# Accent Variation in Egyptian Vernacular: a Case Study

# on Al-Minya Accent

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#### Abstract

Every language has its linguistic variation based on different factors; one of which is the geographical region. This research targets Al-Minya dialect as one of the Egyptian vemacular regional dialects. Since linguistic variation is observed in three linguistic levels, i.e. phonetic, lexical, and grammatical, which is too far to be covered in this study, the focus is confined to the phonetic level, namely the accent. This research targets the phonological variables in Al-Minya accent (MA), one of Upper Egyptian accents, in comparison to the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). It investigates the distinctive phonological variables of MA, which result from assimilation, metathesis, intrusion, elision, and vowel changes. It reveals the distinctive types of assimilation in MA. In addition, it deals with the different types of sound elision and sound intrusion as reflected in MA. To achieve these aims, the approaches of Burridge and Bergs as discussed in Understanding Sound Change (2017) and Gordon in Phonological Typology (2016) are used to investigate the data under scrutiny.

The data under analysis include 50 participants from variety of villages in Al-Minya governorate. Their contributions are extracted from number of episodes of Ahl Alkaria Program as broadcasted on Al-Minya TV local channel. The new findings suggest that assimilation in MA is classified into four kinds: pharyngeal, voicing, velar, and bilabial assimilation. In addition, the results reveal that sound intrusion is a distinctive phonological feature of MA. The most intruded phonemes in MA are /bi/ and /samma/ as present tense preverbal markers. Furthermore, sound elision of glottal plosive and glottal fricative are distinctive phonological features of MA rather than Modern Standard Arabic (MSA).

Keywords: Modern standard Arabic- Egyptian vernacular - Al-Minya accent- metathesis - elisionaphesis - syncope - apocope - sound intrusion - prosthesis - anaptyxis - excrescence.

#### تباين اللكنة في العامية المصرية: دراسة حالة للكنة المنيا د. نهله محمد نجيب أحمد خليل الستخلص

ان كل لغة لها تنوعها اللغوي بناءً على عوامل مختلفة؛ أحد هذه العوامل هو المنطقة الجغرافية. يستهدف هذا البحث التباين اللغوي للغمّ الصريمّ العاميمّ والتي تتضمن تنوعًا غنيًا في اللهجات، وتعتبر الهجمّ النبا من اللهجات الإقليمية. ونظرًا لأن الأختلاف اللغوي يُلاحظ في ثلاَّثة مستويات لغوية، أي لفظي ومعجمي ونحوي، وهو موضوع لا يمكن تغطيته في هذه الدراسة، فإن التركيز يقتصر على المستوى الصوتي، أي اللَّكنة. هذا الَّبحث عبَّارة عن دراستّ صوتية للهجة المنيا إحدى لهجات صعيد مصر. وتستهدف هذه الدراسة السمات الصوتية المهيزة للهجة المنيا من خلال تحليل الماثلة الصوتية والتبادل واضافة وحذف الاصوات، وتغييرات حروف العلة. كذلك تكشف هذه الدراسة عن أشكال الإضافة والحذف الصوتى في لهجة المنيا. ولتحقيق هذه الأهداف، تم استخدام مناهج كيت بوردج وألكسندر برجز للتحليل الصوتى في كتابهما *فهم تغيير الصوت* (2017) ومنهج ماثيو ك جوردون في كتابه التصنيف الصوتي الإصدار الأول (2016) وذلك لتحليل العينة موضع الدراسة. وتشمل العينة موضع الدراسة 50 مشاركا من مختَّلف قرى محافظة المنيا. اما عن الاسهامات الكلامية المستهدف تحليلها فقد استمدتّ من عدد من حلقات برنامج أهل القرية المذاع على قناة المنيا المحلية. تشير النتائج الجديدة إلى أن الماثلة الصوتية في لهجة المنيا تتضح في أربع أنواع: المماثلــــّ الصوتيـــّ البلعوميـــّ والجهريــة والحلقيــّ والشفتانيـّ. كذلك تكشف النتائج أيضًا أن

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الإضافة الصوتية هي احدى السمات الصوتية المميزة للهجة المنيا. علاوة على ذلك، يعتبر الحذف الصوتي للأصوات الحلقية الانفجارية والاحتكاكية من السمات الصوتية المميزة للهجة المنيا على خلاف اللغة العربية الفصحى الحدمثة (MSA)

الكلمات المفتاحية : اللغة العربية الفصحى الحديثة – العامية المصرية - لكنة المنيا – القلب المكاني للأصوات – حدف الاصوات – ترخيم مطلعي – ترخيم وسطي – ترخيم نهائي – اقحام الاصوات – الاقحام المطلعي للأصوات – الاقحام الاوسط للصوائت – الاقحام الاوسط للصوامت

#### Introduction

In spite of the rich variation of the Egyptian vernacular, little interest has been paid to dialectal variation in Egyptian communities. This is attributed to the traditional view of considering any linguistic variation from the standard variety as a divergence from the correct norm, i.e. Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Similar to all languages, Arabic language includes two varieties: standard and non-standard variety. The non-standard variety of Arabic language includes an enormous number of dialects; Egyptian variety is one of them. Alternative designations are Colloquial Egyptian, Egyptian, Vernacular (EV), and Egyptian Arabic. The Egyptian vernacular is the most understood linguistic variety among all Arabic varieties. This is attributed to the cinema industry, which is launched from Egypt throughout the Middle East. The spread of Egyptian films, TV programs, songs, and advertisements resulted in wide understanding of Egyptian Vernacular compared to other Arabic Vernaculars. Nonetheless, the current linguistic studies consider the EV as nondiverse variety of Non-Standard Arabic. For example, Brustad (2000) discusses the Egyptian Vernacular as one variety in his comparative study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti dialects. Undoubtedly, this is a misconception since the Egyptian Vernacular is characterized by a huge variety of regional dialects, sociolects, and ethnic dialects. Since regional dialects are the most prominent type of EV, the focus of this research is on Al-Minya accent as one of the regional accents of EV.

Egyptian Vernacular has great influence on none-Egyptian varieties. In his study of native and non-native varieties of Arabic in Kadugli, one of urban centers in Sudan, Manfredi (2013:29) mentions two linguistic influences of the Egyptian Vernacular on Kadugli Arabic. The Egyptian preverbal marker /ħa/ used for expressing future tense

and the Egyptian possessive marker /bitας/ are influences of the Egyptian Arabic on the Urban dialect in Kadugli. Even non-native speakers of Kadugli Arabic use possessive marker /bitας/. In addition, in her study of Moroccan Arabic, Lafkioui (2013: 78) suggests that the negation marker /ma\_\_\_\_ ʃ/, which is applied to non-verbal prediction specifically in adjectival predicates is an influence of Egyptian

Vernacular. This is illustrated in /ma rgīg[/ (he is not thin) i.e. a

## Aims of the Study

quality applied to a male.

This study aims to provide a synchronic analysis of Al-Minya accent. The linguistic variation in Al-Minya accent is clarified in phonetic changes that distinguish Al-Minya accent from the standard variety i.e. Modern Standard Arabic. Assimilation, metathesis, elision, intrusion, and vowel changes are the phonological processes under analysis. Sound assimilation and metathesis are phonological processes that distinguish Al-Minya accent from MSA. Other phonological processes under investigation are elision, which includes aphesis, syncope, and apocope. Moreover, sound intrusion, which includes prothesis, epenthesis, anaptyxis, and paragoge, are detected in Al-Minya accent. Vowel changes include vowel raising, monophthongization, and diphthongization. This research is confined to investigating Al-Minya accent based on segmental-level phonology. It aims to contribute to establishing a linguistic plan of regional accents of Egyptian Vernacular.

### **Methodology and Data**

This research uses the approach of Burridge and Bergs (2017) and Gordon (2016) for sound changes. They are not previously applied to Al-Minya accent to the best of the researcher's knowledge. In addition, it exploits the episodes of *Ahl Alqaria Program* broadcasted on Al-Minya local TV channel. According to Abadi (2016: 72), Al-Minya governorate is one of the most important governorates of Upper Egypt, due to its central location and the unique monuments it contains. It is known as "the beautiful bride of Upper Egypt". It is also known for its Pharaonic, Roman, Greek, Coptic and Islamic monuments. Al-Minya Governorate includes ten towns.

Among them are Al-Rawda, Samalout, Abu Qurqas, Al-Minya, Deir Muas, Mattay, Al-Adwa, Bani Mazar and Ashmounin. The focus is on the phonological characteristics of Al-Minya accent using natural language extracted from the episodes of *Ahl Alqaria program* which has not been studied before to observe the distinctive phonological features of Al-Minya accent.

The approaches of Burridge and Bergs (2017) and Gordon (2016) are selected for a variety of reasons. To the researcher's knowledge, they have not been applied on Al-Minya accent. Second, they pay considerable attention to the sound modifications resulting from changing the phonological properties of sounds, i.e. place, manner of articulation and voicing. Other types of sound changes stem from transposition of phonemes within a lexeme; addition or deletion of a phoneme. Others include increasing sound sonority i.e. lention or decreasing sound sonority i.e. fortion.

The approach followed in this research is delineated by Burridge and Bergs in *Understanding Sound Change* (2017) and by Gordon in *Phonological Typology* 1<sup>st</sup> edition (2016). Gordon (2016: 123) states that sound changes on segmental-level phonology results of certain phonological processes. These processes stem from three kinds of rules: rules related to phonological properties of sounds because of being adjacent as in *assimilation*. Burridge and Bergs (2017: 81) specify place of articulation, manner of articulation and voicing as the three parameters where *assimilation* takes place. In addition, *lenition* and *fortition*, as Gordon (2016: 123) declares, are sound changes on segmental-level. Burridge and Bergs (2017: 81) define lenition as "a shift that sees the strength of sounds diminish (e.g. consonants become more vowel-like".

According to Gordon (2016: 123), the second category of rules relate to different number of phonemes as in *elision* or *insertion*. *Elision* is classified into Aphesis, Syncope, *Apocope*, and haplogy as Burridge and Bergs (2017: 79) mentions. Gordon (2016: 123) adds a third category of rules that relates to different ordering of phonemes within words as in *metathesis* which Burridge and Bergs (2017: 81) attribute to certain combinations of sounds.

Assimilation, metathesis, intrusion, elision and vowel changes are the phonological features under investigation. To detect the distinctive phonological features of Al-Minya accent, one of the Upper Egyptian accents, a sample of 50 participants are selected to represent Al-Minya accent. The contributions provided by the Al-Minya villagers are extracted from Ahl Alqaria program. It is a social program broadcasted on Al-Minya TV local channel. The participants in the program are selected from variety of villages affiliated to Al-Minya governorate. Among the villages represented by the participants are Al-Bahnasa village and Sandafa village in Beni Mazar town; Balansoura village in Abu Qurqas town; Hajj Qandil village in Deir Muas town; Sheik Zeyaad in Maghagha town; Mankatin village in Samalut town; Jaweer village, Sheikh Abada village, Al Sawahijah village in Mallawi town; and Al Qayat village in El Idwa town.

The contributions are divided into extracts. Each extract includes the Arabic quotation under analysis, followed with its phonetic transcription, then the English translation. The analysis targets the phonological analysis of these extracts to detect the distinctive features of Al-Minya accent.

The intentional selection of the participants of this study as villagers is because of the linguistically conservative nature of the villagers; and the low educational level, hence to eliminate the influence of education on the participants' accent. The participant's contributions are phonetically transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to detect the phonological processes in Al-Minya accent.

### **Theatrical Background**

According to Watson (2011: 8), Arabic language has three levels: classical Arabic; Modern Standard Arabic (MSA); and Vernacular Arabic. Classical Arabic is the codified form in the Holly book of Islam. MSA is a modern variant of classical Arabic. They are similar in syntax and morphology, but different in lexis and stylistics. Vernacular Arabic appears in numerous regional and social dialects. This diversity is an inherent feature in all living languages as Wardhaugh and Fuller state (2015: 25). They define the notion of

variety as a manner of speaking based on geographical location and social class of the speakers. These varieties either classified socially or regionally, are designated as dialects.

Yule (2010: 240-241) adds that each language includes a standard variety and other varieties based on regional or social basis. A standard variety is the idealized form used in formal contexts, such as broadcasting and education. The first linguistic choices that reflect the social or geographical dialect is the accent i.e. pronunciation choices. Some of these dialects are more prestigious than others in the same speech community. This is attributed to the economic, urban, and industrial conditions. For example, in the Egyptian community, Cairene and Alexandrian accents are mentally associated with prestigious accent than rural and Bedouin accents.

Watson (2011: 9-10) mentions that Arabic dialects are classified based on two axes: *Eastern-Western Dialects and Bedouin-Urban Dialects*. In the former category, the main difference is in the vowel system. The tripartite vowel system of *Western Dialects* is reduced to two-part vowel system *in Eastern Dialects*. For *Bedouin Dialects*, they are more conservative and homogeneous than urban dialects. Conversely, *Urban Dialects* are characterized by more dialectal variation because of age, gender, class, and region.

Behnstedt and Woidich (2013: 276) mention /q/ substitution with /g/ as a feature of *Bedouin dialects*, /g/ substitution with the glottal stop /?/ in *Urban dialects*. Nonetheless, many villagers are pronouncing the glottal /?/ instead of /q/ because of urban speech influence of education, occupation, and trade.

According to Al-Wer (2018: 526-530), Arabic dialects are classified into seven categories. Bedouin dialects are spoken by nomadic tribes while sedentary dialects are spoken by rural and urban settled communities. Western dialects are spoken in-between Egypt and North Africa while Eastern dialects are spoken between Egypt and Western Asia. Mesopotamian dialects are spoken in Iraq while Syro-Lebanese Dialects are spoken in the Levant. Finally, Egyptian dialects are spoken in Egypt. They are classified into rural, urban, and Bedouin dialects. Egyptian Bedouin dialects extend in the

western Delta and in the Mediterranean coast by some tribes such as Awla:d Sali tribe; and in the eastern Delta and in Sinai tribal dialects. Egyptian rural dialects are classified into three categories: central Delta dialects, Middle Egypt dialects, and Upper Egypt dialects.

Woidich (1996) defines the Egyptian rural dialects as "the dialects of the peasants in both northern Egypt (fallaħīn) and Upper Egypt (ṣaʕayda), as well as those of the inhabitants of the oases in the Western Desert". He classifies the Egyptian vernacular into three dialect groups: Nile Delta, Nile Valley, and the Western Desert. The Nile Delta dialect group includes western dialects, northeastern dialects, central dialects, and eastern dialects. Nile Valley dialect group includes Middle Egypt dialects and Upper Egypt dialects. The final dialect group spreads in the Western Desert.

Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 32) describe the regional dialect as the most prominent type of linguistic variation within the same language. It appears in variable pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax. For example, based on the researcher's personal experience of living in two different Egyptian speech communities, namely the Cairo community and the Alexandrian community, the regional variations are noted. Table (1) clarifies regional variables in two different Egyptian communities.

Table (1): Cairo and Alexanderia Dialects

	The Cairene Dialect	The Alexandrian Dialect	Gloss
1	/romī/	/torkī/	Cheese
2	/ana nimt/	/ana namt/	I slept
3	/maba <b>xa</b> fʃ/	/maba <b>x<sup>°</sup>a</b> fʃ/	I don't fear

In table (1), the regional dialect variation appears in using different lexeme, namely /romī/ and /torkī/ for the same object i.e. cheese. On phonetic level, the different pronunciation of the same sentence i.e. "I slept" reflects the regional origin of the speaker. The Cairene dialect speakers use the high front vowel /i/ after the initial consonant in the past tense verb /nimt/ i.e. slept. Similar phonological variation can be observed in /fihimt/ (I understood), /ʃiribt/ (I drank), and /ʕirift/ (I knew). On the other side, The Alexandrian dialect speakers use the low central vowel /a/ instead of

the Cairene high front vowel /i/ in past tense verb: /fahamt/, /[arabt/, and /Saraft/.

Furthermore, the regional accents are similar in adding the palatal /ʃ/ to word-final position of the present tense verb /xaf/ i.e. "fear". It is used as a negation particle, a word final intrusion that does not exist in MSA. Moreover, they are similar in using the short vowel /a/ in /ma/ instead of the long vowel /ā/ of the MSA variant /mā/ i.e. a negative particle means "did not". It is a form of vowel reduction. The difference appears in the use of the velarized  $/x^{Y}$  in the Alexandrian dialect. This is attributed to the influence of the low central vowel /a/ on the velar fricative /x/.

Bhat (2001: 9) provides diachronic and synchronic evidence on the inevitability of sound changs in various dialects. Diachronic evidence appears when comparing between engraved inscriptions and the linguistic variations of certain civilization. This reveals the changes that one language undergoes in different periods. For example, in relation to Al-Minya dialect, Alabadi (2016: 72-79) mentions that the nomination of Al-Minya is derived from the hieroglyphic lexeme /mansat/ which is an abbreviation of the old nomination /mancat xōfō/ , the proper name of Khufu's wet nurse as engraved on Bani Hassan Tombs. Later, the nomination /mansat/ abbreviated to be /mont/ in Coptic language i.e. house. Later, it changed to be /miniat/ and finally the /t/ replaced with the long vowel /ā/ to be /miniā/. Regarding synchronic evidence, it appears when comparing between the standard language and its dialects. Similarity is necessary in these dialects.

According to Walker (2010: 45-46), variation in sound system is divided into phonetic and phonological variation. Phonic variation occurs when the variation takes place at the level of speech pronunciation while phonological variation occurs when the variation is part of the sound system. Phonic variables occur on consonantal level when consonants are deleted, shifted in place or manner of articulation. In relation to vowels, phonic variation occurs when vowels are deleted, raised or lowered, diphthongized or monophthongized, fronted or backed. The difference between

phonic and phonological variation is in the degree of application, i.e. phonological variation has a high probability of application.

