## Some Segmental Features of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic: A Study in Contrastive Phonology

## By

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#### Abstract

: The term 'segment' is usually used in phonology to refer to the smallest perceptible unit. The main objective of this study is to provide a phonological analysis of some of the segmental features of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic. The segmental aspect includes features related to single phonemes, such as duration (vowel and consonant length), vowel harmony and phonemic features, as well as aspects of connected speech, such as assimilation, epenthesis, elision and metathesis. The study revealed that American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic show a great deal of similarity in relation to assimilation and elision but show more discrepancy in relation to epenthesis and metathesis.


Keywords: segment, assimilation, elision, epenthesis, metathesis, Generative Phonology, Distinctive Features theory, Principle of least effort, American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabi

يُستخدم مصطلح 'قطعة صوتية' عادة في علم الأصوات للإشارة لأصغر وحدة ملموسة. إن الهـف الأساسي لهذه الاراسة هو نقديم تحليل صوتي لبعض السمات القطعية في الإنجليزية الأمريكية و العربية المصرية الصييدية. ويتضمن الجانب المقطعي سمات تتعلق بالفونيمات في حالتها المنفردة مثل الامتداد (طول الصوت المتحرك والساكن) وتناغم السواكن والسمات الفونيمية بالإضافة لمظاهر الخطاب المتصل متل التمانل الصوتي وزيادة الوسط والحذف والصيغ الضعيفة و القلب المكاني وتبادل الإنزلاقيات. وأوضحت الدراسة أن الإنجليزية الأمريكية والعربية المصرية الصعيدية تظهران قدرا كبيرا من التثابه فيما يخص التمانل الصوني والحذف ولكنهما تظهران اختلافاً أكبر فيما يخص زيادة الوسط والقلب

### 1.0. Introduction

This study is divided into introduction, six sections and a conclusion. It starts with a general introduction illustrating the concepts 'segment', and segmental and suprasegmental phonology (section 1). Then, a detailed account of some segmental features is presented (section 1). The theoretical framework is displayed (section 2). Then, objectives of the study (section 3) and the data sources (section 4) are also displayed. After that, a contrastive analysis of some segmental features of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic is displayed (section 5). Finally, the similarities and differences are represented (section 6).

### 1.1. The term segment

The term 'segment' is usually used in phonology to refer to the smallest perceptible unit. Crystal (2008: 426) defines 'segment' as: "a term used in phonetics and linguistics primarily to refer to any discrete unit that can be identified, either physically or auditorily, in the stream of speech."

Gussmann (2002: 2) defines segments as "significant sounds which can be called independent sound units of the language." In their definition of phoneme, Muhvic-Dimanovski and Socanac (2009: 66) mention that it was "a basic unit of phonological analysis in earlier phonological theories" and they add that "nowadays the term 'segment' is preferred, and the phoneme is no longer seen as a relevant unit of analysis, but rather as a convenient notational abbreviation."

### 1.1. Segmental and suprasegmental phonology

The use of the term 'segment' has led to a major differentiation in phonology between segmental and suprasegmental features. Crystal (2008: 426) explains that segmental phonology "analyses the speech into distinctive units or phonemes ( $=$ ' segmental phonemes' ), which have a fairly direct correspondence with phonetic segments (alternative approaches involve analysis in terms of distinctive features and prosodies)," whereas suprasegmental or non-segmental phonology "analyses those features which extend over more than one segment, such as intonation or (in some theories) vowel harmony."

This study deals with the synchronic side of some of the segmental features of American English (AmE) and UpperEgyptian Arabic (UEA), mainly aspects of connected speech, such as assimilation, epenthesis, elision and metathesis.

### 1.1.1. Segmental features

McMahon (2002: 128) states that segments may be affected by those adjacent to them. He shows that "the bulk of these segmental phonological processes are characteristic of fast and casual speech, and are often referred to as connected speech processes." He (Ibid) adds: "Most connected speech processes are also optional, and will tend to be suspended or at least occur less frequently in more formal situations and in slower speech."

### 1.1.1.1.Aspects of connected speech

Pronouncing words in their individual forms feels mechanical. In normal speech, words are pronounced in a
connected way. Speaking quickly in a casual manner leads to the words being affected by each other in many ways. The influence of words on each other may lead to the change of certain sounds into different ones (assimilation), omitting sounds (elision), adding sounds (epenthesis) or sounds switching positions with one another (metathesis).

### 1.1.1.1.1.Assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological phenomenon whereby a phoneme becomes more similar or even identical to a neighboring phoneme. The phonemes involved in this process are not necessarily adjacent to each other. Crystal (2008: 39) defines assimilation as "the influence exercised by one sound segment upon the articulation of another, so that the sounds become more alike, or identical". Moreover, McMahon (2002: 128) defines assimilation as a process "whereby two adjacent sounds become more similar in quality, as the articulations used to produce them become more similar".

### 1.1.1.1.2. Elision

Elision is a phonological phenomenon whereby certain segments are elided under certain circumstances. Roach (2009: 113) explains: "In certain circumstances a phoneme may be realized as zero, or have zero realization or be deleted," and adds that it is "typical of rapid casual speech". Crystal (2008: 166) defines elision as "the omission of sounds in connected speech. Both consonants and vowels may be affected, and sometimes whole syllables may be elided. Unstressed grammatical words, such as and and of, are particularly prone to be elided, as when the /f/ is dropped in cup of tea (cf. сирра tea)".

### 1.1.1.1.3. Epenthesis

Crystal (2008: 171) considers epenthesis a term referring "to a type of intrusion, where an extra sound has been inserted in a word; often subclassified into prothesis and anaptyxis. Epenthetic sounds are common both in historical change and in connected speech (e.g. incredible as $/ \mathrm{ink}^{\text {² }}$ redibl/." He (2008: 394) also defines prosthesis as "a type of intrusion, where an extra sound has been inserted initially in a word.... Prothetic sounds are common both in historical change (e.g. Latin spiritus $\Rightarrow$ French esprit) and in connected speech (e.g. left turn pronounced as $/{ }^{\circ}$ left to:n/)" and anaptyxis (2008: 25) as "a type of intrusion, where an extra vowel has been inserted between two consonants... Anaptyctic vowels are also known as parasite vowels.... An example is the pronunciation of film as ['filə m] in some dialects of English".

