

LANGUAGE VARIATION IN WESTERN AMMAN

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Abstract

The present study investigates two forms of language variation in Ammani Arabic: Qaf variation and Arabic-English code-switching. After discussing the formation of the dialect of Amman and identifying the input dialects, I address the following questions related to the first form of language variation- Qaf variation: (a) whether a change from the traditional Jordanian [g] to the urban Palestinian [ʔ] is taking place in the city and is on its way to completion in the speech of both genders; (b) what the uses of [q] are and (c) why there is an increase in its use as a variable. As for the second form of language variation- code-switching, I investigate the functions of code-switching in the speech of millennials in Amman and their frequencies based on gender.

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List of abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
AA	Ammani Arabic
FUT	Future tense
M	Male
N	Noun
PN	Pronoun
S	Singular
SA	Standard Arabic
V	Verb

1. Introduction

'Language is the road map of a culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going'

-Rita Mae Brown.

Language is a key to understanding social structures and behavior in a given society. A sociolinguist's aim is to study language and how it is being used by speakers, rather than focusing on language in isolation of its speakers. William Labov was one of the leading scholars in this field. His master's thesis on the island of Martha's Vineyard (1963), and PhD dissertation *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, originally published in 1966 and later expanded in 2006, changed the way we study sociolinguistics. In his master's thesis, Labov (1963) introduced a model that helped us understand the mechanism of language change by investigating the frequency and distribution of linguistic variants in different regions and among different age groups, several occupations, and different ethnic backgrounds. He also argued that we cannot understand languages, their development over time, and how they change without understanding the community in which the language occurs.

Interest in linguistic variation rose in the 1960s with the rise of sociolinguistics. Language variation looks at the different ways a language might be used based on regional or social differences. Variability is a characteristic of human languages, as a single speaker might use different forms of the language based on social contexts. Different speakers of the same language might also express the same idea in different forms based on social factors such as gender, age, and social class, to name a few. Thus, understanding linguistic variation is key to understanding language use (Reppen et al. 2002).

Mougeon et al. (2010) argued that there are two types of language variation: Linguistic variation and sociolinguistic variation. With linguistic variation, the variation is governed by the linguistic context in which it occurs; a single speaker might use “going” in a formal situation and “gonna” when texting a friend. Sociolinguistic variation, on the other hand, is concerned with the choices different individual speakers make when deciding which variable to use based on different social factors in the same linguistic contexts. The choice is usually affected by extra-linguistic factors such as the formality of the topic, the social status of the speaker, the setting, or even gender; in this study it will be evident that male Jordanian speakers use [g] while female speakers use [ʔ] for Standard Arabic /q/, which is an example of sociolinguistic variation. It is also important to note that all aspects of language (phonemes, morphemes, lexical items, and syntactic structures) are subject to variation.

Another way to divide language variation can be in terms of inter-speaker variation versus intra-speaker variation. Inter-speaker variation is concerned with variation different speakers exhibit between different languages and dialects. Intra-speaker variation, on the other hand, is concerned with the speech variation of a single speaker.

The dialect of Amman is characterized by variation and this paper will investigate two areas of variation found in the dialect. Two of the commonly noticed variations are Qaf variation, which is a feature that emerged due to contact between Jordanian and Palestinian dialects, and Arabic-English code-switching-- a result of globalization and the spread of English through media and technology.

The question I want to address regarding Qaf variation is whether a change from form [g] to form [ʔ] is taking place in the city in the speech of Jordanian men. As for code-switching, I

want to investigate its different functions as proposed by Gumperz (1982) and the occurring frequencies of each function based on gender.

The literature review chapter will go over the previous work done on the topics to be discussed in this paper. I will start by talking about the Arabic language in general, and then zooming in on the Arabic language in Jordan. After that, I will cover some of the previous research done on the sociolinguistic situation in Amman, and then cover our two topics of variation: Qaf variation and code-switching in Jordan. In chapter three, I will discuss the methodology and data collection. Chapter four will cover the data analysis and discussion of the findings before I conclude with chapter five, where I will give a summary of the findings.

2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction to the Arabic Language

Arabic is a Semitic language spoken by approximately 300 million speakers natively, and is the lingua franca of the Arab world. Arabic is classified as a macro language that consists of 30 varieties, including the Standard and Modern Standard form (SIL.org 2019). The difference between Standard and Modern Standard Arabic is a distinction made by Western linguists, unlike Arabic speakers who do not distinguish between the two, but rather refer to both as *Al-Arabya Al-Fusha* “Standard Arabic”. Modern Standard Arabic is the fifth most spoken language in the world, as it is the official language of 25 countries and one of the six official languages of the United Nations.

The sociolinguistic situation in the Arab world provides an example of diglossia, a linguistic phenomenon in which two varieties of the language are used in different social

situations. Standard Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic are the high formal written languages, while the local dialects are the low form of the language used for everyday interactions.

The present study will investigate the low variety of Arabic spoken in the Jordanian capital, Amman, which is one of the local varieties of Arabic in Jordan.

2.2 Previous research on the sociolinguistics of Jordan

Jordanian dialects have not been extensively studied in our field yet. Nevertheless, a few studies have been conducted that helped pave the way for further research. Among those who studied the linguistic situation in Jordan are, Ray L. Cleveland, Hassan Abdel-Jawad, and Enam Al-Wer.

Cleveland (1963) was one of the first scholars to study the Jordanian dialects. He grouped the dialects spoken in Jordan into four groups based on phonological variation on the one hand, and lexical variation on the other. Abdel-Jawad (1981) and Al-Wer (2000, 2002, 2003, 2007, 2011) studied the Arabic spoken in Amman. They focused on some of the phonological features and how they vary in comparison to other dialects spoken in the country and within the city of Amman itself. In this section, I will discuss some of the major points argued in the above mentioned studies respectively, starting with Cleveland's classification of the Arabic dialects spoken in Jordan (1963).

Cleveland believed that the Jordanian dialects can be grouped into four groupings- a discovery he found to be surprising considering how small the country is. He argued that aside from the groupings being based on linguistic features, they also correspond to socio-economic stratifications and, in many cases, geographical locations within the country.

Cleveland labeled the first group ‘*yigul*’ group. [ʝgūl] ‘he says’, pronounced as [jəqūl] in Standard Arabic. This phrase is used because it has the Standard Arabic /q/ phoneme and Cleveland’s groupings were based on the realization of Standard Arabic [q] in the speech of each dialect, which is [g] in the speech of this group. The most noticed phonological variation in Jordanian Arabic dialects is the realization of standard Arabic /q/ as either [g], [k] or [ʔ]. It will be evident in this paper that the realization of *Qaf* in Jordanian dialects, namely Ammani, has multiple sociolinguistic connotations.

The speech of the ‘*yigul*’ group is found among *the Bedu* who come from the eastern and southern desert. It is also the speech of nomads who, back then, settled in today’s governorate of Karak. It is believed that the dialect of this group belongs to Arabian Arabic¹ due to its closer relationship with the Najd dialects as opposed to the Levantine dialects. It is also argued that among the four Jordanian dialects, this one is the closest to Standard Arabic (SA). The vowels are different from those found in Standard Arabic but the consonants are the same, with the exception of three. See the table below.

Table (1) The realization of the SA phonemes in the speech of the four groups

SA	“yigul” group	“bigul” group	“bikul” group	“bi’ul” group
d ^ʕ	ð ^ʕ	ð ^ʕ	ð ^ʕ , d ^ʕ	d, d ^ʕ
q	g	g	k	g, ʔ
k	t̪ ^ʕ , k	t̪ ^ʕ , k	t̪ ^ʕ , k	k

¹ For more information on the different kinds of Arabic, see Versteegh (2014).

Note that /k/ has two realizations [k] and [t̪] based on the environment the phoneme is found in. It is also important to note that the lexical inventory found in the speech of this group is more conservative than those found in other Jordanian dialects.

The second group, according to Cleveland (1963), is the '*bigul*' group ~ [bəgūl]. The speakers that belong to this group are from rural areas in southern Palestine, the Jordan valley, and nomads outside of the first group. The main difference between the speech of this group and the first one is morphological-- they express the imperfect tense differently. The first group uses the morpheme /j-/, whereas the second group uses /b-/. There are also differences in vocabulary and idioms.

The third group is the '*bikul*' group ~ [bəkūl]. This is the dialect of the village people who lived around Jerusalem and central Palestine (Cleveland 1963). There are many similarities between the speech of this group and that of the second. However, one of the differences is the realization of standard Arabic /q/ which was [g] in the speech of the previous group, but is [k] in this one. There are also lexical differences that make the speech of this third group closer to the Levantine dialects than 'Arabian' Arabic.

The fourth and last group is the '*bi'ul*' group ~ [bəʔūl]. At the time in which Cleveland's study was published, this group had the smallest number of speakers in Jordan. A speaker of this dialect is recognized as 'mədanī' 'a city dweller'. Cleveland stated in his article that this dialect 'diverges sharply from the other three groups' (1963: 58). Most of the features found in this dialect are also found in the dialect spoken in Jerusalem. It was the dialect of immigrants from Haifa, Jaffa and Jerusalem who chose Amman to reside in. In other words, it originated from the

urban cities of Palestine. This is the group we are most concerned with for this present study since this is the group that represents Western Amman.

The most distinctive speech feature found in this group is the realization of /q/ as [ʔ]. One of the features found in the speech of the fourth group is also the SA voiced dental fricative /ð/ becoming [z]. For example, [ðənb] ‘guilt’ would be pronounced as [zəmb]. The nasal here also assimilates to the stop’s place of articulation. The SA phoneme /θ/ is realized as [t]. Take for example the SA word [θɔlθ] ‘third’ that becomes [tɔlt]. The phoneme /ðˤ/ is also usually realized as [zˤ] in the speech of this group. For example, [ðˤərf] ‘circumstances’ becomes [zˤərf].

Generally speaking, Cleveland’s classification of the Jordanian dialects can be regrouped into two groups. The first is Eastern and Southern dialects of Najdi Arabic that is closer to Standard Arabic and had a larger number of speakers at the time in which he conducted his research. The second group would be the Northern and Northwestern dialects that classify as Southern Levantine. In her paper, Al-Wer (2007) further subdivided Cleveland’s second group into two subgroups. The first is the Hourani dialect in the far north; a good example of this would be the dialect of Ajloun. The second is the Balgawi dialect in the northwest; an example of that would be the dialect of As-Sult.

While Cleveland’s work tackled all Jordanian dialects in an attempt to provide a classification of them, Abdel-Jawad and Al-Wer focused most of their research on the dialect(s) spoken in Amman. The rest of this chapter will look at their contributions that helped explain the linguistic situation in Amman.

Abdel-Jawad (1981) studied lexical and phonological variation in Ammani speech by eliciting data from 160 Jordanian and Palestinian speakers in Amman. He studied four speech

styles: public style, which represents formal speech such as religious speeches; formal style, which was present in interviews during which a range of formal and informal topics were discussed; informal style, in which the speakers shift from informal language to formal language to discuss certain formal topics in an informal setting; and casual style, in which the vernacular language is used.

Abdel-Jawad (1981) followed the Labovian approach and used variable rule statistical analysis to examine the extent to which processes such as leveling (koineizing) and standardization are expressed or suppressed in the spoken language of Amman. He also studied two phonological variables [k] and [q] and found a correlation between the variants and some extra-linguistic factors, such as gender, ethnicity and education (Abdel-Jawad 1981: 348). Abdel-Jawad also found that the standard variant [q] is used more by male educated speakers in formal situations.

Another scholar who contributed largely to the study of Jordanian dialects, in general, and the dialect of Amman, in particular, is Enam Al-Wer. Other than her multiple publications (Al-Wer 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007, 2011), Al-Wer launched a project in 1998 in which she investigated the Ammani linguistic situation to make sense of the unsystematic mixture of features found in the dialect. She focused on analyzing phonological and morphosyntactic features and found that this dialect, which emerged as a result of Jordanian and Palestinian dialect contact, contains new features and patterns that are not found in the input dialects.

In her paper, Al-Wer (2007) studied the formation of the dialect spoken in Amman and compared features found in Jordanian and Palestinian dialects. Al-Wer examined data she

collected from three generations to trace the dialect formation, and argued that the Ammani case is a ‘textbook case of new dialect formation’ (Al-Wer 2007: 7).