Sound changes share certain features or what Smith (2010: 2-4) calls universals. The first universal is the uniformitarian hypothesis. It refers to the systematic pattern of language change in the present and past times. The second universal is the comprehensive linguistic change i.e. on phonetic, lexical, and grammatical levels. The third universal is that some varieties are more conservative than others are. For example, Scottish English speakers rhyme 'good' and 'food' just like Shakespeare's contemporaries did. Conversely, the two words do not rhyme in Southern British English. In relation to Egyptian Vernacular, a good example of the conservative nature of some dialects is keeping on the /dʒ/ sound in Egyptian rural accents while substituting /dʒ/ with /g/ in the Cairene accent.

Bhat (2001: 8) classifies sound change into three kinds: sound-oriented changes, grammar-oriented changes, and word-oriented changes. The first kind refers to different pronunciations of the same sound either in conditioned or unconditioned cases that occur when new generation of speakers acquire a dialect. Grammar-oriented changes depend on removing morphophonemic alternations of sounds introduced by earlier sound changes. Finally, word-oriented changes depend on altering the phonetic structure of words.

Smith agrees with Bhat on the conditioned and unconditioned sound changes using different terminology. He (2010: 8) refers to the traditional classification of sound changes into *isolative* and *combinative*. The former refers to sound changes, which occur regardless of the phonological environment, while the later refers to sound changes depending on phonologically conditioned environment. Compbell (2013:15-16) exemplifies conditioned sound changes by substituting every /p/ with /b/ intervocalically in Spanish language. Conversely, unconditioned changes appears in Latin change of /l/ to /y/ regardless of the phonological environment.

Burridge and Bergs (2017: 90-93) differentiate between phonetic and phonemic sound changes. In Phonetic sound changes,

the sounds are investigated regardless of any phonological context. Phonetic sound changes do not alter the phoneme inventory of a language. They are changes in pronunciation. For example, the oral stops /t/ and /d/ are pronounced as dental stops [t] and [d] in tenth and width. Nonetheless, they do not alter the phonemic inventory of the English language. Phonemic sound changes are alternations in phonemes based on a certain phonological context i.e. conditioned. The phonemes are treated as meaningful distinctive units with different realizations, i.e. allophones. Phonemic sound changes alter the phonemic system of a language by merger or split. Merger results from the reduction of two phonemes into one phoneme, e.g. front rounded /y:/ in old English changes to be unrounded /i:/ in all phonological environments. It is a type of complete merger. A partial merger occurs in certain phonological contexts. For example, neutralizing /e/ and / æ / by New Zealanders before lateral /l/, therefore, 'shall' and 'shell' are homophones.

Murray (2017: 27-29) refers to phonetic changes or the New Grammarian Change and sound transposition as the most well-known classification of sound change. Phonetic change is controlled by the regularity hypothesis. It occurs mechanically and unconsciously by all speakers of the dialect. The most important distinctive feature of this kind is its regular occurrence. Sound transposition occurs only in individual words without changing the phonological inventory of the language e.g. metathesis and dissimilation. Compbell (2013: 15) adds that the phonetic change stems from the regularity principle of the new grammarian's hypothesis. It builds on their famous slogan "sound laws suffer no exceptions". By 'laws', they refer to "sound changes". Using the lexeme 'law' stems from their attempt to connect linguistics to other sciences built on laws.

According to Burridge and Bergs (76-77: 2017), the most common processes of sound changes are classified into sound loss, sound intrusion, and sound modifications within word structure. They attribute sound changes to the *Principle of Least Effort* or *Economy of Gesture*.

Gordon (2016: 123) classifies phonological processes on a segmental level into three categories. The first category stems from rules related to the phonetic properties of phonemes. Assimilation, dissimilation, fortition, and lenition are the phonological processes, which depend on the phonetic properties of phonemes. He classifies this category into active processes and static processes. The active processes are responsible for different allophones. The static processes are conditioned by certain phonological environments; either prosodic position or adjacent sounds. In the former kind, the sound change is a result of the occurrence of the target phoneme in a certain position within words; while in the latter kind, the sound change stems from the influence of an adjacent phoneme on the target phoneme.

According to Burridge and Bergs (81:2017), assimilation is the most common type of sound change where one sound becomes similar to or identical with adjacent sound, e.g., the nasal /n/ in 'sink' changes to be /  $\eta$  / because of the influence of the velar /k/. Place of articulation, manner of articulation, and voicing are the three parameters that phonemes assimilate with each other. In the previous example, the nasal /n/ assimilates to the velar /k/ in place of articulation.

Gordon (2016: 124-125) defines assimilation as a change in the feature properties of one sound because of the influence of adjacent sound. Articulatory ease and adjacency of place of articulation are causes of assimilation. Assimilation is interpreted based on four criteria: the kind of the assimilated sound i.e. consonant-consonant assimilation and consonant-vowel assimilation; the assimilated features i.e. place, manner and voicing; the direction of assimilation; and the distance between the target sound and the assimilation trigger.

Concerning the rules of sound change, Stockwell & Donka Minkova (2013: 95- 6) classify the rules of sound change or "predictable allomorphy" into three categories: replacement rules, deletion rules, and expansion rules. The first category includes assimilation rules where one sound is replaced by another sound

because of the influence of a phoneme of adjacent place of articulation. The assimilated feature could be place of articulation, manner of articulation or voicing. Gordon (2016: 126) adds that in consonant-consonant assimilation, the assimilated features could be voicing, nasality, larengeal features, and sonority. In consonant-vowel assimilation, the consonant stimulates place assimilation in the adjacent vowel, e.g. nasalization of preceding vowels to nasals as in /mæn/.

Based on direction, as Stockwell & Donka Minkova (2013: 95) clarify, assimilation could be progressive i.e. left-to-right or regressive assimilation i.e. right-to-left. Watson (2011: 122) provides example on anticipatory or progressive assimilation of lateral /l/ to coronal obstruent in Cairene dialect. It occurs only in case /l/ is a phoneme of the difinit article /il/: for example, /il+ ssig $\bar{\alpha}$ da/ > /ls-siggada/, i.e. the carpet; /il+t  $\bar{\alpha}$ n/ > /lt-t  $\bar{\alpha}$ n/, i.e. the fig; /il+z $\bar{\alpha}$ t/ > /lz-ze  $\bar{\alpha}$ t/ , i.e. the oil.

According to Stockwell & Minkova (2013: 96), labial assimilation is one kind where a velar /n/ is assimilated to a bilabial /m/ in case the next sound is /p/, /b/, /m/, or /f/. Algeo (2014: 31) provides the example of /pæŋkeik/ as partial assimilation where the velar /n/ is assimilated to the velar /k/ in the feature of velarization. In total assimilation, one sound is replaced by another sound as in /speis [ip/ turns to be /speif [ip/.

Burridge and Bergs (87-88: 2017) reveal that unlike assimilation, dissimilation depends on substituting one phoneme for another to differentiate between similar adjacent phonemes. It is triggered by repetition of the same category of sounds, e.g. too many nasals are problematic, and therefore, one of the nasals is replaced to ease pronunciation. For example, 'february' includes double /r/ therefore; the first /r/ is replaced by palatal /j/ in /'febjʊərɪ /. Dissimilation is one of the sporadic sound changes triggered by rhotics and nasal's succession in English language.

Gordon (2016: 140) explicates that dissimilation occurs when one of two similar sounds shift to be different from the similar neighboring sound. Algeo (2014: 30) mentions examples of

dissimilation, such as 'chimney' > 'chimley' where the second nasal changed to /l/; and 'canterbury' > 'cantebury' where one /r/ is deleted.

Lenition is another type of sound change. Burridge and Bergs (85-86) characterize lenition as including sound weakening and reduction of the articulators' movement. It is motivated by weakened prosodic positions. The utmost form of lenition is *sound loss*, for example, in English language, lenition appears in two forms; reduction of /a/, /o/, /u/, /e/ to /e/; and loss of nasal /m/ and /n/. Lenition paths are six: gemination of a consonant, stop > fricative > approximant; stop > liquid > approximant; oral stop > glottal stop; non-nasal > nasal; voiceless > voiced.

Crystal (2015:274) defines lenition as "weakening in the overall strength of a sound", e.g. changing a stop sound into africative, and a fricative into an approximant; and changing a voiceless sound into a voiced or a zero. Gordon (2016: 151) mentions that lenition of vowels appears in unstressed vowels, domain-final syllables, and voicing of intervocalic obstruents. Conversely, fortition, as Crystal (2015:197) states, is "strengthening in the overall force of a sound", e.g. changing a fricative to a stop sound, an approximant to a fricative sound, and a voiced to a voiceless. Gordon (2016: 153) indicates that fortition is noted in stressed syllables, in domain initial syllables, and in devoicing prevocalic consonants.

Sound omission is another fundamental phonological phenomenon. Gordon (2016: 157) defines sound omission as "extreme version of lenition". Triggers of sound deletion are the same of lenition: "final position, unstressed syllables, and contexts adjacent to sounds produced with wide vocal tract aperture". For example, in Sango, one of the African languages, the intervocalic sonorant consonants are deleted. Sound omission results in compensatory lengthening. This is clear in lengthening of adjacent vowel to an elided coda consonant and lengthening of a vowel that precedes a consonant followed with elided vowel.

As Burridge and Bergs (77-79: 2017) agree that sound elision results in compensatory lengthening. The adjacent vowel to the lost

sound is lengthened, e.g. in modern German /gans/ turned to be / gu:s /. Because of the nasal loss, the preceding vowel is lengthened. Sound loss is classified based on position within a word into *Aphesis* where a sound is lost from the initial-word position; *Syncope* where a sound is lost from the medial-world position; and *Apocope* where a sound is lost from the final world position. In addition, elision appears in deleting an entire syllable i.e. haplology which is triggered by consecutive similar syllables, e.g. interpretative > interpretive.

Compbell (2013: 32) adds that compensatory lengthening appears in examples such as  $/ton\Theta/ > /to\Theta/ > /tu\Theta/$  (tooth) and in /Fimf/ > /fūf/ > /faiv/. The deleted /n/ and /m/ are compensated for by a long vowel /o/ and /o/ respectively. A nasal is lost before the fricatives i.e. /O/, /f/, and the preceding vowel is lengthened to compensate for the lost nasal.

Burridge and Bergs (80:2017) label the *intrusion* of a phoneme to a word structure as *epenthesis*. It is an umbrella term for vowel or consonant *intrusion* to word structure. *Epenthesis* to word initial position is labelled *Prothesis*, e.g. adding a vowel to word structure is motivated by breaking up consonant cluster. Conversely, adding a consonant to word structure is known as *excrescence*, e.g. the non-standard pronunciation of something is /sʌmpəŋ/. *Excrescence* is motivated by mistiming of the organs of speech during the articulation process. In the previous example, when articulating the nasal /m/, the soft palate lowers, therefore, the air escapes through the nose. This is followed by raising the soft palate to articulate the dental / $\theta$ /. Mistiming happens if the soft palate is raised soon. Thus, allowing voiceless bilabial /p/ to be inserted before the dental / $\theta$ /.

Compbell (2013: 30-32) adds *anaptyxis* where an extra vowel is inserted between two consonants, e.g., inserting a schwa inbetween  $/\Theta$ / and /I/ in /æ $\Theta$ əlit/. Finally, word-final insertion is known as *paragoge*, *e.g.* huespe changed to be huesped i.e. guest. It is a final consonant insertion of /d/. In /red/, a vowel insertion appears in /rede/ i.e. net.

Gordon (2016: 104-5) attributes the *epenthetic* /i/ in Cairene accent to the tendency of eliminating complex onset or coda. The

epenthetic segment /i/ in Cairene accent is inserted after two consonants: /?ul-t-lu/> /?ultilu/, i.e. I said to him; /Katab-t-lu/ >/katabtilu/, i.e. I wrote to him; /?ul-t-l-ha/ >/?ultilha/, i.e.I said to her; and /Katab-t-lha/ > /katabtilha/, i.e.I wrote to her.

Burridge and Bergs (88- 89:2017) state that like *excrescence*, *metathesis* is triggered by miscoding or mistiming. Rotics, liquids, and nasals are subject to transposition in word articulation. For example, anenome > anemone; aminal > animal; renumeration > remuneration; emeny > enemy are examples of *metathesis* in English language. It is a sporadic kind of sound change, i.e. unconditioned. Algeo (2014: 33) agrees that reordering of sounds within a word is another form of sound change. For example, in "produce" – /pərduce/ and in "perform" – /prəform/ where the /r/ is transposed with an unstressed vowel.

Fagan (2016:143) adds two other types of sound change: *monophthongization* and *diphthongization*. While *diphthongization* is changing a monophthong to a diphthong, *monophthongization* is changing a diphthong to a monophthong. Dawson (2016:723) provides examples of *monophthongization* based on ethnic variation. In Standard American English, now and side are pronounced as /nau/ and /said/. In African American English (AAE), they are pronounced as /na:/ and /sa:d/ respectively. *Monophthongization* in AAE occurs before voiceless consonants.

Since the aim of this paper is to detect the sound changes in Al-Minya accent in comparison to the spoken MSA, a summarized presentation of spoken Modern Standard Arabic is necessary. According to Mustafawi (2018:11), MSA has opulent consonantal system, but a restricted vocalic one. Mustafawi defines MSA as "a slightly simplified version of CA i.e. classical Arabic in terms of its lexicon and syntax".

According to Holes (2004:58), spoken Modern Standard Arabic refers to a formal variety of Arabic spoken in radio and television. The consonant system of spoken MSA includes ten places of articulation, i.e. ten categories of consonantal phonemes. First, *Labials* of spoken MSA includes /b/, /w/, and /m/. The /b/ is phonetically described as

labial plosive voiced; the /w/ is labial fricative voiced, and the /m/ is labial nasal voiced. All the *Labials* of spoken MSA are voiced.

The second category of spoken MSA is Labiodentals which include one phoneme i.e. /f/. It is phonetically described as labiodental fricative voiced consonant. The third category is *Dentals*. It includes eight phonemes. They are subclassified into plain and emphatic or pharyngealized phonemes. A pharyngealized phoneme includes a secondary articulation where the back of the tongue is restricted simultaneously with the primary articulation i.e. the tongue blade creates obstruction with the back of the upper incisors. Plain dentals are/t/, /d/, /s/, /z/, and /l/, while pharyngealized dentals are /t/, /d/, and /s/. The /t/ is phonetically described as plain dental voiceless plosive. The /d/ is phonetically described as plain dental voiced plosive. The /s/ is plain dental voiceless fricative. The /z/ is plain dental voiced fricative. The /l/ is dental voiced liquid. The /t/ is pharyngealized dental voiceless plosive. The /d/ is pharyngealized dental voiced plosive. The /s/ is pharyngealized dental voiceless fricative.

Similarly, the category of interdentals is subclassified into plain and pharyngealized phonemes. The plain interdentals are  $/\theta/$  and  $/\delta/$ , while the pharyngealized interdental is /Z/. The  $/\theta/$  is phonetically described as plain interdental voiceless fricative, the  $/\delta/$  is plain interdental voiced fricative, and the / / is a pharyngealized interdental voiced fricative.

Alveolars include /ʃ/, /dʒ/, /r/, and /n/. The /ʃ/ is phonetically described as alveolar voiceless fricative; the /dʒ/ is alveolar voiced affricate; the /r/ is alveolar voiced liquid; and the /n/ is alveolar voiced nasal. The sixth category of spoken MSA is palatals. It includes one phoneme, i.e. /j/. It is phonetically described as palatal voiced fricative. The following category is velars. It includes /k/, /x/, and / $\chi$ /. The /k/ is described as velar voiceless plosive, the /x/is velar voiceless fricative, and the / $\chi$ / is velar voiced fricative. The only uvular is /q/. It is described as uvular voiced plosive. The pharyngeals of spoken MSA are /  $\hbar$  / and / $\Gamma$ /. The / $\hbar$ / is pharyngeal voiceless fricative, while the / $\Gamma$ / is pharyngeal voiced fricative. The final category of Spoken MSA is

glottals. It includes /?/ and /h/. While the /?/ is glottal plosive, the /h/ is glottal fricative.

Alnori (2019: 254) states that Arabic vowels are three short vowels /i/, /a/, and /o/. Arabic long vowels are  $\overline{1}$ ,  $\overline{1}$ ,  $\overline{1}$ ,  $\overline{1}$ , and two semivowels, i.e. /aw/ and /ay/. Arabic semivowels can be considered as consonants as they cannot occupy the nucleus position of the syllable. It is a position that is occupied only by pure vowels. Algori (226- 227) adds that Arabic sounds differ in sonority. They are organized from the most sonorant to the least in table (2).

Table (2): sonority scale of Arabic phonemes

1	Long vowels: /ᾱ/, /ī/, and /ō/
2	Short vowels: /a/, /i/, and /o/
3	Semivowels: /aj/ and /aw/
4	Liquids: /r/, /l,/ /m/, and /n/ respectively
5	Voiced affricates: /dʒ/
6	Voiced fricatives: /z/, /ð/, /ਧ/, and /ɣ/
7	Voiced plosives: /b/, /m/, /d /, and /s/.
8	Voiceless fricatives: $/s/$ , $/J/$ , $/\theta/$ , and $/f/$ .
9	Voiceless plosive: /t/, /k/, and /q/

This research fills gaps, such as the lack of papers that focus on studying the characteristics of Al-Minya accent. The current research papers focus on studying the Egyptian vernacular as one kind that does not include variation as in "Classical and Modern Standard Arabic" by Putten. He focuses on the syntax and morphology of Egyptian Arabic, and compares its linguistic features to the Levantine Arabic. The focus is on the Egyptian Arabic as one kind. Even when Putten (2020: 50) refers to the phonological differences between the Egyptian and the Levantine Arabic, the pronunciation of the ģim as /g/ not /dʒ/ is mistakenly generalized as a feature of Egyptian Arabic. Contrary, as the current study provoes, the pronunciation of /dʒ/ is proved a characteristic of Al-Minya accent.