### 1.1.1.1.4. Metathesis

Hume (2008: 204) defines metathesis as a term "used to describe a language sound pattern in which a sequence of sounds appears in one order in one context but in the opposite order in a related context." Hume and Seyfarth (2019: 2) give the following example:

A word might have two sounds in one order in its singular form but the opposite order in its plural form; or the relative ordering of two sounds within a word form might change over the history of a language; or a speaker might swap two sounds when speaking quickly.

Carr (2008: 100) defines metathesis as "a process in which segments within a word are switched around... (It) also occurs in child speech, in utterances such as ['t〔 ikin] for kitchen."

### 2.0. Theoretical framework

This section deals with the possibility of characterizing some Arabic and English segmental features within the framework of Generative Phonology, the Distinctive Features Theory and the principle of least effort. Within the framework of Generative Phonology, underlying forms of certain phonemes are posited and phonological rules are proposed. The application of the phonological rules is strictly conditioned by the distinctive features of the phoneme affecting the phone under consideration. The surface form is assessed through the Principle of least effort. In the following sub-sections, a brief outline of the basic assumptions of each of these theories and principle will be presented.

### 2.1. Generative Phonology Theory

Crystal (2008: 208) states that the term 'generative' "is derived from mathematics, and introduced by Noam Chomsky in his book Syntactic Structures (1957) to refer to the capacity of a grammar to define (i.e. specify the membership of) the set of grammatical sentences in a language." According to Goldsmith and Laks (2012: 1), generative phonology began with Chomsky's attempts to describe the morphophonemics of modern Hebrew. They (2012: 7) explain that there were four main principles of the research program provided in SPE [i.e. Chomsky and Halle's book the Sound Pattern of English]: First, the aim of the working
phonologist was to develop fully clear, algorithmic phonologies which generate the surface forms of a certain language and only those.

Second, the definite phonologies developed should use derivational means (that is, logically progressing, systematic analyses) to generate the forms of a language.

Third, the phonological representations employed were linear sequences of matrices of feature values. The model did not include any structure beyond the linear structure of these matrices or segments; in particular, there were no syllables involved in the model. Segments-phones-were to be represented as bundles of binary features, in a very similar way in character to what had been proposed by Jakobson, much of that in collaboration with Halle.

Finally, finding out deep rule ordering was the most important point for the theory, in the following way. For each pair of rules, one would attempt to determine that one ordering of the rules (that) was consistent with the data, and one attempted to establish that a total ordering of the rules could be established which was compatible with each pairwise ordering empirically founded.

### 2.2. Distinctive Features Theory

Muhvic-Dimanovski and Socanac (2009: 63) define distinctive features as "basic units of phonological theory; features of segments capable of creating meaningful contrasts in a given language." Clements (2010: 3) states that speech sounds are commonly defined, back in the nineteenth century and even earlier, in the sense of primitive features corresponding to wide phonetic categories. Such features, named "distinctive",
"phonological" or "phonetic" according to the perspective adopted, are thought of as primary to the "cognitive encoding of speech, which relates the variability of articulatory movements and their acoustic effects to a small number of discrete mental categories." Accordingly, features render an essential basis for understanding the structure and economy of phonological systems and provide a frame of reference for models of production and comprehension in speech communication. He (2010: 3) adds that historically, there have been two central tendencies in phonetic research on features, one stressing their acoustic properties and the other their articulatory properties. The first prolonged study of distinctive features was a short monograph entitled Preliminaries to Speech Analysis by Roman Jakobson, Morris Halle, and Gunnar Fant, first published in 1952 and still in print today. He (2010:3) asserts that "this collaborative effort by two phonologists (Jakobson, Halle) and an acoustician (Fant) proposed a universal set of twenty distinctive features, grouped into pairs such as nasal vs. oral, defined primarily in acoustic terms." The main proposition of this work was that each feature could be assigned a unique, invariable acoustic correlate (though not necessarily a unique articulatory correlate). Features could be extracted by listeners from the speech stream through the detection of their correlates and by the recognition of inter- and intrasegmental redundancies (e.g. features which never cooccur in a single segment, or which are implied by neighboring segments or the position in the word). While articulatory definitions were proposed for most features, the articulatory stage of speech was viewed as the means used to obtain each pair of acoustically contrastive effects.

### 2.3. Principle of Least Effort

Like all other human activities, speaking shows man's tendency to maintain the difficult equation of achieving the maximum output through exerting the least effort. Within the field of linguistics, this tendency is referred to by many terms; e.g. simplification, economy, the least effort, ease of articulation,...etc. These terms show tendency towards simpler, less costly and easier articulation. Zipf's (1935) Principle of Least effort, or PLE reads: "The magnitude of words tends...to stand in an inverse...relationship to the number of occurrences." According to Zhou (2012: 100), the goal of economy is to save more time and energy by conveying more information with the least effort. Zhou adds that Sweet points out two principles of economy in phonology: "(a) dropping of superfluous sounds; (b) ease of transition from one sound to another, which leads to convergence and assimilation." However, economy cannot be the sole controlling factor. According to Shariatmadari (2006: 209), "minimum effort can never be given free reign - the result would be silence. But where it can, it makes its influence felt."

### 3.0. Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study is to provide a phonological analysis of some of the segmental features of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic. The segmental aspect includes features related to single phonemes, such as duration (vowel and consonant length) and vowel harmony, phonemic features, as well as aspects of connected speech, such as assimilation, epenthesis, elision, weak forms, metathesis and glide alternation. Thus, this study aims at answering the following questions:

First: What are the main segmental features of American English?
Second: What are the main segmental features of UpperEgyptian Arabic?
Third: What are the main phonological similarities and differences between American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic?

The two varieties under investigation in this study are General American English (GAE) and Upper-Egyptian Arabic (UEA). The phonemic symbols used to represent the Arabic and English data are given in the Appendices. The transcription of GAE is based on Merriam Webster Android Application Dictionary 2012 and the glossing of the examples in the Arabic language is based on A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic by Hans Wehr.

### 4.0. Sources of Data

This study explores some of the segmental features of General American english (GAE) and Upper-Egyptian Arabic. To achieve this objective, the researcher relied on the following sources:

- A corpus analysis of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic.
- You tube recordings of interviews with native speakers of each language.
- Consultation with Arabic and English phonologists.
- Utilization of the substitution technique.
- Personal observation.


