social conditions are different in the Arab communities and that is why most of the sociolinguistic research have typically found men favoring the standard linguistic forms more than women (Bakir 1986; Ibrahim, 1986; Wahba, 1996; Daher 1998; Haeri 1994, 1996; Holes 1987; Holes, 1983; Sadiqi 2003; Ammour, 2012; Ismail, 2012). The social role of women must be taken into consideration if one wishes to understand the situation in the Arabic speech communities. Meyerhoff (2011) gives explanations for this language behavior in Arabic speaking countries. Men have more opportunities to receive formal education than women. They learn Classical Arabic at school which is different from the language acquired at home. Women, on the other hand, in most Arabic speaking countries are more likely to be excluded from formal education. Even if they have had the chance to receive good education, their opportunities to participate in the public life are much limited when compared to men who usually hold and dominate the positions in which the use of active Classical Arabic is involved (p.230).

In Egypt to the best of the researcher's knowledge, very few studies investigated the relationship between gender and phonological variation across different social classes (Royal, 1985; Wahba, 1996; Haeri, 1994; 1997a). In Cairo, Haeri (1997a) investigated strong palatalization, a stigmatized phenomenon in the speech of Cairenes from different social classes. It was found that strong palatalization was a stigmatized phenomenon that was mostly used by lower working classes especially women to express forcefulness, toughness and self- confidence. Men avoided using it because it is associated with feminine style of speech. Speakers who used the strong palatalization were perceived as less refined, less wealthy, less educated and less cultured (Geenberg, 2012) and men were penalized in Geenberg's perception study of SP by receiving lower scores than women on the above adjectives if they used this stigmatized feature in their speech.

The main goal of this paper is therefore to contribute to the

sociolinguistic research conducted in Cairo by examining the role of gender in the realization of another stigmatized linguistic feature (extra-lengthening of vowels) observed among working class speakers of Colloquial Cairene Arabic. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, no study has attempted investigating the effect of gender on the realization of extra-lengthened vowels in Greater Cairo. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine how gender as an extra linguistic variable affects the realization of the variants of the long vowels /aa/, /ee/, /aa/ by lower working class speakers of Colloquial Cairene Arabic.

2. Research Questions

This study aims to answer the following questions:

What is the correlation between gender as a social factor and the realization of (i) the variable /aa/ with its variants the short [a], the long [aa] and the extra-long [aa:]; (ii) the variable /ee/ with its variants the short [e], the long [ee] and the extra-long [ee:]; (iii) the variable /aa/ with variants the short [a], the long [aa] and the extra-long [aa:] in the speech of LWC Cairenes?

3. Research Methodology

This paper aims to discuss the relationship between gender as a social factor and the realization of the variants of the short, long and extra-long variants of the long vowels /aa/, /ee/, and /aa/ by men and women from the LWC in Cairo. A sample of 24 LWC Cairene informants whose age ranged from 20 to 65 were chosen and interviewed for the study. There were 15 women and 7 men. Each interview took from 5 to 10 minutes. Their social status was based on the criteria of education, occupation and place of residence based on Warner (1960) Index of Status Characteristics as cited in (Wolfram & Fasold, 1974). The informants were uneducated or had some basic education. They lived in slums or less privileged areas, such as El Sahel, Masaken El Zelzal, Abu Attata and Bahtiin. Women were either maids or cleaning workers in private institutions. Males were microbus

drivers except for two: one of them was a cleaning worker and the other was a fish seller. Table 1 displays all the background information about the informants.

Table 1

Background information about the informants

Informant Name & No.	Sex	Social Class	Score of ISC	Age range	Residence	Education	Occupation
1. H.O	F	LW	133	Above 40	Masaken El zelzal	No education	Maid
2. N.D	F	LW	133	Above 40	Masaken El zelzal	No education	Maid
3. S.B	F	LW	115	Below 30	Masaken El zelzal	Some basic education	Unemployed (housewife)
4. O.L	F	LW	133	Above 40	Masaken El zelzal	No education	Maid
5. T.W	F	LW	124	Above 40	Masaken El zelzal	No education	Maid
6. M.H	M	LW	103	Below 30	Beaulac	Some basic education	Microbus driver
7. K.M	M	LW	110	Below 30	El Khosos	Industrial diploma	Microbus driver
8. A.F.	F	LW	113	Above 40	Massaken Sherouk	El Basic education	Cleaning worker at a Private Univ.
9. N.E.	F	LW	133	Above 40	Sharabyia	No education	Cleaning worker at a Private Univ.
10. O.M.	F	LW	110	Above 40	Masaken Shorouk	El Commercial diploma	Unemployed
11. O.R.	F	LW	110	Above 40	Masaken Shorouk	El Agricultural diploma	Unemployed (housewife)
12. O.E.	F	LW	104	Above 40	Masaken Shorouk	El Some basic education	Cleaning worker in a Private Univ.
13. O.K.S	F	LW	113	30-40	Masaken El Sherok	Some basic education	Cleaning worker in a Private Univ.
14. R.D	F	LW	103	Above 40	Masaken El Zelzal	No education	Unemployed (housewife)
Informant Name & No.	Sex	Social Class	Score of ISC	Age range	Residence	Education	Occupation
15. M.G.	F	LW	109	Above 40	Masaken El Zelzal	No education	Unemployed (housewife)
16. H.D	F	LW	127	Above 40	El basateen	No education	Cleaning worker in a children sports club
17. N.H	F	LW	133	Above 40	Bahtiin	No education	Cleaning worker in a Private Univ.
18. H.S.	M	LW	133	30-40	Abu Attata	Some basic education	Cleaning worker in a Private Univ.