Other research papers focus on the *Cairene dialect* such as Druel's study of "Emphatic sounds in educated Cairene Arabic: what to teach to AFL students" (2006); and Algarawi's study of "Cairene Arabic: between Modernization and the Rustic Village". Even when research papers study Al-Minya dialect, the focus is on the influence

of Cairene dialect on Al-Minya dialect as in "Dialect Convergence in Egypt: The Impact of Cairo Arabic on Minya Arabic" (2016) and in "Dialect Convergence in Egypt: Switching from Minia /q/ local variants to Cairene [?]" (2015) by Sadiq. He focuses on the impact of Cairene Arabic on Al-Minya dialect. Even when the study focus on Upper Egyptian dialect, it is limited to syntactic and semantic levels, such as Nishio (1994) in his study of the Qift, one of Upper Egypt dialects. He confines his study to the grammar and vocabulary levels.

The third category of studies in relation to *Egyptian Vernacular* targets the isoglosses. For example, Woidich's "Rural Dialect of *Egyptian Arabic: An Overview*" (1996). His interest is on the isoglosses i.e. the linguistic features used to classify the Egyptian geographic regions. He divides the Egyptian dialect groups into Nile Delta, Nile valley, and the Western desert. The current research paper fills the gap of lacking study of Al-Mynia accent. It targets Al-Minya accent as one of the regional varieties of Egyptian Vernacular.

After this brief presentation of types of sound changes, the following section provides a phonological analysis of Al-Minya accent. This is achieved by comparing Al-Mynia variants to the variants of the spoken MSA. The assimilated sounds and the intruded sounds are bolded in Al-Mynia variants while the deleted sounds in Al-Mynia variants are bolded in the MSA counterpart. The aim of the next section is to investigate the sound changes in Al-Minya accent in relation to spoken MSA. The focus is on the phonological processes of assimilation; metathesis; sound intrusion i.e. aphesis, syncope, apocope; sound elision, i.e. prothesis, excrescence, anaptyxis, paragoge and vowel changes, i.e. monophthongization and diphthongization.

# **Analysis**

### Extract (1)

يتتحَل بِياخَدُوا واحِد مسلا كِداً كَبِير في السِن ويْرُوخ لِصَاحب الْشَكِلِة وبيرُوخ لِصَاحب الْشَكِلِة وبيحِلُهمْ ...وهُمَا جَعَدِينَ يَعَنِي مَفِيشْ أَي مَشَاكِلْ بِنِسْبَة لِقَرِية صَنَدَفا ..اي خلاف بِيتحَل عَلطُولُ وَاحِدِ يِرُوخ مَعْ واحِدُ اللِي هُوا اِتَخَانِج وهُوا ويْرُوّحُمْ مَعَ بَعْضِيهُمْ ويصطَلَحٌ يَعْنِي مَفِيشْ أَيْ حَاجَه وبِيْزِيلُ الْخِلَاف.

Abdelghany. (2018). Ahl Alqaria Program, the Village of Sundafa, Bani Mazar, Meeting the Basket Maker. [Video].

<u>bititħal</u> bijāxdō waħid <u>masalan kidā</u> kabīr <u>fissin</u> wijrōħ <u>liṣāħib</u> <u>?ilmo[kilah</u> wi <u>bijħilōħā</u> wi <u>homma gaʕdīn</u> jaʕnī <u>mafī[</u> ʔaj maʃākil binnisbā <u>liqarjit ṣanḍafa</u>..... ʔaj xilāf <u>bijitħal</u> ʕalaṭōl waħid <u>jirōħ maʕa waħid ʔillī howwa ʔitxāniq wi howwa wijrōħom</u> maʕa <u>baʕdīhom</u> wi <u>jiṣṭalaħo</u> jaʕnī mafī[ ʔaj ħādʒah wibijzīl ʔilxilāf.

The problem is resolved where they take such an elderly person and go to the other person involved in the problem and resolve it while they are sitting... I mean there are no problems in Sandafa village... Any dispute is resolved immediately... The person goes to the other person involved in the problem and they reconcile... I mean, there are no problems and the dispute is resolved.

The previous extract is provided by the preacher of Sandafa village affiliated to Beni Mazar town in Al-Minya governorate. It is the preacher's reply to the inquiry about potential troubles between the neighbors in Sandafa village.

In the previous extract, dental assimilation appears in /jax $\mathbf{d}$ + $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ / (they take) and / ki $\mathbf{d}\bar{\alpha}$ / (like that). The MSA variants are /ja?xo $\mathbf{\tilde{o}}$ + $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ / and /ka $\mathbf{\tilde{o}}\bar{\alpha}$ /. The interdental voiced fricative / $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ / is totally assimilated to the dental voiced plosive /d/ in place and manner of articulation. Similarly, dental assimilation appears in /masalan/ (for example), where the MSA variant is /ma $\mathbf{\tilde{o}}$ alan/. The interdental voiced fricative / $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ / is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless fricative /s/. It is a place assimilation triggered by the adjacency of place of articulation.

Velarized assimilation appears in assimilating the uvular plosive /q/ to the velar plosive /g/, which does not exist in MSA. This phonological feature of Al-Minya accent appears in /ga $^{\circ}$ din/ (sitting) and /?itx $^{\circ}$ itx $^{\circ}$ itx $^{\circ}$ ing/ (quarreled). The MSA variants are / $^{\circ}$ qa $^{\circ}$ idin/ and /tax $^{\circ}$ ana $^{\circ}$ a/. This is another distinctive feature of Al-Minya accent rather than MSA, which keeps on the uvular /q/. Similar to MSA, Al-Minya accent keeps on the alveolar affricate /dz/. This is clear in / $^{\circ}$ ah/ (a need). Finally, pharyngealized assimilation appears between the plain /t/ and the pharyngealized /t/ in /ji $^{\circ}$ tala $^{\circ}$ / where the MSA variant is /jata $^{\circ}$ ala $^{\circ}$ /. Both phonemes are dental voiceless plosives. The assimilated phonetic feature is pharyngealization.

Metathesis is used in /jiṣṭalaħ/ (reconcile) where the MSA variant is /jataṣ $\bar{\alpha}$ laħ/. Metathesis appears in the transposition of the dental fricative /s/ and the dental pharyngealized plosive /ṭ/, which is dental plain plosive /t/ in the MSA variant.

Sound elision is noticed in Al-Mynia accent. It is illustrated in aphaeresis and apocope. aphaeresis is noticed in /j $\bar{\alpha}$ +xod/ (to take) where the MSA variant is /ja+ $\bar{\gamma}$ xo $\bar{\delta}$ /. The glottal stop /?/ is deleted. aphaeresis causes compensatory lengthening which appears in lengthening the low central /a/ to / $\bar{\alpha}$ /. Apocope is detected in /mafij/ (nothing). The MSA variant is /m $\bar{\alpha}$  + fi +  $\bar{\beta}$ aj $\bar{\gamma}$ /; it is structured of three lexemes: /m $\bar{\alpha}$ /, a negation particle; /fi/, a preposition; and / $\bar{\beta}$ aj $\bar{\gamma}$ /, a noun. Apocope appears in deleting the diphthong /aj/ and the glottal stop /?/ in / $\bar{\alpha}$ aj $\bar{\gamma}$ /. Likewise, apocope appears in the relative pronoun

/?illī/, whose MSA variant is /?alla**ðī**/ (that). It undergoes word final sound elision of the *interdental fricative* /ð/ and *the long vowel* /ī/.

*Prothesis* appears in intruding /bi/ to present tense verbs. This is clear in /bi+ j $\bar{\alpha}$ xd +  $\bar{o}$ / (They take), /bi + j $\bar{\alpha}$ li +  $\bar{o}$ +h $\bar{\alpha}$ / (they resolve it), /bi + j $\bar{\alpha}$ li/ (eliminate) and /bi+tit $\bar{\alpha}$ li/ (is resolved). The MSA variants are /ja $\bar{\alpha}$ xo $\bar{o}$ o/, /ja $\bar{\alpha}$ li| $\bar{o}$ h $\bar{\alpha}$ /, and /ja $\bar{\alpha}$ ol/ and /to $\bar{\alpha}$ li/ respectively. The *intrusion* of the present tense preverbal marker /bi/ causes a phoneme *elision*, *e.g.* /ja $\bar{\alpha}$ li/ > /bij $\bar{\alpha}$ li/, /bi+ti+thal/ > /to $\bar{\alpha}$ li/.

Regarding past tense verb, it is intruded by the preverbal marker /ʔi/. This is observed in /ʔitxānig/ (to quarrel) where the MSA variant is /taxānaqa/. Similar to intruding present tense preverbal marker /bi/, past tense preverbal marker /ʔi/ has the same effect of vowel elision. In Al-Minya variant /ʔitxānig/, the low central /a/ is elided because of the /ʔi/ intrusion. Other examples of /ʔi/ prothesis to past tense verb are /ʔitfāhim/ (came to terms with), /ʔiṭrāḍa/ (reconciled), and /ʔitkalim/ (he spoke). The MSA variants are /tafāham/, /tarāḍa/, and /takalama/ respectively. Finally, Excrescence appears in / howwa/ (he). The MSA variant is /howa/: the bilabial fricative voiced /w/ is intruded to word-mid position.

Vowel raising is observed in preference of high front unrounded vowel /i/ to low central unrounded vowel /a/. This is clear in examples such as /kidā/ (like that), /?ilmoʃkilah/ (the problem), /wi/ (and), /jirōħ/ (goes), /baʕd̄nom/ (together), and /?ilxilāf/ (the dispute). The MSA variants are /kaða/, /?almoʃkilah/, /wa/, /jarōħ/ /baʕd̄ahom/, and /?alxilāf/.

### Extract (2)

وَجُوْلُ إِنِحِنَا فِي مَصِّر وِفِي اِلْقَرْيَةُ فِي قَرْيةٌ صَتَدَفَا اِنِحِنَا ولِحَوَةَ المِستِحِنَ المَستِح المسيحين نَسيج وَاحِنْ وَاللّي بِنِسِيز الفِتنَة دِه بِيُوجَّع مُصَّر ومَصَّر حَارِصَهَا رَبْنَا ومَرْكُورَهُ فِي اِلْقَرآنِ.. ولِحَوَة المِسيحيّن اِحْوَاتَنَا و بِتَعَيْد عَلِيهُمْ وَنْمُرْ بِرُرُفْ فَرَحْ ومَنِيَّمْ كَلِنَا نَسِيجْ وَاحِدْ.

Abdelghany. (2018). Ahl Alqaria Program, the Village of Sundafa, Bani Mazar, Meeting the Basket Maker. [Video].

<u>Wagōl</u> <u>Pinniħnā</u> fi <u>maṣṣr</u> wi filqaria qarijt <u>şandafa</u> Pinniħnā <u>wilixwā</u> <u>Pilmisiħijin</u> nasīdz wāħid willi <u>bijsīr</u> Pilfitna dih <u>bijwaqqa</u>ς maṣṣir wi maṣṣir <u>ħariṣha rabnā</u> wi <u>mazkora</u> filqorPān...<u>willixwa</u> Pilmisiħijin <u>Pixwatna</u> wi <u>binʕajid ʕalīhom</u> wi <u>binmor</u> <u>bizrōf</u> faraħ wi <u>majtam</u> kolinā nasīdʒ waħid.

And I say that we are in Egypt and in the village of Sandfa that we and the Christian brothers are one fabric. And those who stir up discord damage Egypt. And Egypt is safeguarded by our God, and this is mentioned in the Qur'an. The Christian brothers are our brothers. We congratulate them and go through joyful and mournful conditions. We are all one fabric.

The previous extract is provided by the *Head of the Development Complex* in *Al-Bahnasa* village, affiliated to Al-Minya town in Al-Mynia governorate. As one of Sandafa residents, the participant's contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about the relation between Muslims and Christians in *Sandafa* village.

Dental assimilation is displayed in /bijsīr/ (incite strife) and /bizrōf/ (conditions). The MSA variants are /jo $\theta$ īr/ and /bizrof/. The interdental fricative / $\theta$ / in /jo $\theta$ īr/ is totally assimilated to the dental fricative /s/ in /bijsīr/. Since both phonemes are voiceless fricatives, it is a place assimilation. Likewise, the interdental fricative /z/ in /bizrof/ is totally assimilated to the dental fricative /z/ in Al-Minya variant. Hence both phonemes are voiced fricatives, it is a place assimilation. Dental plosive assimilation appears in /dih/ (This). The MSA variant is / $\delta$ ī/ i.e. feminine demonstrative pronoun. The interdental voiced fricative / $\delta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental plosive /d/ in place and manner of articulation.

Pharyngealized assimilation is evident in /ħariṣ+ha/ (safeguardes her) where the MSA variant is /ħarisoha/. The dental voiceless fricative plain /s/ in /ħarisoha/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless fricative pharyngealized /ṣ/ in Al-Minya variant. Since /s/ and /ṣ/ are dental voiceless fricatives, the only assimilated feature is pharyngealization. In addition, Pharyngealized assimilation appears in / ṣanḍafa/. The MSA variant is /ṣandafa/. The dental plosive plain /d/ in /sanḍafa/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive pharyngealized /d/ in Al-Minya variant.

Another observed type of assimilation is the total assimilation of uvular plosive /q/ to velar plosive /g/, which does not exist in the MSA. This is shown in examples such as /wagol/ (an I say), and /bijwagga $^{\prime}$ / (causes troubles) which have the MSA variants /wa  $^{\prime}$ aqol/ and / joqi $^{\prime}$ /.

Sound *elision* is detected in /wi+lixw $\bar{\alpha}$ / (and the brothers) where the MSA variant is /wa+?al?ixwah/. The glottal plosive stop /?/ is deleted in word initial-position i.e. aphaeresis and word-medially i.e. syncope, in addition, the glottal fricative /h/ is deleted in word-final position, i.e. apocope. The Compensatory lengthening appears in vowel prolongation of /a/ > / $\bar{\alpha}$ / in word final position. In /wag $\bar{o}$ l/, whose MSA variant is /wa+ ?aq $\bar{o}$ l/, aphaeresis appears in eliding

the glottal plosive stop /?/. Similarly, in /wi+lli/ (and that) whose MSA variant is /wa+?alla $\delta$ ī/, the glottal plosive stop /?/ is deleted word-initially i.e. aphaeresis and the interdental fricative / $\delta$ / is deleted word-finally, i.e. apocope. Finally, syncope appears in /?ixwatn $\alpha$ / where the MSA variant is /?ixwaton $\alpha$ /. The high back /o/ is deleted in word-mid position.

Prothesis is prominent in intruding the preverbal marker /bi/ to the present tense verb. This is clear in /bijsīr/ (incite strife), /bijwaggas/ (causes troubles), /binsajid/ (congratulate) and /binmor/ (go through). The MSA variants are /joθīr/, /joqis/, /nosajid/, and /namor/. The intrusion of present tense preverbal marker /bi/ causes vowel elision: high back vowel /o/ is elided in /bijsīr/, /bijwaggas/, and in /binsajid/ while the low central vowel /a/ is elided in /binmor/.

On vowel level, vowel raising is used where the low central vowel /a/ is raised to the high front vowel /i/ in /wi/ (and), /?ilfitnah/ (discord), /dih/ (this), and /?ilmisiħijin/ (Christians). The MSA variants are /wa/, /?alfitnah/, /ða/, /wa/, and /?almasiħijin/ respectively. Monophthongization is noted in /Salāhom/ (on them) where the MSA variant is /Salajhom/. The diphthong /aj/ is monophthongized to the long vowel / ī /. It is a form of lenition where the sound acquires more sonority. Another noted use of lenition is in /majtam/ (funeral) where the MSA variant is /ma?tam/. The glottal stop /?/ is modified to be diphthong /aj/ in Al-Minya variant. It is a form of lenition as diphthongs are more sonorous than plosive consonants. Finally, keeping on the alveolar affricate which is a shared feature between Al-Mynia accent and MSA is clear in /nasīds/ (fabric).

### Extract (3)

أنا مَجِيبُ الطوبُ اللِّي هِنَاكَ دِه ...هُوّ دِه اللَّي عَمْبِلُو فِي المعْجَنَّة دِي ...عُمُطلعوا إلكراكم مِن الطرعَه ويتشَف لكِن دُون بتَّاع امشَاريع اللي هِيه بطِطِلع من مكان العِمدان إنور ...اطِين اللزر الجامد دِهُ دِه يبش وبعدين يطخلط بطراب الفرن اللى هُوّ اطراب لسمر اللي هناك سَعْتِينَ أو تَلاتَه.

Abdelghany. (2017). Ahl Algaria Mangateen Village. [Video]

Ana madzīb ?iţōb ?illī hinak dih... howwa dih ?illī Sammabillow filmaSdzanah dī..... SammaţalSō Silkaraka min ?ittorSah wi jin[af lākin dawwan bitāς ʔilmaſārī? ʔillī hijja biţiţlaς min makān ?ilSimdān ?inōr. ?iţţīn ?illazar ?ildʒāmid dih dih jibi[ wi basdīn jiţxalaţ biţrāb ?ilforn ?illī howwa ?iţṭrāb lasmar ?illī hināk....saʕtīn ?aw talatah.

I bring the bricks which are over there. This is what I wet in this mud. We take out mud by the dredger from the canal and dry it. But this comes from the projects and comes out of the place of the pillars of light. This hard laser clay becomes soft and then mixed with oven's dust, which is alluvium, for two or three hours.

This extract is provided by one of pottery makers in Mankatin village affiliated to Samalut town in Al-Minya governorate. His contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about stages of making pottery and the sources of clay used in pottery craft.

Dental plosive assimilation appears in Al-Minya variants /dih/ and /dī/, which, as Spiro (1999: 176) clarifies, means 'this'. Both variants have the MSA variant /ðī/ where the interdental fricative /ð/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive /d/. Moreover, Al-Minya variant /dih/ undergoes a process of paragoge where the glottal

fricative /h/ is intruded word-finally. In addition, dental plosive assimilation appears in /talatah/ (three) where the MSA variant is / $\theta$ al $\bar{\alpha}\theta$ h/. The interdental fricative / $\theta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental plosive /t/ in word-initial and mid positions.