She stated that the speech of first generation speakers, who moved to Amman as adults, can be easily traced back to the speaker’s original Jordanian or Palestinian town. However, the development in the speech of this group is clear. The development started with what Trudgill calls *rudimentary leveling* (Trudgill 2004: 89-93); it is when the most marked features found in the speech of a specific community are leveled out. A great example of this would be the leveling of the /k/ affrication, which is a feature from the Jordanian side found in the As-Sult dialect. In the traditional dialect, [k] becomes an affricate before a front vowel; for example, [kɛ:f] > [tʃɛ:f] ‘how’ (Palva 1994). However, when Al-Wer examined data she collected in 1987, she found that this feature was absent from the speech of the first generation of Jordanian speakers. The oldest speaker did affricate the /k/ in the feminine suffix /-ik/, and in some words where /k/ was preceded by a front vowel /a/ or /ɛ/. Although this feature is being leveled out, it has not disappeared completely. In another speech sample collected in 1997, Al-Wer found some tokens of affrication in the speech of male youngsters. Al-Wer (2007) argued that this change probably started taking place before migration; the dialect contact merely accelerated the process, and the absence of affrication in the Ammani dialect is viewed as a continuation of the change that was already taking place.

Another example of rudimentary leveling that Al-Wer (2007) mentioned in her paper is found in the dialect of Nablus, Palestine which is the raising of [æ] to [ɛ] or [e]. An example of this vowel raising can be found in words like [ʔəmmæ:n] to [ʔəmmɛ:n] ‘Amman’, [mbæ:rɪh] to [mbe:rɪh] ‘yesterday’, and [sæ:ʔə] to [se:ʔə] ‘hour or watch’. Raising the Standard Arabic /a/ is a

stereotypical feature of Palestinian dialects, especially in Jerusalem; however, third-generation Palestinians in Amman ended up yielding to the Jordanian [æ].

Al-Wer (2007) then moved on to talk about another first generation speech development that mainly concerns female Jordanian speakers and male Palestinian speakers. Traditional Jordanian dialect speakers used the following phonemes: [θ], [ð], and [g]. Both male and female speakers would use those traditional phonemes. The traditional Palestinian's dialect counterparts were: [t], [d], and [ʔ], and both men and women would use them. However, when both dialects came into contact, Al-Wer found that some Palestinian men started using [g] instead of their traditional [ʔ], while Jordanian women started dropping their traditional [g] in favor of the Palestinian [ʔ]. Jordanian women and Palestinian men are the ones who deviated the most from their traditional dialects, and this divergence was later found to be an important sociolinguistic patterning.

Looking at the speech of the second generation, it appears to be chaotic because of the mixing of multiple dialects. However, it was still possible to trace the speech back to its Jordanian or Palestinian origin. Also, some sociolinguistic correlations started to emerge, such as gender and origin. As mentioned above, the speakers who deviated the most from their traditional dialects were Jordanian women by using [ʔ], and the Palestinian men by using [g]. They would also use the stop variants instead of the interdentals, while maintaining the Jordanian vocalic features. They would also use Jordanian and Palestinian pronominal suffixes interchangeably. For example, they would mix *-hum* and *-hon*, *-ku* and *-kon*, and the Jordanian pronoun [ʔiħnā] with the Palestinian [niħnā] 'we'. In the speech of Palestinian men, the plural pronouns and the pronominal suffixes were mostly Palestinian. Jordanian men and Palestinian women held on to their traditional speech for the most part. However, the third generation does

not make use of the same features; instead, they set new patterns and features that were not found in the previous mix.

In *Jordanian Arabic ‘Amman’* (Al-Wer 2011), Al-Wer classified the residents of Amman into two groups: Jordanians and Palestinians. However, it is important to note that those two groups are heterogeneous and intermarriages between the two are common (2011). This classification is used to trace the origin of the speakers who were born and live in Amman. Informal reports indicate that Jordanians from Palestinian origins form the majority of Amman’s population. Some even argue that 80% of the Ammani population is of Palestinian descent.

Al-Wer (2011) discussed in her paper the degree of variability found in Jordanian and Palestinian dialects and gives the classic example of [g], [k] and [ʔ] variation. She also stated that in Palestinian speech, the trend is to favor the mādānī (urban) [ʔ] over the fəllāhī (rural) [k]. This trend carried on to Ammani speech and the competing linguistic features are between the Palestinian mādānī [ʔ] and the Jordanian East Bank (Bedouin) [g].

Al-Wer then moved on to discuss the formation of the ‘Ammani’ dialect based on Trudgill’s outline on dialect formation (1986). She studied the speech of three generations, starting with the first one to settle in Amman in the late 1990s. She argued that the first generation spoke dialects with distinct features that can be easily traced back to their original Jordanian or Palestinian towns. With the second generation, due to the constant contact between speakers of different dialects, the speakers started to use a mixture of both, and the sociolinguistic correlations started to become more complex. However, the speech can still be identified as Palestinian or Jordanian.

Al-Wer (2007) focused on the speech of the third generation in her paper. Looking at the speech of the third generation and those who came after, a reduction in the mixture and variation is found in the speech of the generation and an order started to form in their linguistic behavior. In addition, new features that are considered to be ‘Ammani’ started to emerge, such as gender neutralization of the *-kum* clitic in favor of the masculine forms (see Al-Wer 2003).

Due to those new ‘Ammani’ speech features, the city began to form its own native identity for the first time in modern history. The younger generations, born in the 1990s, now call themselves *Ammāniyyīn*, which is a derivation meaning that they are native to the city ‘people of Amman’. However, their parents, even those who were born in Amman, would still associate themselves with their original hometowns and refer to themselves as ‘*sukkān Amman*’ ‘inhabitants of Amman’ (Al-Wer 2007).

In sections 2.3 and 2.4, I will talk about the history of Amman and its development, then discuss the structure of the Ammani dialect: mainly consonants and vowels.

2.3 The Jordanian Capital: Amman

Amman is known as *the city of immigrants and refugees*. The city was first called Ammon when it was home to the kingdom of Ammonites during the Iron Age. During the Greek and Roman periods, the city was named Philadelphia. It was finally named Amman during the Islamic ruling, and has kept that name ever since.

The city’s importance declined after it was damaged in several earthquakes in the mid-8th century and people decided that it was uninhabitable (Kassay 2006). However, modern Amman dates back to the late 19th century. It was first inhabited in 1878 by a handful of Circassian immigrants from Southern Russia who survived the Circassian genocide. They settled

around the old Roman ruins (Abdel-Jawad 1981, Hamed-Troyansky 2017). Al-Wer states that by 1906, Amman became home to a handful of Circassian settlers who at that time, only spoke Adyghe, a language that belongs to the Northwest Caucasian language family and is still used at home by Circassian till this day (Al-Wer 2011).

Originally, As-Sult was the capital of the Emirate of Transjordan, but because of Amman's strategic location along the Hejaz Railway, the Hashemite King Abdullah I designated Amman to be the capital in 1921 instead. As the capital, Amman received a lot of attention. By the 1930s, 5000 additional migrants from the Balga region in Northern Jordan, and from Karak and Madbaz in the Southern region settled in Amman. Among the 5000 were also migrants who came from Palestinian cities like Haifa, Jaffa, Nablus and Hebron. A few merchant families from Damascus also chose to settle in Amman, as it was better for business and trade because of its location en route to Hijaz.

The migration from Jordanian and Palestinian towns kept increasing over the following few decades. By the year 1933, the population of the former village was estimated at 6000; 1700 of which were Circassians, according to the British report³ (Mackey 1979: 82).

The biggest, most sudden increase in population was a result of the Israeli occupation of Palestine. The Palestinian refugee migration came in two waves; the first wave of Palestinian refugees started pouring into the city after the Arab-Israeli war in 1948. Within five years the population almost doubled from 60,000 in 1947 to 110,000 in 1952. However, the population

² See Appendix A for the location of the cities in the research with respect to Amman.

³ Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1933, Colonial No. 94, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1934, p. 305.

reached its peak with the second wave of Palestinian refugees entering the country after the Six-Day War in 1967. According to a U.N social survey done in 1966, it was reported that of Amman's population aged 15 and over, only 28% were locally born (Abdel-Jawad 1981: 35). This means that fewer than one in four were native to the city at that time. By 1970, the population was estimated at 550,000 and kept growing until it reached 850,000 by 1981.

Jordan witnessed another influx of refugees that also came in two waves due to political unrest in the region. The first wave was in the 1990s in the aftermath of the Gulf War where the number of Iraqi refugees in Jordan was estimated to be between 250,000 and 350,000. By the late 1990s the population reached 1.6 million. The second Iraqi wave started after the 2003 US-led invasion of Iraq. The exact number of Iraqi refugees cannot be determined due to a number of factors– the first of which being that Jordan did not conduct any solid statistical studies. The second is that Jordan did not require prior entry visas from Iraqis for the purpose of making it easy for them to enter the country. The Jordanian government insisted that the Iraqis are *guests* and not *refugees*, which made it difficult for humanitarian agencies to collect accurate information about an 'invisible' refugee population. However, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that 750,000 to 1 million Iraqis fled to Jordan after the war ("Iraqi refugee timeline," 2008).

The third, and soon to be the biggest refugee crisis in Jordan is the Syrian one caused by the Syrian civil war which started in March 2011. According to the United Nations fact sheet published in 2018, the Syrian refugee population in Jordan consists of almost 751,275 living in urban areas and 126,131 in camps (UNHCR fact sheet, 2018).

Jordan's total population, as of September 2019, is 10,122,744 according to the Worldometers website (Worldometers, 2019). According to UN reports, 60 percent of the total population lives in Amman. 2,918,125 (30.6%) of Jordan's total population is non-Jordanian. This number has multiplied more than 10 times over the last 55 years.

From the discussion above, it is apparent that the whole population of Amman is considered to be immigrants as they either come from other Jordanian towns, Palestinian cities, or are refugees from Russia known as Circassians. It is also argued that there is no native dialect to Amman merely because the Circassians who settled there in 1878 did not speak Arabic; they managed to maintain their identity and language till this day and do not consider themselves to be Arab. The drastic population growth has provided us with a heterogeneous speech community characterized by variation. The dialect spoken in Amman represents a number of neighboring local dialects, which makes it an ideal location to study dialect contact and dialect formation.

For the Qaf variation portion of the paper, the focus will be on the two groups that played a crucial part in developing the city and its dialect. The first group is Jordanians who migrated from other towns and villages, and spoke indigenous Jordanian dialects. The second group consists of Palestinians, which in turn is divided into two subgroups based on the time of their arrival in Amman. The first subgroup consists of Palestinians who migrated to Amman in the early 20th century before the war. The second subgroup consists of war refugees who fled from the Israeli occupation of Palestine. It is important to note that both groups are considered to be Jordanian and hold Jordanian passports. However, since the Qaf variation section will discuss dialectal features that are specific to either indigenous Jordanian or Palestinian dialects and the result of their contact, I will refer to the speakers and feature by either Palestinian or Jordanian, based on their origin.

The following section will discuss previous sociolinguistic research done on Jordan to give a better understanding of the situation there. It will also discuss the Ammani dialect and give an overview of some of the features. Qaf variation in Amman and Arabic-English code-switching will be further discussed as well.

2.4 The Ammani dialect

This section is designated to give a description of some elements of the Ammani dialect focusing on the Jordanian - Palestinian competing features. In a dialect contact situation, similar or counterpart features from the opposing sides compete for a place in the newly-formed dialect.

The result of this competition either ends up with the recession of one feature and the thriving of the other or, in some cases, the survival of both features. When the latter happens, a new distribution has to be established. It is what Britain & Trudgill (2005) call *reallocation*.

Reallocation is defined as when “one or more variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process, but are re-functionalized, evolving new social or linguistic functions in the new dialect” (Britain & Trudgill 2005: 183). The chapter will also provide a comparison between the consonants and vowels of Ammani Arabic (AA) and those of Standard Arabic (SA).

2.4.1 Consonants

I will start off by comparing the phonemic inventory found in Standard Arabic to the one of Ammani Arabic. There are 28 consonants in Standard Arabic in nine places of articulation, while there are 31 in Ammani Arabic, four of which are non-classical. See tables (2) and (3) below.

Note that Classical Arabic in the table below is the same language I refer to as Standard Arabic. Some linguists find the term “Classical” to be problematic as it implies that language is old and no longer in use.

Table (2) Consonantal phonemic inventory for eighth-century CE Classical Arabic

	Labial	Labio dental	Inter dental	Dental alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Plosive	b			t/d	ḍẓ	k	q		ʔ
(emphatic)				tʼ					
Fricative		f	θ/ð	s/z			χ/ʁ	ħ/ʕ	h
(emphatic)			ðʼ	sʼ					
Nasal	m			n					
Lateral				l					
(emphatic)				ɭ					
Tap				r					
Glide					j	w			

Note: The classical Arab grammarians included alif (/ā/) to give twenty-nine phonemes (Sibawayh 1982: 431; Al-Nassir 1993: 11).

Taken from Watson (2007: 13).

Table (3) Consonantal phonemic inventory of Ammani Arabic

	Labial	Labio dental	Dental	Inter dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Plosive	b		t/d				k/g			ʔ
(emphatic)			tʰ/dʰ							
Fricative		f		θ/ð	s/z	ʃ/ʒ		χ/ʁ	ħ/ʕ	h
(emphatic)				ðʰ	sʰ/ (zʰ)					
Affricate						ɟʒ				
Nasal	m		n							
Lateral					l					
(emphatic)					ɭ					
Tap					r					
Glide	w						j			

Taken from Al-Wer (2011: 3-4).