### 5.0. Contrastive analysis of some segmental features of American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic <br> This section deals with the contrastive analysis of American

 English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic with special regard to the main segmental features of each. American English is defined in Webster as "the English language as spoken in the U.S.-used especially with the implication that it is clearly distinguishable from British English yet not so divergent as to be a separate language." Wilmsen (2007: 5) states that Upper-Egyptian Arabic prevails in the Nile Valley from "South of Asyūṭ, approximately at the rural towns of Abu Tīj and ilBadāri.... with a glottalized pronunciation of /t / [ $\left.t^{2}\right]$ and the elision of short unstressed $/ \mathrm{i} /$ in open syllables after -CC- in parallel with the insertion of the intrusive vowel after the second consonant from the right: yidirsu 'they thresh'" until far beyond Luxor. The similarities and differences between the two varieties are also addressed in this section.
### 5.1. Contrastive Analysis of Some Segmental Features of American English and Upper- Egyptian Arabic

This study focuses on the synchronic phonological processes occurring within the word itself and across word boundaries which arise as aspects of connected speech, mainly assimilation, epenthesis, elision and metathesis. Generally, aspects of connected speech are obvious and frequent in rapid colloquial speech. However, languages may differ in the influence of sounds on each other in connected speech. Hence, one of the objectives of this study is to examine the main phonological processes in the two dialects under investigation to find out the main similarities and differences between them.

### 5.1.1. Segmental Features of American English

### 5.1.1.1. Assimilation

As for assimilation, American English is rich with various assimilatory processes such as assimilation of the plural morpheme, the third person singular morpheme, the possessive morpheme and the contracted form of the verbs is and has $\{-\mathrm{s} /-$ es $\}$, assimilation of the past tense morpheme and the past participle particle $\{-\mathrm{d} /-\mathrm{ed}\}$, devoicing, voicing, assimilation of the place of articulation of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$ before the velars $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$ and instances of secondary articulation such as labialization, nasalization and palatalization.

### 5.1.1.1.1. Assimilation of the plural morpheme, the third person singular morpheme, the possessive morpheme and the contracted form of the verbs is and has $\{-\mathrm{s} /-\mathrm{es}\}$.

In the assimilation of the plural morpheme, the third person singular morpheme, the possessive morpheme and the contracted form of the verbs is and has $\{-\mathrm{s} /-\mathrm{es}\}$, the phoneme /s/ becomes [+voice], i.e. /z/ when attached to a [+voice] phoneme, as in 'dogs' /da:gz/, 'rides' /raidz/, 'Sara's' /'serəz/ and 'she's' / Jez/, remains [voice], i.e. /s/ when attached to a $[-$ voice] phoneme, as in 'cats' /kats/, 'writes' /raits/, 'Pitt's' /pits/ and 'it's' /its/ and becomes /ə z/ when attached to a sibilant, i.e. /s, $\mathrm{z}, \int, 3 /$, as in 'boxes' /'ba:ksiz/, 'mixes' /'miksiz/ and 'Fox's' /'fa:ksiz/. In this way, /s/ assimilates to the previous phoneme and both of them share the same value for voicing either positive or negative, but when the previous segment is a sibilant, we face the dilemma of having two adjacent sibilants (an unfavorable combination). Hence, a weak vowel is inserted and $/ \mathrm{s} /$ assimilates to this vowel and becomes [+voice], i.e. /ə z/. This process is progressive, partial and changes the voicing criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.2. Assimilation of the past tense morpheme and the past participle suffix $\{-\mathrm{d} /-\mathrm{ed}\}$.

In the assimilation of the past tense morpheme and the past participle particle $\{-\mathrm{d} /-\mathrm{ed}\}$, the phoneme /d/ becomes $[-$ voice], i.e. /t/ when preceded by a $[-$ voice] phoneme as in 'asked' /askt/, remains [+voice] when preceded by a [+voice] phoneme as in 'freed' /fred/ and becomes /ə d/ when preceded by /t/ or /d/ as in 'wanted' /'wa:ntəd/ or 'wounded' /'wundəd/. In other words, /d/ assimilates to the previous phoneme and both of them share the same value for voicing either positive or negative, but when the previous segment is an alveolar plosive, i.e. /t/ or /d/, we face the difficulty of having two adjacent plosives sharing the same place of articulation (an unfavorable combination). Hence, a weak vowel inserted and /s/ assimilates to this vowel and becomes [+voice], i.e. $/ \partial \mathrm{z} /$. This process is progressive, partial and it changes the voicing criterion. The similitude between this process and the previous one is obvious. Both of them are fixed and phonemic.

### 5.1.1.1.3. Devoicing

In devoicing, a certain phoneme becomes either partially or fully devoiced for being adjacent to a $[-$ voice] phoneme. For example, /z/ in 'newspaper' may lose the feature [+voice] completely and becomes $/ \mathrm{s} /$ for being followed by a [- voice] phoneme, i.e. /p/. On the other hand, /b/ may become partially devoiced in 'absent' for being followed by a $[-$ voice] phoneme, i.e. /s/. This process is regressive, partial and it changes the voicing criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.4. Voicing

Voicing refers to the change of a certain phoneme from [voice] to [+voice] for being adjacent to a [+voice] one. For example, 's' may turn into [+voice], i.e. /z/ in 'absorb' /ə b'zo:rb/ for being preceded by $/ \mathrm{b} /$. This process is progressive, partial and is concerned with the voicing criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.5. Assimilation of the place of articulation of the phoneme / $\mathrm{n} /$ before the velars $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$.

In the assimilation of the place of articulation of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$ before $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$, the nasal $/ \mathrm{n} /$ assimilates to $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$ in the place of articulation if they occur immediately after it. In other words, $/ \mathrm{n} /$ acquires the feature $[+\mathrm{back}]$ and becomes $/ \mathrm{y} /$ when followed by a [+back] phoneme, i.e. /k/ or /g/. For example, /n/ becomes $/ \mathrm{y} /$ in the word 'king' /kiy/ for being followed by $/ \mathrm{g} /$. This process is partial, regressive and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.6. Instances of secondary articulation.

In instances of secondary articulation, there is some movement in one region of the mouth, but this movement does not cause a major change in articulation. Hence, the assimilant is an allophone not a distinctive phoneme. The transcription is included in square brackets because instances of secondary articulation are nonphonemic, i.e. allophonic features. Nasalization, palatalization and velarization are common instances of secondary articulation in American English.