Pharyngealized assimilation is observed in /ʔit̞orʕah/ (the canal) and /bi+t̞rāb/. The MSA variants are /ʔattorʕah/ and /bi+torāb/respectively. The dental plosive plain /t/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive pharyngealized /t̞/. Since both phonemes are dental plosives, the assimilated feature is pharyngealization. In addition, bilabial assimilation is detected in /bitāʕ/ (useful stuff) where the MSA variant is /matāʕ/. The nasal bilabial /m/ is totally assimilated to the oral bilabial /b/ and turnes to be /bitaʕ/.

Aphaeresis and syncope are evident in /lasmar/ (the black). The MSA variant is /?al?asmar/. The glottal plosive /?/ is deleted word-initially and word-medially. Word final elision appears in /?illī/previously clarified in extract (1) and (2).

Prothesis in the above extract is evident in the present tense verbs /Samma + billo/ (I wet it) and /Samma + ţalSō/ (I take it out). The MSA variants are /Pabilloh/ and /PoţaliSoh/ respectively. In Al-Minya variants, the preverbal marker /Samma/ is intruded to the present tense verb. In /biţiţlaS/ (It is taken from), where the MSA variant is /taţlaS/, the preverbal marker /bi/ is intruded to the present tense verb. Excrescence appears in word mid intrusion of the bilabial fricative /w/ in / howwa/ (he) where the MSA variant is /howa/.

On vowel level, vowel raising is clear in /?iţōb/, /?illī/, /?ilkaraka/, /wi/, /?ilmaʃarīʕ/, /?ilʕimdɑ̄n/, /?inōr/, and /?iţt̄n/. The MSA variants are /?aţtōb/, /?allaōī/ /?alkaraka/, /wa/, /?almaʃarīʕ/, /?alʕimdɑ̄n/, /?annōr/, and /?att̄n/. Monophthangization appears in /saʕtīn/ i.e. two hours. The MSA variant is /saʕatajn/. The diphthong /aj/ is monophthongized in Al-Minya variant to long vowel /ī/. Similarly, in /jibiʃ/, the MSA variant is /jobawiʃ/: the diphthong /aw/ is monophthangized to short vowel /i/.

### Extract (4)

لو بِلْحَ بايزَه ولا حَاجَهِ بِيْحُوشَهَا نُحُط انَضِيفه بَسْ عَشَان خَاطِرْ يَعْنِي صَحِّطْ ٱللِي بِياَّكُل ولا حَاجَه .. لِيُّومَ يَعنِي بَلْيُومِيَّه ومرَّةٌ بالشّهر. دِلْوَجط بَجِت بَربَعِين ... لا هِيًا عَمَّترُوح البَلْخ.

Abdelghany. (2017). Ahl Algaria Program, the Village of Al-Qayat, 2<sup>nd</sup> Episode. [Video].

law balaħā bājzah walla ħadҳā binħōſahā noħot Pinnadīfah bas Saļān xāţir jaSnī şiħiţ Pillī bijākol walla ħādʒā. lijōm ja\$nī biljōmijah wi marrah biffahr dilwaxţ bagat bārbifīn ... lā hijja Sammanrōħ ?ilbalaħ.

If it is a damaged date, we exclude it. We only put the fresh one for the sake of the person's health. Our salary is per day and sometimes per month. Now it is forty.... No... We just go to collect dates.

This extract is provided by a female villager of Al Qayat village affiliated to El-Idwa town in Al-Minya governorate. She is working in date's industry, one of the famous industries in Al Qayat village. Her contribution is a response to the interviewer's questions about honesty in sorting date fruits, her salary, and her past jobs.

Dental plosive assimilation is observed in /?innadifah/ (the fresh one). The MSA variant is /?annaZīfah/. The interdental fricative pharyngealized /Z/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive pharyngealized /d/ in place and manner of articulation. Also, in /di+lwaxt/ (this time), which has the MSA variant /ðī+Salwagt/, the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiced plosive /d/ in place and manner of articulation. Finally, pharyngealized assimilation appears in assimilating the dental voiceless plosive plain /t/ to the dental voiceless plosive pharyngealized /t/ in /di+lwaxt/. Both phonemes are dental voiceless plosives; therefore, it is a form of pharyngealized assimilation.

*Prothesis* is detected in /binħōʃahā/ (we exclude it), in /bijākol/ (he eats), and in /samma+nrōħ/ (we go). The preverbal markers /bi/ and /samma/ are initially intruded to the present tense verbs /nahōʃ/, /ja?kol/, and /narōħ/. *Prothesis* of /bi/ and /samma/ results in a vowel or consonant *elision*. *The low central vowel* /a/ and the *glottal stop* /?/ are elided in Al-Mynia variants. *Excrescence* appears in /bājzah/ (damaged). Ibn Manzur (119: 1993) states that the MSA variant is /bāzā/, which means to deviate from. *The palatal fricative* /j/ is intruded word-medially. Similarly, in /hijja/ (she), *the palatal fricative* /j/ is intruded word-medially.

Aphaeresis is evident in /di+lwaxt/, which has the standard /ðī+ ?alwaqt/: the glottal stop /?/ and the low central vowel /a/ are deleted word-initially in Al-Mynia variant. Apocope and syncope appear in/Sa[ᾱn/. According to Shaalan (2003: 187), /Sa[ᾱn/ means for the purpose of. It has the MSA variant  $\Gamma = \frac{1}{2} \ln \frac{1}{2} \ln \frac{1}{2}$ appears in eliding the dental liquid /I/ and the long central vowel  $\bar{\alpha}$  / in  $\sqrt{a}\bar{a}$ . Syncope appears in eliding the glottal stop  $\sqrt{2}$  in  $\sqrt{a}$ n/ in word-mid position. The elided *qlottal stop/?/* is compensated for by lengthening the short vowel /a/ in / $\Im \bar{\alpha}$ n/. Furthermore, elision appears in the demonstrative article /?illī/, which has the MSA variant /?allaðī/, previously clarified in extracts (1) and (2). Syncope appears in the variants /bi+jākol/ (he eats) and /bārbifīn/ (costs forty) which have the standard variants /ja?kol/ and /bi+?arba\in/. Both variants undergo glottal stop elision, which is compensated for by vowel lengthening in Al-Minya variants:  $(ja?kol/ > /bi+j\bar{\alpha}kol/)$  and /bi+ $\mathbf{7}$ arba $\mathbf{\tilde{\Gamma}}$ in/ > /b $\mathbf{\bar{\alpha}}$ rbi $\mathbf{\tilde{\Gamma}}$ in/.

Vowel raising from low central /a/ to high front /i/ is shown in examples such as /?innadīfah/ (the fresh one), /ṣiħiṭ/ (health), /?illī/ (who), /wi/ (and), /dilwaxt/ (this time), and /?ilbalaħ/ (the dates). The MSA variants are /?annaZīfah/, /ṣiħat/, /?allaðī/, /wa/, /ði ?alwagt/, and /?albalaħ/. Monophthongization appears in /bi+ljōmijah/ (daily salary). The MSA variant is /bi+ljawm/ where the diphthong /aw/ is monophthongized to long vowel /ō/ in Al-Minya

variant. Finally, keeping on the alveolar affricate /dy/ appears in  $/\hbar\bar{\alpha}dy$ ah/ (a need).

### Extract (5)

وَنَا مِن جَبِلُ حَتَى مَتجور (....) مِن عِندِي عِشرِين خَمسَهُ وعِشرِين وَ فَهِ وعِشرِين وَ فَهِ اللّهِ مَمدُودَهُ دِي وَنَا فِيها شَغَالِهُ فِيها... الحمدِلّاهُ عَمْيجَوّتْنَا (....) دِي اللّي مَمدُودَهُ دِي بِتَاعْ اللّي بِتَفُوتَ فِيها لَبِحَدُهُ لِحَبَالُ اللّي عَمْنِشْتَعَلَ بِيها وِدِي نِشِد عَلَيها (....) دِي اللّي عَمَّشِشْتَعَلَ عَليها هيّا دي لِحبَالُ اللّي عَمَّشْتَلها هيّ دِي دِا حَلفُ وَدِي زَبَابُ بَرَضِوٌ قُوْجُ عَمَّتَشَرَخُهُ دَا اللّي عَمَنِفْتِلو (....) أَنَا وَلِي عَمْجِيبٌه مِن عَلَى الطَّرَعُ والسَارِف.

Abdelghany. (2017). *Balansoura Village, Ahl Algaria Program, the Mat Maker* [Video].

wanā min gabl ħatta matdʒawaz.....min Sindī Si[rīn xamsā wi Si[rīn wanā fīhā Jayyālā fihā Pilħamdillah Sammajgawwitna (....)dī Silli mamdōdā dī Pillī bitāS Pillī bitfōt fīhā labāxza Pilliħbāl Pillī Sammni[ttayal bīhā wīdī ni[id Salīhā (...)dī Silli Sammni[ttayal Salīhā hijja dī liħbāl Pillī Sammaftilhā hijjā dī dā ħalf wi dī zabab bardo fōg Samman[arxo (...) da Pillī Sammaniftilō (...) Panalli Sammadʒībō min Salā PittoraS wilmasārif.

And before I marry... Since I was twenty or twenty-five years old and I work in this profession... Praise be to God, we earn our daily sustenance from it... This stretched thing enters the ropes through it... The ropes which we use them... and these we fix them well... These are what we are working on... These are the ropes that we plait, and this is cogongrass, and this is a shroud that we crack... This is what we plait.... I bring it from the banks of canals and drains.

The previous extract is provided by a female villager of Balansoura village affiliated to Abu Qurqas town in Al-Minya governorate. She is a matmaker. Her contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about her beginning in the mat-making craft and the techniques used in manufacturing the hand-made mats of straw.

Dental plosive assimilation is observed in the demonstrative article  $/\mathbf{d}\bar{\imath}/$  (this) which has the MSA variant  $/\mathbf{\delta}\bar{\imath}/$ . The interdental voiced fricative  $/\bar{\eth}/$  is totally assimilated to the dental voiced plosive  $/\bar{\eth}/$  in place and manner of articulation. Pharyngealized assimilation appears in /?ittoras/ (the canals) whose MSA variant is /?attoras/. The dental voiceless plosive plain /t/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless plosive pharyngealized /t/. Since both phonemes have the same manner and place of articulation, the assimilated feature is pharyngealization.

Bilabial assimilation occures in /labaxza/ (excuse me) and /bitας/ (useful stuff). Al-Minya variant /labaxza/ has the MSA variant /lαmo?αxaða/. Bilabial assimilation appears in assimilating the bilabial voiced nasal /m/ to the bilabial voiced plosive /b/. It is partial assimilation in manner of articulation, i.e. nasal and plosive. Moreover, dental assimilation appears in assimilating the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ in /lαmo?αxaða/ to the dental voiced fricative /z/ in /labaxza/. The voiced fricatives i.e. /ð/ and /z/ are assimilated in the place assimilation. Finally, assimilating the uvular plosive /q/ to the velar /g/, which does not exist in MSA, appears in /gabl/ (before) and /fog/ (above). The MSA variants are /qabl/ and /fawq/.

Metathesis is exposed once in /gabl ma+td3awaz/ (before I marry) where the MSA variant is / qabl ?an ?atazawad3/. The transposition is between the alveolar fricative /d3/ and the dental fricative /z/.

Prothesis is explicit in /**Samma +** jgawwitna/ (we earn our daily sustenance from it), /**Samma +** ftilhā/ (I plait it), /**Samma +** nʃarxo/ (I crack it), /**Samma +** ʤībō/ (I bring it), /**Samm +** niʃttaɣal/ (we work

on), and /bi + tfōt/ (go through). The MSA variants are /joqawwit/, /?aftiloh/, /?oʃarixoh/, /?aftiloh/, /?adʒī? bihi/, /naʃtaɣil/, and /tafōt/. Either /Samma/ or / bi / is intruded word-initially to present tense verb in Al-Minya accent. Moreover, excrescence appears in /hijja/ (she): the palatal fricative /j/ is intruded to word mid-position as the MSA variant is /hija/.

Aphaeresis is marked in eliding the glottal plosive stop /?/ word-initially in /wa+nā/ (and I), in /gabl ma+tdʒawaz/ (before I marry), in /liħbāl/ (the robes), and in /ʔanā+lli/ (and I am the one who). The MSA variants are /wa+ʔanā/, /qabl ʔan ʔatazawadʒ/, /ʔalħibāl/ and /ʔanā ʔallati/. Apocope appears in /xamsā/ (five) and /mamdōdā/ (stretched). The MSA variants are /xamsah/and /mamdōdah/. The glottal fricative voiced /h/ is elided word-finally. Eliding the glottal fricative voiced /h/ in word final position is compensated for by lengthening the word-final vowel: /a/ > /ā/. Sybcope appears in /labāxza/ while the MSA variant is /lāmoʔāxaða/. The glottal plosive /?/ is elided in word mid position in Al-Minya variant.

Vowel raising is detected in /wi/ (and), in /ʔilħamdillah/ (praise be to God), in /dī/ (this), in /niʃid/ (fix), and in /ʔilħibāl/ (the robes). The high front /i/ is preferred to the low central /a/. Monophthongization is illustrated in /ʕalīhā/ (on it) and /fōg/ (above). The MSA variants are /ʕalajhā/ and /fawq/. The diphthong /aj/ is monphthongized to long vowel /ī/ and the diphthong /aw/ is monophthongized to long vowel / ō/ in Al-Mynia accent.

### Extract (6)

إِتَلاَمِيرُ إِصْبِيَانَ يِحْفَزُو قُرْآنَ فِصِّبْحُ إِسَّاعَةٍ سَبْعَة وَنُصْ مِصَّبْح كِياً..ضِرَاصَة..لِحَدُ إِسَاعَة إِحَداشَرُ كِياً الفُطْرَة إِتَّاثَيَة إِلْسَائِيْنَ كِيا تِيجِي إِسَاعَة إِحَداشَرُ لِحَدُ إِسَاعَة إِتَنِينَ إِضَّهْرُ.

Abdelghany. (2017). Ahl Alqaria Program, the Episode of Sheikh Ziyad, Part Two. [Video].

<u>?ittalāmīz</u> <u>?iṣobian jiħfazō</u> qor?ān <u>fiṣṣobħ</u> ?isāṢah <u>sabṢah</u> wi noṣ <u>miṣṣobħ</u> kidā... <u>dirāṣah</u>...liħad ?isāṢah <u>?iħḍā[ar</u> kidā <u>?ilfaṭrah</u> <u>?ittānijah</u> ?ilmasaʔijah kidā tidʒī ?issāṢah <u>?iħḍā[ar</u> liħad ?issāṢah <u>?itnīn</u> ?iḍḍohor.

The students memorize the Qur'an in the morning around half past seven, since the morning like this... the study... until the eleven o'clock like this... the second period in the evening like this from eleven o'clock until two in the noon

The previous extract is provided by a villager of Sheik Zeyaad village affiliated to Maghagha town in Al-Minya governorate. He works as tutor in one of the village's Koranic schools. His contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about the class schedule.

Assimilating phonemes in the previous extract appears in /?ittalāmīz/ (the students) and in /jiħfazō/ (memorize). The MSA variants are /?attalāmīð/ and /jaħfaZo/. It is a dental assimilation where the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiced fricative /z/ in /?ittalāmīz/. The Dental plosive assimilation is observed in assimilating the interdental voiced fricative /Z/ to the dental voiced fricative /z/ in /jiħfazō/. In both cases, it is a place assimilation as /ð/ and /z/; /Z / and /z/ are voiced fricatives.

Likewise, the dental plosive assimilation appears in /?ittānijah/ (the second) and in /?itnīn/ (two). The MSA variants are /?a $\theta\theta$ ānijah/ and /?i $\theta$ najn/ respectively. The interdental fricative / $\theta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental plain plosive /t/ in place and manner of articulation. Moreover, dental assimilation appears in assimilating the interdental fricative / $\xi$ / to the dental plosive / $\theta$ / in place and manner of articulation in /?i $\theta$ dohor/ (noon) whose MSA variant is /?a $\xi$ Ohor/. Finally, in Al-Minya variant /ki $\theta$ a/ (like that), whose MSA variant is /ka $\theta$ a/, the interdental voiced fricative / $\theta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental plain plosive / $\theta$ /.

Pharyngealized assimilation is salient in /dirāṣah/ (the study) where the MSA variant is /dirāṣah/. The dental plain plosive /d/ in /dirāṣah/ is totally assimilated to the dental pharyngealized plosive /d/. Furthermore, the dental plain fricative /s/ is totally assimilated to the dental pharyngealized fricative /ṣ/. The only assimilated feature is pharyngealization since /d/ and /d/ are dental voiced plosives and /s/ and /ṣ/ are dental voiceless fricatives. Similarly, in /ʔiħḍāʃar/ (eleven), the dental pharyngealized plosive /d/ is the result of assimilating the dental plain plosive /d/ of the MSA variant in /ʔaħada ʕaʃar/ to the dental pharyngealized plosive /d/ in Al-Minya variant. In /ʔilfaṭrah/ (the period), whose MSA variant is /ʔalfaṭrah/, the dental plosive /t/ is pharyngealized to be /t/. It is a form of partial assimilation owing to the fact that /t/ and /t/ are dental voiceless plosives.

Aphaeresis is observable in /ʔiħd̄aʃar/ (eleven) where the MSA variant is /ʔaħada ʔaʃar/. The pharyngeal fricative /ʕ/ and the low central /a/ are elided in /ʕaʃar/. Aphaeresis and syncope appears in /sabʕah/ (seven). It has the MSA variant /ʔassābiʕah/. Aphaeresis appears in eliding the glottal plosive /ʔ/ while Syncope appears in eliding the low central /a/ and the high front /i/. The vowel reduction appears in reducing the long vowel /ā/ to low central short /a/. In /noṣ/ (half), apocope appears eliding labiodental fricative /f/ from the MSA variant /niṣf/. similarly, apocope appears in eliding the glottal plosive in /tidʒī/ (come) where the MSA variant is /tadʒī?/.

