

# **ECONOMY AS A FACTOR IN LANGUAGE CHANGE**

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The various sides of a society such as the economy, politics, education, language etc. interact constantly to shape the society in the form that we see it at any particular time. The relationship among the different aspects of the society is similar to the relationship among a collection of interlocked gears within a winding watch. The movement of any one gear will set other gears in the watch in motion, albeit to different degrees. The same concept can be applied to society. Thus a change in any aspect of the society will be reflected in subsequent changes in other domains of the society.

In this paper we will look at some linguistic changes in Qatari dialect (hereafter QD) which occurred as the result of societal changes. Since the early fifties Qatar has been enjoying a boom economy due to the increase in oil revenues. Oil and the subsequent importation of modern technology that followed have left their mark on many aspects of life in Qatar, such as the changes in the family systems from an extended family system to a nuclear system (al-Easa 1980), the increase in population (al-Khayyat 1982), changes in attitudes (Melikian & al-Easa 1978), and changes in the patterns of education (al-Misnad 1985). Language is no different from other social dimensions and is affected by changes in other social aspects. It is subject to the same principle. As Ferdinand de Saussure said "time changes all things: there is no reason why language should escape this universal law" (quoted in Aitchison 1981:16).

*Linguistic changes take on two different forms. "Some forms of linguistic changes may be relatively natural, in the sense that they are liable to occur in all linguistic systems, without external stimulus, because of the inherent nature of linguistic systems themselves.. Other types of linguistic changes, on the other hand, may be relatively non-natural, in the sense that they take place mainly as the result of language contact. They ....are not due to the inherent nature of language systems, but to processes that take place*

*in a particular sociolinguistic situation" (Trudgill 1983 :102).*

The changes in QD that will be considered in this paper are not autonomous movements within the confines of a linguistic system but rather a complex response to many aspects of human behaviour. These changes belong to the second category in Trudgill's classification i.e. "non-natural changes". They must be examined within the broad social perspective. For language is ultimately a social phenomenon, and it is natural to look at the social environment in order to find plausible explanations to many linguistic phenomena. Speech serves a social function, both as a mean of communication and also as a vehicle through which one identifies oneself with groups and subgroups in the society. The study of language patterns without reference to the society which uses it is really excluding the possibility of arriving at a social explanation for the linguistic structures and forms that are used (Hudson 1980). Therefore nowadays it is commonly accepted that language and society are one unified whole which needs to be observed, understood and investigated as an inseparable unit; neither of them would exist in isolation from the other there can be no social man without language and no language without social man (Halliday).

We can divide linguistic changes that have occurred in the QD as a result of economic and social changes into the following:

- A-The elimination of lexical items related to pearling,
- B-Borrowing from English,
- C-The influence of Standard Arabic.

**A - The elimination of words related to the pearling industry:**

Prior to the oil era the sea in general and the pearl-fishing industry in particular occupied an important position in the life of people living in Qatar, as well as in other Gulf countries. It had the same economic status, if not more, that oil enjoys nowadays. The historical importance of pearl diving is reflected in the following statement made by the ruler of Qatar in 1863 to the English traveller Palgrave:

*"We are all from the highest to the lowest slaves to one master*

*'Pearl' said to me one evening Mohammed eben-Thani, chief of Bedaa All thought, all conversation, all employment turns on one subject; everything else is mere by-gone and below secondary consideration" (Morehead 1977:45 quoted in Melikian & al-Easa 1978:5).*

Similar ideas are also expressed by al-Duwaik (1979:49) when he writes that

*"a hundred years ago a traveller came to Qatar and said that people depend for their living entirely on the sea .They spend six months on the sea looking for pearls while the other half of year is spent in fishing or sea trading .Thus people's real homes are the infinite number of boats which fill the quiet harbour".*

Thus the sea and all related activities, especially the pearl-fishing industry, were the centre of the economic and social structure of Qatari society. Such importance was reflected in the large number of lexical items related to the domain of pearling, as the following two sets of examples show. List "A" is different names of pearls while list "B" consists of names of crew members <sup>(1)</sup>.