Phoneme between brackets is my addition as it exists in my sample.

The plain and emphatic interdentals are in a state of variability in Ammani speech due to the Jordanian - Palestinian dialect contact. The emphatic interdentals are a Jordanian feature, while the plain ones are an urban Palestinian feature.

There is a good amount of overlap when it comes to comparing the phonemic inventories of different Jordanian and Palestinian dialects to one another. However, in the process of forming the Ammani dialect, the competing features are fighting for a permanent place in the dialect. The main competing features are [g] versus [ʔ], interdentals versus stops or sibilants, and [dʒ] versus [ʒ]. All Jordanian dialects traditionally have [g], [θ], [ð], [ðˤ] and [dʒ]. Urban Palestinian dialects, on the other hand, have [ʔ], [t], [d], [dˤ], and the sibilant counterparts [s], [z] [zˤ] and [ʒ] just like other major dialects in the Levant. Al-Wer reported in previous research that the dialects spoken in the major Jordanian cities As-Sult, Ajloun, and Karak showed variation in the interdentals and [dʒ]. She argued that those features were already undergoing change (Al-Wer 1991). The speech of the third generation in Amman showed that those originally Palestinian features, [t], [d], [dˤ] (or the sibilants), [ʒ] and to a large extent [ʔ], became Ammani features, making the dialect of the city identical to other dialects found in Levantine cities in regards to the consonantal system. The main focus of this paper is on the speech of Western Amman. Older, traditional features can still be heard in parts of Eastern Amman. There is no ethnic split between the two rather slightly different values and ways of life, as Eastern Amman takes on a more traditional lifestyle than Western Amman does.

As mentioned in chapter one, Qaf variation is one of the main and most studied features found in Arabic dialects. In some cases, it is used to label dialects. Al-Wer and Herin write:

Thus, one finds labels such as ‘gilit’ dialects to refer to the Mesopotamian dialects which use the variant [g] traditionally (e.g. Muslim Baghdadi), ‘qeltu’ dialects to refer to those that use [q] (e.g. Christian & Jewish Baghdadi), and [ʔ] dialects (e.g. Jerusalem) and [k] dialects (e.g. rural central/northern West Bank Palestinian) to refer to dialects that use [ʔ] and [k] respectively (Al-Wer & Herin 2011: 60).

However, what makes the Qaf variation in Amman stand out is its social reallocation. The new-found social function of this variation will be further discussed and investigated in the upcoming chapters.

2.4.2 Vowels

Moving on to vowels, the Standard Arabic vowel inventory consists of three short vowels: /a/, /i/, /u/ and their long counterparts: /a:/, /i:/, /u:/, in addition to two diphthongs: /aj/ and /aw/. See tables (4) and (5) below.

Table (4) Vowel inventory of Standard Arabic

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
i	u	ī	ū
a		ā	

Table (5) Vowel inventory of Ammani Arabic (Al-Wer 2011: 4)

Short Vowels		Long Vowels	
i	u	ī	ū
	(o)	ē	ō
a		ā	

In Ammani Arabic the vowels /e:/ and /o:/ sometimes replace the Standard Arabic diphthongs. The diphthongs are maintained only if followed by a glide, like in [majjɪl] ‘drop by’. See table (6) below.

Table (6) Comparison between SA and AA diphthongs

Standard Arabic	Ammani Arabic	gloss
bajt	be:t	‘house’
sʕawt	sʕo:tʕ	‘sound’

Standard Arabic /u/ is realized as [ʊ] or [ə], or lower in Ammani Arabic, for example Standard Arabic [ru:h] ‘spirit’ would be realized as [rə:h] in Ammani Arabic. However, a contrast between Standard Arabic [o] and Ammani Arabic [ʊ] can be found in some cases. Consider the example of [ʔāmo] ‘he removed it’ versus [ʔāmʊ] ‘they removed it’. [o] is used for third person singular masculine while [ʊ] is used for third person plural (Al-Wer 2011). This

grammatical contrast is found word-finally. Another contrast can be found on the lexeme level. [ru:h] means ‘spirit’ in Standard Arabic and means ‘2S.M-go’ in Ammani Arabic.

While the Ammani dialect leans more towards [u], neighboring Levantine dialects, including Jerusalem, use [ɪ]. For example, [ʔumm] versus [ʔɪmm] ‘mother’. However, this contrast can produce minimal pairs in Ammani Arabic in some cases. Consider [ħubb] ‘love. N’ and [ħɪbb] ‘love. V’ which are both in Ammani.

The Standard Arabic vowel /a/ in the Ammani dialect can range from back [ɑ] to front [æ]. However, it is realized as [e] in the speech of first generations who are from Palestinian origins. You would hear those speakers say [ʕamma:n], [ʕammæ:n], [ʕammɛ:n], or [ʕamme:n] ‘Amman’. In the speech of younger generations, this variation was levelled out and we almost only hear [æ] or [a]. The only case in which we hear the realization [ɛ] for Standard Arabic /a/ is word-finally in words like [ħɪlwɛ] ‘beautiful’. However, an exception is made if the preceding sounds are either velar, pharyngeal, or emphatic. Consider [bɪʕa] ‘ugly’.

The next two sections of this literature review will cover previous work done on the two types of variation in Ammani speech we are concerned with in this paper: Qaf variation and code-switching.

2.4.3 Qaf variation in Western Amman

Labov (1964) introduced and developed the concept of *linguistic variable* as the major linguistic unit by which the sociolinguistic structure of a language can be studied and measured (Suleiman 1985: 17). Linguistic variants, phonological, syntactic, or semantic, in a given language/dialect variety fall into specific patterns and do not occur randomly (see Ervin-Tripp 1964; Ferguson 1959; Gumperz 1967; Labov 1964, 1965, 1966, Suleiman 1985).

Qaf as a variable is one of the most studied sociolinguistic variables in Arabic, as it has many social connotations attached to the use of each of its variables. This study will investigate /q/ variation in Amman, as Standard Arabic /q/ can be realized as [ʔ], [g], [q], or [k] in Jordan. Our knowledge of how the change happened from form [g] to the other varieties in Jordanian dialects has many gaps (Al-Wer and Herin 2011: 59). Some try to fill these gaps by using Labov's evaluation-problem discussion and resorting to notions such as prestige and stigma while failing to investigate the factors that played a role in the emergence of those social factors that motivated the change. Weinreich et al argued that the level of social awareness is a major property of linguistic change (1968: 186). Stereotypes in Amman associated with the use of each variant started to emerge (Al-Wer and Herin 2011: 60), which proves that there is, in fact, a level of social awareness when it comes to Qaf use.

Al-Wer and Herin stated that it is more difficult to analyze social factors and conditions after a change has already taken place. They gave the example of the Nabulsi dialect, as there is little to no analysis of the change from [q] to [ʔ] that took place since the change is in an advanced stage in the direction of [ʔ] (2011: 59).

Qaf variation is still affecting a number of dialects in the Levant, mainly the Ammani dialect. It is evident that the variant [g] is yielding to [ʔ], which is perceived to be the target, more prestigious variant. The earliest record available of the linguistic features of the dialects spoken east of the river Jordan is Bergsträsser (1915), and with respect to Qaf, the whole region was designated as a [g] speaking region.

While [g] is a feature that belongs to Jordanian indigenous dialects, the Palestinian dialects share the [ʔ] feature with other major dialects in the Levant region as a whole, such as

dialects of Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo and Jerusalem. In this sense, [ʔ] can be considered to be a supra-local variant. The notions supra-local versus localized features were first introduced by Milroy et al. (1994). Supra-localization refers to the process in which a linguistic variant becomes more widely adopted at the expense of a locally-specific form due to dialect contact (Britain 2010). The variant [g] is a characteristic of less dominant, more provincial dialects. In the Levant region, [g] is considered to be a localized feature. In Arabic dialectology [g] is commonly referred to as a Bedouin feature. It is important to stress here that while designations such as ‘Bedouin’ and ‘sedentary’ may be appropriate for a general classification of Arabic dialects, they are superficial and can be misleading in sociolinguistics since they carry no explanatory value. Note that while the variant [g] is localized in the Levant and Egypt, it is supra-local in the Gulf region, which explains its marginal status in the former region but dominance in the latter.

A study conducted by Al-Wer (1991) on a number of speakers including 117 women covering an age range of 18-90 revealed that, roughly speaking, Qaf emerged as a variable among the native speakers of Jordanian dialects in the provincial towns only during the late 1970s, and its use in 1987 was confined to a few individuals in the location nearest to Amman (As-Sult). Al-Wer (1991) found that the distance from Amman showed a correlation with the absence or presence of [ʔ]. That finding indicates that Amman is probably where this innovation started. The variation was also only found in the speech of women, which strongly suggests that the use of the glottal stop in the provincial towns was an innovation introduced by the female speakers (Al-Wer & Herin 2011: 63).

Al-Wer (2007) discussed those new social functions of [g] versus [ʔ]. The initial [g] versus [ʔ] distribution was at first regionally governed: Jordanian speakers used [g] while urban

Palestinian speakers used [ʔ]. In the second generation, the competing features became gender-bound: female speakers used [ʔ] and male speakers used [g]. It is in the speech of the third generation where the social meaning behind the variation expands. The third generation maintained the gender association they inherited from the second generation, but new social patterns started to form, especially with male speakers. Female speakers kept using [ʔ], irrespective of their origin. The linguistic behavior of male speakers, on the other hand, set a range of new meanings related to this variation; their choice now is determined by the social context. Al-Wer (2007) stated that Jordanian boys were the speakers who used [g] the most; however, in some cases, when talking to girls, for example, they would use [ʔ]. On the other hand, Palestinian boys would use [ʔ] at home, when talking to close Palestinian friends, and when talking to girls. However, they would use [g] when talking to other Jordanian boys.

Moreover, the use of [g] in ‘fights’ and conflicts is highly meaningful as [g] symbolizes ‘macho’ characteristics in Amman. Al-Wer interviewed a number of boys who claimed that a boy who uses [ʔ] in fights is *tʕantʕ* (from French *tante*) ‘aunt’ (Al-Wer 2007). It is a way of saying that this boy is not tough or is ‘a girl’. What is interesting is that the boys interviewed by Al-Wer are not claiming that a boy who uses [ʔ] in his everyday speech is not masculine, but those who cannot make the situational switch to [g] in fights and conflicts are. Al-Wer (2007) also found that girls share the same expectations. Although they would rather be courted in [ʔ], they think a boy who uses the glottal in a fight is a *mahzale* ‘mockery’.

Al-Wer (2007) also found an association between [g] and political influence. She reported that the boys in her sample who come from families where their fathers served as cabinet ministers use [g] across the board, even when interacting with girls. The variant [g] gained a social value; it is old fashioned but attractive by association with influential positions.

This variation has spread to more locations in the country, which indicates that a change from [g] to [ʔ] may be in progress. In fact, the change to completion can be seen in the speech of females in Amman and is spreading to other cities. The youngest speaker in Al-Wer's sample grew up in As-Sult in a [g] speaking environment but used [ʔ] consistently with no variation (Al-Wer 2007). Al-Wer and Herin (2011) argued that a change from [g] to [ʔ] may be in progress as the [g] ~ [ʔ] variation is spreading to more locations in the country and is increasing in the speech of different social groups within a single speech community.

Abdel-Jawad (1981) investigated [k] as a variant of /q/. This realization is found in the rural dialects of Palestine (Jinin, Qalqilya, etc.). I am not investigating this variant in the speech of Western Amman since the use of it is rapidly decreasing, as its speakers are abandoning it in favor of [g] or [ʔ]. This leaves us with three variants for this study: [q], [g] and [ʔ].

It is also important to discuss instances in which [q] is not considered to be a variable of Standard Arabic /q/. Al-Wer and Herin (2011) give the example of the dialect of Damascus where the glottal stop [ʔ] is the normal realization and the use of [q] is restricted to lexical items borrowed from Standard Arabic in semi-casual/formal speech. In such cases, we cannot claim that [q] is a variant of the same phoneme, since there is no systematic variation (unlike most dialects of Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and parts of Yemen and Oman where /q/ is part of the vernacular dialect). Haeri (1997) also studied the distribution of [q] in the dialect of Cairo and found that the occurrences of [q] in her sample are governed by lexical choice as well - mainly lexical borrowings from Standard Arabic. She argues that the occurrence of [q] in the dialect should not be perceived as 'restoration' of Standard Arabic /q/.

Al-Tamimi argues that the use of [q] as a variable among Ammanis spread through education. Education in Amman was crucial for associating [q] with formal semantic domains and topics that require borrowing lexical items from Standard Arabic due to its formal nature (Al-Tamimi 2001: 76).