19. F.T.	F	LW	109	Above 40	Al Malaka , Giza	Some education	basic	Unemployed (housewife)
20. M.S.	M	LW	118	Below 30	Al Malaka, Giza	Industrial diploma		Microbus driver
21. R.F.	M	LW	113	30-40	Bahtiin	Some education	basic	Cleaning worker in a public institution
22. Y.G.	M	LW	118	30-40	Abu Attata, Giza	Some education	basic	Microbus driver
23. R.G.	M	LW	124	Above 40	Al Omraneya, Giza	Some education	basic	Microbus driver
24. F.S.	M	LW	103	Below 30	Giza	Some education	basic	Fish seller in a street market

3.1. Data collection and analysis

Data that elicits the pronunciation of the variants [ɑɑ:], [ɑɑ], [ɑ] of the variable /ɑ/; [ee:], [ee] and [e] of the variable /ee/; [aa:], [aa] and [a] of the variable /aa/ have been collected through sociolinguistic open-ended interviews. Methods of data elicitation attempted to obtain casual, unguarded speech and to draw away the informant's attention from the presence of a digital recorder (Labov, 1972, Daher, 1998, Stubbs, 1983).

The types of questions that were asked during the interviews were crucial to the study to elicit both social and linguistic data. The researcher used natural and free conversation setting techniques to obtain casual speech data. These techniques, as suggested by Labov (1972), help overcome and neutralize the obstacles inherent in any interview situation. The goal of open-ended interviews is to make the participants focus on the topic of the conversation so that they pay little attention to the way they are speaking. Labov's the "danger of death" question is one of the solutions by Labov to obtain natural speech from the participants.

Another reason for using the individual interviews approach is to capture the participants' attention and let them talk about themselves (Wolfram and Fasold, 1974). This effective technique has also aided the researcher to address the participants' interest which has been needed for the provision of more adequate amounts of speech data. That is why; informants have been allowed to talk freely about any other topics if they preferred to

do so. That actually happened in the interview with the ladies in Masaken El Sherouk when they decided to change the topic from how they spent their leisurely time to the exaggerated increase of the prices of sugar and other goods in the Egyptian market.

Consent forms were collected before recording the interviews digitally.

After collecting data and recording them on the digital recorder, all interviews were transcribed into written form. The researcher then listened to each interview twice and underlined all the words that had any instance of the three long vowels. The researcher listened one more time to the underlined instances of extra-lengthened vowel realizations and kept a record of them. A judgment task was then designed to evaluate the vowel length of the variants of /aa/, /ee/, and /aa/ and collect the data for statistical analysis.

The judgment task has been designed to achieve the interrater reliability. Five jurists were assigned to listen to the interviews and judge the vowel length to endorse the researcher's findings. Using the judgment task through 'Forced Choice' has been inspired by the work done by Schutze and Sprouse (2014). These tasks are essential in empirical sociolinguistic research in the area of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics (Sprouse, 2013). According to Schutze & Sprouse (2014), judgment tasks involve asking, for example, speakers to 'judge' or to report their spontaneous reaction to a written or a spoken utterance. They argue that data collected from judgment tasks provide information that are not easily reached with other types of collecting data. This is because they can provide significant evidence about linguistic phenomena occurring in spontaneous language use that are below social or cognitive awareness and could not be noticed otherwise. Haeri (1997a), for instance, has evaluated the phenomenon of palatalization in Cairene Arabic and whether it was stigmatized or below the level of social awareness by asking 37 judges to listen to a passage - with several environments for palatalization- written in Egyptian Arabic and decide which speaker would be suitable for a TV

announcer job. They were also asked about the social class of the speaker and whether he or she was highly educated.

The ‘Forced Choice Task’ (FC) is considered by researchers as very effective because participants were required to compare between 2 or more choices and decide on the appropriate or acceptable for the one they have heard. The jurists in this study were offered choices from which they were forced to select that which they have heard. To finish the task accurately, jurists had three choices and their task comprised the selection of the one which they heard on the tape. The FC task, unlike the ‘yes or no judgment tasks’, is very beneficial because it yields “increased statistical power to detect differences between conditions” (Shutze & Sprouse, 2014, p.6).

