

# Phonological Aspects of Jordanian Druze Arabic

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**Abstract**—This study examines the major phonological features of Jordanian Druze Arabic (JD). Druze are a minority group in the east part of Jordan. Their dialect has not been investigated before. First, we give a brief history of the socio-cultural background of the Druze. Then we investigate selected melodic and prosodic processes to be reported for this dialect: including syllable structure, assimilation (definite article assimilation, sonorant assimilation, non-coronal assimilation), emphasis spread, syncope, resolution, umlaut, and raising. Druze use these features most frequently. However, the raising process is the most dominant feature among them.

**Index Terms**—Druze Arabic, dialectology, Jordanian Arabic, phonological aspects

## I. INTRODUCTION

Jordanian dialects have been under investigation and analysis for many decades (e.g., Blanc, 1964, 1970; Irshied, 1984; Sakarna, 2002; Huneety, 2015; Huneety et al., 2021; Mashaqba, 2015; Mashaqba & Huneety, 2018). Cleveland (1963) classified Jordanian dialects into three main categories regarding their geographical basis:

1. Two rural dialects that are spoken in two regions:
  - (a) bigūl of South Transjordanian of the West Bank and Jordan river.
  - (b) bikūl of Central Palestinian, around Jerusalem and the Central and Northern parts of the West Bank.
2. yigūl of Bedouin Arabia Petraea.
3. bi'ūl of Levantine region and later settled in Jordan.

Since then, the Jordanian dialects have been investigated phonologically, syntactically, phonetically, morphologically, lexically, and sociolinguistically (e.g., Herin, 2013; Huneety & Mashaqba, 2016a, 2016b; Huneety et al., 2020, 2023; Jaradat et al., 2022; Mashaqba & Huneety, 2017; Mashaqba et al., 2020a, 2020b, 2020c, 2021, 2022a, 2022b, 2022c, 2023a, 2023b).

The indicative imperfective and the realization of Old Arabic \*/q/ are two terminological features that classify Jordanian Arabic dialects. According to Cleveland (1963), traditionally, the Bedouin (yigūl) and the Rural (bigūl) are found in Jordan. The (bikūl) and (bi'ūl) dialects are imported from Levantine, particularly Palestine, Syria, and Lebanon (Herin, 2013). However, none of them mentioned the (qāltu) dialect, which can be found among the Druze community. Druze are a minority whose speakers mainly live in the far east of Jordan. Few works talked about Druze, and none mentioned the phonological features of their dialect. Only Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009) inspected the dialect of Jordanian Druze (JD). However, they talked about the ability of a minor group to maintain their dialect and culture. They only analyzed their morphological aspects and lexical items, leaving the phonological spot untouched.

### A. An Overview of the Druze Community

Abu-Izzeddin (1985) and Oppenheim (2006) claim that Druze are known as Bani Ma'rouf Sons of Grace; they are Arabs in root and belong to their clans. Druze's population history continues to be a fascinating question. However, Druzism was accepted and recognized around the 11th century A.D. Today, they settle in the Levantine and Near Eastern communities, taking the mountains as their permanent and most favorable place of living due to the oppression they faced in Cairo. Therefore, it was believed that they had fled to the neighboring mountains (Reconstructing Druze population history, 2016). The Druze worldly distribution is as the following:

TABLE 1  
DRUZE DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO THE RECONSTRUCTING DRUZE POPULATION HISTORY

Country	Population
Syria	500,000
Lebanon	215,000
Palestine	136,000
Jordan	20,000

Religiously, their doctrine is surrounded by many restrictions. However, their tenet combines beliefs like Isma'ilism, Islam, Judaism, Zoroastrian, Hindu, Christian, Neo-Platonic and Persian (Oppenheim, 2006; Dawn & Hourani, 1992). Robinson (2006) claims that mainstream Muslims oppress Druze because they believe in reincarnation. The Druze

believes that the dead soul moves to a newborn body and does not taste the rest until it is purified (Rohland, 2006). However, Muslims believe that the soul waits in Barzakh until Judgment Day, which intersects with the Druze belief. Thus, the secretiveness of their faith was the reason for persecution. Nevertheless, ones cannot convert to the Druze doctrine because it was closed in the year 1042, and since then, membership regarding as hereditary (Abu-Izzeddin, 1985; Littlewood, 2001).