Al-Wer and Herin (2011) argue that the situation in Amman contrasts with the situation in Damascus. While the use of the variable [q] is governed by lexical choices in both dialects, /q/ in Ammani Arabic is a variable that can occur in the same lexical item as its variants [ʔ] and [g] based on the speaker's background. I, on the other hand, argue that the case of Amman is a mixture of both, as we can find variation in a single lexical item, but at the same time there are borrowings from Standard Arabic that form a [q] word class, which functions as a parallel system within the dialect.

2.4.4 Arabic-English code-switching in Western Amman

Gumperz defines code-switching as a "...juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (1982: 59). Weinreich (1953) stated that in the early 50s, code-switching was perceived to be sub-standard and an indication that the speaker lacked good education. This attitude changed throughout the years and code-switching is now seen as a natural behavior among multilingual speakers (Brice and Brice 2009).

In his early work, Gumperz (1967) divided code-switching into situational and metaphorical switching based on the factors that motivate the switch. Later on, he added conversational code-switching in Gumperz (1982). Metaphorical code-switching occurs when the topical emphasis changes, while a situational switch is triggered by a change in participants

or strategies (Hymes & Gumperz 1972: 409). Both previously mentioned switches require a conscious decision by the speaker. Conversational code-switching, on the other hand, occurs subconsciously when the speaker is faced with factors that motivate the switch within the conversation.

Gumperz (1982) also proposed a number of functions that code-switching fulfills. Some of those functions are: interjection, mainly used when a speaker wants to better express himself and can also be used as a filler; reiteration, when a speaker repeats his message literally or in a somewhat modified form for clarification; message qualification, when a different code is used in order to clarify the message; and personification and objectification, which is a switch that reflects the speaker's opinion depending on the context.

Although some scholars use the terms code-switching and code-mixing interchangeably, others managed to draw lines that distinguish between the two. It is argued that the act of changing languages is called code-switching when the two codes retain their monolingual characteristics; whereas, code-mixing is when the two are being somewhat combined (Hmeadat 2016). Both code-switching and code-mixing often coexist in a single discourse and overlap in some instances; thus, creating confusion when trying to parse the two out. Another distinction made between code-switching and code-mixing is on the sentence level. Sridhar and Sridhar (1980) and Bokamba (1988) reserved code-switching for changes that go beyond sentences, while code-mixing is the alternation that happens within a sentence.

Meisel (1989), on the other hand, referred to the blending of two grammatical systems as code-mixing, and code-switching as a pragmatic skill that allows speakers to select the language according to topic and context (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 12-13). Hoffmann found a correlation

between age and code-switching/ code-mixing; she noticed that mixing can be found more frequently in the speech of young bilinguals. Meanwhile, switching appears to be more frequent in the case of older speakers (Hoffmann 1991: 75). In this present study, the term *code-switching* will be used to refer to both ‘mixing’ and ‘switching’.

Myers-Scotton (1993) introduced the terms *matrix* language and *embedded* language. The matrix language is the most dominant language used in a given utterance while the embedded language is the language that has the lesser role. For example, when two native Jordanian speakers have a conversation in Ammani Arabic and switch to English, Ammani Arabic is considered to be the matrix language while English is the embedded language.

Scholars, such as Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Mustafa and Al-Khatib (1994), and Bautista (2004) have argued that the main reason speakers code-switch is in order to convey their messages in the easiest way with the least effort. Other reasons like socio-cultural authenticity, emphasis, and the excluding or including of people from a conversation were also considered.

When discussing code-switching, it is also important to consider the difference between code-switching and borrowing. Di Pietro defined code-switching as the ‘use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act’ (1978: 275). Borrowing, on the other hand, is defined as a ‘conventional term for the introduction into language [a] of specific words, constructions, or morphological elements of language [b]’ (Matthews 2007: 43).

Both linguistic phenomena, code-switching and borrowing, are results of language contact; however, the difference lies in the speaker’s awareness (Gumperz 1982). When a speaker is code-switching, he is fully aware of his use of two languages, and the speaker is making a conscious choice to utter this exact word or phrase in that specific language. Using

borrowed words, on the other hand, can go unnoticed by the speaker. It is also important to note that when a word is borrowed, it is phonetically adapted to the pronunciation of the host language and usually speakers are not aware that it is a borrowed word. For example, a monolingual Jordanian Arabic speaker might use the word [sandwi:ʃe] ‘sandwich’, which is adapted phonetically to the Arabic pronunciation, without having the slightest idea that the word was borrowed from English. However, when an Arabic-English bilingual speaker says ‘thank you’, the speaker is aware that the expression he used is English (Abu Mathkour 2004).

Arabic-English code-switching in the speech of Western Ammanis is another type of language variation in the city. English is perceived by Jordanians, and the rest of the world, as a global language that facilitates communication worldwide. Knowing English means better job opportunities since it is used in different domains like media, school, and the government. A great example of this would be the establishment of King Hussein Business Park in Amman. This business complex was established to provide growth and development for local, regional and international businesses. The complex has over 50 international companies such as Microsoft, Samsung, USAID, Aramex, Cisco, MasterCard and many more. Establishing this business complex provided hundreds of jobs for Jordanians, and the common qualification that is found among all job listings is *fluency in English*. English also has a certain prestige in Amman; thus, teaching English at school is emphasized by the Jordanian government and Ministry of Education. A curriculum for English as a Foreign Language was developed in 2005 for grades one to twelve. A document was also drafted that stated the skills students are expected to acquire in each grade (Hmeadat 2016).

The increasing knowledge of English among Jordanian speakers, especially those who live in Western Amman, made Arabic-English code-switching more common. A number of

studies have been conducted on this linguistic phenomenon. Some of the scholars who studied code-switching in Jordanian contexts are Bader (1995), Hleihil (2001), and Abu Mathkour (2004).

Bader (1995) and Hleihil (2001) wanted to study the factors that trigger Jordanians to code-switch, especially the frequency of code-switching among the speakers. The main factors that Bader found to play an important role in code-switching were region, education, age, and gender, with education being the most significant factor (Bader 1995). When he investigated the reasons why Jordanians code-switch, Bader (1995) found that need and prestige are the main reasons. Hleihil also investigated the reasons to why Jordanians code-switch and found that “the easiness of the English terms in the absence of Arabic equivalents” was a common reason as well (Hleihil 2001:70).

Abu Mathkour (2004) conducted a study that investigates code-switching among Jordanian speakers. His study was based on data gathered from six hours of tape-recorded programs that aired on Jordan television JTV. His sample consisted of 33 Jordanian speakers- 15 males and 18 females. He found 82 instances of code switching, 47 of which were found in female speech. The speakers were artists, doctors, hairdressers, designers, drivers, musicians, tailors, etc. From the data, Abu Mathkour wanted to study the functions of code-switching proposed by Gumperz (1982) and how frequently they occur based on gender and profession.

In the code-switching portion of this paper, I will look at the frequency of code-switching in the recordings I have and investigate the different functions they fulfill. I will then compare the frequency of each function used and its correlation to gender.

2.5 Conducting sociolinguistic research: sociolinguistic variation

The interaction of social and linguistic phenomena is in the heart of sociolinguistic research.

Labov was the first linguist to include social and stylistic variation in language description. The study of sociolinguistic variation emerged in the 1960s as an approach to studying dialectology.

Labov is an American linguist who was the first to develop the study of variationist sociolinguistics. His study of dialect patterns on the Lower East Side of New York City is considered to be a breakthrough. In his study, he demonstrated that linguistic variation correlates with social class, ethnicity, etc. Labov used a systematic quantitative approach in which he relied on recording informal conversations as a data collection tool. Labov (1996) emphasized the importance of data collection when studying sociolinguistics because it is the way to fully grasp people's language use rather than relying on intuition as a source of information. This quantitative approach helped uncover linguistic behavioral patterns that were not seen previously.

Dialectologists in the 19th century were concerned with studying regional variation in language such as variation in the lexicon, grammatical constructions or even differences in pronunciation (Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 18-23). Dialectologists in the 20th century shifted their focus from a diachronic to a synchronic approach in studying language variation. The aim became to study lexical or phonological variation within the same variety of language/dialect. One of the challenges such studies present is investigating linguistic features that are still undergoing change. In the past, linguists were only able to study completed changes. This was true until Labov developed his method of quantitative comparison of speakers belonging to several generations. This approach helped reveal the intermediate stages of linguistic change.

Labov's research paradigm for studying language variation and change relies heavily on the observation of language use. Variationist research is concerned with revealing speaker patterns when using a linguistic variable. The best way to go about this is by using the quantitative method, as it shows how frequent one form appears in speech versus the competing form.

Labov proposed the following process (Cornips & Gregersen 2016):

- Choose a sample of speakers and record them under somewhat controlled conditions.
- Conduct a systematic analysis of the data.
- Identify the tokens to be studied. Labov gives the example of a syntactic variant, the copula BE.⁴ He first identifies the total number of occurrences and potential occurrences - ranging between 0 and 100 percent in the variable environments (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968: 70).
- The final step is to use the results to identify social factors in that environment that affect the distribution of the variants.

The first step in the process mentioned above refers to the sociolinguistic interview Labov developed. The sociolinguistic interview is considered to be the foundation of sociolinguistic research. The goal of the interview is to elicit data in different contexts starting with the informal portion of the interview to elicit the vernacular. The formality of the interview

⁴ See Labov (1969: 717) for the examples.

is then elevated to elicit the formal or standard language. This technique has been utilized in sociolinguistic research (Holmes et. al 1991).

Linguistic theory has, as one of its goal, the task of accounting for the capabilities people have using language. In the area of choice and optionality, it is important to decide just how much capability speakers have as far as influence on variability is concerned. Language users tend to make their choice on the basis of familiarity and proficiency. Linguistically speaking, these factors draw heavily on the speaker's mastery of phonology, morphosyntax, and the lexicon.

Weinreich et al (1968) argued that dialect variation is governed by ‘orderly heterogeneity’ and is not random. It is often noticed that this structured variation consists of regularly-occurring patterns that correlate with social structures. Labov’s aim when he developed this method of investigating language was to show how language changes spread in a society. He wanted to prove that linguistic change is led by specific social groups- usually the upper working class.

With that, I conclude the literature review portion of this paper, where I covered the key ideas that will be discussed in the data analysis section.

3. Methodology

When dealing with human subjects, researchers are obliged to follow guidelines set by research ethics committees to ensure that the data is being collected in a way that does not harm the participants. The researcher obtained the research ethics committee’s approval before starting the data collection process.

For this study, 20 native Ammani speakers from Western Amman were recorded. The aim of the recordings is to collect multiple examples of the linguistic variable *Qaf* to see how this phoneme is realized in the speech of different speakers. The differences in speech between different speakers, in this case, is quantitative rather than qualitative, as they are not using different dialects but using different variants that exist in the same dialect. These quantitative differences can be very obvious to the speakers, and often using a certain variable can associate the speaker with a certain social group. Thus, quantitative differences can be key to understanding social information about a certain society and vice versa.

From the recordings, I also investigated English-Arabic code-switching in Ammani Arabic spoken in Western Amman and its frequency based on gender. I also studied the different functions code-switching fulfills in a given context.

3.1 Sample and data collection

20 people were interviewed: 10 men and 10 women. The sample consisted of millennials between the ages of 22 and 32⁵ who live in Western Amman. This sample was chosen because Western Amman has played a significant role in dialect innovation due to socio-economic factors. Residents of Western Amman are looked at as the trendsetters and the representatives of modern lifestyle. Another reason dialect innovation is found there is because of social ties. In Eastern Amman, family ties are stronger and the social networks are denser. As a result, dialect preservation is more common and there is less room for innovation. The case is different in Western Amman where it is more common for friends to spend time with each other than they do

⁵See Appendix B for the specific ages.

with family. There are more places to go (malls, cinemas, cafes, pubs, restaurants, etc.) and spend time with friends. The result of this constant contact (keeping in mind that the people of Amman come from various backgrounds) is dialectical innovation. For those reasons, residents of Western Amman were chosen for the sample.

Because the researcher currently lives in Canada, a volunteer was asked to recruit participants for the sample. For all 20 recordings, the participants were asked to tell a story about themselves or discuss a topic of their choosing while the volunteer recorded them. The stories were between 5 and 7 minutes long and were recorded in a relaxed social setting to ensure natural speech. The volunteer knows the participants on a personal level and sees them regularly. Some of the interviews were recorded during lunch breaks at the company she works for, while others were conducted during social visits. She asked if they would be interested in participating in this study, and those who were, sat down with her and talked about their interests, jobs, etc. I asked the volunteer to recruit participants that I do not know in order to remain objective in my analysis.