The five jurists were females from the UMC who are native speakers of Cairene; they are teaching assistants who work in a private university. They studied both English and Arabic linguistics. They listened to the interviews and judged the vowel length in a computer lab of a private university. The jurists read the transcriptions as they listened to the 24 interviews, and then ‘chose’ or ‘judged’ whether the long vowel /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ was realized by the speaker in the underlined word highlighted as (extra-long, long, or short). The three choices ‘extra- long, long or short’ were put between brackets next to each underlined word with the target long vowel. Jurists were given incentives of 500 L.E after finishing the task. This is usually done when listeners are involved in speech perception studies (e.g., Campbell-Kibler, 2005; Tsukada, 2010; Geenberg, 2012).

As soon as the jurists finished the judgment tests in all the interviews, data collected were compiled with all the responses of the jurists on the target tokens in each interview. When three or more jurists agreed on their evaluation of the vowel length, the word was then judged as pronounced with long, short or extra-long. The number of frequencies of each agreed on variants: long, short or extra- long /aa/, /ee/ and /aa/ among the five jurists were calculated. The total number of target tokens was 1218.

Raw numbers were then entered into the Z-test to find out the significant differences in the frequency of using the variants of the three long vowels /aa/ /ee/ and /aa/ among the LWC social class informants.

4. Results

In this section, the findings of using the statistical Z-test are presented. Raw frequencies of the target long vowels were entered into the Z-test to find out the significant differences in producing the short, long and extra-long variants of the three long vowels /aa/ /ee/ and /aa/ among men and women in the LWC. Table 2 shows the distribution of the long vowel /aa/ according to gender in the LWC.

4.1 Distribution of the long vowel /aa/ according to gender among LWC

Table 2 shows the distribution of the long vowel according to gender across men and women in the LWC.

Table 2

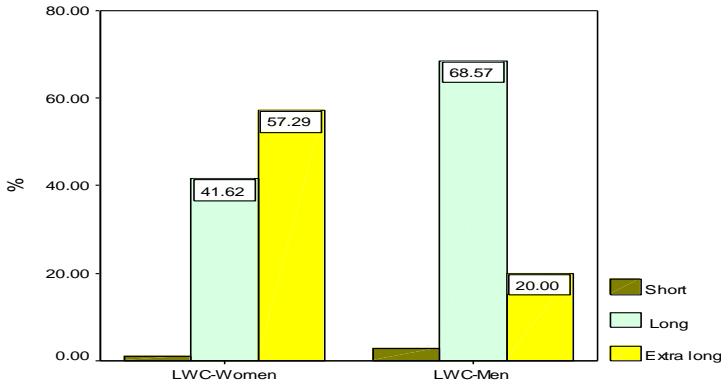
Distribution of /aa/ according to gender in the LWC

Variable /aa/	LWC Women		LWC Men		Z-value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
	185		64				
1- Short	2	1.08	2	2.85	0.83	0.4	N.Sig.
2- Long	77	41.62	48	68.57	4.07	0.01**	H.Sig.
3- Extra long	106	57.29	14	20	6.21	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

Figure 1. Distribution of variants of the long vowel /aa/ according to gender



The Z-test was used to find significant differences between men and women in producing the variants of the long vowel /aa/. It was found that there was no statistical significant difference between men and women in using the short variant [a] since the Z-value was equal to (0.83) and the *p-value* level was (0.40) which is more than (0.05). However, there was highly significant differences in realizing the long [aa] and the extra-long variants [aa:] at Z value level: (4.07), (6.21) respectively and both at *p-value* less than (0.01). Figure 1 shows these findings.

4.2 Distribution of the long vowel /ee/ according to gender among LWC

The Z-test revealed significant differences between men and women in their realization of the long and extra-long variants of the vowel /ee/ (see Table 3). The Z-value was at (2.13) for the long variants and this showed significant differences at *p-value* (0.03), which is less than 0.05, while the extra-long variant [ee:] showed highly significant result at *p-value* less than (0.01) and Z-value (3.71). The short variant /e/ showed no significance at *p-value* 0.07. These results are illustrated in Figure 2.