**List A "types of pearls" (al-Azzi 1983 : 19-20 ) :**

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| 1-/d3i:wi:n/   | "beautiful and it is fully round.                           |
| 2-/ʃri:n/      | "nice"  |
| 3-/9o:iwa/     | "not round, half egg-shaped and flat on the back"           |
| 4-/badla/      | "has clear colour but different shapes"                     |
| 5-/yaka/       | "the one"   |
| 6-/fas/        | "good pearl tight in the oyster and removed by specialists" |
| 7-/inad3hu:la/ | "big pearl"   |
| 8-/ra:s        | "biggest pearl in size"                                     |
| 9-/baTin/      | "second to number 9 in size".                               |
| 10-/xaʃin/     | "fully round but small"                                     |
| 11-/tanbu:l/   | "like tears in shape"                                       |
| 12-/xaʃra/     | "group of pearls fixed to the inside of the shell"          |
| 13-/saHti:/    | "small ones; not good"                                      |

- 14-/d3a:lis/ "has a base-like cushion on which it rests"  
 15-/baiDa:wi:/ "like the egg in shape"  
 16-/naxd3i/ "like beans"  
 17-/mu:ri:/ "like a tamarind"  
 18-/Tabli:/ "like a drum"  
 19-/robya:ni:/ "like shrimps"  
 20-/ʃadsi:/ "flat and small like lentil"  
 21-/ʒe:l/ "third in size after 9 and 10"  
 22-/na:ʃim/ "group of pearls which are soft and nice but are weighed together because they are small"  
 23-/sinda:li:/ "good but it has what looks like decoration"  
 24-/sad3ni:/ "big pearl with decoration; sometimes as two pearls"  
 25-/moʃi:r/ "fully round with redishness. It is one of the best and rarest"  
 26-/zod3a:d3i:/ "shining white, almost transparent"  
 27-/ra:bʃa/ "fourth in size after 9, 10 and 22"  
 28-/omi we:na/ "has one decoration whether it is round or flat"  
 29-/ka:wu:ki:/ "unevenly round"

**List B "Names of crew members":**

- 1-/no:xiʒa/ "captain of the ship"  
 2-/md3addimi/ "captain's assistant"  
 3-/banda:r/ "accountant"  
 4-/sku:ni:/ "the steering man"  
 5-/ʒe:S/ "the diver"  
 6-/si:b/ "diver's assistant "  
 7-/riDi:f/ "si:b's assistant"  
 8-/tabba:b/ "the boy or servant"  
 9-/nahha:m/ "the singer"

After the discovery of oil and the introduction of moder economic

structures, the pearl-fishing industry was completely abandoned, for the more profitable and less risky field of the oil industry. This transition from a pearl-based economy to the modern oil industry resulted in the elimination of a large number of lexical items from everyday usage of the language. They were words related to pearling. The loss occurred quite rapidly i.e. in the span of one generation. The extent of this loss is immense. In fact, in many radio and television quiz shows the younger generation are asked about words that 40 years ago were among the most frequent words in everyday life. Ironically many of them do not know the meaning of the words, although their grandfathers could not live without them. Here are some examples of these words:

- 1-/he:r/ "the place where oysters are found"
- 2-/tisga:m/ "loan given to the divers"
- 3-/slifi:/ "a diver who takes loans from the merchant before the diving season starts"
- 4-/xamma:si:/ "a diver who does not take a loan before the diving season"
- 5-/gaffa:l/ "end of the diving season".

However, the loss of these words is not surprising. Elements of the linguistic structure, and mainly words and expressions, exist to meet the needs of people to communicate with one another. New items and expressions are introduced to meet new needs and functions just as the old-fashioned expressions and items are lost, because they appear to have lost their usefulness.

The process of lexical loss is an example of lexical innovation which reflects cultural change. Since change does not only mean the addition of new elements but also the elimination of certain previously existing elements and the modification or reorganisation of the others (Acholonn & Penfield 1980). The elimination process is an example of the strong link between language and the society.

Interestingly, words related to fishing such as :

- /Hda:g/ "fishing"
- /mi:da:r/ "hook"

- /yi:m/            "bait"
- /yanbir/        "to bite"
- /Hallali:/      "to catch two fishes at the same time"

did not disappear and are still an active part of the lexicon of QD. This is due to fact that fishing is still a well established activity in the society, either as a hobby or as a profession, whereas pearling simply does not exist.