The sample consists of ten female speakers and ten male speakers. Five of the female speakers are originally Jordanian while the other five are Palestinian. Three of the men are Palestinian and three Jordanian. Two of the male speakers (a pair of twins) come from a mixed background (the father is Palestinian and the mother is Jordanian). The last two speakers were Circassian and Syrian, respectively. The Syrian speaker was born and raised in Amman; his family was one of the families that settled in the city in the 1930s. The sample has its limitations and is open to criticism, as one or two speakers are not enough to represent a whole group of speakers.

4. Data analysis and discussion

4.1 Qaf variation

Based on the data gathered from 20 speakers in the capital city of Amman - particularly Western Amman, I investigated Qaf variation among the speakers according to a few social factors - origin, gender, and age. The question I addressed is whether a change from the traditional Jordanian [g] to the urban Palestinian [ʔ] is taking place in the city and on its way to completion - a prediction Al-Wer made in 2007. I also investigated the use of the variable [q] in the speech of Ammanis.

The analysis of the findings in this chapter will be divided into two sections discussing the speech of each gender separately and conclude with a *Final remarks* section where I compare the speech analysis of both genders.

4.1.1 Female Speech

The female sample consisted of 5 Palestinian and 5 Jordanian speakers. All 10 recordings included 133 tokens⁶ of Qaf. The women used [ʔ] predominantly (103/133 tokens), while the other 30 tokens were [q]. None of the female speakers used [g]. See table (7) below.

⁶ See Appendix C and D for the words.

Table (7) The occurrence of /q/ variables in the speech of females

	Palestinian					Jordanian				
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7 ⁷	F8	F9	F10
Age	26	32	26	24	24	25	28	25	22	23
[ʔ]	10	9	2	15	10	8	3	9	14	23
[q]	3	2	2	2	10	1	3	5	2	0
[g]	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

The data is consistent with Al-Wer's findings, as it shows that women show no [g] ~ [ʔ] variation (Al-Wer and Herin 2011). However, our focus for this section will be on the female speakers' use of [q].

The 30 tokens of [q] appeared in words that seem to be semi-formal and are used in semi-formal domains like when talking about one's job, for instance. The use of [q] in the dialect of Amman indicates some knowledge of Standard Arabic and represents the speech of educated speakers, since it has to be learned. Speaker 5 recorded the highest use of [q], as she kept alternating between Ammani Arabic and Standard Arabic.

Based on the data I have gathered, I will divide the use of [q] into three main uses: semi-formal/formal semantic domains, [q] retention in borrowings from Standard Arabic, and [q] in proper nouns.

Because of diglossia in Jordan, the formal language (Standard Arabic) is always associated with formal settings and domains. Due to that association, it only makes sense that the

⁷The mother of speaker M7 is Circassian.

use of [q], a phoneme that is perceived as a representative of the Standard language, be also associated with those domains. One of the recurring formal semantic domains I came across in my data was ‘work’. Both male and female speakers used [q] in words like: *ʔestiqɑ:liti*: ‘my resignation’, *mowa:fəqɑ* ‘approval’, *moqɑ:wla:t* ‘contracting’ as in ‘contracting company’, and *ʕəla:qɑ:t* ‘relations’ as in ‘public relations’ when talking about their jobs. I will now go over [q] occurrences in the female speech that I believe fall under the first use: semi-formal/formal semantic domains.

Speaker F8 was talking about her day-to-day life, and her job came up. She said that the company she works for is hiring, and mentioned the interviews they conducted the previous day. The speaker started off by saying:

(1) [ka:n ʕin:a mba:rɪh Interviews *qɑ:bəlna*: na:sfi minhom ka:no kətəki:t]

‘We conducted interviews yesterday *we interviewed* people, some of which were very nice.’

The use of [q] in *qɑ:bəlna*: shows the association the speaker has between the Standard pronunciation and formal settings. Note that the word for ‘meeting someone for the first time in a social setting’ and ‘meeting with someone for a job interview’ is the same as in Ammani Arabic (Standard Arabic root: q-b-l). However, when talking about a social interaction, Ammani speakers would say [tʔa:bəlna:] or [tga:bəlna:] but when talking about a job interview, the SA [q] is used [qa:bəlna:].

The association speakers have between formal semantic domains and standard pronunciation is a result of diglossia. Standard Arabic is the high variety of the language and the one speakers read and write in. As a result, speakers, females and males alike (F1, F3, F8, M5,

M8), from all backgrounds use [q] for any words/derivations related to ‘reading’ *ʔəqrəʔ/bəqraʔ* because of the formal, elevated status they attach to reading and writing.

We will now shift our focus to the second use of [q], which is [q] retention in borrowings from Standard Arabic. Standard Arabic is seen by its speakers as a poetic, expressive language. Thus, speakers might resort to borrowing some words to better express themselves and get their ideas across. Another reason for borrowing, I found in my data, was a result of speakers paying close attention to their language. There were instances in which speakers wanted to sound more formal or reduce their code-switching to English. Labov (1969) argues that when speakers pay attention to their language, they result in using a more formal form of the language. More examples on this will be discussed further.

Our first example of Standard Arabic borrowing is found in the speech of speaker F2. She was talking about her career shift from graphic design to management. She spoke fondly about graphic design and how it was an outlet for her creativity. However, she left that field of work because she felt restricted by the companies she worked for. She says:

(2) [ma: bjəʃtʰo ʔɪl dɪˈzainər ɦor: i:to bɪstəχdɪmo æz ə tul w how:ɛ ma: *bɪʔdər* jʃtʰi: kol *qodra:to*]

‘they don’t give the designer his freedom (of creation), instead, they use him as a tool and he *can*’t give it all he is *capable* of.’

Arabic expresses the concept of *capability* using the root *q-d-r* in addition to the appropriate affixes for tense and person. For example, ‘he can’ would be *jəqdɪr* in Standard Arabic. Note how the speaker above used [q] for *qodra:to* ‘capabilities’, but used [ʔ] for *bɪʔdər*

‘he can’. In fact, all female speakers in this sample used [ʔ] to express PN+can. See table (8) below.

Table (8) Examples of PN+can from the collected data

Speaker	Word	Morpheme breakdown	Gloss
F1	bəʔdar	FUT.3.S.M-can	‘he can’
F2	brʔdar	FUT.3.S.M-can	‘he can’
F4	tɪʔdar	3.PL-can	‘they can’ ⁸
F5	brʔdaro bəʔdar	FUT-can-3.PL FUT.3.S.M-can	‘they can’ ‘he can’
F6	ʔəʔdar bəʔdar	FUT.1.S-can FUT.3.S.M-can	‘I can’ ‘he can’
F9	jiʔdar	FUT.3.S-can	‘he will be able to’
F10	brʔdar ʔəʔdar	FUT.3.S.M-can FUT.1.S-can	‘he can’ ‘I can’

Also note that the male speakers in this sample showed the same patterns as female speakers. They used either [ʔ] or [g] to express PN+can (4 [ʔ] and 4 [g]) with the exception of when one speaker who used [q] to say [qa:dɪr] ‘he is capable’. It is evident that when Ammani speakers want to say ‘capable’ they use the Standard Arabic form and retain the [q]. However, when they want to say PN+can they use the vernacular realizations of /q/.

F2 speaker shows another example of Standard Arabic borrowing when she uses the word [rəwnaq] ‘beauty’ to describe art. There is a common consensus among Arabic speakers

⁸ [tɪʔdar] is usually used for a singular female ‘she can’. However, in this case it is being used to refer to a group of people. The speaker said [ʔɪn na:s tɪʔdar tʃa:lɪʒ] ‘people can heal’.

that the Standard Arabic language is beautiful and poetic. That attitude is what drives the speakers to use Standard Arabic to express *beauty* in a poetic way. That is also why speakers in Amman use the variable [q] in the word ‘music’ *mo:si:qa*. Speaker F4 was talking about music as a kind of therapy. She said:

(3) [tɪɖdar tʃa:lɪz na:s ʕən tʃəri:ʔ mo:si:qa bɪʕzɪfo:ha ləjʃa:lzo: ʔɪktɪʔa:bhom]

‘can treat people using *music* they play to treat depression.’

The other token of [q] in the speech of F4 was uttered at the beginning of the recording. It is because of her attempt to avoid speaking in English. The speaker chose to talk about the difference between *goal* and *purpose*. My guess is that she learned about that topic from English sources. She started by saying:

(4) [bəħa:wɪlqədr ʔɪl-ʔɪmkɑ:n ma: ʔəħki: bɪl ʔɪngli:zi:]

‘I will try *as much as* possible not to speak in English.’

It is important to note that both parts of the phrase *qədr ʔɪl-ʔɪmkɑ:n* ‘as much as possible’ are in Standard Arabic. It is actually very unlikely for a speaker to say half of that phrase in Standard Arabic and the other half in Ammani Arabic. Labov argues that speakers are more likely to use the standard form of the language when paying closer attention to their speech. This was one of the theories he tested in the New York City study he conducted in 1969.

Speaker F5 started the first sentence of the recording using Standard Arabic, as she felt there was a sense of formality to the topic she was discussing. After a few sentences, we see that the formal use of the language starts to decrease in favour of the vernacular. The speaker could

not maintain that level of standard use and switched completely to the vernacular. As a result of the mixing, a heavy use of [q] in this speaker's speech is found. A discrepancy is found in the use of /q/ in the Standard Arabic word *mantʕiqā* 'place'. See the two sentences below; (5) was said at the beginning of the recording, while (6) was said towards the end.

(5) [ʔɪl-ʔordon hɪja mantʕiqatoʕtəbar bɪl ʃarq ʔɪl-ʔawsʕatʕ]

'Jordan is a *place* in the Middle East considered to be.'

(6) [ləʔɪno ləmma tʃo:f mənə:tʕɪʔ zəjhek]

'because when you see *places* like that.'

Note that the entire first sentence (5) is in Standard Arabic while (6) is in Ammani.

Speaker F5 moved on to talk about why Jordan is a great place to visit. She said:

(7) [moʕzʕəm ʔɪl na:s ʕærfi:nha bɪl bəħr ʔɪl məj:ɪt w bɪl pʰɪtra: wɪl:i hɪj:ɛ mɪn ʕəʒa:ʔɪb ʔɪl donja ʔs sabʕ wɪl bəħr ʔɪl məj:ɪt ʕəʕən:o ʔəʕfədʕ noqtʕa bɪl ʕəlam]

'most people know it (Jordan) by the Dead Sea and Petra which is one of the Seven Wonders of the World and the Dead Sea which is the *lowest* point on earth.'

The two phrases in italics are in Standard Arabic. The speaker's choice to utter those two phrases in Standard Arabic is due to learning about them through formal education (Petra being one of the 7 Wonders and the Dead Sea being the lowest point on earth). As a result, those two phrases have become fossilized in the speech of Ammanis, as there is no other familiar way of saying them.

The speaker also talked about one of her favorite places, Wadi Rum. The phrase *bit^əa:qə rəwħa:nij:ε* ‘spiritual energy’ is a somewhat formal phrase that was used in this context to paint a beautiful, poetic image in the listener's mind. See example (8) below.

(8) [wa:di rʌm min ʔəʒmal ʔil ʔəma:kɪn biħis *bit^əa:qə rəwħa:nij:ε* w ʔer ʕən ʔoro:b ʔil ʃams w *ʃoro:q* ʔil ʃams]

‘Wadi Rum is one of the most beautiful places where you can experience spiritual *energy* other than the sunset and *sunrise*.’

Another example of [q] retention is that Standard Arabic borrowings can be found in speaker F6’s speech. She was talking about how busy her life is now that she is a new, working mother. She was discussing how she does not have time for the little things such as cooking. She said:

(9) [jʕni: kont *mitwaq^ɕ:ə* ʔm:i ʔəʔdar ʔələħ:iʔ ha:j ʔil ʔəʃja:ʔ bəs laʔ mɪʃ ʕəm bəʔdar kti:r]

‘I mean *I thought* I would have time for those things but apparently no, I don’t.’

The last two tokens of [q] I will discuss here were used because they are part of a proper noun. The first instance was in *Barqɪʃ* ‘name of a forest in Jordan’ when Speaker F5 was talking about her favorite places to go hiking. The other token was uttered by speaker F7. She was explaining that her accent is a bit heavier than other Jordanians because her mother is Circassian and they use a different language (Adyghe) at home. However, people assume that she is Iraqi. She said:

(10) [ʔəna trəbet ʔəktar məs ʔil ʃərkas fə məħa:rɪʒ ʔil ħoro:f ʕindi: ʔətʔal . na:s kti:r bəs jɪsməʕo:ni biħko ʔm:o ʔəna ʕindi: ‘bæk, graʊnd *ʕira:qij:ε*]

‘I grew up with the Circassians so my pronunciation is a bit heavier. A lot of people say I have an *Iraqi* background when they hear me talk.’

With this, I conclude the discussion of Qaf variation in the female speech. The next section will investigate the variation in the male speech.

4.1.2 Male speech

Now we shift our focus to the male speech in this sample. In the men’s speech, there were 125 tokens of Qaf: 52 were [q] while 44 were [g] and 29 were [ʔ]. See table (9) below.