Table 3

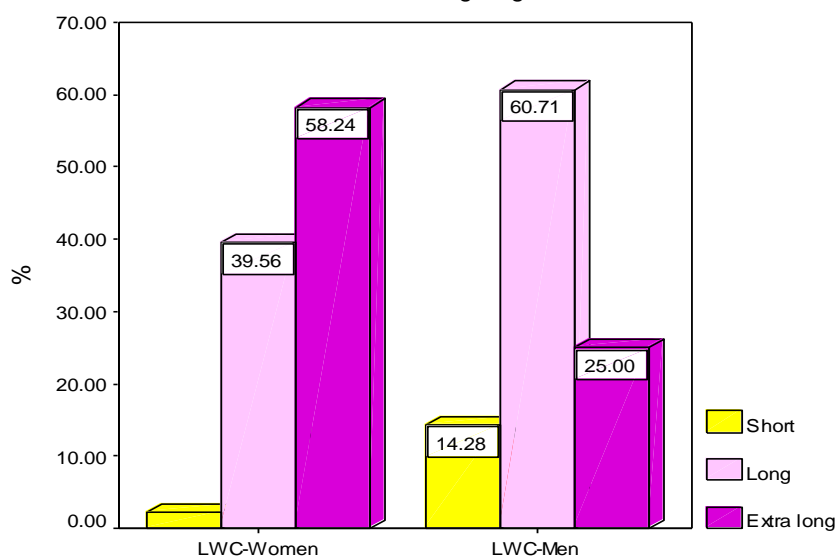
Distribution of /ee/ according to gender in the LWC

Variable /ee/	LWC Women		LWC Men		Z-value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
	182		28				
1- Short	4	2.19	4	14.28	1.8	0.07	N.Sig.
2- Long	72	39.56	17	60.71	2.13	0.03*	Sig.
3- Extra long	106	58.24	7	25	3.71	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

Figure 2. Distribution of variants of the long vowel /ee/ according to gender in the LWC



4.3 Distribution of variants of the long vowel /aa/ according to gender among LWC

Similarly, findings of the Z-test for the LWC proved to be highly significant for the long and extra-long variants of /aa/ according to gender as the *p-value* was less than (0.01). The short variant [a] gave no significant results though (see Table 4). Figure 3 illustrates these results.

Table 4

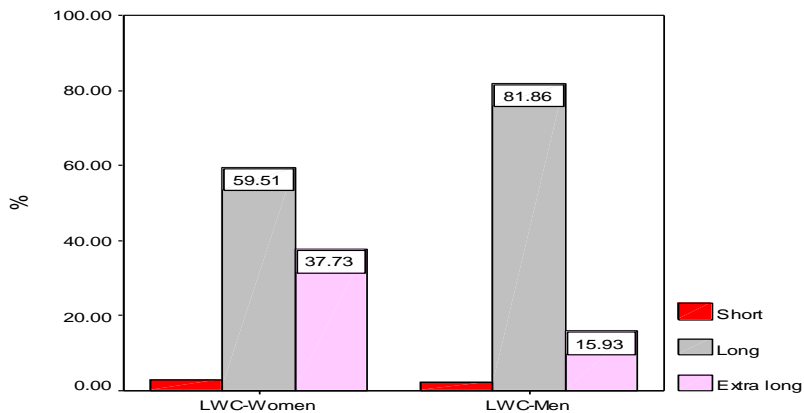
Distribution of /aa/ according to gender in the LWC

Variable /aa/	LWC Women		LWC Men		Z-value	p-value	Result
	N	%	N	%			
	583		182				
1- Short	16	2.74	4	2.19	0.43	0.66	N.Sig.
2- Long	347	59.51	149	81.86	6.38	0.01**	H.Sig.
3- Extra-long	220	37.73	29	15.93	6.46	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

Figure 3. Distribution of variants of long vowel /aa/ according to gender in the LWC



4.4. Distribution of the total no. of the three variants of the three long vowels according to gender in the LWC.

The Z-value showed that there were no statistical differences in the realization of the short variants of the long vowels between men and women as the *p-value* was at 0.66 (see Table 5).

Table 5

Distribution of the total number of variants according to gender in LWC

Variables	LWC		LWC		Z-value	p-value	Result
	Women		Men				
	N	%	N	%			
	950		268				
1- Short	22	2.31	10	3.73	1.13	0.66	N.Sig.
2- Long	496	52.21	208	77.61	8.42	0.01**	H.Sig.
3- Extra long	432	45.47	50	18.65	9.32	0.01**	H.Sig.

**Significant at the (0.01) level

*Significant at the (0.05) level

On the other hand, long and extra-long variants showed highly significant differences at *p-value* 0.01. This proved that LWC women were more inclined to use lengthened forms of the long vowels, unlike men who would rather use the standard forms. This could also be ascribed to men's assumption that lengthening of vowels is more associated with the rural vernacular or is an attribute of women's style of speech. Men are more in contact with the speech community because of their work; that is why they may tend to use more standard forms. The results of the present study are in accordance with Haeri's (1996) who found that women are more likely to use the non-standard forms than men. Lengthening of vowels could be assumed to give women's speech an affirmative attitude that is associated

with feelings of self-confidence in an attempt to win an argument. They want to show that their opinions are valid and not to be taken for granted.