The elimination of certain items and the retention of others show that economic factors are obviously very important in influencing the shape of the language at any particular time . The internal economic development of a country may very well involve shifts in the internal linguistic balance, so that some elements are cancelled while new ones are introduced (Wardhaugh 1987).

### **B-Borrowing fom English: (2)**

Borrowing is the transfer of an item from language X to language Y. In this case we refer to X as the donor language and Y as the recipient language This presupposes that the item in question has no equivalent in the recipient language. This is largely true although some borrowings occure for reasons other than a "gap-filling" function.

The term borrowing is somewhat a misleading word, since it implies that the elements in question are taken from the donor language for a limited period of time and then returned, which is not the case. The items are actually copied in the system of the recipient language, rather than borrowed in the strict sense of the term (Aitchison 1981).

The borrowing phenomenon is not confined to QD alone. It is evident in all languages. Every language must have borrowed from another language(s) at some time. Therefore we can say that just as no culture has evolved entirely in isolation, so there is no language that has not borrowed elements from other language(s). It is equally true to say that borrowing is not a new phenomenon in QD, nor is it restricted to the oil era. QD has witnessed borrowing from other languages, mainly Persian and to a lesser extent Urdu, as the following examples show :

-/xa:na/	"rank, position"	Persian
-/stika:na/	"tea cup"	Persian
-/hast/	"exist, available"	Persian
-/dirwa:za/	"door"	Persian
-/da:l/	"lentil"	Urdu
-/d3u:ti:/	"shoe"	Urdu
-/ku:li:/	"coolie"	Urdu

However the present post-oil borrowing is different from the previous process on two levels. On the one hand, the source of borrowing is different. Nowadays almost all the borrowings are from English, whereas they used to be from Persian and Urdu. Before the discovery and the production of oil in the 1940s Qatar and other Gulf States had considerable contact with the Persian coast and India, and contact is a necessary although not sufficient condition for movements of linguistic elements from one language to the other. Judging from the number of borrowed items from Persian and Urdu we can say that the influence of the Persian and Indian cultures on Qatari society was greater than the British impact during the pre-oil era. This is not to deny some British influence at that period. After all there are some English items in QD that are dated to the pre-oil period. Here are some examples :

-/land3/	"boat , launch"
-/d3a:lbu:t/	"jolly boat"
-/baTin/	"a type of pearl, from the word button"

The other difference between the old and the new borrowing is the extent of borrowing. Hundreds of English words and expressions entered QD as the result of the introduction of modern technology which was triggered off by oil and the subsequent wealth that followed. Similar penetration of English into other Arabic dialects may have occurred for other reasons such as colonization. These items are related to various aspects of life. Here are some examples from certain domains :

**a - House-hold equipment :**

-/tilfizyʉ:n/	"television"
-/re:dyu:/	"radio"
-/fre:zar/	"freezer"

**b - Oil industry :**

-/rig/	"rig"
-/bitro:l/	"petrol"
-/o:bik/	"Opec"

**c - Medical services :**

-/dokto:r/ /daxtar/	"doctor"
-/ne:rs/	"nurse"
-/isbe:ta:l/	"hospital"

**d - Transportation :**

-/taksi :/	"taxi"
-/ba:S/	"bus"
-/dre:wəl/	"driver"

**e - Machinery :**

-/hidil/	"handle"
-/de:nema/	"dynamo"
-/ge:r/	"gear"

**f - Sports :**

-/ko:nar/	"corner"
-/basketbo:l/	"basketball"
-/go:l/	"goal"

However borrowed items did not flow into QD as the result of a planned process. This is because borrowing is largely an unconscious mechanism and that is why it is difficult to observe it directly, except in cases when loan words are linked to historical events or are



introduced by a decision from an authority with power to enforce its implementation.<sup>(3)</sup> (Fabian 1 982).

Looking at the borrowed items in the QD we notice that the great majority of them belong to the noun class. This is quite natural since detachable elements are most liable to borrowing and are commonly taken over from the donor language. Bynon puts forward this idea clearly when she writes :

*"with regard to which lexical classes are susceptible to borrowing, it is generally claimed that members of the open classes (nouns, verbs, adjectives) are more readily borrowed than those of closed classes (pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions) and that nouns are the most frequently borrowed class everywhere. This distribution could however be to some extent simply a reflection of the overall sizes of the classes concerned and of the fact that the great majority of borrowed words are names of new objects or materials" (1977:231).*

The second noticeable point is that the borrowed items are assimilated phonologically and syntactically to different degrees to fit in with the structure of the QD. Speakers are generally not aware of the distortion they impose on the borrowed words when they use them in everyday language (examples will be mentioned later).