Table (9) The occurrence of /q/ variables in the speech of males

	Palestinian			Jordanian			Father: Palestinian Mother: Jordanian		Circassian	Syrian
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
Age	29	23	32	25	29	26	26	26	27	23
[ʔ]	0	8	3	0	1	0	6	5	0	6
[q]	2	1	0	2	6	7	6	11	16	1
[g]	2	0	0	3	10	19	5	2	3	0

The table above shows that Ammani men in Western Amman in this sample, especially those who are Palestinian or come from a mixed family, are moving away from the idea that [g] is more “manly” as the stigma surrounding the use of [ʔ] among men is declining. I will not focus on the words that had [g] since, although a change from [g] to [ʔ] might be taking place in the speech of men in Amman- especially those who are originally Palestinian- [g] is still considered the norm for male speech just like [ʔ] is the norm for female speakers. One of the three Palestinian speakers used [g] exclusively. That speaker went to Al-Balqa` Applied

University in As-Sult where the speech community maintained the use of the traditional Jordanian [g].

A study conducted by Al-Wer (1991) on the dialect of As-Sult showed that only 5 out of 40 speakers used [ʔ], all of which were women. Other research carried out by Al-Wer (1997) in As-Sult showed that young male speakers only used the local variant [g] and showed no variation. In her 1997 study, Al-Wer also investigated the interdental variation in the dialect of As-Sult and found that male speakers participated in that variation. This is an indication that the men in As-Sult participate in linguistic variation in general, and their refusal to participate in the /q/ variation is meaningful. Another study conducted on /q/ variation in As-Sult was done by Herin (2010).⁹ Again, Herin found no variation between [g] and [ʔ] in 15 hours of recordings. Al-Wer argues that this shows the ‘social constraints of ‘gender’ and ‘localness’ in the city (Al-Wer and Herin 2011: 64)

The studies mentioned above explain why among the Palestinian speakers, M1 was the only speaker to use [g] - as he was surrounded by speakers who only used [g]. However, more tokens need to be elicited in order to make a concrete conclusion.

The same speaker, M1, used two [q] tokens that both occurred in the same word. He was talking about his reasons for leaving company X to work for company Z. He said:

(11) [la:zɪm tko:ni mwa:kbe məʃ ʔɪʃ ʃɪrke ʔɪl qəwɪj:ɛ fa nəðʕrt ʔɪn:o X ka:nət qəwɪj:ɛ fə ʔɪntəɡalt ʕələha bəs tʕɪʃat məɡlab]

‘you have to keep up and be with (work for) the *strong*¹⁰ company so I found X to be the *strong* one so I left my old job to join them but it ended up being a mistake.’

⁹ Herin’s study (2010) was not confined to As-Sult and included a nearby town called Al-Fuheis.

¹⁰ ‘strong’ in this context means the better company or a company that shows promise.

The second Palestinian speaker used the token [q] once in the word *qism* ‘department’. The use of [q] in that word falls under the formal semantic domain ‘work’.

(12) [ʕəm baʃtaʕɪl 'ədət bɪ *qism* ʔɪl 'mɑrkətɪŋ]

‘I am working in audit in the marketing department.’

Speaker M4 used two tokens of [q] as he was talking about the different shops the company he works for is planning on opening. He said:

(13) [fətəħna: təla:tə ləhl:aʔ təla:t ʃʌps jəʕni təlat mətɑ:ʒɪr wɪl ɣotʕ:ə ʔɪl *mostəqbəlɪj:ɛ* lə nɪftəħ ʔəkθar]

‘we opened three stores so far and the *future* plan is to open more.’

The speaker here started by saying *təla:t ʃʌps* ‘three shops’. He then realized that he switched to English so he immediately said *təlat mətɑ:ʒɪr* ‘three shops’, substituting the English word ‘shops’ with the Standard Arabic word *mətɑ:ʒɪr*. This switch falls under the function of reiteration. Code-switching will be further discussed in section 4.2. This again shows that when speakers pay attention to their language, they end up using the more standard form. As a result, the following phrase *ɣotʕ:ə ʔɪl mostəqbəlɪj:ɛ* ‘future plan’ was uttered in Standard Arabic as well, thus, using the standard variable [q].

Speaker M5 used the token [q] 6 times, two of which were *bəqrəʔha* and *məqro:ʔ* which are ‘I read it’ and ‘readable’, respectively. This shows the formality associated with reading in Amman. In fact, just like all the female speakers used [q] to talk about reading, male speakers

showed the exact same pattern. Reading was mentioned three times by two different male speakers, and in all three words [q] was used.

Another token of [q] speaker M5 used was in *təqri:bən* which is equivalent to the use of ‘one might say’ in English. This is a filler word used by male speakers often in Amman. In fact, that word was used a total of 11 times by 4 speakers-- 10 of which were with a [q] while the other one was said with a [ʔ] by the Syrian speaker *təʔri:bən*.

The last token of [q] in the speech of M5 was in the word *ʔəqrab* ‘closer’. The speaker was intrigued by my study on the Ammani dialect and wanted to share his own thoughts about the way he speaks. He said:

(14) [bɪn:ɪsbɛ ləməwdʰo:ʕ ʔɪləhja:t həsa ʔəna bəʕtəbɪr ɦa:li ləhjetɪ: motəda:χɪle jəʕni mər:a:t bəɦki fosʰɦa ʕərəbij:ɛ fosʰɦa bɪzo:z bɪsəbab kutob bəqrəʔɦa: ʔəw ʔɪl moɦi:tʰ ʔɪl:i ɦəwələj: w mər:a:t bɪtko:n motəmədɪne w mər:a:t bɪtko:n ʔəqrab ʔɪla ʔɪlfəl:a:ɦɪj:a ʔəw ʔɪl:əhze ʔɪlʔordonɪj:ɛ ʔɪl gədi:me tʰbʕan ha:j ʔɪl ʔəʕja:ʔ bɪsəbab ʔɪl 'ɪn,fluənsəz ʔɪl ʔɪnsa:n bɪʕk:ɪl ʕəχsɪ:tʰo rəʔjo w kəla:mo mɪn ʔəqrab χəms ʔəʕχa:sʰ ʕələ]

‘in regards to the topic of dialects, now I consider my dialect to be a mix. Sometimes I speak Standard Arabic. Probably because of the books I read and some of the people in my life. However, I also have an urban dialect and in other times my dialect would be *closer* to the rural dialect or the traditional Jordanian dialect. That is due to different influences such as one’s personality, ideology, and also the way the five *closest* people to him talk.’

Notice how this speaker said that word once with a [q] and the other with the [g]. Note that the phrase [ʔɪla ʔɪlfəl:a:ɦɪj:a] that followed *ʔəqrab* is in Standard Arabic. What came before and after *ʔəqrab*, on the other hand, was in the vernacular.

Speaker M6 used the filler word *təqri:bən* the most (6 times). The other instance of [q] was in the word *biniqa:tʰ* ‘bullet points’. The speaker wanted to talk about a typical Friday in Amman. He said:

- (15) [rəh ʔəgolko ʔij:a:ha *biniqa:tʰ* ʕəʃwa:ʔij:ε jəʕni ʔer morət:əbe]
 ‘I will say it in *bullet points* randomly, I mean it will not be in order.’

The two phrases *biniqa:tʰ ʕəʃwa:ʔij:ε* and *ʔer morət:əbe* are in Standard Arabic. That was towards the beginning of the recording when the speaker wanted to show some level of formality. Shortly after, he switched to the vernacular completely and maintained it throughout the recording.

Speakers M7 and M8 are a set of twins who come from a mixed family (Palestinian father and a Jordanian mother from As-Sult). Right from the start, we see a lot of mixing between [g] and [ʔ]. Speaker M7 was talking about his job at a bank in Jordan as a contact agent. He said:

- (16) [ʔil kəl 'sentə ho biko:n ʕəli:na niḥki: ʕa:mo:d ʔil *fiqəri*: ta:ʕ ʔil bənk jəʕni: ho ʔil məwso:ʕa biʕraf kol ʔil məʕlo:ma:t ʕən ʔil bənk w *biʔdar* jiḥki: kol ʔil həki: ləl ʕəmi:l *bitʕəri:ga* sʕəhi:ha]

‘we can say that the call center is the bank’s *backbone* because it is like an encyclopedia that has all the information about the bank and *can* always deliver these pieces of information to the client in a proper *way*.’

His use of [q] in *ʕa:mo:d ʔil fiqəri*: ‘backbone’ is not surprising, as almost everyone in Ammani use the variant [q] for that phrase. We learn that term in school where teaching is in Standard Arabic. It is one of the Standard phrases that became fossilized in the vernacular. This

kind of mixing is frequent throughout the recording. Yet what I found to be even more interesting is another sentence he said towards the end of his recording that included the word ‘can’; however, instead of saying it with an [ʔ], he said it with a [g]. See the sentence below.

(17) [btɪhki w:al ʔədə ʔəna ʔɪnsa:n ʕəzʕi:m ʔɪno *gdɪrt* ʔəħɪl məʃa:kɪl na:s]

‘you would say, wow! *How* great I am that I *was able* to solve people’s problems.’

The other four tokens of [q] M7 used were in the words *dəqi:qa* ‘accurate’, *mow:əθəq:a* ‘documented’, and *qərdʕ* ‘loan’. The speaker was talking about his responsibilities as a contact agent working for a bank. Because of the formality of such situations, he used Standard Arabic words. I also think that was part of his training, which he would have received in Standard Arabic.

The last [q] token this speaker used was in the word *qərdʕ* ‘loan’. You would almost never hear anyone say *ʔərdʕ* or *gərdʕ* especially when a minimal pair exists. Take for example *ʔərdʕ* which means ‘earth’.

Speaker M8, M7’s twin brother, also used a mix of all variants. However, the most predominant variant was [q], as he talked about his job a lot. In fact 7 out of the 11 [q] tokens fall under the formal semantic domain ‘work’. He said that he worked for a company that did ‘financial and *real estate* investments’ [ʔɪstɪθmara:t malij:ɛ w ʕaqa:rɪj:ɛ]. Three of the six remaining tokens were *tədqi:q*, *modəqɪq*, and *bədəqɪq* which are different derivations that mean ‘auditing’. The other [q] tokens were in *korɪt ʔɪl qədam* ‘football’, *məna:tʕɪq* ‘places’, and *mosi:qɪj:ɛ* ‘musical’.

Like his brother, speaker M8 said the same word twice, each time with a different variant. He said:

- (18) [*ʔmtəʔalt* min ʔɪʃ ʃɪrkɛ ʔɪt ta:bɪʃa ləʃ ʃɪrkɛ ʔɪl ʔom w bəʃdi:ha ʔmtə*q*alt ʃəla ʃɪrkɛt X]
 ‘I *transferred* from the subsidiary to the parent company I then *transferred* to X company.’

I think this is the effect of being brought up in a mixed family where both forms exist.

Speaker M9 maintained a level of formality in his speech, as his entire recording was about his job. Two of the three [g] tokens were in the words *tɪgdar* and *nɪgdar* ‘you can’ and ‘we can’ respectively. However, just like Speaker F2, he wanted to say ‘capable’ he said *qɑ:dir*.

Speaker M10 used [ʔ] predominantly with the exception of one word, *ʔɪstəqalt* ‘I resigned’ as this word belongs to the formal semantic domain ‘work’.

4.1.3 Final remarks

From the findings and discussion above it is evident that origin and gender are the factors that affect Qaf variation in Western Amman the most. Female speakers do not show a [ʔ] ~ [g] variation as they have already completed their shift to [ʔ]. The variation that needs to be investigated in female speaker’s speech in Amman is the [ʔ] ~ [q] variation. It is also possible that age is a factor if we were to investigate this variation across generations. Al-Wer (2011) mentions an earlier study where she investigated this Qaf variation among first generation Ammani women and found that Jordanian women used [g] 10% of the time; whereas, the women in my sample used it 0%. In the same study, she found that Palestinian men used [g] 50% of the

time; whereas the Palestinian men in this sample used it 4.5% of the time. However, in order to investigate age as a factor properly, we need a much bigger sample with bigger age gaps.

I will now recap the findings here and compare the female [q] use patterns to the male ones. Before I do so, I will sum up the [ʔ] ~ [g] variation in male speech. See figure (1) below for the number of occurrences.