5. Discussion

In this study, gender has shown to be a significant extra linguistic variable. Results showed that LWC women used the long and extra-lengthened vowels significantly more than LWC men. The long variants (77.61% for men & 52.21% for women) as well as the extra-long variants (18.65% for men & 45.47% for women) showed highly significant differences at *p-value* (0.01). This proves that LWC women are more inclined to use extra-lengthened forms of the long vowels, unlike men who would rather use the standard forms. This could also be ascribed to men's assumption that lengthening of vowels is more associated with the rural vernacular or is an attribute of women's style of speech. LWC women in the study are again either housewives like 'N.E', 'R.D', 'M.G', 'O.M', 'S.B', 'F.T' and 'O.R' or working women who have very limited contact with other people from other social classes. They are either maids who have no formal employment or cleaning workers hired in private institutions, such as 'H.D', 'A.F.' and 'O.E'.

In contrast, LWC men are relatively more in contact with language of the linguistic market. In the study, there are five microbus drivers, a cleaning worker in a private university and a fish seller. Although most of their time is spent with their co-workers, they can sometimes also interact with MC and UMC class speakers who might be passengers, customers or government officials. Their social network is relatively diverse when compared to women. Their frequent use of the standard forms more than women reflected their understanding that the standard forms are considered the linguistic capital that could be beneficial and well-exploited for their future economic and social development (Boudieu, 1991; Ismail, 2012; Al Ali & Arafa, 2010).

Although most of the western studies have shown that it is men from

different social classes who tend to use more the non-standard forms (Labov, 1972; Macaulay, 1977; Wolfram and Fasold, 1974; Trudgill, 1974) and women are the ones who are opt for the prestigious, standard forms in their speech, Guy et al.'s results (1986) in Australia as well as Haeri's (1997) and other Arab sociolinguistic studies confirmed the findings of the present study. In Guy et al. (1986), teenagers and women were found to use the non-standard Australian high rising intonation (AQI) in statements which have a "non-propositional, interactive meaning" (p.23). The production of the high rising intonation (AQI) for the LWC women was double that produced by the LWC men and far more significant. Men seemed to refuse using this new linguistic feature because it was characteristic of women. The AQI was a marker of solidarity among the working classes in Sydney, but negatively evaluated and resisted by the upper classes.

In the Arab world, Bakir (1986) conducted a survey in many Arab speaking countries such as Cairo, Iraq, Damascus and Hama in Syria, and his study showed that women tended to use the non-standard local variants even if they had good education, while men used the standard classical variants. Other studies in Tunisia reported the preference of Tunisian women to use the vernacular diphthongs forms more than men who used the monophthongs (Walters, 1991; Trabelsi 1991 as citend in Rosenhouse, 1998). Abdel Jawad (1986) studied the variants of the uvular stop /q/ in Nabulus, Jordon. He found that younger speakers and women preferred the non-standard but locally prestigious variant [ʔ] to the standard variant which was used more by conservative men who were more reserved than women. Daher (1998) also investigated the [q] and [ʔ] variants in Damascus. Results showed that the official standard variant [q] was only used by the educated minority who were involved professionally in the written language. Men used it more than women who favored the colloquial variant.

Recent studies in Arabic speaking communities have also confirmed these findings. Ammour (2012), for instance, also found that women in

Nedroma, a district in Algeria used the non-standard forms of Nedroma Arabic more than men because of their narrow social network. Ismail (2012) investigated language and gender in Saudi Arabia and she found that women used the vernacular forms frequently because there are restrictions on their mobility from one place to another, and their social interactions are merely limited to females' social networks.

Similarly, the prominent study conducted by Haeri in Cairo (1994, 1997a) reported that the LMC and MMC women produced the highest frequency of the non-standard strong palatalization phenomenon than the LMC and MMC men. In analyzing what strong palatalization meant for these women, she found that they could be described as strong, tough, and independent women. They were most of the time the breadwinners of the family. Talking in this way seemed to give them self-confidence. She also added that women who talked in this way were forceful, extrovert, urbane, and had a quick, fast and snappy way of talking. Men in LMC and MMC were aware of the strong palatalization use by women; they associated it with femaleness, but there was no evidence that the male informants associated strong palatalization with negative evaluations. The male informants in the study tried to dissociate themselves from the non-standard forms that were mostly associated with women's speech, but they did not evaluate it negatively.

In almost the same way, lengthening of vowels could be assumed to give women's speech an affirmative attitude that is associated with feelings of self-assurance, and an attempt to be influential and forceful to win an argument. A possible explanation for this can be that LWC women are usually regarded as subordinate to men; they feel less secure and have less developed social networks. Lengthening of vowels could be a way for them to be heard and appreciated. Seven female informants, for instance, are single mothers who are the breadwinners of the family. They explained how they suffered and struggled on a daily basis to earn their living.