### 5.1.1.1.6.1. Nasalization.

In nasalization, vowels become nasalized if preceded or followed by nasal consonants as in the words 'Kim' [kĩm], kin [kĩn], king [kĩn], met [meet], net [neet] and men [meen]. This process can be progressive, regressive or double. It is partial and concerned with the manner of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.6.2. Labialization.

Labialization is an instance of secondary articulation. It indicates some rounding of the lips which accompanies a consonant when followed by $/ \mathrm{w} /$ or a rounded vowel. It is indicated through a raised $\mathrm{w}\left[{ }^{\mathrm{w}}\right.$ ] after the labialized consonant. For example, 'koil' [ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{w}}$ oil], 'put' [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{ut}$ ] and 'boat' [ $\mathrm{b}^{\mathrm{w}}$ out], where $/ \mathrm{k} /$, /p/ and $/ \mathrm{b} /$ are accompanied with some rounding of the lips when followed by $/ \mathrm{w} /$ or a rounded vowel. This process is regressive, partial and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.1.1.6.3. Palatalization.

Palatalization occurs when there is some sort of articulation in the region of the palate. This happens especially with front vowels and also $/ \mathrm{j} /$, a palatal consonant. It is denoted through a raised $\left[{ }^{j}\right]$ attached to the palatalized consonant. For example, kit [ $\mathrm{k}^{\mathrm{j}}$ it], dune [ $\mathrm{d}^{\mathrm{j}}$ yu:n] and pick [ $\mathrm{p}^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{ik}$ ]. It can be noticed that palatalization may lead to phonemic changes. For example, in 'educate' /'edzə, keit/, 'gradual' /'grad弓əwə l/ and 'soldier' /'souldgar/, we have a coalescence resulting from the combination $/ \mathrm{d} /+/ \mathrm{j} /$ and in 'actual' /'aktf (ə w) $\boldsymbol{\mathrm { l }}$ /, 'picture' /'piktf ər/ and 'question' /'kwestf $\partial \mathrm{n} /$, it results from $/ \mathrm{t} /+/ \mathrm{j} /$. This is called
affrication. On the other hand, coalescence results in 'mission' /'mi§ ə n/, 'pressure' /'pre§ ər/ and 'sure' / $\int$ ur/ from the combination $/ \mathrm{s} / \mathrm{+} / \mathrm{j} /$ and in 'pleasure' /'plez $\boldsymbol{r} /$, 'usual' /'yu: 3 әшә $1 /$ and 'vision' /'vi3 ə n/, it results from /z/ + /j/. Palatalization is consonantal, allophonic, regressive and partial. It should be noted that when palatalization leads to the rise of $/ \mathrm{f} /$, $/ 3 /, / \mathrm{t} /$ or $/ \mathrm{d} / \mathrm{l}$ as assimilants, this process is regressive, partial and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

Most of these assimilatory processes are regressive (seven out of ten), partial (assimilation of the place of articulation of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$ before the velars $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$ could be partial or total) and assimilation of place of articulation (five out of ten). However, they are all natural processes; they lead to more similarity between neighboring phonemes, which leads to more ease of articulation and goes perfectly with the principle of least effort.

### 5.1.1.2. Elision.

As for elision, American English displays a variety of instances of elision of both consonants and vowels. Consonants are mostly elided for avoidance of consonant clusters. On the other hand, vowels are elided in weak syllables. This may lead to some changes in syllabification. Elision is perfectly a natural process, it leads to more simplification and ease of articulation and goes with the principle of least effort.

Elision is a phonological phenomenon whereby a phoneme is omitted under certain circumstances. Elision is much frequent in rapid casual speech. Both consonants and vowels can be omitted; whole syllables may be omitted. So, we may classify the
examples under investigation according to the following classification:
a) Consonant elision.
b) Vowel elision.

Consonant elision is common for the avoidance of consonant clusters. Roach (2009:114) presents the following examples as a sample of the possible instances of consonant elision in the English language for avoidance of complex consonant clusters. (He claims that no normal English speaker would ever pronounce all the consonants between the last two words of the following: 'George the Sixth's throne' /' jo rj ðә siksӨs Өro:n/ and in clusters of three plosives or two plosives plus a fricative, the middle plosive may disappear, so that the following pronunciations result: ‘acts'/aks/, /looked back/ luk bak, 'scripts' /skrips/.

Vowel elision is common in weak vowels; i.e. vowels in weak syllables. Roach (2009:113) presents the following examples as a sample of the possible instances of elision in the English language: loss of weak vowel after /p, t, k/ in words like 'potato', 'tomato’, 'canary', 'perhaps’, 'today’, /p'tei(, )to:/, /t'mei(, )to:/, /k'nere/, /p'haps/ and /t'dei/, weak vowel + n, 1, r becomes syllabic consonant (For example: 'tonight' /t'nīt 'police' /p'les/ 'correct' /k'rekt/) and loss of final /v/ in 'of' before consonants; for example: 'lots of them’ /la:ts ə ðә $\mathrm{m} /$, 'waste of money'/wei st ə 'mə ni:/.

It can be noticed from the examples listed above that in some cases, whole syllables can be omitted. For example, 'secretary' /'sekrə , tere, 'sekə ter, in rapid speech also 'sek, ter/, 'laboratory' /'lab (ә ) rə, to: ri:, sometimes 'labə $\mathrm{r}_{1}$ to:r-, 'labə, to: r-, or lə 'bo:rə, to:r/, 'president' /'prezə də nt, 'prezdə nt, 'prezə, dent, in rapid speech 'prezə nt/, 'perhaps' /pə r'haps, 'praps/ and 'excuse' /ik'skyu:z, imperatively often skyu:z/. It can also be noticed that omitting certain sounds can be detected in the pronunciation of some words in their individual forms such as 'symptom' /'sim(p)tə m/, 'grandfather' /'gran(d), fa:ðə r/, 'different' /'dif(ə )rə nt/, 'people' /'pi:p(ә )1/ and 'interested' /'int(ə )rə stid/. However, many instances of elision arise across word boundaries such as eliding 't' in 'just do it' /d弓ə $s(t) d u: i t /$, 'five scripts' /faiv skrip(t)s/ and 'acts of the play' /ak(t)s ə v ðә plei/, the general tendency of eliding /t/ when it follows ' n ' and is followed by a vowel as in 'international' /, intə r'naf nə 1 , 'naf ə $n^{\text { }} 1 /$, 'internet' /'intə $r$, net/, 'interview' /'intə $\mathrm{r}_{1}$ vyu:/ and 'twenty' /'twente, twə n-/ and the general tendency of eliding /y/ in words like 'avenues' /'avə n(y)u:z/ and 'student' /'st(y)ud(ə )nt/. Moreover, in rapid colloquial speech, many pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions lose one or more of their sounds as in 'give him the book' /giv (h)im ðә buk/, 'in her bag' /in (h) ə r bag/, 'I put them away' /ai put (ð)ə m ə 'wei /, 'fish and chips' /fif $n \mathfrak{t}$ ips/ and 'I'm fond of Mary' /a:m fa:nd ə (v) 'meri:/.