Apocope, aphaeresis, and syncope appear in /misobħ/ (since morning). The MSA variant is /min  $\mathbf{?}$ assabāħ/. Apocope appears in eliding the alveolar nasal /n/, aphaeresis appears in eliding the glottal plosive /?/ and syncope appears in eliding the long vowel /  $\bar{\alpha}$ /.

The vowel raising from low central /a/ to high front /i/ is detected in /?iss $\bar{\alpha}$ \$ah/ (an hour), in /wi/ (and), in /?ilmasa?ijah/ (the evening), in /?iddohor/ (noon), and in /jiħfazō/ (memorize). The MSA variants are /?ass $\bar{\alpha}$ \$ah/, /wa/, /?almas $\bar{\alpha}$ ?ijah/, /?aZohor/, and /jaħfaZō/. Monophthongization appears in monophthongizing the diphthong /aj/ to the long vowel /  $\bar{\imath}$  / in /?itn $\bar{\imath}$ n/. The MSA variant is /?i $\theta$ najhn/.

Extract (7)

حَبِّينَا نِعٰرُفَ اِسِّمًا لِيه بِشَارِعْ اِلْحَرَامِي هُّوّا بِينجُّولَكُ ْ إِنْ كَانِتَ طَبَعاً جَبَلُ مِرِفَحْ اِ لَكَهْرَبَا مَا يَدَخُلُ اِلْبَلَدَ كَانِتَ اِنَّاسَ بِتَخَافِ تِمْشِي فِيهُ يَعْنِي مَسَلًا إِيهُ يِحْصَلَ فِيهُ شِيء مَشَاكِلَ يَعْنِي مَسَلًا كَرَبُ أَسْرَهُ أَجُولُ لِمْرَاطِي مَتِمْشِيشُ فِيهُ.

Abdelghany. (2019). Jaweer Village. [Video].

<u>habbina</u> <u>niʕraf</u> <u>?issamā</u> līh biʃāriʕ ?ilħaramī <u>howwa</u> <u>bijqolak</u> ?in kanit ṭabʕan <u>qabl mirfaq</u> <u>?ilkahrabā</u> mā jidxol ?ilbalad kanit ?innās <u>bitxāf</u> timʃī fīh <u>jaʕnī masalan</u> ?īh <u>jiħṣal</u> fīh ʃīʔ maʃākil jaʕnī <u>masalan</u> karab ?osrah ?agōl <u>limrāṭī</u> matimʃīʃ fīh.

We would like to know why it was called Al-Harami Street. It is said that before the electricity service, the villagers were afraid to pass through it...I mean, for example, there were problems...For example, as head of family, I tell my wife not to walk in this street. The previous extract is provided by one of the villagers of Jaweer village affiliated to Mallawi town in Al-Minya governorate. The villager's contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about the origin of the designation of Al-Harami Street, i.e. the street of the thief.

Dental assimilation is remarkable in /masalan/ (for example) whose MSA variant is /ma $\theta$ alan /. The interdental voiceless fricative /  $\theta$  / is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless fricative /s/. Since /  $\theta$  / and /s/ are voiceless fricatives, it is a place assimilation.

Pharyngealized assimilation is pronounced in /limr $\bar{\alpha}t$ , (to my wife) The MSA variant is /liʔimraʔati/. The dental voiceless plosive plain /t/ of the MSA variant is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless plosive pharyngealized /t/. Velarized assimilation appears in the variants /gabl/ (before), /mirfag/ (facility), and /ʔagōl/ (I say). The MSA variants are /gabl/, / mirfag/, and /ʔagōl/ respectively. The uvular voiced /q/ is totally assimilated to the velar voiced /g/, which does not exist in MSA.

*Prothesis* is detected in /bi+tx $\bar{\alpha}$ f/ (fear) and in / bi+jgolak/ (tell). The preverbal marker /bi/ is intruded to present tense verbs in Al-Minya variants. *Prothesis* causes *syncopation* of *low central* /a/ in Al-Minya variants. The MSA variants are /tax $\bar{\alpha}$ f / and /jaq $\bar{\alpha}$ l laka/. In addition, *prothesis* is evident in in the word initial intrusion of / ?i / in /?i+ssam $\bar{\alpha}$ / (It was called). It is a past tense verb in passive mode whose MSA variant is /somija/. Prosthesis causes the germination of the dental fricative /s/. *Excrescence* is remarkable in /howwa/ (he). The MSA variant is /howa/. The bilabial fricative /w/ is intruded word medially. Finally, *paragoge* appears in /matimʃīʃ/ (do not walk). The MSA variant is /l $\bar{\alpha}$  + tamʃī/. The *alveolar fricative* /  $\int$  / is intruded to word final position to mark negation.

Sound elision appears in /ħabbīnā/ (we would like) and in /mirāṭī/ (my wife). The MSA variants are /ʔaħbabnā/ and /ʔimraʔatī/ respectively. The MSA variant /ʔaħbab + nā/ is structured of the verb /ʔaħbab/ (like) and /nā/ (attached pronoun-expressing plural subject

of the verb). Aphaeresis is detected in eliding the glottal stop /?/and the low central /a/ in word initial position. Aphaeresis causes a word-final vowel intrusion of /ī/ in /ħabbīnā/. Similarly, in /mirāṭī/, aphaeresis and syncope appear in eliding the glottal stop /?/ in word initial and middle positions. Aphaeresis is compensated for by intruding high front /i/ following the bilabial nasal and syncope is compensated for by vowel lengthening i.e. /a/ > /ā/ in /mirāṭī/. Finally, apocope is detected in deleting the glottal plosive /?/ in /?ilkahrabā/ (electricity). The MSA variant is /?alkahrabā?/.

Vowel raising from central /a/ to high front /i/ is frequently detected in /kanit/ (it was), in /ʔinnαs/ (people), in /timʃī/ (walk), in /jiħṣal/ (happens), in /ʔilbalad/ (the village), in /ʔilkahraba/ (electricity) and in /niʕraf/(to know). The MSA variants are /kanat/, /ʔannαs /, /tamʃī/, /jaħṣol/, /ʔalbalad/, /ʔalkahrabaʔ/, and /naʕrif/. Monophthongization is observed in /ʃīʔ/ where the MSA variant is /ʃajʔ/ (thing). The diphthong /aj/ in the MSA variant is monophthongized to be /ī / in Al-Minya variant.

### Extract (8)

اِضًلْ زِغَيَّرْ وِالْمِنْطَطْ زِغَيَّر اِلْوَاسِعْ عِيَّشْ ...لاَ مِشْ عَمَتَحُّطِلَّهُ حِلْبَا.. جَمَعْ وِشَامِي بَسْ وِخَمِيرَهُ وِنِحْبَرٌ عُلْحَصُوٌ...َلَا دَهُ مَغِيْشْ خَمِيرَهُ. Abdelghany. (2021). Ezbet El Hajj Qandil, Dermwas Center. [Video].

Eddil bread is small and Elminatat bread is small... The big-sized shape is called bread... We don't add fenugreek, only wheat, Shami flour and yeast, and bake it on pebbles... No, this does not contain yeast.

This extract is provided by a female villager of Hajj Qandile estate affiliated to Deir Muas town in Al-Minya governorate. The female villager works in bakery. Her contribution is a reply to the interviewer's question about the difference between two kinds of bread and the ingredients of each kind.

Dental plosive assimilation is pronounced in /?iddil/ (kind of bread in Al-Minya culture). The MSA variant is /?aZZil/. The interdental fricative /Z/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive /d/ in manner and place of articulation. Voicing assimilation is noted in /ziyajr/ (small) where the MSA variant is /sayīr/ .The dental voiceless /ş/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiced /z/. Both phonemes are dental fricatives; the assimilated feature is voicing. The /s/ loses its pharyngealization and acquires voicing. Furthermore, demonstrative article /dah/ (this) has the MSA variant /ða/. It is an example of dental plosive assimilation, previously clarified in extract (1). Finally, assimilating the uvular plosive /g/ to the velar plosive /g/ appears in  $/gam\hbar/$  where the MSA variant is  $/gam\hbar/$ .

*Prothesis* is observed in / $\Gamma$ amma + nħoṭilō/ (we add to it). The MSA variant is /naħoṭ laho/. The preverbal marker / $\Gamma$ amma/ is intruded word-initially to the present tense verb /naħoṭ/. It causes a vowel *elision* of *the low central* /a/.

In / $\S$ al +  $\hbar$ asw/ (on the pebbles) where the MSA variant is / $\S$ al $\bar{\alpha}$  +  $\rain$ al $\hbar$ as $\bar{\alpha}$ /, apocope appears in eliding the long vowel / $\bar{\alpha}$ / in / $\S$ al $\bar{\alpha}$ / (on). It turns to be / $\S$ al/ in Al-Minya variant. In addition, aphaeresis appears in eliding the definite article / $\rain$ al/ in / $\hbar$ asw/ where the MSA variant is / $\rain$ al $\hbar$ as $\bar{\alpha}$ /. In addition, the long vowel / $\bar{\alpha}$ / is substituted with the labiodental fricative /w/, as the singular form of / $\hbar$ as $\bar{\alpha}$ t/ (stone) is / $\hbar$ as $\bar{\alpha}$ / (stones). Furthermore, apocope appears in eliding the glottal fricative / $\hbar$ h/ in / $\hbar$ ilba/ (fenugreek) and /xamira/ (yeast). The MSA variants are / $\hbar$ ilbah/ and /xamirah/. Finally, apocope is evident in eliding the diphthong /aj/ and the glottal fricative / $\rain$ / in /mafif/ (nothing). The MSA variant is / $\hbar$ a + fi + [ai?/.

Vowel raising from low central /a/ to high front /i/ appears in /ʔiḍḍil/, in /wi/, in /ziɣajr/, and in /nixbizō/ (bake). The MSA variants are /ʔaȤʔil/, /wa/, /ṣaɣīr / and /naxbizō/. Diphthongization or vowel fracturing appears in /ziɣajr/ where the MSA variant is /ṣaɣīr/ Monophthongization is found in /ʕīʃ/ (bread) where the MSA variant is /ʕajʃ/: the diphthong /aj/ is monophthongized to the long vowel /ī/.

#### Extract 9

بيرْ مَيْهِ مِّبَارِكِمْ طُبِعاً. مَيِّهِ عَارَبَهُ بِشِنْرَبْهَا. وفِيهِ هِنَا نَاسَ بِتيجِي بِتَتَارِكُ بِيه بِتَتَارِكُ بِيه. وفِيه دائِماً بَرْدُو بِينِجا فِيه شِفا لُو واحِن مريضٍ ولا حَاجَا بَيْخَطِي لِيبِر بِبَرَكَمْ رَبْنَا لُولُ بِشِنْفِيه بَرْدُو وَبَيْجُعلُو سَبْبَ. وفِيه بَعن كِنْ مَسَلاً حَنْ مَعَتدوشُ مَسَلاً خَلِيفَهُ ولا كِنَ بِيتَبارِكُ بلُبِر بِيْغَدِي عليه حَوالِي تَلَتَ مَرَّاتَ أَو سَبِعْ مَرَّاتَ.

Abdelghany. (2017). Ahl Alqaria Program, the Village of Sheikh Ubadah, Part 3 [Video].

<u>bīr majah mobarak</u>ā ṭabsan. <u>majah sāzbah</u> binisrabhā. <u>wifīh</u> hina ʔinnās bitīdzī biṭiṭbarak bīh. <u>wifīh dajman bardō bijibqā</u> fīh <u>sifa</u> law waħid marīḍ walla ħadza bijxaṭī lbīr bibarakiṭ rabnā <u>lawwal bijisfīh bardō wi bijidzsalō</u> sabab. wifīh basd <u>kida masalan</u> ħad <u>masandōs masalan xalīfā</u> walla <u>kida bijtbārik bilbīr bijsadī salāh</u> ħawali <u>talat marrāṭ</u> aw <u>sabas</u> <u>marrāṭ</u>.

It is a well of blessed water, of course. It is fresh water that we drink... and here people come to seek blessings from it. And there is a healing for the patient who strides the water of the well and with its blessings the Lord heals him. And God turns this water a reason. For example, if a person is sterile, he asks for blessings of water and strides it three or seven times.

This extract is provided by a villager of Sheikh Abaadi village affiliated to Mallawi town in Al-Minya governorate. The interview takes place when the villager is accidently on a visit to the cemetery in Abaadi village. The villager's contribution is a response to the interviewer's question about a famous well in Sheikh Abaadi village.

Dental assimilation is detected in  $/\sqrt[a]{\alpha}$  ba/ (fresh) while the MSA variant is  $/\sqrt[a]{\alpha}$  bah/. The interdental voiced fricative  $/\sqrt[a]{\alpha}$  is totally assimilated to the dental voiced fricative /z/. Both phonemes are voiced fricatives; accordingly, it is a form of place assimilation. In addition, dental assimilation is noticed in /masalan/ (for example) and in /talat/ (three) while the MSA variants are /ma $\theta$ alan/ and / $\theta$ ala $\alpha$  $\theta$ / respectively. In Al-Mynia variants, the interdental fricative / $\theta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental phonemes /s/ in the former and /t/ in the latter. In the variant /masalan/, partial assimilation appears in assimilating the place of articulation between the voiceless fricatives / $\theta$ / and /s/. In the variant /talat/, dental plosive assimilation occurs between the dental plosive /t/ and the interdental fricative / $\theta$ /: assimilation of place and manner of articulation.

Pharyngealized assimilation is realized in assimilating the dental plain plosive /t/ to the dental pharyngealized plosive /t/ in /bi+titbarak/ (be blessed), in /bi+barakit/ (blessings), and in /marrat/ (times). The MSA variants are /tatabārak/, /bi+barakat/, and /marrat/ respectively. It is a kind of partial assimilation since both phonemes i.e. /t/ and /t/ are dental voiceless plosives. The assimilated feature is pharyngealization.

Aphaeresis and syncope are noticed in /lawwal/ (the first) while the MSA variant is /ʔalʔawwal/. Aphaeresis appears in eliding the glottal plosive /?/ word-initially while syncope is illustrated in deleting the low central /a/ and the glottal plosive /?/ word-medially. In /ʕalbīr/ (on the well), whose MSA variant is /ʕalā ʔalbiʔr/, apocope appears in eliding the long vowel /ā/ in /ʕalā/, i.e. on. In addition, aphaeresis and syncope appear in eliding the glottal plosive /ʔ/ word-

initially and word-medially in /ʔalbiʔr/. The elision is compensated for by vowel lengthening, i.e. /i/ is lengthened to /ī/ in /bīr/. In /barḍō/ whose MSA variant is /bi+ʔarḍoh/, as Taymour (133: 2002) mentions, syncope appears in eliding the high front /i/ and the plosive glottal stop word-medially while apocope appears in eliding the glottal fricative /h/ word-finally. According to Ameen (2007: 182), it is more likely that bardo is a variant of /bi+ʔarḍoh/ (in his land). He adds that a group of linguists believes that it is a modification of the Turkish barda (also) which is abbreviated from the word Bardakhiin.

Furthermore, apocope is evident in eliding the glottal plosive stop /?/ in /bi+tīdʒī/ (they come) and in /ʃifa/ (healing). The MSA variants are /tadʒī?/ and /ʃifā?/. In addition, Al-Minya accent is characterized by the apocopated glottal fricative /h/ in /mobarakā/ (blessed), in /xalīfā/ (sibling), in /hādʒa/ (something), and in /ʕāz`bā/ (fresh). The MSA variants are /mobarakah/, /xalīfah/, /hādʒah/, and /ʕaðbah/ respectively. Syncope appears in /rab`nā/ (our God) where the MSA variant is /rabonā/. The high back vowel /o/ is elided word-medially.

Sound intrusion appears in intruding the present tense preverbal marker /bi/ in /bi + niʃrabhā/ (we drink it), in /bi + tiṭbarak/ (be blessed), in /bi + jibgā/ (remain), in /bi + tīdʒī/ (they come), in /bi + jxaṭī/ (he strides), in /bi + jiffīh/ (he heals him), in /bi + jitbārik/ (he is blessed), in /bi + jidʒʕalō/ (he causes it), and in /bi + jʕadī/ (he strides). The MSA variants are /naʃrabhā/, /tatabārak/, /jabqā/, /jaxṭōl/, /jaffīh/, /jatabārak/, /jadʒʕaloh/, and /jaʕdō/ respectively. Paragoge is noted in /maʕandōʃ/ (he does not have) where the MSA variant is /mā ʕindaho/. The alveolar fricative /ʃ/ is intruded wordfinally to mark negation in Al-Minya variant. In addition, al-Mynia accent is characterized by the vowel reduction which is noted in changing the long vowel /ā/ to the short one /a/ in the negative particle /ma/.

---- van (05-1994) (3-1994) (3-1994) (3-1994) (3-1994) (3-1994)

Diphphthongization is observed in /majah/ (water) while the MSA variant is /m $\bar{\alpha}$ ?/. The long vowel / $\bar{\alpha}$ / is diphthongized in Al-Minya variant to /aj/, the glottal plosive /?/ is elided, and the the glottal fricative /h/ is intruded word-finally. Similarly, in /dajman/ (always), the diphthong /aj/ is the result of diphthongization of long vowel / $\bar{\alpha}$ / in /d $\bar{\alpha}$ ?iman/. In addition, the glottal plosive /?/ is syncopated in word-medially. Finally, vowel raising appears in /hina/ (here), /?inn $\bar{\alpha}$ s/ (the people), and /kida/ (like that). The MSA variants are /h $\sigma$ n $\bar{\alpha}$ /, /? $\sigma$ ann $\bar{\alpha}$ s/, and /k $\sigma$  $\bar{\alpha}$ /.