Borrowing takes on various forms and fashions. On the level of phonological / morphological modification we can distinguish the following types. There are items which undergo phonological substitution at the phonemic level. Thus when a speaker is using a borrowed English word there is a well attested tendency to assimilate the English segments towards equivalents in the QD. The substitution needn't be the nearest in acoustic terms, but rather ones that occupy a similar contrastive position in the sound system of the recipient language (Gibbons 1987). In the case of borrowing in the QD the very obvious case is the change of English phonemes /p/ and /v/ into /b/ and /f/ or /w/ respectively, and the change of vowels to their nearest equivalents in the phonological system of the QD. Here are some examples :

borrowed word	modifications
-/wɪlf/ "valve"	the initial /v/ is changed into /w/ and the final /v/ into /f/. The vowel is changed from /ɜ/ into short high front unrounded /i/.
-/e:k/ "cheque"	the phoneme /tʃ/ is changed into /ʃ/.
-/le:t/ "light"	the diphthong /ai/ became monophthong /e:/.
-/bɪnɔ:lti:/ "penalty"	/p/ is changed into /b/.
-/fu:l / "full"	the lax vowel /ʊ/ becomes long high back rounded /u:/.

However there are a few borrowed items that retain their original pronunciation although they contain sounds which are not part of the phonological system of the QD. For example the word "video" is not pronounced as /vi:dyu/ as expected, but as /vi:dyu/. The same applies to the car brand name "Volvo". It is pronounced /vo:lvo/. A third example is the word "visa" which has retained its original pronunciation. These items are very low in number and therefore must be looked upon as exceptional cases. But if the number increases they might have some influence on the phonological system of the QD. In other words they might force a phonemic split of the phoneme /f/ into /f/ and /v/.

At the opposite end we have items which entered the QD with no change at all or very minimal change in the vowel quality. This is due to the fact that their original pronunciation fits in with the phonological system of the QD. Here are some examples:

- /bɒnk/ "bank"
- /ke:k/ "Cake"
- /ɪndɪks/ "index"
- /fre:m/ "frame"
- /faɪl/ "file"

A further type of borrowing may be referred to as "loan blends" (Appel & Mysken 1987). It means that a hybrid form is made of two parts, one of which is borrowed while the other one is native

Examples of loan blends in the QD are:

1-/daftar	ʃe:ka:t/	"cheque book"
2-/ ʃari:T	alvi:dyu:/	"video cassette"
3-/d3iha:z	kombiyu:tar/	"computer machine"
4-/boli:Sat	ta?mi:n/	"insurance policy"
5-/boli:s	alnd3da/	"rescue police"

In examples 1, 2 and 3 the first part of the blend is Arabic while the second part is English. Thus the words /daftar/, / ʃari:T/ and /d3iha:z/ mean "book", "cassette" and "machine" or "set" respectively. In examples 4 and 5 the opposite is true. Here the second part of the blend is Arabic. Thus /ta? mi:n/ means "insurance" and /nad3da/ is "rescue".

The last type of borrowing on the phonological / morphological substitution is "loan translations" or "calques". They are sometimes referred to as "loan shifts". In this type of borrowing the meaning, whether simple or composite is imported but the forms representing that meaning are native. This type is placed at the extreme end of the borrowing scale because they bear no resemblance in their phonological structure to foreign words on which they are based. They involve the translation of morpheme for morpheme or word for word. The loan translations in the QD retain their English syntactic and semantic values but the morphemes and words of which calques are formed are Arabic. Here are some examples:

the calques	explanation
-/la:silki:/	/la:/ means no and /silki/ means "wire", thus the two mean "nowire" or "wireless".
-/ ahr il asal/	/ ahr/ means month and / asal/ is "honey". Thus we have "honey month" or "honey moon".
-/Ha:ris almarma:/	/Ha:ris/ is "keeper" or "guardian". /marma:/ is goal. So the configuration of the two words means "goalkeeper".
-/Darba rokniyya/	/Darba/ means "a kick" and /rokn/ is "corner", thus the two items give us "corner kick".