### 5.1.1.3. Epenthesis.

Regarding epenthesis, American English displays interesting instances where small sounds not existing in the original spelling of the word are added to achieve smoother pronunciation such as adding a small raised /j/ between a syllable ending with /e, ei , ai, oi/ and another beginning with /i/ in words like: 'annoying' /ə 'noi ${ }^{\mathrm{j}} \mathrm{iy} /$, 'bacteriology' /bak, tiri: ${ }^{\text {j }}$ 'a:lə dji:/, 'being' /'bi: ${ }^{j}$ in/ and 'biography' /bai ${ }^{j}$ 'a:grə fi:/ and a small raised /w/ between a syllable ending with /o,o:,u:,au/ and another beginning with /i/ in words like: 'allowing' /ə 'lau ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{i} \mathrm{y} /$, 'booing' /'bu: ${ }^{\text {w }}$ iy/, 'bowing' /'bou ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{iy} /$, 'blowing' /'blou ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{iy} /$ and 'drawing' /'dro: ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{iy} /$. Another interesting instance of epenthesis is the addition of a small sound not existing in the original sounds of the word such as: 'answer' /'an(t)sə r/, 'existence' /ig'zistə $\mathrm{n}(\mathrm{t}) \mathrm{s} /$ and 'fourteen' /'fo:r(t)ten/. Adding more segments to an utterance is against simplification. However, it is natural because it leads to smoother pronunciation and more ease of articulation.

### 5.1.1.4. Metathesis

As for metathesis, American English does not present fixed synchronic instances of this phonological phenomenon. It exists in this variety in the form of diachronic instances. It exists mainly as slips of the tongue, child language or spoonerism. Hence, it is not as productive as the other phonological processes under investigation or even as metathesis itself in the other variety under consideration, Upper - Egyptian Arabic.

### 5.1.2. Segmental features of Upper-Egyptian Arabic.

### 5.1.2.1. Assimilation.

Upper-Egyptian Arabic is rich with diverse instances of assimilation such as the lateral assimilation in the Arabic definite article /? $\mathrm{il} /$, the nasal assimilation of the place of articulation, devoicing, voicing, the allophonic variation of vowels and instances of secondary articulation such as labialization, nasalization and palatalization.

### 5.1.2.1.1. The lateral assimilation in the Arabic definite article /?il/.

The lateral assimilation in the SA definite article /?al/, which is pronounced as /?il/ in Upper-Egyptian Arabic is one of the most frequent instances of assimilation. It exhibits two allomorphic alternations depending on the type of the initial phoneme to which it is attached. Specifically, the lateral of /?il/ assimilates completely to the following phoneme if it is one of ?ælћuru:f?æ $-\int$ æmsiyyæh (the solar letters), i.e. /t, T, d, D, Ө, ð, Z, $\mathrm{d}, \mathrm{s}, \mathrm{S}, \int, \mathrm{z}, \mathrm{r}, \mathrm{n} /$ as in /?ittamsi:1/ 'acting', /?issayyid/ 'the master' and /?iddinya/ 'life' and it remains unchanged if it is followed by one of the ?el-ћuru;f ?æl-qamariyyæh (the lunar letters), i.e. /?, b, $\hbar, \mathrm{x}, 3, \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{f}, \mathrm{q}, \mathrm{k}, \mathrm{m}, \mathrm{h}, \mathrm{w}, \mathrm{j} /$ as in /?illahdza/ 'the variety', /?ilћa:dja/ 'the thing' and /?ilfarg/ 'the difference'. This assimilatory process is regressive and total.

### 5.1.2.1.2. The nasal assimilation of the place of articulation (inversion).

The /?iqlaab/ 'inversion' is a very interesting instance of assimilation whereby the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$, when followed by $/ \mathrm{b} /$, may
be pronounced as $/ \mathrm{m} /$. for example, /?ambu:ba/ 'a tube or pipe', /yimbif / 'to excavate' and /yimbuD/ 'to beat or pulsate'. On the other hand, inversion is also obvious across word boundaries. For example, the $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in the preposition $/ \mathrm{min} /$ 'from' is pronounced as $/ \mathrm{m} /$ when followed by words beginning with /b/ such as $/ \mathrm{mim}$ baladna/ 'from our country', /mim bugguh/ 'from his mouth' and /mim barra/ 'from outside'. Similarly, the /n/ in /ka:n/ 'to be or to exist' changes into $/ \mathrm{m} /$ when followed by words beginning with $/ \mathrm{b} /$ such as /kam ba3i:d/ 'it was far', /kam bali:d/ 'he was light-minded' and /kam bari:?/ 'he was innocent'. The /n/ in the particle /?in/ 'if' is pronounced also $/ \mathrm{m} /$ when followed by a word beginning with /b/, as in the phrases /?im ba:D/ 'if it lays eggs', /?im bahdal/ 'if he insults someone' and /?im ba3 $3 \mathrm{a} /$ / 'if he brags of something'. The $/ \mathrm{n} /$ in the particle $/ 3 \mathrm{an} /$ 'about' is also pronounced $/ \mathrm{m} /$ when followed by a word beginning with /b/ such as: /3am bittu/ 'about his daughter', /3am baћћitta/ 'about her duck' and / 3 am beitu/ 'about his house'. Inversion is a regressive, partial process and it is concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.2.1.3. Devoicing

Upper-Egyptian Arabic displays various examples of devoicing such as: /?i3tamadt < ?i3tamatt/ 'I depended', /yizkur < yiskur/ 'to remember, bear in mind or think', /mu3tama3 < muftama3/ 'gathering place, society or community and /mayfira < maxfira/ 'pardon or forgiveness' 'where 'd', 'z', ' 3 ' and ' y ' may become [-voice] for being adjacent to a $[-$ voice] phoneme, i.e. /t/, $/ \mathrm{k} /$, /t/ and /f/, respectively. This assimilatory process is regressive, partial and concerned with the voicing criterion.