In the Arab world, social and cultural norms should be considered to understand gender-specific language differences. The sociocultural system in the Arab countries is mainly ‘patriarchal’ (Ismail, 2012). Men are the head of the households, while women are given the domestic role (El Laithy, 2001). Across all social classes in the Egyptian society, men have higher social status than women. The opportunities for LWC women to work outside the house in Upper Egypt and rural regions are usually very low compared to urban areas such as Greater Cairo because of the traditional values that assert that men should be the sole providers of the family. However, due to the dire economic conditions, Egypt - as a developing, over populous country - has been going through a high percentage of change, such as the high rate of unemployment and low families. Most of the LWC illiterate or basically educated women in Cairo have become the head of their households, supporting their families financially and making decisions that concern their families’ future (El Laithy, 2001).

Additionally, most of LWC Cairene women are very poor and have not experienced formal employment (El Laithy, 2001). They do unskilled, poorly paid work in the community with very low insurance or pension. Working outside home exposes them to the public gaze which in turn attracts the disapproval of relatives and neighbours in the community. Accordingly, it could be assumed that the social meaning or function of the extra-lengthened vowels produced by these women in the study is to reveal affirmative, influential and positive attitude in their speech; they like to prove their vital role as wage earners and heads of their households. It could also be a way for LWC women to resist oppression which they may feel every day because of the burden of traditions that either restricted their roles in the society to uneducated housewives in the society or to breadwinners of families who struggle to earn their living in a male dominated society (Sadiqi, 2003, p.209). Thus, their use of the extra-lengthened vowels can be assumed to highlight their social identity that is being constructed in the

everyday social practices (Cheshire, 2002; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

Feminists such as Sadiqi (2005) attribute women's desire to use different linguistic practices than men to "two interrelated sources: gender social identity and women's oppression". (Abudaljuh 2011, p. 43). In Morocco, Sadiqi (2005) argued that women's feelings of inequality and oppression are behind their aspirations of using different varieties than men among which is French. Similarly, in this study, Cairene women want to prove themselves as important members in the community whose opinions matter. Hence, lengthening their vowels could be a way for LWC Cairene women to resist oppression by being assertive so that they can convince the listener with their arguments.

From the social constructionist perspective, the distributional patterns of linguistic variants, which are realized frequently among particular social groups, can reveal inherent social significance about the culturally-recognized attributes of these social groups. Holmes (1997) argues that when women use a specific linguistic feature significantly more than men, it may become associated with 'femininity' and it can be used to construct their identity. When specific linguistic variants are also used by members of a working class, it may also reflect the sociocultural norms or attributes associated with this working class culture (Kiesling, 1998, p.94). For instance, Holmes (1997) mentions one example of how a woman from New Zealand used the standard pronunciation of (ing) phonological variable and aspirated intervocalic (t) to construct a stereotypical conservative gender identity for herself as a respectable mother. Pragmatic features and attenuators (e.g., you know and sort of) were used significantly in her speech because women tend to use them more often. Kiesling (1998) mentions that working class men can construct several gender identities through their frequent use of the alveolar variant [n] of the stable sociolinguistic (ing) variable. Culturally recognized attributes of these

working class men can include the ‘rebellious’, ‘hardworking’ and ‘casual’. Thus, linguistic variants can have social significance if they are consistently associated with specific social groups (Cheshire, 2002).

In this study, lengthening of vowels by LWC women reflected the social identity that is being constructed in the community. LWC women appeared as tough and forceful resisting oppression and proving themselves in the society, while men on the other hand suppressed the use of the non-standard variants because they aspired to appear formal, educated and authoritative. They promoted the public persona of the male identity in the Egyptian society who has the leading role in being the head of the households and family breadwinners (El Laithy, 2001; Ismail, 2012).

Another explanation for the LWC women use of extra-lengthened vowels is to show solidarity with people from their close social networks in the neighbourhood. Most of the informants were friends, neighbors, relatives and some even worked for the same place like O.M., O.K.S., F.T, O.K., H.S, and A.f. Most of their leisure time was spent together. They valued the use of the non-standard forms because these are the linguistic norms of their community. This has also been confirmed in most of the previous studies. For instance in Milroy’s (1987) discussion of how the vernacular forms are maintained in Belfast, she explained that members of the closer and strong social networks used the non-standard forms the most to show solidarity. They were not affected by other outside factors. On the other hand, members who have weak social networks because of spending more time with people from the middle and upper social classes at work, college or any other leisure activities were open to change, and hence they showed lower use of the vernacular forms.

This is confirmed in Ismail’s (2012) investigation of language and gender among Saudi Arabian women and men. She believes that women’s use of the stigmatized forms of the language more often than men is logical. This is because Saudi Arab women are engaged in female close-knit

networks that are dense and localized because of the ‘strong gender segregation’. Men are linked with the public sphere in Arabic speaking societies whereas women are primarily assigned domestic roles with very limited occupations available outside the home either in the education or healthcare fields. Thus, Saudi Arab women mainly interact with people they know, and these members interact with each other. In their speech, they significantly use local and informal dialectal features of Arabic to express a high degree of solidarity and construct a gender identity of ‘locality’ and ‘informality’. Thus one’s choice of the linguistic variants in speech depends on the social environment he/she lives in.