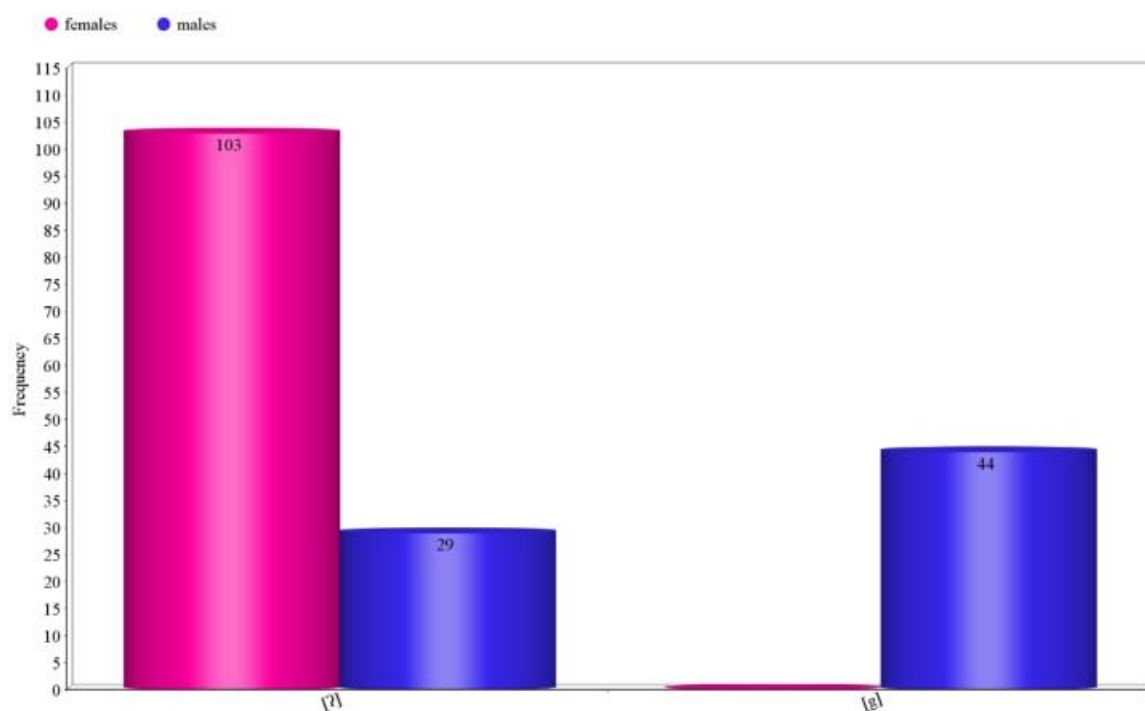


Figure (1) The occurrence of [ʔ] vs. [g] in female and male speech from the sample

The male speakers were the most innovative, as they showed complex patterns of /q/ variation where multiple social factors (mainly gender and origin) interacted in a complex way. The speakers that show almost no variations are those of origins other than Jordanian (i.e. Palestinian and Syrian). The one Palestinian exception had social factors that explained the divergence from the norm. The Jordanian men, on the other hand, still use the traditional [g] almost exclusively, with the exception of one speaker (M5). I think it was a slip of the tongue. As expected, the set of twins who come from a mixed family show a mix of patterns. The Circassian speaker (M9) showed the same patterns as Jordanians, as most Circassian speakers do. I believe it is because they have lived with Jordanians the longest and hold a high status in the royal court and other army and intelligence forces.

It is evident from the data that male speakers use the [q] token more than females. Of the 86 tokens of Qaf found in the speech of men, 39 were [q] (45%). Women, on the other hand, scored (22.5%) with 30 tokens of [q] out of 133 total. In Al-Tamimi's (2001) study (mentioned in section 2.2.3), she compared the frequency of [q] use between the two genders in Jordan and also found that male speakers use this variant more than female speakers do (Al-Tamimi 2001: 77).

In her study, Al-Tamimi compared the frequency of [q] use between the two genders in Jordan and found that male speakers use this variant more than female speakers do (Al-Tamimi 2001: 77). The results of my data confirm this finding. See figure (2) below.

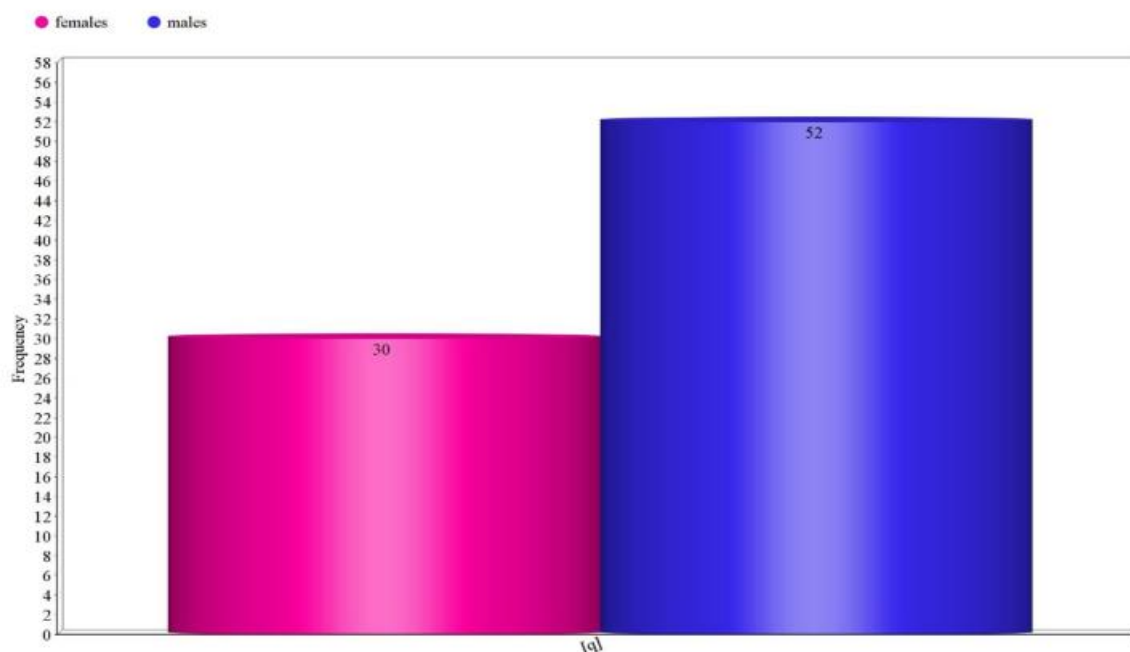


Figure (2) The frequency in [q] use based on gender

4.2 Code switching

As mentioned in section 2.2.4, Abu Mathkour (2004) investigated the different functions of code-switching in Jordanian speech, based on the functions Gumperz proposed in 1982. In this section, I will look at the multiple instances of what I argue are conversational code-switches found in my data (a total of 92 times) to examine the correlation between gender and the different functions of code-switching. Note that Gumperz has proposed additional functions but the ones mentioned are the only ones found in my data. Also note that the fifth function found in the data, which is the use of professional terms, is my own and was not mentioned by either Gumperz (1982) or Abu Mathkour (2004). See table (10) below for the summary of finding followed by the discussion.

Table (10) Summary of the occurrences of each of the 5 functions of code-switching in the data

Function of code-switching	Female speakers	Male speakers
Interjection	16	6
Reiteration	2	4
Message qualification	9	2
Personification	4	0
Professional terms	14	34
Totals	45	46

4.2.1 Interjection

The first function of code-switching found in this sample is *interjection*. Gumperz (1982) argued that this function is used so that speakers can better express themselves or clarify their message. This type also functions as a ‘sentence filler’. This function is widely fulfilled by code-switching among Jordanian Arabic speakers, as they use a lot of English words as sentence fillers such as OK, yes/no, please, thank you, already, maybe, hi, and bye in their Arabic speech (Abu Mathkour 2004: 7). In my data, 22 of the 92 instances of code-switching were in fact used for interjection purposes.

‘*Thank you*’ was used three times and so was ‘*still*’. Words like ‘*finally, actually, especially, obviously, basically, adding, and plus*’ were used as fillers as well. Refer to the following examples from the data.

Speaker F1, a 25-year-old female, recorded the highest number of code-switching in general. Education is an important factor in code-switching and this speaker holds a master’s degree in English literature from the UK. When she was talking about the struggles she faced before landing a good job, she said:

(19) [bs 'faməli bəʃdha ʃtəʃəlt bi prə'dʌkʃən 'kʌmpəni]

‘but finally after that I started working at a production company.’

By using the word ‘finally’, the speaker made it clear to the listener that she was anxious to find a job. When the same speaker was talking about her hobbies and what she does in her spare time, she said that being healthy and going to the gym is one of her New Year’s resolutions. See the three sentences below regarding this part of the conversation.

(20) [sʕəra:ħa ka:n wʌn ʌv maɪ ˌrɛzəˈluʃənz las sanɛ ʔɪl ʒdi:dɛ w pʌs ʔɪn:o ʔəna ʔɪltəzamt bɪl dʒɪm]

‘to be honest it was one of my resolutions for the New Year and plus I committed to going to the gym before.’

(21) [bəħɪb ʔəʕmal mɛdəˈteɪʃən kti:r ʔw ˈækʃuəli sʕərli fətra mɪʃ ʕa:mle bəs]

‘I like to do meditation a lot, or actually it has been a while since I last did but.’

(22) [bəħɪb ʔəqrəʔ sʕɪrtʕ kti:rə ˈspeʃli ʔən ʔɪl fi:zja]

‘I, now, love to read a lot, especially about physics.’

‘Plus’ and ‘actually’ were here used as filler words since a similar meaning was conveyed in the Arabic portion of the sentence; [w] and [ʔw] respectively. The use of ‘especially’, on the other hand, served the purpose of clarifying that she likes to read about physics.

This speaker (F1) also used *okay* and *thank you*. Another example of interjection can be found in the speech of speaker F2. She was saying that although she had a career change from graphic design to management, she is still in touch with her creative side. She said:

(23) [səm ˈtaɪmz sʕəra:ħə bəħɪb ʔəʕmal dɪˈzaɪn hɛk frʌm taɪm tu taɪm bəʕmal da:ʒmən əpˈdeɪt ʕəlˈnalədʒ ʔɪl:i ʕɪndi: lɪsa:tni mɪhtamɛ bed dɪˈzaɪn ʒɪni: howɛ pɑrt mɪn ʃəʕsʕi:ti w stɪl məwʒo:d]

‘sometimes I like to create designs from time-to-time I always like to update the knowledge I have I am still interested in (graphic) design because it is part of who I am and I still have it.’

‘Still’ in example (23) was used to clarify that she never lost interest in design. What is interesting is that at first she said: [lisa:tɪni:] ‘I still’; however, when she said: [part mɪn ʃəksʰi:ti] ‘part of who I am’ she completed the sentence using the English word ‘still’.

Another speaker who used code-switching for the function of interjection was speaker F4. As she was talking about the difference between *goal* and *purpose*, she said that part of our purpose as human beings is to help others, give back, and to leave a print after we are gone. She said:

(24) [jɪχdɪm ʔɪn na:s w rəh jɪtrɪk ʔəθar ʔɪno bəs jro:h hada ʔɪl bəni:ʔadam mɪn wɪʃ ʔɪl ʔərdʰ howe ʔɪl məyza mɪn ʔɪl wojo:d w 'ædɪŋ ʔɪno howe ʔɪl ʔɛʃi: ʔɪl:i: ʔenta la:zɪm tsəw:i: kəbani:ʔadam]

‘to serve people and leave a print after you leave this earth, that is the purpose of life. And adding that, this is what you are supposed to do as a human being.’

‘adding’ in the example above served as a filler word to help her introduce a new idea.

Speaker F9 used code-switching for interjection three times. She was stuck in traffic before the interview so she chose to talk about the issue of traffic we have in Amman. She said:

(25) [bəɪsɪkli bɪma ʔɪni: kont mʃəlʔa bɪl ʔəzmɛ fa rəh ʔəhki: ʔən ʔɪl ʔəzmɛ fi: ʃəm:an]

‘basically since I was just stuck in traffic, I will talk about traffic in Amman.’

She moves on to talk about what contributes to traffic in Amman and says:

(26) [w 'abvɪəsli ʔɪl:i: bɪsa:hɪm bɪl ʔəzmɛ ʔɪl məwʒo:dɛ bɪʃ ʃəwa:rɪʃ ma:fi ʔəma:kɪn yəʃni ʔɪʃ ʃəwa:rɪʃ ʔɪl:i: fi:ha kti:r χədəma:t]

‘and obviously what contributes to the traffic we have in our streets is the lack of space like the streets that have a lot of services.’

(27) [ʔɪn nəql ʔɪl ʕa:m bɪl ʔɔrdɔn bɪd:o ʔɪʕa:dɪt təfki:r ləʔɪno 'lɔðər, waɪz rəh jdʕal ʕɪn:a ʔəzmə]

‘public transportation in Jordan needs rethinking, otherwise we will always have this traffic.’

‘Basically’, ‘obviously’, and ‘otherwise’ in the above examples also function as filler words that helped the speaker navigate her way through the conversation by introducing ideas or moving from one to another.