### 5.1.2.1.4. Voicing

Voicing is also common in Upper- Egyptian Arabic as in /maSdu:m < maZdu:m/ 'shocked', /maSDar < maZDar/ 'origin or source' and /maSbu:b < maZbu:b/ 'poured or cast' where /S/ becomes [+voice], i.e. /Z/ and in /maf3 u:3 < mav3 u:3/ 'glutton', /mafDu:ћ < mavDu: $\hbar /$ 'covered with shame or disgraced' and /lafZa < lavZa/ 'a term' where /f/ also becomes [+voice], i.e. /v/. This assimilatory process is partial, regressive and concerned with the voicing criterion. It should be noticed that the change of $/ \mathrm{\int} /$ into $/ 3$ / in words as /tæf 3 i:r $<$ tæ3 3 i:r/'afforestation' is a form of total assimilation.

### 5.1.2.1.5.1. The allophonic variation of vowels.

The allophonic variation of vowels is a very interesting instance of assimilation in Upper-Egyptian Arabic. It is noticed that the vowels /a, $\mathrm{i}, \mathrm{u} /$ and their long counterparts /a:, $\mathrm{i}:, \mathrm{u}: /$ become [+back] when preceded or followed by one of these emphatic consonants: $/ \mathrm{x}, \mathrm{S}, \mathrm{D}, \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{T}, \mathrm{q}, \mathrm{Z} /$, for example: [manTu:qa] 'pronounced or uttered', [yifaxxam] 'to velarize' and [maDru:b] 'beaten or fake'. This assimilatory process may be progressive, regressive or bilateral. It is also partial and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.2.1.6. Instances of secondary articulation.

Phonological changes or processes can be categorized according to the nature of the process itself and the resulting phoneme, i.e. if the change under consideration is major or big enough to change the affected segment into a different distinctive
phoneme, it can be described as a phonemic process whereas if this change causes a minor change in the affected segment, it is just a phonetic change or a secondary articulation. Secondary articulation involves some movement in one region of the mouth, but this movement does not cause a major change in articulation. Hence, the assimilant is an allophone not a distinctive phoneme. Phonetic transcription is included in square brackets [ ] as compared to slashes for phonemic transcription. Labialization, nasalization and palatalization are instances of secondary articulation in Upper-Egyptian Arabic.

### 5.1.2.1.6.1. Labialization

Labialization indicates some rounding of the lips which accompanies a consonant when followed by a rounded vowel as in [yig ${ }^{\mathrm{w}} \mathrm{u}: 1$ ] 'he says' [hat ${ }^{\mathrm{w}}$ ufi:h] 'you will see him' and [m ${ }^{\mathrm{w}}$ ustawa] 'a level'. This process is allophonic and it may be progressive, regressive or double, partial and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

### 5.1.2.1.6.2. Nasalization

Nasalization indicates that vowels are nasalized when preceeded or followed by a nasal. Bakalla (2008: 335) states that nasalization may be called tagnīn and that in nasalization, unlike nasality, the vibrating air passes through both the nostrils and the mouth at the same time; basically, it is a nonphonemic feature. Nasalization is indicated through a tilde [ ] raised above the nasalized vowel as in the following words: [min] 'from', [nãfs] 'the same' and [3ayzi:n] 'we want'. This process is allophonic. It may be progressive, regressive or bilateral.

### 5.1.2.1.6.3. Palatalization

Palatalization occurs when there is some sort of articulation in the region of the palate. This happens especially with front vowels and also $/ \mathrm{y} /$, a palatal consonant. It is denoted through a raised [ ${ }^{j}$ ] attached to the palatalized consonant, for example: [ga: $3^{j}$ id] 'sitting', [?aftax ${ }^{j}$ ir] 'I am proud' and [ $s^{j}$ ilsa:l] 'a chain'. This process is allophonic, regressive, partial and concerned with the place of articulation criterion.

Most of these instances are regressive (seven out of nine (two can be progressive or regressive) and partial (eight out of nine). In spite of their diversity, they are all natural processes as they lead to more ease of articulation.

### 5.1.2.2. Elision.

Upper-Egyptian Arabic displays a great variety of instances of elision such as omission of the coda of the preposition $/ \mathrm{min} /$ 'from' as in /mi-lbalad/ 'from the village', /mi-lbeit/ 'from home (the house)' and /mi-ly eiT/ 'from the field', omission of the second syllable of the preposition /3ala/ 'on' /3a-ssari:3/ 'quickly', /3asaxxa:n/ 'on the stove' and /3a-na:r/ 'on fire', omission of the coda of the morpheme /3abd/ 'slave of' when attached to one of Allah's attributes (the 99 names of Allah) as in the /d/ at the end of the morpheme / $3 \mathrm{abd} /$ which is mostly omitted when attached to any of Allah's attributes or names except /?alla:h/, i.e. /3abdalla/ 'Abdullah' is never pronounced without /d/ even in the fastest speech. On the other hand, it is easy to notice the absence of /d/ in the following examples: /3ab sami:3/ 'Abdussamee', /3ab raћi:m/
'Abduraheem' and /3ab laTi:f/ 'Abdulateef' and omission of the coda of the words /bint/ 'girl' and /walad/ 'boy'; the words /bint/ 'girl' and /walad/ 'boy' are commonly used as titles in everyday colloquial speech. They show different degrees of elision according to the speed of speech, i.e. /bint/ may be pronounced as /bitt/ or /bih/ and /walad/ may be pronounced as /wa:d/ or /wala/. These instances are perfectly natural; they require the production of less segments, which leads to more simplification and ease of articulation.

### 5.1.1.2.3. Epenthesis

Epenthesis can be subclassified into anaptyxis (which Farawneh (2006: 85) defines as "the insertion of a short/extra short (non-etymological) vowel between consonants in order to make a word more easily pronounceable" and prothesis (which Younes (2009: 728) defines as "the addition of a segment, usually a vowel, to the beginning of a word."). It is stated by Zemánek (2006:85) that "in Arabic, anaptyxis is also employed to resolve consonantal clusters prohibited by the syllable structure rules, which generally leads to a creation of a new syllable". On the other hand, Younes (2009:728) states that "prothesis in Arabic involves the addition of a short vowel to prevent the occurrence of impermissible consonant clusters word-initially." Upper-egyptian Arabic employs epenthesis for avoidance of three consecutive consonant sequences. Gadalla (2000: 25) asserts that the added vowel is called an "anaptyctic" vowel and is not heard as clearly as other vowels. He represents the epenthesis rule as follows:


He (2000:26) gives the following examples of epenthesis:
a. /dars + hum/ $\longrightarrow /$ dar.s $^{\mathrm{u}}$.hum/ 'their lesson'.
b. $/ \int \mathrm{uft}+\mathrm{kum} / \longrightarrow / \int \mathrm{uf.t}^{\mathrm{u}}$.kum/ 'I saw you (m)'.
c. $/$ xums + miyya/ $\longrightarrow / x u m . s^{u}$.miyya/ 'five hundred'.