In the same way, LWC women in Cairo have a narrow and homogenous social network and their social interactions are very limited. Their use of the non-standard extra lengthening of vowels aims to demonstrate their membership to their local speech community and identify themselves with it. It could also be a way to resist the idea that their role is still subordinate to men because they either work hard at home or have become the breadwinners of their family. LWC Cairene women aim to construct an assertive, forceful social identity to prove themselves as members whose opinions should be valued in the society. Therefore, the above findings have shown how gender interacts with other social factors, such as social class and culture to better understand social groups and social identities. (Eckert & McConnell Ginet, 1999)

6. Conclusion

Sociolinguists have recently turned their attention to the role played by gender. This maybe because of the changes in the women's status in the contemporary society all over the world. Sociolinguists have become interested in studying language variation and gender in minority groups, especially working class groups who have recently come under scrutiny (Coates, 2015). This study has investigated the effect of gender on realizing phonological variation in Colloquial Cairene Arabic among the LWC members in Greater Cairo. It has proved that the social class, sociocultural norms and the social every day practices have interplayed with gender to construct the social identity of women in these local communities. Women in the LWC in Greater Cairo use the non-standard extra-long vowels significantly unlike their male counterparts who are in relative contact with the standard forms in the workplace, and thus accommodate their speech to the linguistic marketplace.

For women, extra lengthening of vowels is a means of showing solidarity with their members in the social network; it is a way to show toughness, forcefulness and self-confidence. They have become -because of the economic and social circumstances in the country - the breadwinners of their families just like men and would like to construct a social identity whose voice is heard in their community. Therefore, gender roles and how they are perceived and constructed in the society motivate linguistic practices and contribute in clarifying individual choice and frequent use of certain variants more than others.

This research work is an attempt to contribute to the sociolinguistic work conducted in Cairo. It has limitations because of the sample of population which was limited to 8 male informants and 16 female informants of different age ranges. All informants were from the LWC speech community which represents the far end of the social class continuum. No other social classes were included such as the upper working, lower middle classes and upper middle classes. Only the variants

of three phonological variables have been investigated: the long vowels /aa/, /ee/, and /aa/. The focus was only on examining the vowel length of tokens produced of these long vowels by the informants.

Further investigation and research is recommended with a larger number of speakers from different age groups to investigate this stigmatized linguistic feature among men and women from different social classes and age groups. Studying the phonological environments in which the lengthening of vowels occurs is recommended for future sociolinguistic and acoustic studies. It would be interesting to examine how gender as an extra linguistic variable affects the production of the realization of vowels and other phonological features among speakers in Egypt as well as other Arab countries in which similar phonological variation may occur.

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Appendix

Sample Judgment Task of an interview with a LWC female informant

من فضلك اقرأ الحوار قبل الاستماع الي التسجيل. تستطيع اعادته اكثر من مرة. بعد الاستماع الي التسجيل برجاء الحكم علي طريقة نطق الحروف المتحركة . تستطيع الاستماع الي الكلمات كما تشاء.

يوجد تحت الكلمات المختارة خط في الحوار. من فضلك احكم علي نطق الحرف المتحرك بالكلمة باختيار وصف من الاتي مما بين القوسين:

- طويل بزيادة /علي غير المألوف - طويل - قصير

Recording #1

الاسم : ح . ا

س: اه مشكلتك! بطاقة التموين!

- البطاقة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) البطاقة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اه اصلا الولد ده بقاله

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ما نزلش في نقط العيش

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) والبقايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نزلوه وهو مانزلش مانزلش الا في نقط العيش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) و بس التموين بقاله (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) سنتين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بالله عليكم هو ده مش فرد من ضمن الناس (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

وانتي عارفه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ان هي اساسا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الدنيا غلا و كوى

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) انتي جيتي على غفله بصي حضرتك انا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بلم فاه ف حبة كانز.

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وحبه عيش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وحبه بلاستيك (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) من الشارع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) دلوقتي الغلا والكوى ده مش مخلى حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

المهم اروح المهم و اروح ابيهم عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اعرف اجيب حبه خضار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مش حته لحمه .. حبه خضار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) حبه العدس بقت بسبعه وعشرين جنبه .. الكيلو بقا بسبعه وعشرين جنبه .. انا معايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خمس عيال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الاتنين اتنين .. دولك طلعا اصلا .. اجوزوا بس معايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تلاته (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فوق روس بعضهم .. اهه واهوا اصغر واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فيهم واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الللى هو الاكبر ثالثه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ثانوى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ... كل دول بقى ف مدارس (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فكل دوت اساسا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فوق دماغى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) والدروس ووجع القلب والههم الثقيل.