These examples illustrate that borrowing may involve levels of syntax and semantics without involving pronunciation at all (Hudson 1980).

From the derivational perspective we can divide the borrowed items into two categories. On the one hand there are items that are only used as one part of speech, mainly noun. The majority of loan words come under this group. This is because most of the loan words are names of objects. For example words like :

-/aryil/	"aerial"
-/mo:tar/	"motor or car"
-/bo:y/	"boy or servant"

are only used as nouns and related verbs, infinitives or verbal nouns, active and passive participles are not derived from these words. The only usage of these items in the QD is as nouns, whether singular or plural.

The other category, on the other hand, includes words that undergo a full derivational process. The number of words in this category is quite small. This is due to the fact that nouns are the most frequently borrowed items from one language to another. For example the word "finish" has been borrowed into the dialect as a verb /yifanni ʃ / which means to quit a job or to terminate someone's service. But many related items have been derived from the word "finish" as following:

-/yifanni ʃ /	"to quit a job"	"verb"
-/tafni: ʃ /	"termination of a job"	"infinitive"
-/mofanni ʃ /	"person who terminates someone's contract"	"active participle"
-/mfanna ʃ /	"person whose contract is terminated".	"passive participle"

Another example of this type of loan words is the word "cancel" which is mainly used as a verb but other parts of speech can be derived from it as well, as following :

-/yikansil/	"to cancel"	"verbn
-/mkansal/	"is canceled"	"passive participle"
-/mkansil/	"he canceled"	"active participle"
-/tikinsil/	"to cancel"	"infinitive" .

At the semantic level we can distinguish two types of borrowing: general and specific. Items in the general category are used to refer to all members of the class in question just as speakers do in the donor language i.e. British and Americans. To illustrate the point let us look at the word /le:t/ "light". This word is used in the QD to refer to all type of lights, regardless of the purpose, domain of usage or the material of which the object is made. For example the same word is used to refer to table lamps, car lights, bulbs and light. The general type includes items which serve a gap-filling function in the lexicon of the QD. In other words, when these loan items were borrowed into the dialect there were no native equivalents and they therefore were generalised to all domains . Other examples would be /fre:m/ "frame", /le:t/ "light", /kart/ "card" etc.

The other category i.e. specific, however, refers to items which have entered the QD and are used in one particular context. In other contexts an equivalent native word is employed. This is because the loan words were borrowed in relation to that specific context. We may refer to this type as "semantic specialisation". These items definitely do not work as a gap-filling device. For example words like:

-/a:yil/	"oil"
-/si:t/	"seat"
-/swi:tʃ/	"key"
-/le:san/	"licence"

are only used when the discourse is about cars. Other native items are used in other contexts .The native equivalents are:

-/dihin/, /ze:t/	"oil"
-/kirsi:/	"seat, chair"
-/mifta:H	"key"
-/roxSa/	licence"

Thus if the discourse is about cooking or treatment the word /a:yil/ is not used but instead the word /dihin/ or /ze:t/ is employed. Likewise, when we talk about a key of a drawer, cupboard, home, bedroom, store etc the borrowed word /swi:t / is not used, instead the native item /mifta:H/ is employed. Similar points could be made about the relationship between /si:t/, /le:sa:n/ and /kirsi:/, /roxSa/ respectively.

Finally we can classify borrowing from English on the level of usage into two kinds. Certain items prevail across the whole society. In other words all members of the society need and use them either because they refer to commodities or because they do not have Arabic equivalents, such as /tilflzyu:n/ "TV", /balak/ "plug" etc. Other items are, however, restricted in their usages. They are "professional borrowings" and are employed among the professionals in a particular field. Most of these items are terminologies or technical words such as "linguistics", "phoneme", "holding company", "draft" etc.

The professional borrowing occurs for two reasons. On the one hand, the speaker, especially if he is trained in West, may find it easier to fill the gap, as it were, by inserting the English word in the middle of his utterance, rather than think of the Arabic equivalent. On the other hand, he may simply use the English word to give an English flavour to his speech and thus acquire a certain degree of social prestige.