Although epenthesis leads to increasing the number of segments, a move which is against simplification, it is more natural because it causes a smoother pronunciation and more ease of articulation.

### 5.1.1.2.4. Metathesis.

In Upper-Egyptian Arabic, metathesis is considerably productive. It shows some fixed patterns as those presented by Banjar (2003:19-27):

## MSA

/yantafiD/
/yantafif /
/yal3an/

## UA

/yitnafiD/
/yitnafif /
/yin3al/ or /yin3an/

## Gloss

he shakes
it puffs up
he curses

Gadalla (2000:36) poses the metathesis of identical consonants as a very important phonological process. It operates in geminate roots when they are followed by a vowel, as in:

| Underlying | eA | Gloss |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\operatorname{madad}(-\mathrm{a})$ | madd | to stretch |
| $\int \operatorname{adad}(-\mathrm{a})$ | $\int$ add | to pull |
| ?aTbibaa?(-u) | ?aTibba(a?) | doctors |

This gives a bigger opportunity of formalizing these patterns and evaluating them within the framework of the theories under investigation.

### 6.0. Similarities and differences

### 6.1. Similarities

American English and Upper- Egyptian Arabic show a great deal of similarity in relation to assimilation as both of them are rich with instances of voicing, devoicing and instances of secondary articulation, as labialization, nasalization and palatalization.

Regarding elision, both varieties share the natural tendency of losing sounds for avoiding consonant clusters. Elision generally goes typically with simplification and the principle of least effort as it leads to reduction of the number of segments articulated.

### 6.2. Differences

As for assimilation, American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic have unique assimilatory processes that have no counterpart in the other variety as assimilation of the place of articulation of the phoneme $/ \mathrm{n} /$ before the velars $/ \mathrm{k} /$ and $/ \mathrm{g} /$ in American English and the lateral assimilation in the Arabic definite article /?il/, the nasal assimilation of the place of
articulation and the allophonic variation of vowels in UpperEgyptian Arabic.

Regarding elision, although both varieties have the same tendency of losing sounds in order to avoid consonant clusters, they have a big deal of discrepancy. First, American English has an additional tendency of losing weak vowels. Second, UpperEgyptian Arabic sometimes employs a different strategy in avoiding consonant clusters which is epenthesis. For example, the frequent example of adding a short vowel for avoiding impermissible consonant clusters initially.

As for epenthesis, American English has interesting instances of adding small sounds between neighboring vowels to avoid the difficulty caused by their adjacency. On the other hand, Upper-Egyptian Arabic employs epenthesis to break consonant clusters which are unfavorable in Arabic phonology in general.

Metathesis shows a great deal of discrepancy between the two varieties as American English does not present fixed synchronic instances of metathesis. It exists in this variety in the form of diachronic instances. It exists mainly as slips of the tongue, child language or spoonerism. Hence, it is not as productive as the other phonological processes under investigation or even as metathesis itself in the other variety under consideration, Upper-Egyptian Arabic.

To sum up, both American English and Upper-Egyptian Arabic display a vivid portrait of phonological processes. These diverse processes help give smoother pronunciation and achieve more simplification and more ease of articulation.

## List of Phonemic Symbols

The phonemic symbols used in the study are listed below. Most of them are built on the International Phonetic Alphabet.

| $[\mathrm{b}]$ | Voiced bilabial stop |
| :---: | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{p}]$ | Voiceless bilabial stop |
| $[\mathrm{t}]$ | Voiceless alveo-dental stop |
| $[\mathrm{T}]$ | Voiceless alveo-dental velarized stop |
| $[\mathrm{d}]$ | Voiced alveo-dental stop |
| $[\mathrm{D}]$ | Voiced alveo-velarized stop |
| $[\mathrm{k}]$ | Voiceless velar stop |
| $[\mathrm{g}]$ | Voiced velar stop |
| $[\mathrm{q}]$ | Voiceless uvular stop |
| $[?]$ | Voiceless glottal stop |
| $[\mathrm{h}]$ | Voiceless glottal fricative |
| $[\hbar]$ | Voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| $[3]$ | Voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| $[\mathrm{y}]$ | Voiced uvular fricative |
| $[\mathrm{x}]$ | Voiceless uvular fricative |
| $[\mathrm{f}]$ | Voiceless labio-dental fricative |
| $[\mathrm{v}]$ | Voiced labio-dental fricative |
| $[\theta]$ | Voiceless dental fricative |
| $[ð]$ | Voiced dental fricative |
| $[\mathrm{Z}]$ | Voiced dental emphatic fricative |
| $[s]$ | Voiceless alveolar fricative |
| $[$ S] | Voiceless alveolar velarized fricative |
| $[\mathrm{z}]$ | Voiced alveolar fricative |
| $[\mathrm{J}]$ | Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative |
| $[3]$ | Voiced alveo-palatal fricative |
| $[$ |  |


| $[\mathrm{f}]$ | Voiceless alveo-palatal affricate |
| :---: | :--- |
| $[\mathrm{d}]$ | Voiced alveo-palatal affricate |
| $[\mathrm{r}]$ | Voiced alveolar flap/ trill (when geminate) |
| $[\mathrm{l}]$ | Voiced alveolar lateral |
| $[\mathrm{m}]$ | Voiced bilabial nasal |
| $[\mathrm{n}]$ | Voiced alveolar nasal |
| $[\mathrm{y}]$ | Voiced velar nasal |
| $[\mathrm{y}]$ | Voiced palatal glide |
| $[\mathrm{w}]$ | Voiced bilabial round glide |
| $[\mathrm{i}]$ | Short high front vowel |
| $[\mathrm{i}:]$ | Long high front vowel |
| $[\mathrm{e}]$ | Short mid front vowel |
| $[\mathrm{a}]$ | Low front vowel |
| $[\mathrm{a}:]$ | Long central low vowel |
| $[\mathrm{u}]$ | Short high back rounded vowel |
| $[\mathrm{u}:]$ | Long high back rounded vowel |
| $[\mathrm{o}:]$ | Long low back rounded vowel |
| $[\partial]$ | Short mid central vowel |
| $[\mathrm{ei}]$ | Mid front closing diphthong |
| $[\mathrm{ai}]$ | Low front closing diphthong (with an accompanying <br> $y$ off-glide) |
| $[\mathrm{oi}]$ | Mid front closing diphthong (with an accompanying <br> $y$ off-glide) |
| $[\mathrm{au}]$ | Low back closing diphthong (with an accompanying <br> woff-glide) |
| $[\mathrm{ou}]$ | Mid back closing diphthong (with an accompanying <br> $w$ off-glide) |