Socially, Swayd (1998) argues that the Druze are either initiated (Uqqal), who are religiously competent in their doctrine, and the uninitiated (Juhhal), who are not allowed to know about religious aspects. The Druze have a sacred book called *The Epistles of Wisdom* with thirteen holy manuscripts. Only the initiated can access these manuscripts (Layish, 1982). Moreover, “the resistance to intermarriage” is the prime factor in Druze dialect maintenance (Al-Khatib & Alzoubi, 2009, p. 191). They point out that in the social system of the Druze, they are only permitted to marry those who are Druze by blood.

Oppenheim (2006) argues that due to some ramifications that Some Druze may face, they tend to mingle with Islam duties such as prayers, fasting Ramadan or performing the pilgrimage to Mecca. They have something called *Khalwa*, which is Thursday’s meeting at night. In the first part of *Khalwa*, they discuss community affairs. In the second part, they pray and discuss religious aspects. However, the *Juhhal* are not permitted to participate in the second part (Rohland, 2006). Druze have many symbols that represent their doctrine. One of which is the flag. It has five colors and five stars. The colors represent five prophets, and the stars represent five helpers or luminaires (Swayd, 1998).

Solidarity is one essential feature among Druze. It is vital because it forms a pillar of their religion (Barouki, 2006). Moreover, Druze’s creed, *Tawhid*, has seven pillars, and cooperation by helping others is one of them (Barouki, 2006). Brotherhood among Druze is always a unifying force. Druze are characterized by their chivalry deeds, kindness, and respectful impressions they leave among other religions (Oppenheim, 2006; Osrovitz, 2001).

### B. *Jordanian Druze*

In Jordan, it is not easy to give an exact number of their population due to the absence of research work, with an estimated number of around 20,000 (The International Religious Freedom Report, 2005). Their distribution is in Amman, Irbid, Al-Azraq, Rusayfah, and Umm Al-Quttain, and the highest number is in Al-Azraq province. According to many studies (e.g., Layish, 198; Oppenheim, 2006; Rohland, 2006), politics and religion are not their concern. And for so long, farming has been their business in Al-Azraq. However, male youths have worked in the army and sought government jobs. The International Religious Freedom (2005) reports that although discrimination has never been practised against Druze, they have not been recognized by Jordanian authorities as a separate doctrine with its religious templates. Instead, they are registered as societies and called Muslims rather than Druze.

Druze dialect is highly affected by the dialects of a larger group within the community (Ramos, 2019). Despite that, they are known for preserving the interdentalals and the ancient \*q (Geva-Kleinberger, 2017). However, most previous works concentrated on viewing their religion, politics, and culture. They were investigated and examined widely, mostly the Israeli Druze. For instance, one ethnographic study highlighted the Druze community, with day-to-day aspects, and revealed the religious and traditional constraints that helped them to preserve their dialect and culture (Abbas, 2015; Court, 2015). Also, a study dealt with *Notq*, a phenomenon among Druze in which the incarnated soul remembers and resumes the previous life. It means that the person who believed that the soul was reborn calls back previous events that happened before. In that case, they say ‘*Nataq*’ means said (Avihu & Maha, 2020). To conclude, previous literature on Druze significantly focused on their life aspects, starting from their origins, and ending in their traditions.

Al-Khatib and Alzoubi (2009) claim that Jordanian Druze maintain their culture and dialect even though they are a minority. This claim is not valid. The study aims to analyze the phonological aspects of the Druze dialect to disprove that. However, during data collection, Druze speak nearly as Jordanian. The elderly and males are among those who lack the dialect significantly due to the high exposure to Jordan society’s various dialects.

## II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Linguistic fieldwork techniques are used in collecting data (Bownern, 2008). Starting in early October, the study took 35 days success with the first interview on 19th November 2019. However, there were two obstacles in conducting the interviews. First, the Druze refused to participate due to the political and religious matters that concerned them. Thus, a consent form was given to reassure the participants of the purpose of the study and its intention. It was added to the study to increase its validity. Second, because of the dangerous situation of Covid-19 in Al-Azraq, where most of the Druze settled, and the governmental restrictions between provinces, the personal interviews frequently were postponed. Thus, the interviews were conducted orally via phone and recorded in the HUAWEI-Y9 recorder. However, the other interviews in Al Jabal Al Akhdar, Amman and Al Russeifa-Zarqa were in-person. The recording was moved to the laptop and then into the Dropbox file to avoid any issues that might affect the sociolinguistics of the research’s reliability and validity (Gorter, 1987).