# Extract (10)

يَعْنِي عِتْدِي بِتَاعْ اِتنَاشَرْ سَنَهُ...عِتَدِي تَمْتَيَهُ وَرُبِعِينَ ...الله يخفَرُكُ ...بِنِجْرَحْ فِيهَا وِبَخْشَهَا بِرَادَةُ رَبْنَا عَلَحاَجَۃ اِلِلّي بِتَخْشُ فِيهَا دِي بِيبَا فَهَا تَعَيْنَ.

Abdelghany. (2019). *An Interview with the Basket Maker, the Village of Al-Sawahijah, 3<sup>rd</sup> Episode*. [Video].

jaʕnī <u>Sandī bitāṢ Siṭnā[ar sana</u>... <u>Sandī tamania</u> <u>warbiṢīn</u> ... <u>Palla jiħfazak biniʤaraħ</u> fihā <u>winxo[ahā birādat rabna Salħāʤa Pilli binxo[fihā dī bijibbā fihā taṢabīn.</u>

Since I was about twelve ... I'm now fourty-eight ... God bless you... We get injured. God willing, we encounter what is destined for us, we may encounter snakes

The previous extract is provided by a villager in Al Sawahijah village affiliated to Mallawi town in Al-Minya governorate. The villager works in basket making craft. His contribution is a response to the interviewer's questions about the time he started this craft and the difficulties he is facing in basket making craft.

Bilabial assimilation is observed in /bitας/ (useful stuff), previously clarified in extract (3). Pharyngealized dental plosive assimilation is noted in /siţnαʃar/ (twelve) while the MSA variant is /siθnα saʃar/. The interdental fricative /θ/ is totally assimilated to the dental plosive pharyngealized /t/ in /siţnαʃar/. Since /t/ and /θ/ are voiceless, the assimilated features are pharyngealization, place, and manner of articulation. Dental plosive assimilation appears in /tamanija/ (eight) and /tasabīn/ (snakes). The MSA variants are /θamᾱnijah/ and /θasᾱbīn/. The interdental fricative /θ/ is totally assimilated to the dental plain plosive /t/ in place and manner of articulation. Dental assimilation is detected in /jiħfazak/ (keeps you safe) while the MSA variant is /jaħfazak/. The interdental voiced fricative /z/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiced fricative /z/ in place of articulation.

Aphaeresis is clarified in /warbisīn/ (and fourty) whose MSA variant is /wa ?arbasīn/. The glottal plosive /?/ and the low central /a/ are elided word-initially. Syncope appears in /bi+rādat/ (God Willing) and in /rabnā/ (our God). The MSA variants are /bi+?irādat/ and /rabonā/ respectively. While the glottal plosive /?/ and the high front /i/ are elided in the former, the front back vowel /o/ is elided in the latter. In addition, syncope appears in eliding the vowel /a/ in the variant /wi+nxoʃahā/ (and we enter it) where MSA variant is /wa naxoʃahā/. Apocope appears in eliding the glottal fricative /h/ in /sana/ (year) and /?alla/ (God) where the MSA variants are /sanah/ and /?allah/. In addition, apocope appears in eliding the interdental fricative /ð/ and the high front /i/ in /?illī/ (that) where the MSA variant is /?allaði/.

Prothesis is evident in /bi+nidʒaraħ/ (We get hurted), in /bi+jibbā/ (there is), and in /bi+nxoʃ/ (we enter). The MSA variants are /nodʒraħ/, /jabqā/, and /naxoʃ/ respectively. The preverbal marker /bi/ is intruded word-initially. It causes a vowel elision of low central /a/ in /naxoʃ/. In Al-Minya variant /bi+jibbā/, whose MSA variant is /jabqā/, the uvular /q/ is elided and compensated for by labial germination. Vowel raising appears in raising the low central

/a/ to the high front /i/ in /warbisīn/ (and fourty), in /jiħfazak/ (keeps you safe) and in /bi+jibbā/ (there is). The MSA variants are /wa ?arbasīn/, /jaħfaZak/, and /jabgā/ respectively.

#### **Results and Discussion**

In the sample under investigation, the participants are the residents of Al-Minya villages as they clarified in the interviews of *Ahl Alqaria* program. Their regional accent appears in their speech contributions as a response to the interviewer's questions. The interviewer's questions revolve about crafts, difficulties in handmade crafts, and popularity of certain places in their villages. In the sample under investigation, the participants are deliberately selected as villagers to eliminate the influence of education and urbanity on their accent.

Since the aim of this research is to detect the phonological processes responsible for sound change in Al-Minya accent, Al-Minya accent is characterized by *assimilation*, *sound intrusion*, *sound elision*, *metathesis*, and *vowel raising*. In Al-Minya accent, the observed types of *assimilation* are classified into *pharyngealized assimilation*, *voicing assimilation*, *dental assimilation*, *velar assimilation*, and *bilabial assimilation*.

Assimilation analysis is applied to predict the assimilated sounds in Al-Minya accent. The first observed type of assimilation is the *pharyngealized assimilation*. It is evident in assimilating *the dental plosive plain* /t/ to *the dental plosive pharyngealized* /t/. As dental voiceless plosives, it is a type of *partial assimilation* of secondary articulation, i.e. *pharyngealization*. Assimilating the plain phoneme /t/ to the pharyngealized counterpart /t/ reflects Al-Minya accent tendency to *pharyngealization*. Table (3) illustrates examples of assimilating *the dental plosive plain* /t/ to the *dental plosive pharyngealizated* /t/ in examples (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10):

Table (3): Pharyngealized Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	Gloss
1	/ħari <b>ṣ</b> ha/	/ħari <b>s</b> oha/	safeguard
2	/ʔi <b>ṭ</b> orʕah/	/ʔa <b>tt</b> orʕah /	the canal
3	/ bi+ţrāb /	/bi+ <b>tt</b> orāb/	soil
4	/di+lwax <b>ţ</b> /.	/ <b>ð</b> ī+ʕalwaq <b>t</b> /	this time
5	/ʔi <b>ṭṭ</b> oraʕ /	/ʔa <b>tt</b> oraʕ/	the canals
6	/ʔilfa <b>ṭ</b> rah/,	/ʔalfa <b>t</b> rah/	the period
7	/limrā <b>ţ</b> ī/	/liʔimraʔa <b>t</b> i/	to my wife
8	/bi+ţiţbarak/	/tatabārak/	be blessed
9	/bi+baraki <b>ţ</b> /	/bi+baraka <b>t</b> /	blessings
10	/marra <b>ţ</b> /	/marra <b>t</b> /	times
11	/ <b>ḍ</b> irā <b>ṣ</b> ah/	/ <b>d</b> irā <b>s</b> ah/	the study
12	/ ṣan <b>ḍ</b> afa/	/ṣan <b>d</b> afa/	Sandafa
13	/ʔiħ <b>ḍ</b> āʃar/	/ʔaħa <b>d</b> aʕaʃar/	eleven
14	/ʕi <b>ṭ</b> nᾱʃar/.	/ʕi <b>θ</b> nᾱʕaʃar/	twelve

Table (3) illustrates another form of pharyngealized assimilation, which appears in assimilating the dental plosive plain /d/ to the dental plosive pharyngealizated /d/. Similar to the previous kind, assimilating /d/ to / d/ is a type of partial assimilation because the only assimilated phonetic feature is pharyngealization. The rest of the phonetic features are similar. The phonemes i.e. /d/ and /d/ are dental voiced plosives. This is the second proof on Al-Minya Accent tendency to the phonetic feature of pharyngealization. This is illustrated in (11), (12), and (13).

Moreover, table (3) clarifies another type of *pharyngealized* assimilation where the dental fricative plain /s/ is totally assimilated to the dental fricative pharyngealized /s/. It is a form of partial assimilation as the phonemes /s/ and /s/ are dental voiceless fricatives. The only assimilated feature is pharyngealization. This is

another proof on Al-Minya accent tendency to pharyngealization. This is evident in example (1).

Finally, table (3) illustrates a secondary type of pharyngealized assimilation, i.e. pharyngealized dental assimilation where the interdental voiceless fricative  $/\theta$ / is totally assimilated to the dental voiceless fricative pharyngealized /s/. It is a form of total assimilation in place of articulation and pharyngealization. It is triggered by the adjacency of place of articulation i.e. a dental and an interdental place of articulation. The frequency of pharyngealized assimilation in the analyzed data appears in chart (1):

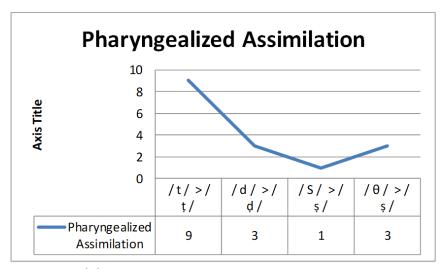


chart (1): Pharyngealized Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

The second observed type of assimilation in Al-Minya accent is voicing assimilation. It appears in assimilating the dental voiceless fricative /s/ to the dental voiced fricative /z/. It is a voicing assimilation where the voiceless /s/ acquires voicing and turns to be the voiced /z/. This is another form of partial assimilation as the only assimilated feature is voicing. Assimilating /s/ to /z/ is infrequent as it appears once in /ziyajr/ while MSA variant is /sayīr/ (small).

Dental assimilation is the third detected type of assimilation in Al-Minya accent. It is evident in assimilating the interdental  $/\theta/$  to the dental /s/. It is a type of place assimilation since both phonemes i.e.  $/\theta/$  and /s/ are voiceless fricatives. Therefore, it is partial assimilation as the only assimilated phonetic feature is place of articulation. Table (4) illustrates examples of assimilating  $/\theta/$  to /s/ in the data under analysis in examples (1) and (2).

Table (4): Dental Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	gloss
1	/ma <b>s</b> alan/	/ma <b>0</b> alan/	for example
2	/bi+j <b>s</b> īr/	/jo <b>θ</b> īr/	stir up
3	/labax <b>z</b> a/	/l̄αmoʔᾱxa <b>ð</b> ̄a/	excuse me
4	/ʔittalāmī <b>z</b> /	/ʔattalāmī <b>ð</b> /	the students
5	/ʕā <b>z</b> bā /	/ʕa <b>ð</b> bah/	fresh
6	/jiħfa <b>z</b> ak/	/jaħfa <b>ẓ</b> ak/	keeps you safe
7	/bi+ <b>z</b> rōf/	/bi+ <b>ẓ</b> orōf/	conditions

Similarly, dental assimilation appears in assimilating interdental fricative voiced /ð/ to the dental fricative voiced /z/. It is a form of partial assimilation of place of articulation as both phonemes /ð/ and /z/ are voiced fricatives. Assimilating /ð/ to /z/ appears in table (4) in examples (3), (4), and (5). In addition, dental assimilation appears in partially assimilating the interdental fricative voiced /z/ to the dental fricative voiced /z/. Both phonemes are voiced fricatives; therefore, the assimilated phonetic feature is place of articulation. This is illustrated in table (4) in examples 6 and 7.

A relevant type to *dental assimilation* is *dental plosive* assimilation. It is observed in assimilating the interdental voiceless fricative  $/\theta$ / to the dental voiceless plosive /t/. It is an assimilation in place and manner of articulation. Table (5) clarifies examples of assimilating  $/\theta$ / to /t/ in examples (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) and (11).

Table (5): Dental Plosive Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	gloss
1	/jax <b>d</b> ō/	/jaʔxo <b>ð</b> ō/	they take
2	/ ki <b>d</b> ᾱ/	/ ka <b>ð</b> ᾱ/	like that
3	/ <b>d</b> ih/	/ ðī/	this
4	/ <b>d</b> ah/	/ <b>ð</b> a/	this
5	/ <b>d</b> i+lwaxţ/	/ <b>ð</b> ī+ʕalwaqt/	this time
6	/talatah/	/ <b>θ</b> alā <b>θ</b> h/	three
7	?i <b>tt</b> anijah	/ʔi <b>θ</b> najn/.	two
8	/ʔi <b>t</b> nīn/	/ʔa <b>θθ</b> ᾱnijah/	two
9	/talat /	/ <b>θ</b> al <b>αθ</b> /	three
10	/ <b>t</b> amanija/	/ <b>θ</b> am̄αnijah/	eight
11	/ <b>t</b> aʕabīn/	/ <b>θ</b> aʕābīn/	snakes
12	/ʔinna <b>ḍ</b> īfah/	/ʔanna <b>ẓ</b> īfah/	the fresh one
13	/ʔi <b>ḍḍ</b> ohor/	/ʔa <b>ẓẓ</b> ohor/	noon

In addition, it appears in assimilating the interdental fricative  $/\delta$ / to the dental plosive /d/. It is a form of total assimilation of place and manner of articulation. It is triggered by adjacent places of articulation i.e. dental and interdental. It is a type of fortition i.e. decreasing sound sonority appears in assimilating a fricative  $/\delta$ / to the plosive /d/. Assimilating the interdental fricative voiced  $/\delta$ / to the dental plosive voiced /d/ appears in table (5) in examples (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5).

Finally, dental plosive assimilation appears in totally assimilating the interdental fricative voiced /Z / to the dental plosive voiced /d/. It is a type of total assimilation in place and manner of articulation. Table (5) clarifies examples of assimilating /Z / to / d/ in Al-Minya accent in examples (12) and (13). Chart (2) clarifies dental assimilation in the data under investigation where assimilating / $\theta$ / and / $\theta$ / to /t/ and /d/ is the most frequent type of dental plosive assimilation.

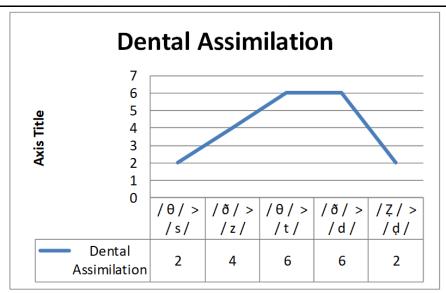


Chart (2): Dental Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

The fourth observed type of assimilation in Al-Minya accent is velarized assimilation. It appears in assimilating the uvular plosive /q/ to the velar plosive /g/, which does not exist in MSA. It is triggered by adjacent place of articulation: velar and uvular. It is partial assimilation of place of articulation since both sounds are voiced plosives. Table (6) illustrates examples of assimilating the uvular plosive /q/ to the velar plosive /g/. It occurs word-initially as in (1), (6), (8) and (12); word medially as in (3), (4), (7), (10) and (11); and word-finally as in (2), (9), and (13). It is unconditioned sound change that occurs regardless of the phonological context.

•

Table (6): Velarized Assimilation in Al-Minya accent

	Al-Minya accent	MSA variants	Gloss
1	<b>ga</b> ʕdīn	<b>q<u>α</u></b> ʕidīn	Sitting
2	?itxāni <b>g</b>	taxāna <b>q</b>	quarrel
3	Wa <b>g</b> ōl	Wa ʔa <b>q</b> ōl	an I say
4	bi+jwa <b>g</b> gaና	jō <b>q</b> i\$	causes troubles
5	ba <b>g</b> at	ba <b>q</b> ijat	became
6	<b>g</b> abl	<b>q</b> abl	before
7	۲amma+j <b>g</b> awwitna	j <b>o</b> qawwit	we earn our daily
			sustenance from it
8	<b>g</b> abl	<b>q</b> abl	before
9	mirfa <b>g</b>	mirfa <b>q</b>	facility
10	bi+j <b>g</b> olak	j <b>aq</b> ōl laka	he told you
11	?a <b>g</b> ōl	?a <b>q</b> ōl	I say
12	<b>g</b> amħ	<b>q</b> amħ	wheat
13	bi+jib <b>g</b> ā	j <b>a</b> b <b>q</b> ā	remain

The fifth observed type of assimilation in Al-Minya accent is bilabial assimilation. It appears in assimilating the bilabial voiced nasal /m/ to the bilabial voiced plosive /b/. It is partial assimilation in manner of articulation since /m/ and /b/ are voiced bilabials. The assimilated phonetic feature is the manner of articulation. It is triggered by identical place of articulation and voicing. Table (7) demonstrates examples of bilabial assimilation.

Table (7): bilabial assimilation in Al-Minya accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	
1	/ <b>b</b> itāና/	/ <b>m</b> <u>a</u> tᾶʕ/.	useful stuff
2	/la <b>b</b> <u>a</u> xza/	/lɑ̃ <b>m</b> oʔɑ̃xaða/.	excuse me

Table (7) shows that bilabial assimilation occurs word-initially and causes vowel raising of the next vowel. In examples (1) and (2), the bilabial voiced nasal /m/ in the MSA variant is totally assimilated to the bilabial voiced plosive /b/ in manner of articulation, i.e. changed to be a plosive sound. Chart (3) summarizes the kinds of phonological assimilation in the sample under investigation.

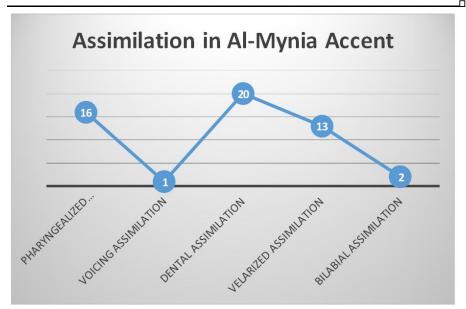


Chart (3): Phonological Assimilation in Al-Minya Accent

Chart (3) reveals that Al-Minya accent is characterized by five types of assimilation. Although dental assimilation is the most frequent type of assimilation with frequency of 20 times, velarized assimilation (q > g) is a regular sound change. It is observed that Al-Minya villagers never pronounce the *uvular voiced* /g/ except when they repeat the interviewer's words. In all word positions, they substitute the uvular /q/ with the velar /g/. Adjacency of place of articulation is the trigger of velarized assimilation. In pharyngealized assimilation, the plain phonemes are pronounced with secondary articulation, i.e. pharyngealization, turning them pharyngealized phonemes. It is a type of fortition where sound sonority decreases. Voicing assimilation is the least frequent type in the sample under investigation.