## Note:

In Arabic, consonant gemination (tashdiid) is represented by doubling the respective consonant. A tilde [] is placed above the vowels which experience nasalization.

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## Appendix I

## Script 1

Why is there still poverty in America? The Economist.
Oct. 1, 2019.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5i45h76ioHY
A: Ann Marie Mathis is a local mom she set up the charity 9 years ago in her basement. Initially, she distributed second-hand children's clothes to poor families, but soon she found that there was an overwhelming need for diapers.
B: Diapers cost 70 to 80 dollars a month per child, so that's an expense that many many families struggle to afford... People are faced with, you know, not only a diaper need but hunger, homelessness, it's very prevalent even here in what's considered a wealthier community.

A: Xsaviour has been using the diaper pantry for the last few months, for her it's a life line.

C: Our budget goes on rent and food, anything that's not covered by health insurance.

Let me take this shirt off...you've got another one on
Clothing is a big thing for five kids...there's program they help out...a lot with healthy food and you can get some vouchers with beans, cheese milk. I cook a lot of spaghetti because it usually lasts longer.
/an mə 'ri: 'maӨ iz iz ə 'loukə 1 ma:m $\int$ i: set ə p ðə 't $\mathfrak{t}$ arə ti: nain yirz ə 'gou in hə r 'beismə nt i'nif ə li: $\int$ i: di'stribyə tid, sekə nd
'hand klouz tə pur 'famli:z bə t su:n $\int$ i: faund ðə t ðer wə z ə n , ouvə r'welmin ni:d fə r 'daipə rz
'daipə rz ko:st 'sevə nti: tə 'eiti: 'da:lə rz ə mə nӨ pə r tf aild sou ðə ts ə n, ik'spens ðə t 'meni: 'meni: 'famli:z 'strə gə 1 tə ə 'fo:rd 'pi:pə 1 a:r fast wið yə nou na:t 'ounli: 'daipə r ni:d bə t 'hə ngə r 'houmlə snə s its 'veri: 'prevə lə nt 'i:və n hir in wa:ts kə n'sidə rd ә 'welӨiə r kə 'myu:nə ti:
ik'seivyə r hə z bin 'yu:ziŋ ðә 'daipə r 'pantrē fə r ðə last fyu: mə ns fə r hə rits ə laif lain
'auə r 'bə ḑə t gouz o:n rent ə nd fu:d 'eni:, $Ө$ in ðə ts na:t 'kə və rd bai helӨ in'f urə ns
let mi: teik ðis $\int$ ə rt ə v yə v ga:t 'ə nə ðə r wə n on
'klouӨ in iz ә big $\Theta$ in fə r faiv kidz
ðerz ə 'prou, grə m ðei help aut ə la:t wið 'helӨi: fu:d ə nd yә kə n get sə m 'vautf ə rz wið bi:nz tf i:z milk ai kuk ə la:t ə v spə 'geti: bi'ko:z it 'yu:3 ə wə li: lasts 'lo:ทgə r/

## Script II

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GAorMmq5syo


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { أ: يعني فرناء السو ء؟ } \\
& \text { ب: لا مش قرناء السوء. } \\
& \text { أ: أمال؟ } \\
& \text { ب: أمـال نشتخل إيه؟ }
\end{aligned}
$$

أ: تشنتغلو ا إيه؟! فيه مابقو للك في شركات نضـافة ب . 0 جنيه في اليوم... دي بناخد فيها كام بقى في اليوم؟ ب: ناخد فيها • 10.


$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { أ: معرفش بس عالأقل شغلة شريفة. } \\
& \text { ب: شغلة شريفة ؟! هي . } 0 \text { جنيه هاتقضي مين؟ }
\end{aligned}
$$

 جنيه حلال لكن • 1 جنيه دي حرام مش كده و لا إيه؟! ب: إنت ماحسـاش بيهم.
أ: إيه؟

ب: ماحساش بيهم. أ: إيه؟

ب: مـاحساش بالناس.

## Transcription

A: Interviewer
B: Interviewee 1
C: Interviewee 2

A: /minein ya maћfu:Z
B: min Sə uha:j
A: gay min Sə uha:j lipə ursa3i:d 3af a:n tiharrab
B: ?aywa
A: mi:n ba?a lli dallak $3 \mathrm{a} \iint$ uy lana di:

## B: ?aSћa:bi

A: ?aSћa:bak
B: ?a:h
A: ya3ni qurana:? issu:?
B: la muf qurana:? issu:?
A: ?umma:1
B: ?ummal nif tay il eih
A: tif tay alu ?eih fi:h maba?ulak fii $\int$ arika:t naDa:fa
B: bixamsi:n jineih filyə um
A: di bitaxud fi:ha kam ba?a filyə um
B: naxud fi:ha miyya w-xamsi:n
A: bitaxud miyya w-xamsi:n ?aah mi:n ?allak in hiyya xamsi:n gineih fi-lyə um
B: ?ummal hiyya qa:m
A: ma3raff bass 3al?a?al $\int$ uy la $\int$ ari:fa
B: $\int$ uy la $\int$ ari:fa hiyya xamsi:n jineih hatgaDi mi:n
A: ?inta ?aah ti?aDDi mi:n ?ummal 3al ?a?al xamsi:n gineih illi bit?uul 3aleiha di xamsi:n gineih hala:l lakin miyya w-xamsi:n gineih di ћara:m mif kida walla ?eih
B: ?inti maћassaf i bi:hum
A: ?eih
B: maћassaf i bi:hum
A: ?eih
B: maћassaऽ i binna:s/