The researchers designed various general questions concerning daily Druze aspects to give variety to the speech under investigation: including cultural and geographical domains, popular regions and ruins, feelings description, situations during childhood, Druze traditional costumes and food, a story from Druze folklore, and words that are not

used by any other Jordanian dialects. Moreover, several words from the Syrian program Elkherbah, which deals with the Druze community and makes much use as a source of their dialect, were collected.

The participants are families who have lived in Al-Azraq, Al Russeifa, Zarq and Al Jab Al-Akhdar, Amman. These families inherited the land from their ancestors and have been there for more than thirty years. The researchers used the social network approach to select 23 face-to-face and oral interviews. The participants are distributed and categorized as next:

TABLE 2  
GENDER BASE-DISTRIBUTION

GENDER	MALES	FEMALES
	5 MALES	18 FEMALES

The dialect is nearly absent in male Druze speech. The lack of *qəltu* dialect is due to the high engagement in civil jobs and the military. Three males out of five speak the Bedouin dialect, and the other 2 speak the Rural dialect. Random communication gave more validity to the study. Most male family members who listened to the researchers' questions during the interviews tried to engage randomly, but they rarely used their dialect. It was proved that Druze, particularly males, do not preserve their dialect (Al-Khatib & Alzoubi, 2009).

TABLE 3  
AGE BASE-DISTRIBUTION

Age	23-40	60-72
	8 Druze	15 Druze

TABLE 4  
EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND BASE-DISTRIBUTION

Educational Background	Primary	Secondary	Higher
	8 Druze	10 Druze	5 Druze

If JD speaks their dialect, *qəltu*, their educational background does not play any role in that. What matter is once they are not within the Druze community, they unconsciously shift the *qəltu* dialect into *bigūl*, *yigūl* or *bi'ūl* dialect but not even once into the *bikūl* dialect.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The following is an analysis of the notable phonological aspects of JD Arabic:

#### A. Syllable Structure

The syllable structure in Arabic is a combination of a nucleus and a rhyme (Hooper, 1972; Clements, 1990). The latter consists of a mandatory onset and an optional coda. The former is an obligatory short or long vowel by which the number of vowels determines the number of syllables in an utterance (Al-Ani & May, 1973). Five types of Standard Arabic syllables are reported in the literature (Rosenhouse, 2007; AlBzour, 2015). These five types apply in JD Arabic as the following (see also Huneety et al., 2021; Mashaqba et al., 2019):

TABLE 5  
STANDARD ARABIC SYLLABLES IN JD ARABIC

Syllable Type	JD Arabic	Gloss
CV	/qa.mar/	'moon'
CVC	/nqa.sam/	'cut'
CVV	wah.dī/	'by myself'
CVVC	/qa.mīš/	'shirt'
CVCC	/zirt/	'visited'

According to word position, the four syllables: CV, CVC, CVV and CVVC are traced in all positions. However, the fifth syllable type, CVCC, occurs more frequently in monosyllabic words, e.g. /qirš/ '5 cents', /zirt/ 'visited' and rarely in a word finally, e.g. /ʔa.laʔ. ʔaʕ š/ 'thirteen'. Moreover, JD Arabic has three syllables that occur restrictedly. These are CCVVC and occur either word-initially, e.g., /tqāh.ru/ 'to tease him', or in monosyllabic words, e.g., /rđīt/ 'to accept', /mnēš/ 'how'. The heavy syllable CCVC occurs word-initially and medially, e.g., /mzan.kal/ 'circular shape' and /yin.qli/ 'to go away' respectively. However, CCVV occurs only word-initially, e.g., /flā.qu.ha/ 'to find her'. Examples are illustrated in the below table:

TABLE 6  
JD ARABIC SYLLABLES' POSITION DISTRIBUTION

Syllable Type	Initially	Medially	Finally
CV	ba.duq 'to nock'	bqu.lu.lik 'say to her'	qar.ʿa 'cup'
CVC	mal. 'a.qa 'spoon'	yiqa.bir.ni 'send me to my grave'	nqa.ʿaʿ 'to be cut'
CVV	hā.dī 'this'	maq.rū.ta 'a dessert'	bad.dō 'want'
CVVC	qāh.ru 'teased'	bit.qāh.ru 'to tease someone'	?ib.rīq 'jug'
CVCC	ta.la l. t aʿ š 'thirteen'		
CCVVC	tqāh.ru 'to tease him'		
CCVC	mzan.kal 'circular shape'	yin.qliʿ 'to go away'	
CCVV	tlā.qu.ha 'to find her'		

VC word-initially syllable is not allowed in Arabic (Sakarnah, 1999; Bamakhramah, 2009; Guba, 2016). Thus, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is added initially to the syllable, e.g., /ʔ/ is inserted in the definite article /il/ to follow the rule. [ʔ] insertion functions in JD Arabic, as shown below:

TABLE 7  
GLOTTAL STOP /ʔ/DISTRIBUTION IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
/is.sa/	[ʔis.sa]	'now'
/ib.rīq/	[ʔib.rīq]	'jug'
/iq.fā/	[ʔiq.fā]	'go away'
/i.dā/	[ʔi.dā]	'if'
/if.qa.ʿ/	[ʔif.qa.ʿ]	'to blow it'
/ib.ʿid/	[ʔib.ʿid]	'move'
/il.il.fī/	[ʔil.il.fī]	'harmony'

On the other hand, the coda is not obligatory in a syllable, as in /ma/ 'how!' /ʔak.bā.rō/ 'big', which does not have a final consonant (Hooper, 1972). However, in Arabic, it is allowed to have only two consonants in a row, e.g., /maq.darš/ 'I can't' (Clements, 1990).

### B. Assimilation Processes

Assimilation is the phonological process whereby two segments affect each other's articulation (Trask, 1996; Crystal, 2008). Pavl k (2009) classifies it into two terms; directions and degree. The process occurs in three directions: regressive (anticipatory), progressive, and coalescent (reciprocal). Concerning the degree, assimilation can be divided into the following: total assimilation and partial assimilation. However, assimilation can be between vowels or consonants or a combination. Thus, several JD Arabic utterances assimilate to the following:

#### (a). Definite Article Assimilation

Definite article assimilation is a frequent process in the dialect. Some sounds in Arabic are referred to as Al-ḥurūf alšamsiyyah because /l/ of the definite article in the word \*al-šams 'the sun' is assimilated totally to the consonant /š/ resulting aš-šams (Huneety, 2015). This kind of assimilation occurs in the definite article if the following consonant is one of the coronal sounds (Sakarnah, 1999; Eramli, 2012; Haddad, 2008). The following examples are the assimilation process in JD Arabic's definite article:

TABLE 8  
JD ARABIC ASSIMILATION OF THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
il.ʿar.būš	iʿ.ʿar.būš	the fez
il.dar.rāzī	id.dar.rāzī	the traditional Durze woman dress
il.ʿa.hab	iʿ.ʿa.hab	the gold
il.ʿif.fih	iʿ.ʿif.fih	the bank
il.sā.ḥil	is.sā.ḥil	the coast
il.šib.hiy.yāt	iš.šib.hiy.yāt	the morning
il.šir.wāl	iš.šir.wāl	the traditional Durze man pants
il.nus	in.nus	The half
il.ra.qa.bih	ir.ra.qa.bih	The neck
il.zar.qa	iz.zar.qa	The blue

However, Huneety (2015) points out that if al-ḥurūf al-Qamariyyah (the non-coronal sound) comes after the definite article /il/, assimilation can't occur. It applies to JD Arabic as well. Clarification is in the below examples:

TABLE 9  
AL-ḤURŪF AL-QAMARIY YAH DISTRIBUTION IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
/il.ʿa.qa.bī/	[il.ʿa.qa.bī]	‘Jordanian strain’
/il.mqāṣ.ša.ša/	[il.mqāṣ.ša.ša]	‘Durze dish’
/il.fus.ṭān/	[il.fus.ṭān]	‘the dress’
/il.qum.bāz/	[il.qum.bāz]	‘big hat’
/il.ki. šik/	[il.ki. šik]	‘Druze dish’
/il.bad.lih/	[il.bad.lih]	‘the suit’