Metathesis or transposition of phonemes is one of the phonological features of Al-Minya accent. Table (8) illustrates Metathesis in the sample under investigation:

Table (8): Metathesis in Al-Minya Accent

Al-Minya Variant	MSA Variant	gloss
/ji <b>ṣṭ</b> alaħ/	/ja <b>t</b> a <b>ṣ</b> ālaħ/	reconcile
/mat <b>dʒ</b> awa <b>z</b> /	/ʔan <b>ʔ</b> atazawaʤ/	before I marry

In Al-Minya accent, *metathesis* appears in /jiṣṭalaħ/ while the MSA variant is /jataṣ $\bar{\alpha}$ laħ/. It appears in the transposition of *the dental plosive* /t/ and the *dental fricative pharyngealized* /ṣ/. Another use of *metathesis* is in /matdʒawaz/. The transposition is between the *alveolar fricative* /dʒ/ and the *dental fricative* /z/.

Phonological *intrusion* is another distinctive phonological feature of Al-Minya accent. *Prothesis* appears in intruding the preverbal marker /bi/ to present tense verb. *Prothesis* of /bi/ causes post-consonantal vowel *elision*. Table (9) illuminates *prothesis* where the present tense preverbal marker /bi/ is intruded to Al-Minya variants. It includes bolding of /bi/ in Al-Minya variants, bolding of the elided vowels in MSA variants, and the phonological change caused by the intrusion of the present tense preverbal marker /bi/.

Table (9): Prothesis in Present Tense Verbs in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA Variants	Phonological process	gloss
1	/ <b>bi+</b> jsīr/	/j <b>o</b> θīr/	V-Syncope	stir up
2	/ <b>bi+</b> nmor/	/n <b>a</b> mor/	V-Syncope	go through
3	/ <b>bi+</b> jħilohā/	/j <b>a</b> ħillohᾶ/	V-Syncope	they resolve it
4	/ <b>bi+</b> nħōʃahᾱ/	/n <b>a</b> ħō∫ahᾶ/	V-Syncope	we exclude it
5	/ <b>bi+</b> tfōt/	/tafōt/	V-Syncope	go through
6	/ <b>bi+</b> txāf /	/t <b>a</b> xᾱf /	V-Syncope	fear
7	/ <b>bi+</b> jʕadī/	/j <b>a</b> ʕdō/	V-Syncope	he strides
8	/ <b>bi+</b> nxoʃ/	/n <b>a</b> xoʃ/.	V-Syncope	we enter
9	/ <b>bi+</b> jaxdō/	/ja <b>ʔ</b> x <b>o</b> ðōh/	C-Syncope + V-syncope	they take
10	/ <b>bi+</b> jzīl/	/j <b>a</b> zōl/	V-Syncope + V-raising	eliminate
11	/ <b>bi+</b> j <b>ā</b> kol/	/j <b>a?</b> kol/	C-Syncope + V-raising	he eats
12	/ <b>bi+</b> jgolak/	/j <b>a</b> qōl laka/.	V-Syncope + V-raising	he told you
13	/ <b>bi+</b> tiṭbarak/	/tat <b>a</b> bārak/	V-Syncope + V-raising	be blessed
14	/ <b>bi+</b> t <b>ī</b> त्रुī/	/t <b>a</b> dʒī <b>?</b> /	C-Syncope + V-raising	they come
15	/ <b>bi+</b> j <b>i</b> tbārik/	/j <b>a</b> tabᾱrak/	V-Syncope + V-raising	he is blessed
16	/ <b>bi+</b> jxaṭī/	/jaxṭō/	V-Syncope + anaptyxis	he strides
17	/ <b>bi+</b> nʕajid/	/n <b>o</b> ʕājid/	V-raising	congratulate
18	/ <b>bi+ti</b> tħal/	/t <b>o</b> ħal/	V-raising	is resolved

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA Variants	Phonological process	gloss
19	/ <b>bi+</b> ṭ <b>i</b> ṭlaʕ/	/t <b>a</b> ṭlaʕ/	V-raising	Comes from
20	/ <b>bi+</b> n <b>i</b> ∫rabhā/	/n <b>a</b> ∫rabhā/	V-raising	we drink it
21	/ <b>bi+</b> j <b>i</b> bgā/	/j <b>a</b> bqā/	V-raising	there is
22	/ <b>bi+</b> j <b>i</b> ∫fīh/	/j <b>a</b> ∫fīh/	V-raising	he heals him
23	/ <b>bi+</b> j <b>i</b> ʤʕalō/	/j <b>a</b> ʤʕaloh/	V-raising	he causes it
24	/ <b>bi+</b> niʤ <b>a</b> raħ/	/n <b>o</b> ʤraħ/	V-raising + anaptyxis	We get hurted
25	/bi+jibbā/	/jabqᾱ/	V-raising +	there is
			Germination	
26	/bi+jwagga <sup>ç</sup> /	/joqiʕ/	Germination +	causes troubles
			anaptyxis	

Table (9) illustrates the effect of intruding preverbal marker /bi/ to present tense verb in Al-Minya variant. Syncope, vowel raising, germination, and anaptyxis happen in the phonological structure of the present tense verb in Al-Minya accent as a result of /bi/ intrusion. Vowel syncope appears in examples 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8. Consonant syncope appears in examples 9, 11, and 14: once accompanied by V-Syncope and twice by V-raising. Vowel raising is illustrated in examples 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and example 23. It is accompanied by syncope in examples 13, 14, and 15; anaptyxis in 24, and germination in 25. Germination appears in 25 and 26: once accompanied by V-raising and once by Anaptyxis. Anaptyxis is illustrated in 16, 24, and 26. Prosthesis of /bi/ in Al-Minya accent is a conditioned sound change: its phonological context is the initial word position in present tense verb.

Similarly, prosthesis is observed in initial intrusion of the present tense preverbal marker / $\Gamma$ amma/, which causes vowel elision. Table (10) exemplifies some of Al-Minya variants that undergo intrusion of / $\Gamma$ amma/. It includes bolding of / $\Gamma$ amma/ in Al-Minya variants and bolding of the elided vowels in the MSA variants.

Table (10): Prothesis in Present Tense Verbs in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variant	Phonological	Gloss
			change	
1	/ <b>Samma+</b> nrōħ/.	/n <b>a</b> rōħ/.	V-Syncope	we go to
2	/ <b>Samma+</b> jgawwitna/	/j <b>o</b> qawwit/	V-Syncope	we earn our daily
				sustenance from it
3	/ <b>Samma+</b> ftilhā/	/ <b>?a</b> ftilhā/	C-Syncope	I plait it
4	/ <b>Samma+</b> n∫arxo/	/n <b>o</b> ʃar <b>i</b> xoh/	V-Syncope	I crack it
5	<b>/ʕamma+</b> dʒībō/	/ ʔ <b>a</b> ʤīʔ bihi/	V-Syncope	I bring it
6	/ <b>ʕamma+</b> n <b>i</b> ∫ttaɣal	/n <b>a</b> ∫taɣil/	V-raising	We work on
7	/ <b>Samma+</b> billo/	/ <b>?a</b> billo <b>h</b> /	C-Syncope	I wet it
8	/ <b>Samma+</b> ṭalSō/.	/ <b>ʔo</b> ṭal <b>i</b> ʕoh/	C-Syncope	I take it out
			V-Syncope	
9	/ <b>Samma+</b> nħoṭilō/	/n <b>a</b> ħoṭ laho/	V-Syncope	we add to it

Table (10) reveals that /**Samma**/ prothesis to present tense verb in Al-Minya accent results in either syncope or vowel raising. Vowel syncope appears in examples (1), (2), (4) (5), (6), (8), and in (9); and consonant syncope appears in examples (3), (7), and in (8). The vowel raising appears in example (6).

*Prosthesis* in past tense verb in passive mood appears in intruding the preverbal marker /?i/. Table (11) displays some examples of *prosthesis* in past tense verbs in Al-Minya accent.

Table (11): prosthesis in past tense Verbs in Al-Minya Accent

Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form	gloss
/ <b>ʔi</b> txānig/	/t <b>a</b> x̄ɑnaq/	quarrel
/ʔissamā /	/s <b>o</b> mija/	It was called
<b>/?i</b> tkalim/	/takalam/	talk
/ʔiṭrāḍa/	/tarāḍa/	reconcile
<b>/ʔi</b> tfāhim/	/tafāham/	he agree

The /ʔi/ intrusion to past tense verb in passive mood causes vowel elision as in example (1) or vowel-lowering as in example (2). Other examples of /ʔi/ intrusion to past tense verbs in Al-Minya accent are /ʔiṭʕaraf/ (it became known) whose standard form is

/Sorifa/, /?iṭrafaS/ (it is raised) whose standard form is /rofiSa/, /?inkaṣar/ (it broke) whose standard form is /kosira/, and /?itbana/ (it was built) whose standard form is /bonija/.

In Al-Minya accent, excrescence appears in intruding the bilabial voiced fricative /w/ and the palatal voiced fricative /j/ to word medial position. This is clarified in table (12).

Al-Minya VariantStandard Formgloss1/howwa//howa/he2/bɑ̃jzah//bɑ̃zᾱ/damaged3/hijja//hija/she

Table (12): Excrescence in Al-Minya Accent

According to table (12), in example (1), the bilabial voiced fricative /w/ is intruded word-medially to masculine personal pronoun. In example (3), the palatal voiced fricative /j/ is intruded word-medially to the feminine personal pronoun. Similarly, in example (2), the palatal voiced fricative /j/ is intruded to the verb in mid position turning it to the adjective /bājzah/ (inedible). Excrescence is infrequent type of sound change in Al-Minya accent.

In Al-Minya accent, paragoge appears in intruding the alveolar voiced fricative /ʃ/ as a negation marker. Table (13) illustrates some of these examples.

Table (13): Paragoge in Al-Minya Accent

Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form	Gloss
/matimʃī <b>ʃ</b> /	/mā tamʃī/	do not walk
/maʕandō <b>ʃ</b> /	/mā ʕindaho/	he does not have

Other examples of intruding /ʃ/ to verb final position as a marker of negation are /matakolʃ/ (do not eat), /matgolʃ/ (do not say), /maʃafʃ/ (he did not see), and /maraħʃ/ (he did not go). The standard forms are /lɑ̄ taʔkol/, /lɑ̄ taqōl/, /mā ʃāfa/, and /mā raħa/. In addition to intruding /ʃ/ to verb final position in Al-Minya accent, vowel reduction is observed in the negation particle /mā/ where the long vowel /ā/ is reduced to /a/ in Al-Minya variants.

Sound elision is observed in aphaeresis which appears in eliding the plosive glottal stop /?/ and the low central /a/. Table (14) signifies some of Al-Minya variants that undergo aphaeresis of glottal plosive /?/ and the low central /a/.

Table (14): Aphaeresis in Al-Minya Accent

Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form	gloss
/wilixwā/	/wa <b>ʔa</b> l <b>ʔ</b> ixwah/	and the brothers
/wagōl/	/wa <b>ʔ</b> aqōl/	and I say
/willi/	/wa ʔallaðī/	and that
/lasmar/	/ <b>?a</b> l?asmar/	the black
/di+lwaxţ/	/ðī+ <b>ʔa</b> lwaqt/	this time
/wanā/	/wa <b>ʔa</b> nā/	and I
/ <b>g</b> abl matdʒawaz/	/ <b>q</b> abl ʔan ʔatazawaʤ/	before I marry
/liħbāl/	/ <b>?a</b> lħibāl/	the robes
/ʔanᾱlli/.	/ ʔanᾶ <b>ʔa</b> llati/	and I am the one who
/ʔiħḍāʃar/	/ʔaħada <b>ʔa</b> ʃar/	eleven
/sabʕah/	/ <b>ʔa</b> ssābiʕah/	seven
/miṣobħ/	/min <b>?</b> aṣṣabᾱħ/	since morning
/ħabbīnᾱ/	/ <b>ʔa</b> ħbabnā/	we would like
/mirāţī/	/ <b>ʔi</b> mraʔatī/	my wife
γalħaşw/	/ʕalᾶ <b>ʔa</b> lħaṣᾶ/	the pebbles
/lawwal/	/ <b>?a</b> l?awwal/	the first
/ʕalb <b>ī</b> r/	/ʕal̄α <b>ʔ</b> albiʔr/	on the well
/warbiʕīn/	/wa ʔ <b>a</b> rbaʕīn/	and fourty

Syncope appears in eliding vowels in present and past tense verbs because of initial *intrusion*. In addition, the plosive glottal stop is elided in word mid position as in  $\frac{\Gamma}{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}n$  (for) where the standard form is  $\frac{\Gamma}{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}n$ . Because of syncopizing the glottal plosive, a vowel lengthening is used as compensation as in examples (1), (5), (6), (7), (8), (13), and (15). This is clear in table (15) where the lengthened vowels are bolded in Al-Minya variants, and the elided phonemes are bolded in the standard variety.

Table (15): Aphaeresis in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form	Gloss
1	/j <b>ā</b> xod/	/ja <b>ʔ</b> xoð/	to take
2	/wilixwā/	/wa ʔal <b>ʔ</b> ixwah/	and the brothers
3	/ʔixwatnā/	/ʔixwat <b>o</b> nā/	our brothers
4	/lasmar/	/ʔalʔasmar/	the black
5	/ʕaʃ <b>ā</b> n/	/ ʕalā ʃa <b>ʔ</b> n/	for
6	/bi+j <b>ā</b> kol/	/ja <b>ʔ</b> kol/	he eats
7	/b <b>ā</b> rbiʕīn/	/bi+ <b>?</b> arbaʕīn/	costs forty
8	/ lab <b>ā</b> xza/	lᾱ mo <b>ʔ</b> ᾱxaða∕	excuse me
9	/sabʕah/	/ʔass <b>ɑ</b> ̄b <b>i</b> ʕah/.	seven
10	/miṣobħ/	/min ʔaṣṣ <b>a</b> b <b>ā</b> ħ/	since morning
11	/lawwal/	/ʔal <b>ʔ</b> awwal/	the first
12	/barḍō/	/b <b>i+?</b> arḍoh/,	also
13	/ʕalb <b>ī</b> r/	/ʕa <b>lፙ</b> ʔalbi <b>ʔ</b> r/,	the well
14	/rabnᾱ/	/rab <b>o</b> nᾶ/.	our God
15	/bi+r <b>ā</b> dat /	/bi+ <b>ʔi</b> rādat/	God Willing
16	/winxo∫ahᾱ/	/wa n <b>a</b> xo∫ahᾱ/	and we enter it

Apocope appears in eliding the glottal voiced fricative /h/. Table (16) elucidates some examples of word-finally apocopated glottal fricative in Al-Minya accent. Similarly, the glottal plosive stop /?/ is elided in word final position. This is evident in table (16) where the apocopated sounds are bolded in the standard variants.

Table (16): Apocope in Al-Minya Accent

Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	gloss
/mafīʃ/	/mᾶ fĩ ʃ <b>aj?</b> /	nothing
/willi/	/wa ʔalla <b>ð</b> ī/,	that
/tiʤī/	/taʤī <b>ʔ</b> /.	come
/ʔilkahrabā/.	/ʔalkahrabā <b>ʔ</b> /.	electricity
/ʃifa/	/ ∫ifā <b>?</b> /.	healing
/wilixwā/	/wa ʔalʔixwah/	and the brothers
/xamsᾱ/	/xamsa <b>h</b> /	Five
/mamdōdα/	/mamdōda <b>h</b> /	stretched
/ħilba/	/ħilba <b>h</b> /	fenugreek
/xamirᾱ/.	/xamira <b>h</b> /	yeast
/barḍō/	/b <b>i+?</b> arḍo <b>h</b> /	also
/mobarakᾱ/	/mobaraka <b>h</b> /	blessed
/xalīfā/	/xalīfa <b>h</b> /	sibling
/hāʤa/	/hāʤa <b>h</b> /	something

Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	gloss
/ʕāzba/	/ʕað̃ba <b>h</b> /	fresh
/sana/	/sana <b>h</b> /	year
/ʔillī/	/ʔalla <b>ðī</b> /.	that
/noṣ/,	/niş <b>f</b> /.	half
/miṣobħ/	/min ʔaṣṣabāħ/,	since morning
/ʕaʃɑ̄n/	/ ʕal <b>ā</b> ʃaʔn/	because
γalħaşw/	/ʕal <b>ɑ</b> ʔalħaṣ <b>ɑ</b> /,	the pebbles
/ʕalb <b>ī</b> r/	/ʕal <b>ɑ</b> ʔalbi <b>ʔ</b> r/	on the well

A recurrent *apocopation* in *Al-Minya accent* appears in the demonstrative article /?illī/ (that). The standard form is /?allaðī/ or /?allatī/. The *interdental voiced fricative* /ð/ is elided word-finally. Likewise, the *labiodental voiceless fricative* /f/ is elided word-finally in /noş/ (half) where the MSA variant is /nişf/.

In Al-Minya accent, *vowel raising* appears in raising the tongue from low central position to high front position i.e. from /a/ to /i/. This is clear in table (17) where *the high front* /i/ is bolded in Al-Minya variants, and the *low central* /a/ is bolded in MSA variants.