Factors responsible for borrowings from English are diverse and interact with one another. Firstly, the flow of the linguistic materials from one language to another follows the route of development of civilization. In other words, the more advanced countries will export technology and commodities to the less advanced ones; simultaneously they export part of their language as well. In this respect language borrowing is a form of cultural borrowing. At the present time English has more to offer than Arabic has, thus English vocabularies have penetrated Arabic language and dialects. This is to say that "the paths of lexical borrowing reflect to a certain extent the path of cultural influence" (Zughoul 1978:220) (4).

Secondly, English is the international language at the present

time as shown from the following statistics. English is the most widely spoken language in the world. It is the official language in 25 countries and co-official in another 17. The nearest rival is French which is the official language in 19 and co-official in 9 countries. In the world of trade and commerce the dominance of English is unquestionable. The English speaking countries are responsible for one third of the world's national product (French speaking countries for one-fifth)(Wardhaugh 1987). When it comes to writing and publication, English is again dominant. For example it has been reported that 88% of all articles in "Science Citation Index" are in English and recent data indicate that the trend is consistent (Grabe 1988). New titles and books are not different; one-fifth of all new titles are books published in English (French counts for one-twelfth) (Wardhaugh 1987).

These facts demonstrate that it would be extremely difficult to keep up with current scientific activities without knowing English or having immediate access to a good translation from English. Therefore, at the present time most languages, not only Arabic, are under the influence of English (5).

Thirdly, with the introduction of the oil industry and the increase in the number of foreign expatriates in Qatar, the use of some form of English as a lingua franca became common. Because of the factors mentioned above, speaking English or attempts at speaking English gradually took on a certain prestige value. Borrowing selected English terms, words or phrases to be used among Qataris in a Qatari speaking context became related and associated with modern and progressive ideas and attitudes. Thus English was used more and more by those with a modern drive. They looked at English for new vocabularies. It was inevitable that English loan words would penetrate the everyday QD. The introduction of English in the schools on regular bases and the exposure to English while studying in Britain or in U.S.A. enhanced the borrowing process and made English increasingly popular.

Fourthly, most of the loan words serve as gap-filling devices. It is natural that when a country imports a product for which it has no ready made word, the country would import the name of the object too. This is, however not to deny that some English words have

entered the dialect for other purposes like talking about taboo subjects and areas, as in words "sexy", "sex", "toilet" which sound less vulgar than their native counterparts.

Finally, the Protection Treaty which Qatar signed with Britain in 1916 had definitely its impact on the course of future development of the country. It obviously directed Qatar towards English speaking countries especially Britain.

However, no particular factor can be selected per se and made solely responsible for borrowing from English. But interaction among all these factors is an important element. Of course some factors like the Protection Treaty and the fact that English is the major language of science at the present time have played more influential roles than other factors .

### **C - The influence of Standard Arabic :**

All Arab countries are characterised by diglossia as described by Ferguson (1959). In these countries two modes of speech are used for communication; High code (H) is used for writing or formal interactions and Low code (L) is employed for informal purposes. Prior to the oil era diglossia in the true sense of the word was limited to a small number of people in Qatar, because of the high level of illiteracy among the Qataris. In other words the majority of people were monolingual. They had an active command of the L code only, although they could understand the H code when used by others. The diglottes were the elite who had access to and could afford basic traditional education with clergymen "Motawa".

After the discovery of oil and the widespread availability of formal education more and more people developed an active competence in Standard Arabic i.e. H code. The first formal school for boys was opened in 1951 and in 1956 for girls. In 1989 the total number of schools was 178 equally divided between the two sexes.

The introduction of a formal educational system is a crucial factor in the emergence of a true diglossic community, since in all such communities the H code is only aquired non-natively i.e. via the educational process. Thus with the spread of education, a wider sector of the community became diglottes. In fact the younger generation are expected to be educated or at least to be able to read



and write. This means that they are exposed to the influence of the H code in all forms of written materials.