Nevertheless, the CCC consonant cluster is not allowed in Standard Arabic. Therefore, if the definite article /l-/ is part of the consonant cluster, it is omitted. Consider the examples below:

TABLE 10  
CCC CONSONANT CLUSTER IN JD ARABIC

Underlying	Surface Form	Gloss
il.ḥrām	i.ḥrām	‘blanket’
il.ʿmiša	i.ʿmiša	‘Druze dish’
il.ʿqāl	i.ʿqāl	‘headband’

### (b). Sonorant Assimilation

In JD Arabic, if the sonorant sounds (/n/, to /l/), /h/ to /l/, (/n/ to /m/, and /n/ to /w/ are found in a morpheme and word boundaries, a sonorant assimilation occurs. However, this type of assimilation rarely happens in the dialect and can be recognized in rapid speech. For illustration, see the examples below:

TABLE 11  
ASSIMILATION OF /w/, /L/ AND /M/ IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
min-liqmaš	mil-liqmaš	fabric made
il.bad.lih-il.ʿa.ra.bī	il.badlil-il.ʿarabī	Arabian suit
ʿajīn wa laban-mḥīyyah	ʿajīn wa labam-mḥīyyah	dough and yogurt
min-wijhī	miw-wijhī	from my face

### (c). Non-Coronal Assimilation

In JD Arabic, non-coronal assimilation occurs rarely and optionally in rapid speech across word boundaries. The fricative/ʿ/ assimilates to a following stop/t/, the nasal/n/ assimilates to a following bilabial /b/, and the nasal/n/ assimilates to the homorganic fricative/x/ and/d/. Moreover, the nasal /n/ assimilates to a following labio-velar /w/. Consider the following examples:

TABLE 12  
NON-CORONAL ASSIMILATION IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
/maʿ tarbūš/	[mat-tarbūš]	‘with fez’
/sultān-baša/	[sultāb-baša]	‘Sultan Pasha’ [proper name]
/min-ḡahab/	[miḡ-ḡahab]	‘from gold’
/min-xašab/	[mix-xašab]	‘from wood’
/min-wijhī/	[miw-wijhī]	‘from my face’

### C. Emphasis Spread

Emphatics in Arabic are /ḡ/, /ṣ/, /ṭ/, /ḡ /, /b/, /m/, /l/ and /r/ (Bellem, 2007; Huneety & Mashaqba, 2016a; Mashaqba et al., 2022b). However, with a minimal pair test, JD Arabic spreads only the literal /l/ and the two fricatives /s/ and /ḡ/. The examples below show the contrast between minimal pairs that differ in the emphatic/plain counterpart.

TABLE 13  
EMPHASIS SPREAD IN JD ARABIC

Non emphatic	Gloss	Emphatic	Gloss
/ilhaq/	‘to pursue’	/ilḡaq/	‘fairness’
/ḡallat/	‘to humiliate’	/ḡallat/	‘to stay’
/saḡfir/	‘small kiln’	/ṣaḡfir/	‘whistling’
/qir/	‘confess’	/qir/	‘oh!’
/rāḡah/	‘delight candy’	/rāḡah/	‘dustpan’

### D. Resolution

Resolution functions if syllables start without an onset, which is not allowed in Standard Arabic (Sakarnah, 1999). Therefore, JD Arabic tends to delete the vowel in the final position if the following suffix starts with another vowel. However, this process happens infrequently in the dialect. Consider the following examples:

TABLE 14  
RESOLUTION IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
baqa-u	[baqu]	They (m.) were
naqa <sup>c</sup> -at	[naq <sup>c</sup> at]	She soaked
laqa-an	[laqan]	They (f.) found
qala-u	[qalu]	They (m.) fried
?ja-an	[?jan]	They (f.) came
qaḏḏa-at	[qaḏḏat]	She spent

### E. Umlaut

After analyzing JD Arabic, they have realized the CaCāC and CuCāC structure into CiCāC. Umlaut functions when the back vowels, such as /a/ and /u/, assimilate to a front vowel /i/ (Crystal, 2008; Trask, 1996). Nevertheless, JD tends to apply the Umlaut process only in some proper nouns:

TABLE 15  
/A/ AND /U/ ASSIMILATION TO /I/ IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
/sanāʔ/	[sināʔ]	'Sanaa' Proper Name
/husām/	[hisām]	'Hussam' Proper Name
/ʔusāma	[ʔisāma]	'Osama' Proper Name

### F. Syncope

Syncope means deleting a sound or more from a word (Blust & Crowley, 1996). Syncope in JD Arabic is in the high vowel /i/. The vowel is omitted if it occurs initially to avoid the monomoraic syllables and increase the syllables with two moras (Broselow, 1992). However, the vowels /a/ and /u/ do not go under the syncope process in JD Arabic. Examples that are given below illustrate how the CiCiC stem syncopes to CiCC:

TABLE 16  
SYNCOPE OF HIGH VOWEL /I/ IN JD ARABIC

Pronoun	/qibil/	Gloss
1s.	qbil-it	I accepted
1pl.	qbil-na	we accepted
2m.s.	qbil-it	you (m.s.) accepted
2m.pl.	qbil-ti	you (m.pl.) accepted
2f.s.	qbil-ti	you (f.s.) accepted
2f.pl.	qbil-tan	you (f.pl.) accepted
3m.s.	qibil	he accepted
3m.pl.	qibil-u	they (m.) accepted
3f.s.	qibil-at	she accepted
3f.pl.	qibil-an	they (f.) accepted

### G. Raising

Northern Syrian groups are mostly known for raising (Versteegh, 2001). Since JD originated from the Levant, particularly Syria, the raising process is the most common phonological process that distinguishes JD Arabic from other Jordanian dialects. Subsequently, the short /a/ is frequently raised in JD Arabic into the long /ā/ (Habib, 2012). Consider the common nouns in the examples below:

TABLE 17  
RAISING /A/ INTO /Ā/ IN JD ARABIC

Underlying Form	Surface Form	Gloss
ma <sup>c</sup> karūna	ma <sup>c</sup> karūnī	spaghetti
<sup>c</sup> aqaba	<sup>c</sup> aqabī	Jordanian strait
qahwa	qahwī	coffee
madrasa	madrāsī	school
qa <sup>c</sup> da	qa <sup>c</sup> dī	Setting
maqašša	maqaššī	broom
lahma	lahmī	meat
kāsa	kāsī	glass
maxadda	maxaddī	pillow

## IV. CONCLUSION

The findings of JD Arabic's study resulted in common and less common phonological aspects and distributed in order as follows:

### Common Phonological Features

1. Raising is a very repetitive phonological process in JD Arabic. The study tests the short vowel /a/. It frequently raises to the long vowel /ā/.

2. Assimilation is common in JD Arabic. They assimilate all coronal consonants if preceded by the definite article /il/. On the other hand, it does not occur in the definite article /il/ if followed by the non-coronal consonants. However, non-coronal assimilation applies rarely in the fricatives /x/ and /dʒ/, bilabial /b/ and nasal/n/. Moreover, the sonorant assimilation occurs regressively in /w/, /l/ and /m/.

3. Although emphasis spread is not common as raising and assimilation, it is frequently used. Thereby, in the minimal pair test, JD Arabic spread the consonants /s/, /d̥/, /r/ and /l/, while they maintain /t/ and /m/ of their surface form /t/ and /m/.

#### Less Common Phonological Features

1. Syncope process is investigated by inflecting the verb qibil in JD Arabic: only the high long vowel /i/ is affected by the process. The dialect lacks deleting other vowels such as /u/ and /a/.

2. Resolution to the short vowel /a/ occurs very rarely in JD Arabic. However, this applies only to verbs that end with /a/and, followed by a suffix of an initial vowel.

3. In the umlaut process, only 2 out of 23 participants apply this process by changing the /u/ and /a/ vowels into/i/ if they occur in the word-initial syllable. However, the process functions in some proper nouns only.

To conclude, although JD Arabic has phonological features that distinguish it from other Jordanian dialects, it is hard to generalize that Druze maintain their dialect as was claimed (Al-Khatib & Alzoubi, 2009). The phonological findings resulted in the Druze dialect having mutual similarity with other Jordanian dialects due to the effect of a larger community. Although Druze indeed maintain solidarity among each other. However, their dialect has been through many phonological alterations.

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