Table (17): Vowel Raising in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya	Standard Form		Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form
	Variant				
1	/kida/	/ k <b>a</b> ða/	21	/ʔissāʕah/	/ʔ <b>a</b> ss̄αʕah/
2	/ʔ <b>i</b> lmo∫kilah/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lmo∫kilah	22	/ʔ <b>i</b> lmasaʔijah	/ʔ <b>a</b> lmasāʔijah/
3	/ wi/	/wa/	23	/ʔiḍohor /	/ʔ <b>a</b> ẓohor/
4	/ j <b>i</b> rōħ /	/j <b>a</b> rōħ/	24	/j <b>i</b> ħfazō /	/j <b>a</b> ħfaẓō/.
5	/ baʕḍīhom/	/baʕḍ <b>a</b> hom/	25	/kan <b>i</b> t/	/kan <b>a</b> t/
6	/ʔ <b>i</b> lxilāf/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lxilāf/.	26	/ʔinnās /	/ʔ <b>a</b> nnās /
7	/ʔilfitnah/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lfitnah/	27	/t <b>i</b> mʃī/	/t <b>a</b> mʃī/
8	/dih/	/ð <b>a</b> /	28	/j <b>i</b> ħş <b>a</b> l /	/j <b>a</b> ħṣ <b>o</b> l/
9	/ʔ <b>i</b> lmisiħijin/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lmasiħijin/	29	/ʔilbalad/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lbalad /
10	/ʔiṭōb/	/ʔ <b>a</b> ṭṭōb/	30	/ʔilkahraba/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lkahrabaʔ/
11	/ʔ <b>i</b> llī /	/ʔ <b>a</b> llaðī/	31	/n <b>i</b> ʕraf/.	/n <b>a</b> ʕrif/.
12	/ʔilkaraka/	/ʔalkaraka/	32	/ʔ <b>i</b> ḍḍil/	/ʔaẓẓil/
13	/ʔilmaʃarīʕ/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lmaʃarīʕ/	33	/z <b>i</b> ɣajr/	/ṣ <b>a</b> ɣīr /
14	/ʔ <b>i</b> lʕimdān/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lʕimdān/	34	/n <b>i</b> xbizō/.	/n <b>a</b> xbizō/.
15	/ʔinōr/	/? <b>a</b> nnōr/	35	/h <b>i</b> na/	/h <b>o</b> na/

	Al-Minya	Standard Form		Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form
	Variant				
16	/ʔ <b>i</b> ṭṭīn/.	/ʔ <b>a</b> ṭṭīn/.	36	/ʔinnās/	/ʔ <b>a</b> nnās/
17	/ʕinnadīfah/	/ʔ <b>a</b> nnaẓīfah/	37	/wa+rb <b>i</b> ʕīn/	/wa+ʔarb <b>a</b> ʕīn/
18	/ṣiħ <b>i</b> ṭ/	/șiħ <b>a</b> t/	38	/j <b>i</b> ħfazak/	/j <b>a</b> ħfaẓak/
19	/dilwaxt/	/ði ʔ <b>a</b> lwagt/	39	/bi+j <b>i</b> bbā/.	/j <b>a</b> bqᾱ/.
20	/ʔilbalaħ/	/ʔ <b>a</b> lbalaħ/			

Table (17) illuminates the raising of the tongue from low central vowel to high front vowel. It occurs in the phonological environment of definite article /ʔal/, which turns to be /ʔil/ in Al-Minya accent. This is illustrated in examples (2), (6), (7), (9), (10), (12), (13), (14), (22), (29), (30), and (20). Similarly, in the phonological context of the definite article /ʔal/ which includes assimilation to the next sound, the low central vowel is raised to high front vowel as in (16), (17), (21), (26), and (32). The dental liquid /l/ of the definite article /ʔal/ is totally assimilated to the /t/ in (16), /n/ in (17) and (26), /s/ in (21), and /d/ in (32). Vowel raising in Al-Minya accent occurs in other grammatical categories such as the relative pronoun /ʔillī/ (that), the place adverbial /hina/ (here), and the verb syntactic category as in examples (4), (24), (27), and (28). Accordingly, Vowel raising in Al-Minya accent is unconditioned sound change that occurs regardless of the phonological context.

In Al-Minya accent, the diphthongization appears in fracturing the long vowel  $/\bar{\imath}/$  and  $/\bar{\alpha}/$  to the diphthong /aj/ and the long vowel  $/\bar{o}/$  to the diphthong /aw/. Table (18) provides examples of diphthongization in Al-Minya accent where diphthongs are bolded in Al-Minya variants and monophthongs are bolded in the MSA variants.

Table (18): Diphthongization in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	Standard Form	gloss
1	/ziɣ <b>aj</b> r/	/ṣaɣīr/	small
2	/m <b>aj</b> ah/.	/m <b>ā?</b> /.	water
3	/d <b>aj</b> man/	/d <b>ā?</b> iman/	always
4	/bi+lj <b>aw</b> mija/	/bi+lj <b>ō</b> m/	daily salary

According to table (18), diphthongization in Al-Minya accent is accompanied by another sound change in the lexeme's phonetic structure. In example (1), the process of diphthongization is

accompanied by losing the phonetic feature of *pharyngealization*, i.e. /\$/ > /z/ and eliding the *glottal plosive* /?/ in examples (2) and (3). In Al-Minya accent, *diphthongization* is a form of *fortition* as it decreases sound sonority. In example (4), the monophthong  $/\bar{\mathbf{o}}/$  of the standard form is diphthongized to be /aw/.

Conversely, *monophthongization*, which appears in changing a diphthong into a monophthong, is observed in Al-Mynia accent. Table (19) provides examples of *monophthongization* where the monophthongs are bolded in Al-Minya variants and the diphthongs are bolded in the MSA variants.

Table (19): monophthongization in Al-Minya Accent

	Al-Minya Variant	MSA variants	gloss
1	/saʕt <b>ī</b> n/	/saʕat <b>aj</b> n/	two hours
2	/jib <b>i</b> ʃ/	/job <b>aw</b> iʃ/	becomes soft
3	/ʕal <b>ī</b> hā/	/ʕal <b>aj</b> hᾱ/	on it
4	/Sīʃ/	<sup>ç</sup> aj∫/	bread
5	/ʔitn <b>ī</b> n/	/ʔiθn <b>aj</b> n/	two
6	/ʃīʔ/	/ʃ <b>aj</b> ?/	thing
7	/f <b>ō</b> g/	/fawq/	above
8	/bi+lj <b>ō</b> mijah/	/bi+lj <b>aw</b> m/	daily salary

Table (19) shows that Al-Minya accent is characterized by monophthogization of the diphthong /aj/ to long vowel /ī/. It is illustrated in examples (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), and (6). In addition, monophthogization appears in changing the diphthong /aw/ to long vowel /ō/. It is clear in examples (7) and (8). Monophthogization is a form of lenition where sound sonority increases. It is noteworthy to mention that Al-Minya accent is similar to MSA in two features: both keep on the low central /a/ in many lexemes such as /kabīr/ (big) and the alveolar affricate / dʒ/ as table (20) illustrates.

Table (20): keeping on alveolar affricate / dʒ/

Al-Minya accent and MSA	The gloss
nasīdʒ	fabric
madʒīb	I bring
filmaʕdʒanah	mud
?ilʤāmid	hard
ħāʤah	a need
matdʒawaz	before I marry
ናamma+ʤībō	I bring it
tiʤī	come
Wi bijiʤʕalō	and he causes it
biniʤarħ	get injured
۲аlħᾱʤа	the thing

#### Conclusion

Based on the phonetic analysis and the quantitative analysis of the sample under investigation, Al-Minya accent is characterized by *dental assimilation*. It is observed in assimilating  $/\theta$ / to /s/ and  $/\delta$ / to /z/. It is partial *assimilation* of place of articulation where the *voiceless fricatives*  $/\theta$ / and /s/ are assimilated in place of articulation, i.e. the *interdental*  $/\theta$ / is totally assimilated to *the dental* /s/. Similarly, the *voiced fricatives*  $/\delta$ / and /z/ are assimilated in place of articulation, i.e. the *interdental*  $/\delta$ / is totally assimilated to the *dental* /z/ in place of articulation.

In addition, dental plosive assimilation is observed in assimilating  $/\theta/$  to /t/,  $/\delta/$  to /d/, and /Z/ to /d/. It is total assimilation of place and manner of articulation. The voiceless  $/\theta/$  and /t/ are assimilated in place and manner of articulation: the interdental fricative  $/\theta/$  > the dental plosive /t/. Similarly, in assimilating the voiced  $/\delta/$  to /d/, the assimilated features are place and manner of articulation: interdental fricative  $/\delta/$  > dental plosive /d/. Likewise, in assimilating the pharyngealized voiced /Z /and /d/, the assimilated features are place and manner of articulation: interdental fricative /Z / > dental plosive /d/.

The analysis section highlights another frequent type of assimilation in Al-Minya accent, namely pharyngealized assimilation. Al-Minya exhibits a great tendency to pharyngealization where the back of the tongue is constricted during the primary articulation. The most frequent category of consonants that undergo pharyngealized assimilation is dentals. This is clear in assimilating the plain dentals /t/, /d/, and /s/ to the pharyngealized dentals /t/, /d/, and /s/. The assimilated feature is pharyngealization: /t/ and /t/ are dental voiceless plosives. It is a type of fortition where sound sonority decreases. Similarly assimilating the plain dental /d/ to the pharyngealized /d/ is another proof on Al-Minya accent tendency to pharyngealization. The /d/ and /d/ are dental voiced plosives: the assimilated feature is pharyngealization. Consequently, the sound sonority decreases, i.e. fortition.

Likewise assimilating the *dental voiceless fricatives* /s/ to /ṣ/ is another type of *pharyngealized assimilation* in Al-Minya accent. It is through assimilating the feature of *pharyngealization* that *the plain dental* /s/ turns to be *pharyngealized dental* /ṣ/. In the previously mentioned kinds of pharyngealized *assimilation*, the *assimilation* is *partial* since voicing, place, and manner of articulation are identical. The only assimilated feature is *pharyngealization*.

The results demonstrate that another subsidiary type of pharyngealized assimilation is pharyngealized dental assimilation. It is infrequent as it occurs once. It appears in assimilating the  $/\theta$ / to the /s/. Since both phonemes are voiceless fricatives, the assimilated features are place of articulation and pharyngealization. It is another proof of Al-Minya accent tendency to pharyngealization.

A further novel finding is *velarized assimilation* as a distinctive phonological process of Al-Minya accent. It is observed where *the uvular plosive* /q/ is totally assimilated to the *velar plosive* /g/ in place of articulation. It is a *partial assimilation* since both phonemes /q/ and /g/ are *voiced plosive*.

The analysis section finds evidence for bilabial assimilation and voicing assimilation. In the former type, the /b/ is totally assimilated to /m/. It is a partial assimilation of manner of articulation since both phonemes /b/ and /m/ are bilabial voiced phonemes. In the latter type, the dental voiceless /s/ is totally assimilated to the dental voiced /z/. It acquires voicing in Al-Minya accent.

Metathesis is another phonological feature of Al-Minya accent. It is infrequent but it appears in transposition of dental sounds /t/ and /s/. In addition, it appears in transposition of the alveolar fricative / dʒ / and the dental fricative /z/.

The results of the analysis found clear support for sound intrusion as a distinctive feature of Al-Minya accent. Prothesis appears in intruding preverbal markers /bi/ and / Samma/ to present tense verb in Al-Minya accent. Consequently, vowel syncope, consonant syncope, vowel raising, germination, and anaptyxis occurs in the phonic structure of the words. The most frequent result of the /bi/ intrusion is syncope of either a vowel or a consonant. This is followed by either vowel raising from low central /a/ to high front /i/ or germination. Anaptyxis is rarely to happen as a result of /bi/ itrusion. For the effect of / Samma/ intrusion to present verb tense, syncope is the dominant result. Prothesis in past tense verb in passive mood appears in intruding /?i/. This intrusion results in either syncope or vowel lowering.

Excrescence or medial intrusion is noted in intruding either the palatal voiced fricative /j/ to feminine personal pronoun or the bilabial voiced fricative /w/ to masculine personal pronoun. Anaptyxis is observed as an effect of /bi/ intrusion to present tense verb where the low central /a/ is intruded word medially. Paragoge or final intrusion appears in intruding the alveolar fricative / ʃ / as a negation marker.

The results confirm that sound elision is another distinctive phonological feature of Al-Minya accent. Aphaeresis is uncovered in eliding the glottal plosive / ? / word- initially. Syncope is exposed as one effect of intruding /bi/ and /\(\Gamma\) to present tense verb and /?i/ to past tense verb in passive mode. In addition, it appears in word medial elision of glottal plosive / ? / which is compensated for by vowel lengthening. Finally, apocope appears in eliding either the glottal plosive /?/ or the glottal fricative /h/. In addition, apocope appears in eliding the long vowel  $|\bar{\alpha}|$  in preposition /\(\Gamma\)al\(\alpha\) (on) and the interdental fricative  $|\bar{\delta}|$  in relative pronoun /?allaði/ (that). Infrequently, apocope appears in eliding the labiodental voiced fricative /f/ in /nisf/.

On vowel level, Al-Minya accent is phonologically distinctive from spoken MSA in three aspects. First, *vowel raising* where the tongue is raised from low central /a/ to high front /i/ in the definite article; the relative pronoun /?illi/, the place adverbial /hina/, and the verb category.

The analysis section provides evidence for *diphthongization as* a phonologically distinctive feature of Al-Minya accent. It is observed where the long vowels  $/\bar{\alpha}/$  and  $/\bar{\imath}/$  are diphthongized to  $/\bar{a}/$ . This is usually accompanied by another sound change: for example losing the phonetic feature of *pharyngealization and* eliding a *glottal plosive*. *Diphthongization* in Al-Minya accent is a type of *fortition* where sound sonority decreases as *vowels* are more sonorant than *diphthongs*. Finally, *monophthongization* is observed in increasing the sound sonority of  $/\bar{a}/$  and  $/\bar{a}/$  by monophthongizing them to  $/\bar{\imath}/$  and  $/\bar{o}/$  respectively. It is a type of sound *lenition*. Al-Minya accent and MSA are similar in keeping on low central  $/\bar{a}/$  in some lexemes and keeping on the *alveolar affricate*  $/\bar{d}/\bar{a}/$  in all cases.

Based on the previous presentation, the distinctive phonological features of Al-Minya accent can be summarized in the following points:

First. Al-Minya accent exhibits great tendency pharyngealization. This is clear in the allophonic variation in Al-Minya accent: the /t/ is an allophone of /t/; the /d/ is an allophone of /d/; and the /s/ is an allophone of /s/. Moreover, Al-Minya accent prefers dental sounds rather than interdental sounds. This is clear in /s/ and /t/ as allophones of /  $\theta$  /and /z/. In addition, the /d/ is allophone of / ð /; and the /d/ is an allophone of /Z/. Furthermore, Al-Minya accent is characterized by a regular sound change where every uvular plosive /q/ is totally assimilated to to the velar plosive /g/. Accordingly, the velar plosive /g/ is an allophone of the uvular plosive /q/ in Al-Minya accent. Finally, Al-Minya accent is characterized by bilabial assimilation which occurs regardless of the phonological context. Accordingly, it is a sporadic type of sound change between /b/ and /m/ in manner of articulation.

Second, prothesis of /bi/ and /Samma/ to present tense verb is conditioned sound change that occurs regularly regardless of the phonological context. Past tense verbs in passive mood are intruded with /?i/ word-initially. Phonological processes of syncope, anaptyxis, vowel raising, and geminiation occure because of /bi/ intrusion. Excrescence in Al-Minya accent revolves around intruding /j/ to feminine personal pronoun in subjective case and /w/ to masculine personal pronoun in subjective case. Anaptyxis reiterates in present tense verb because of the /bi/ prosthesis. It appears in intruding the low central /a/ word-medially. Finally, paragoge is confined to intrusion of /ʃ/ to word final position as a negation marker.

Third, elision in Al-Minya accent appears in aphaeresis where the glottal plosive is elided word-initially. Likewise, syncope appears in word medial elision of glottal plosive that is compensated for by vowel lengthening. Finally, apocope clarifies in elision of the glottal

plosive and the glottal fricative phonemes word-finally. Apocope of vowels is illustrated in eliding long vowel  $/\bar{\alpha}/$  in preposition /  $\frac{1}{2}$  and interdental fricative  $\frac{1}{2}$  in relative pronoun /?alla $\frac{1}{2}$ .

Fourth, based on the vowel analysis in the sample under investigation, vowel raising is markedly a recurrent phonological feature in Al-Minya accent. It happens in the phonological context of the definite article, the relative pronoun, and the place adverbial. It is a type of fortition where sound sonority decreases. Similarly, diphthonaization, which is a type of fortition, is observed where the monophthongs /ī/ and /ō/ are changed to /ai/ and /aw/ respectively. The monophthongization happens when the diphthongs /aj/ and /aw/ are transformed to the monophthongs /ī/ and /ō/ respectively. monophthonaization has more frequency than diphthongization in the sample under investigation. Finally, the distinctive similarity of Al-Minya accent and MSA is keeping on low central /a/ in some lexemes and keeping on the alveolar affricate /ਰ੍ਹ/ in all occurrences.

As the current research is confined to one regional accent i.e Al-Minya accent, potential areas for future research are the analysis of other regional accents of the Egyptian vernacular to enrich the linguistic branch of the Egyptian dialectology. This research paper raises concerns about other accents of the Egyptian vernacular such as Aswan accent, Asyut accent, Alexandria accent, Beheira accent, Damietta accent, Beni Suef accent that can be addressed by future reaserches. While the approaches of Kate Burridge and Alexander Bergs (2017) and Mathew K. Gordon (2016) for sound changes are the applied approaches in this study, other approaches for sound change can be exploited to investigate other Egyptian accents. Finally, future research on sound changes in Egyptian accents could analyze other phonological processes such as weak syllable deletion, stopping, and dissimilation.

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Appendix (1) illustrates the IPA transcription symbols of consonants used in the phonetic analysis of Al-Minya dialect:

Arabic Grapheme	Phonetic symbol	Arabic Grapheme	Phonetic symbol
Í	7	ض	ģ
ب	b	ط	ţ
ت	t	ظ	Ż
ث	θ	ع	ς
<b>E</b>	dз	غ	γ
ζ	ħ	ف	f
خ	Х	ق	q
7	d	ك	k
ذ	ð	J	I
J	r	م	m
ز	Z	ن	n
<i>س</i>	S	ھ	h
<i>ش</i>	ſ	و	W
ص	Ş	ي	j

Appendix (2) illustrates the IPA transcription symbols of vowels used in the phonetic analysis of Al-Minya dialect:

Arabic Grapheme	Phonetic symbol	Arabic Grapheme	Phonetic symbol
Ó	а	1	α
Ò	i	ي	Ī
Ó	0	و	Ō