- والرجال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اساسا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) غلبان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وعلى قد حاله (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بسكر وضغط طبعا ورجله كانت (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بتورم قبل كده وكان يقعد من الشغل باستمرار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فالواحدة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ان ماكنتش تقف جنب جوزها مش هتعمل حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بس الغلى والكوى ده مش هيخلينا نعمل حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مش عارفين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نعمل اى حاجه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خالص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

Sample Judgment Task of an interview with a LWC male informant

من فضلك اقرأ الحوار قبل الاستماع الي التسجيل. تستطيع اعادته اكثر من مرة. بعد الاستماع الي التسجيل برجاء الحكم علي طريقة نطق الحروف المتحركة . تستطيع الاستماع الي الكلمات كما تشاء.

يوجد تحت الكلمات المختارة خط في الحوار. من فضلك احكم علي نطق الحرف المتحرك بالكلمة باختيار وصف من الاتي مما بين القوسين:

- طويل بزيادة /علي غير المألوف - طويل/ العادي - قصير

Recording # 18

الاسم: ر. ج

س: بتقضي وقت فراغك في أه؟!!

ربيع: لأ أنا معنديش وقت فراغ (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير). أنا شغال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عطلول لأن أنا راجل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) صنايعي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وشغلتي مافهاش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) فراغ (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خالص (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).. أنا شغال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الاربعة و عشرين ساعة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خدمة مستمرة.

س: أربعة وعشرين في الأربعة وعشرين..؟

ربيع: ما بنماش ولا بقعد.. ولاهي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ومش مكفي العيشة غالية (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وكل الحاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) غليت والله يباركله (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بقى اللي على علينا الرز والسكر.. دحنا مش لاقيين سكر.. الواحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) متقريف.. عايز أشرب شاي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

س: ولاهي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ياعم ربيع احنا مش عارفين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) نقول لحضرتك أيه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).. يعينك رينا ياعم ربيع.

أنا تعبت ولاهي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وبعدين أنا راجل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) قصير) يعني حاربت

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) للبلد دي.. كان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) المفروض يبقى وضعي أحسن من كده كتير.. أنا حضرت ثلاثة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وسبعين

وحضرت الحرب وحضرت اللهم صلى علي سيدنا محمد تحرير سيناء (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) .. يعني .. وبعدين أنا طلعت من الجيش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اشتغلت في الحكومة .. خدمت في الحكومة وخدمت الجيش (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وخدمت الأمة العربية كلها وفي الآخر .. أنا تعبان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تعبان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خالص

(طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أه ولاهي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) والريسا بقى الله يمسهم بالخير (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وبيارك لهم (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) .. عبد الناصر (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الله يرحمه كان غشيم .. ولاهي كان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) راجل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وإخد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الدنيا بصدرة عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) هو صعيدي من أسويط من بني مر .. أنا رحمت بلدهم ..

السادات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الله يبارك له (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ويرحمه ويبشيش الطوبة اللي تحت دماغه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أنصف راجل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مسك البلد دي الله يرحمه .. من أيام (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الملك والفساد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) شغال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) في البلد ولغاية (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) دلوقتي الفساد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) شغال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مغيث حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) هنا في البلد بتمشي إلا بالفلوس الرشاوي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) تعبت أكثر من الأول .. الحكومة ياياشا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مبهدلانا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بيوقفونا يا جدع في الشارع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) كده يعملولوا عوايد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ولا يعملولوا ضريبة .. المهم أنه يدفع .. أه هو احنا فين (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ياجدعان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) .. ينفع الكلام (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ده ولا احنا غلطنا ولا أه (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

س: يعنيك رينا يا عم ربيع علي حالك (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير)
الناس (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) كلها دنا واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) من ماية (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وخمسين مليون .. يعني كتر خيرنا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أنا واحد (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عندي خمسة و ستين سنة مشفتش فيهم يوم

كوبس..خمسة وستين سنة واخذهم (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ضغط ليل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ونهار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بس ألاقى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اللقمة عشان (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ممدش ايدي على حاجة (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مش بتاعتى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

س: ربنا يعينك بالحلال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ياعم ربيع؟

أنا الحمد لله أنا اللي تعبني في حياتي (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) إن أنا راجل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ماشى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) بشرفي وبيكرامتى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) وعمرى ماكلت لقمة حرام (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ولا بتاع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) مشاكل (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) ولا بتاع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) خناقات (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) أنا كل اللي في دماغى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) الشغل وبعيالى (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

أنا معايا (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) انتاشر (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) عيل واربعة وعشرين حفيد.. يعني المفروض الحكومة تتديني مزرعة اقعد فيها أنا والعيال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير).

س: لا الحكومة ما بتديش مزارع (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) لحد ياعم ربيع .

ربيع: وشوية الخضار (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) اللي يزرعوهم أخلى العيال (طويل بزيادة - طويل - قصير) يكلوهم.