With the spread of the H code, an interesting case of linguistic competition between the Standard Arabic and English has emerged. Arabic has been trying hard to replace the English loan words in the QD. The result of the competition can be divided into the following:

**a - Successful replacement :**

In the first period that followed the introduction of the oil industry in Qatar, many English words entered the QD as names of objects or institutions. With the spread of formal education and mass media Standard Arabic words replaced the foreign elements. The successful cases are largely due to the fact that the English borrowed items are localized and are not used outside the Gulf region in places like Egypt or the Levant area. In those countries the equivalent Arabic word is used. When the Egyptians and the Palestinians started to arrive in the country in mid 1950s they were looked upon as the elites of the society since most of them worked as clerks or teachers. Therefore the locals followed their suit in using the Arabic words rather than the nativized borrowed words. Thus nowadays people use the Arabic replacements; the English loan items do not appear except occasionally in the language of the older generation. Here are some examples:

English loan words		Arabic replacement
-/o:f/	"off"	/id3a:za/
-/isbe:ta:l/	"hospital"	/mostaf3a:/
-/ste: ʃ an/	"station"	/markaz/
-/ʃ ambalu:ns/	"ambulance"	/is ʃ a:f/
-/kombani:/	"company"	./ ʃ arika/

**b - Semi-successful replacement :**

Some English items entered the QD as a gap-filling device i.e. they had no equivalents in Arabic at the time of borrowing. However, due to efforts of the Arabic language academies equivalent Arabic words were coined and advocated via the educational system, mass media and other government institutions. Gradually the newly coined words acquired popularity and were used alongside the English

words. They have not yet completely replaced the foreign items and whether they will eventually do so or not remains to be seen. Thus at the present time there are sometimes two words, one Arabic and one English, which refer to the same entity. Examples of this category are:

English loan word		Arabic equivalent
-/dokto:r/	"doctor"	/Tabi:b/
-/tilifu:n/	"telephone"	/ha:tif/
-/ne:rs/	"nurse"	/momarriDa/
-/kinde:ʃan/	"air condition"	/mokayyif/
-/a:yil/	"oil"	/ze:t/

### c - Unsuccessful replacement :

The majority of the English loan words are included under this type. These are items which prevail in most of the Arabic dialects and for which the language academies have coined Arabic equivalents, but these equivalents are never used in reality. They are so rare that a layman may not know what they mean. The failure may be due to fact that government institutions do not use the Arabic equivalents themselves and thus they are not emphasized frequently enough, whereas the English words are constantly used and reinforced. Another factor is the availability of more than one Arabic equivalent for a single loan word such as /Ha:su:b/, /alHa:sib/ which mean "computer". This could also be due to the fact that coining a word would not guarantee its usage by native speakers. Academies cannot force people to use the Arabic equivalents instead of the English loan words. A detailed investigation of why the majority of coined words have failed to replace the loan ones is beyond the scope of this paper which is rather descriptive. Examples of the unsuccessful replacement are:

English loan words		Arabic equivalent
-/bre:k/	"brake"	/ka:biH/
-/ge:r/	"gear"	/toru:s/
-/aryil/	"aerial"	/hawa:ʔi:/
-/sba:na/	"spanner"	/mafak/
-/ra:dyu:/	"radio"	/mi ʔya:ʔ/.

In this paper three areas of language change in the QD have been investigated to show that the final shape of a language is not purely a linguistic matter; but rather that many non-linguistic elements, directly or indirectly, are involved in making the language what it is at any particular time.

The process of the elimination of certain categories of vocabularies, mainly those related to pearling, and the introduction of others in the QD is tied to changes in the economic pattern of the society which triggered off subsequent societal changes. The changes in the QD show that the link between language and society is very strong and that the process of language change is no more than a reflection of changes in some aspects of the society because social pressures are continually exerting an influence upon the language, and because society is an integrative unit therefore its various parts must change in the same direction if the integration is to be kept.

### **Notes :**

- 1 - The phonetic transcription follows the IPA system except for the velarised sounds which are represented with capital letters and the low back vowel which is represented as /a/ "short" or /a:/ "long".
- 2 - The aim of this paper is not to find or discuss the procedures of identifying loan words but rather the phenomena associated with the transfer of linguistic items across language boundaries from one language to another.
- 3 - An example of this would be the introduction of the word "intifada" meaning "uprising" into the English language after the uprising of the Palestinian people in December 1987.
- 4 - Many Arabic words entered the English language when Arabs were the leading civilisation such as "admiral", "zero", "alcohol", "algebra" etc. The language penetration could be quite deep and may take on a form of imperialism (see Fasold 1984 : 10).
- 5 - Similar tendencies are also reported in many other countries, such as Japan (see Stanlaw 1987) and West Germany (see Berns 1988).

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