Speaker F10 spoke about her experience in England where she got her master’s in Management. She said that her BA is in Business Administrations and that she wanted to get a higher degree that is different but somewhat related to her field. She said:

(28) [ħa:wlt ʔɪl tnən jko:no ʔra:b ʕəla bəʕadʕ bən ʔɪl ʔa:mʕa wɪl 'mæstərz ʕəʕa:n ləm:a ʔərʔaʕ ʔəʕtɪyɐl ma: ʔəʔyəl:ab ktɪ:r ʔəw məslən ʔəla:ʔi ʔɪʕi stɪl rɪ'leɪtɪd lə nafs ʔɪl fɪld]

‘I tried (wanted) both (degrees) to be somewhat close between the university one and the master’s one so that when I come back, it won’t be hard to find a job and find something that is related to the same field.’

‘Still’, again, helped the speaker better explain herself in that she wanted to study something new yet related to her field for her master’s degree.

Only 6 of the 22 interjection code-switching instances were produced by male speakers. As speaker M2 was talking about his job, he said:

(29) [ʃtəyɔlt w stɪl jəʕni ʕəm bəʕtəyɪl məʕhom ʕəm bəʕtəyɪl ɔʊ'det bɪ qɪsm ʔɪl 'mɑrkətɪŋ]

‘I worked and I am still working with them. I am working as an audit in the marketing department.’

‘still’ is also used for clarification here. The speaker started by using the past tense of *work* but then wanted to clarify that he still works at that company.

Speaker M5 was talking about himself when he used code-switching for interjection. He said:

(30) [kont ʔəʃtayıl bı ʃırkə ɹısımha X 'memli jʃni: mnıɣdar nıñki təxəs^osⁱ howe
kəm'pjutər ɪnfər'meɪʃən 'sıstəmz ʔənð^sımat ɹıl məʃlo:ma:t ɹıl ھا:sobıj:ɛ]

'I used to work in a company called X mainly, we can say, my major is computer information systems'

Speaker M10 used code-switching as a filler as well. He was talking about his job and paused for a second before saying his job title in English. During that pause he said ‘*okay*’. See the sentence below.

(31) [ʔəna bəʃtəyɪl məʃ ʃɪrket X æz ə ʌm, oʊ 'keɪ æz ə vɪdɪ 'ɔgrəfər]

'I work with company X as a umm as a videographer.'

Table (11) and (12) below provide a comparison in the use of code-switching for the function of interjection between female and male speakers.

Table (11) The occurrence of interjection function of code-switching in the female sample

Speakers	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
Age	26	32	26	24	24	25	28	25	22	23
Occurrences	7	2	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	1
Total	16									

Table (12) The occurrence of interjection function of code-switching in the male sample

Speakers	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
Age	29	23	32	25	29	26	26	26	27	23
Occurrences	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	1
Total	6									

It is evident from the tables above that age does not seem to be a factor for this function of code switching; however, gender is. Females tend to use code-switching for interjections more than men do. Since this function is mainly using filler words, it could be because women tend to be more hesitant when speaking (Lakoff 1972). This function of code-switching also shows that Jordanians prefer to use what they assume to be the more prestigious pattern of language use. Moreover, using English is considered to be an indicator of education (Bader 1995).

4.2.2 Reiteration

The second function of code-switching is reiteration. It is when a speaker may speak in one code and repeat the same message in another code. The repetition could be literal or in a modified

form. This can be done for clarification or emphasis. I found five instances of reiteration in my data, four of which were used by men. Refer to the following two examples.

Speaker F4 who was discussing the difference between *purpose* and *goal* wanted to clarify what *purpose* and *goal* are in Arabic. She says:

(32) [ʔɪl fəɾɪʔ be:n ʔɪl bɪsəmmi: *purpose* ..ʔɪl məʔza: mɪn ʔɪl wɔʒo:d wɪl hədəf howe ʔɪl *goal*]

‘the difference between what is called purpose .. purpose and goal which is goal.’

Speaker F5 was talking about her experience camping overnight in the Wadi Rum desert in Jordan. She said:

(33) [bɪl ləl ʔɪdɪnʒa təʔri:ban 'mainəs θri dəɾəʒa:t həɾa:rə sa:lib təla:tɛ]

‘at night the weather is approximately minus three degrees, temperature minus three.’

Note how the speaker said 'mainəs θri followed by sa:lib təla:tɛ “minus three”.

Speaker M2 was talking about some of the struggles he faced at work and that although things might not work out the way we want them to, we need to be persistent. He said:

(34) [ma:fi həda momkɪn jʃi:f həja:to zaj: ma bɪd:o ʔəw tkɔ:n həja:to mij:ɛ bɪl mij:ɛ 'pɜr'fɪkt]

‘no one can live his entire life the way he wants or for his life to be a hundred percent perfect.’

Saying *mij:ɛ bɪl mij:ɛ* “a hundred percent” in this context gives a similar meaning to *perfect*.

Speaker M5 was talking about his interests and said that he often ponders. He said:

(35) [ʕandi: ʔihtima:ma:t bɪl fəlak wɪl həja: bɪʃakɪl ʕa:m ʔɪl fə 'lasəfi ʔəw ʔɪl fəlsəfe ʔɪl ʕa:mə]

‘I have interests in astronomy and life, philosophy in general.’

Note how the speaker above said *fə 'lasəfi* “philosophy” followed by the Arabic word *ʔɪl fəlsəfe* “philosophy”.

Speaker M8 was talking about his family, mainly his brothers. He said:

(36) [ʔəχo:j: ʔɪl təwʔam bɪʃtɪɣɪl bɪl bənk X bɪl kəl 'sentər w ʔandi: ʔəχ ta:ni tχər:əz min ʒamʕɪt ʔɪl pʰatra 'faɪ næns ha:j hɪj:ɛ maɪ 'fæməli ʕa:ʔɪlti:]

‘my twin brother works at bank X at the call center department. I have another brother who graduated from Petra university and studied finance. This is my family.’

Note how speaker M8 in (36) said *maɪ 'fæməli* “my family” followed by *ʕa:ʔɪlti:* “my family” in Arabic.

The last instance of code-switching for the purpose of reiteration is found in the speech of speaker M9 when he was talking about his previous job. He said:

(37) [w kont məsʔo:l mənəs'a:tʃ rəqəmiʃje ʔw *digital platforms officer* w ka:n ha:d]

‘and I was a digital platforms officer and it was...’

Table (13) The occurrence of reiteration function of code-switching in the female sample

Speakers	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
Age	26	32	26	24	24	25	28	25	22	23
Occurrences	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2									

Table (14) The occurrence of reiteration function of code-switching in the male sample

Speakers	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
Age	29	23	32	25	29	26	26	26	27	23
Occurrences	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Total	4									

Similar to the previous function, it is evident from the tables above that age does not affect code-switching. Male speakers in Amman use code-switching to reiterate more than female speakers do.

4.2.3 Message qualification

The message qualification function of code-switching occurs when speakers want to add additional information to the topic they are discussing. The speaker would introduce the topic in one language then comment, clarify, or expand using the other language. In my data, I found 12

occurrences of the message qualification function of code-switching, only three of which were found in male speech. Refer to the following examples.

Speaker F2, who was talking about her previous job in graphic design and how much she learned from it, said:

(38) [bəʃmal da:jmən əp 'deɪt ʃəl 'nalədʒ ʔɪl:i: ʃɪndi:]

‘I always like to update the knowledge I have.’

The speaker above was explaining that although she had a career change, she still practices her passion. She wanted to clarify that by saying that she always updates her knowledge *əp 'deɪt ʃəl 'nalədʒ* ‘update my knowledge’.

Speaker F7 was talking about her previous job and why she left it. She wanted to better explain her reasons by saying that it was a *bæd ɪn 'vaɪrənmənt* ‘bad environment’ and that the field she is in is *dæd* ‘dead’. She said:

(39) [jəʃni həra:m həma bæd ɪn 'vaɪrənmənt w ʔɪl fi:ld ʔɪlli ʔəna: bæʃtəʊɪl fi:jo həwa dæd]

‘I mean poor them (the company) they had a bad environment also the field that I am (was) working in is dead.’

Speaker F8 also used code-switching for the function of message qualification when clarifying that the contracting company she works for only specializes in *ɔɪl ænd ɡæs* ‘oil and gas’. She the sentence below.

(40) [bəʃtəʊɪl bi: ʃɪrket moqa:wla:t hi:je ʃɪrke jəʃni: moʊtʰsʰa bi: ɔɪl ænd ɡæs]

‘I work at a contracting company that specializes in oil and gas.’

The same speaker also said that she loves her job and wanted to clarify that she loves it because of how nice this experience has been. She said:

(41) [jəʃni ʔɪl ɪk 'spɪriəns ɦɪlwɛ]

‘I mean the experience is very nice.’

Speaker F9, who was talking about traffic in Amman used the phrase *public transportation* twice to fulfil the function of message qualification; however, in this case she used English to introduce the topic and Arabic to further expand. Consider examples (42) below.

(42) [wɪl pʌblɪk , trænsɹər 'teɪʃən ʔəbədən ʔəbədən la: jomkɪn ʔɪl ʔɪʃtɪma:d ʕələha:]

‘and public transportation is very unreliable.’

There were two instances of message qualification in the male speech. Speaker M1 wanted to clarify the reason he left his old job, which was because of the drop ‘drop’ the company witnessed. He said:

(43) [sʕa:ratʕ tɪʃmal drɔp]

‘it (the company) started to drop.’

Speaker M8 was saying that he likes being outdoors but wanted to specify that it is the feeling of being in an ‘oʊpən ‘speɪs ‘open space’ is what he likes. He said:

(44) [bəɦɪb ʔəro:h ʕəla hək ʔəma:kɪn 'oʊpən 'speɪsəz]

‘I like to go to places that have open spaces.’

Table (15) The occurrence of message qualification function of code-switching in the female sample

Speakers	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
Age	26	32	26	24	24	25	28	25	22	23
Occurrences	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	3	2	0
Total	9									

Table (16) The occurrence of message qualification function of code-switching in the male sample

Speakers	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M6	M7	M8	M9	M10
Age	29	23	32	25	29	26	26	26	27	23
Occurrences	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	2									

From the examples above it is also evident that age is not a factor in this function either. Gender, on the other hand, is. Female speakers used this function more, as women tend to clarify, explain, and expand more on the topics they are discussing.

4.2.4 Personification vs. objectification

The fourth code-switching function proposed by Gumperz (1982) is personification vs. objectification. This function is considered to be a stylistic phenomenon, as it varies based on the context (Coogan 2003). This function is used when a speaker wants to assert his opinion, state a fact, or refer to something specific. There were four instances of personification vs.

objectification in my data, none of which were found in male speech. Refer to the following examples.

Speaker F1 was talking about how important it is for her to go to the gym. She says:

(45) [bəħa:wıl ʔın:o ʔəro:h təlat məra:t bıl ʔosbo:ʕ ʕəl dʒım ʕəfa:n ʔəlʕab məʕ ʔm:i ʔəna ʕəla fikra nħi:fə bəs ʕələs bəħıb ʔəro:h ʕəfa:n ʔıl *shaping* ha:d ʔıl ʔıfı ħılo w *healthy* ʔəktar]

‘Although I’m thin, I try to go to the gym three times a week to train. I like to go for shaping and because it is good and healthier.’

The speaker code-switched here to personalize her reason for going to the gym. Most Jordanians still reserve going to the gym for weight loss, so by switching, she communicated the message that although she is thin, she has personal reasons to go to the gym. The same kind of switch was produced by the same speaker when she talked about one of her interests. She said:

(46) [bəħıb ʔəʕmal ,*medə* 'tefən ktı:r]

‘I love to do meditation a lot.’

There are two reasons for the switch here. The first being the negative perception some religious individuals have towards meditation as a practice that belongs to non-monotheistic religions. By switching, the speaker communicated a personal choice. The other reason for switching might be the amount of English literature that exists on meditation and spirituality. The speaker probably learned about the practice from English sources, thus yielding to the English word *meditation*.

Speaker F2, when talking about her previous job, which was her true passion said:

(47) [sʕəra:hə bəħıb ʔəʕmal dı'zain hək *fram taim tu taim*]

‘I like to create designs from time to time.’

The last example of code-switching that fulfilled the function of personification vs. objectification is found in the speech of F10. She said that she studied management in the hope of landing a job at a bank. She said:

(48) [bəħɪb kəma:n 'bæŋkɪŋ 'sɛktər fɪj:o ʃoɣol ħɪlo]

‘I also like the banking sector, it is such an appealing career.’

Table (17) The occurrence of personification vs. objectification function of code-switching in the female sample

Speakers	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F9	F10
Age	29	23	32	25	29	26	26	26	27	23
Occurrences	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4									

The personification vs. objectification function did not occur enough to draw any concrete conclusions regarding age and gender as factors. From the data, however, it is evident that this function is used exclusively by women. It could be because females talked more about some personal topics, whereas men stuck to the general, work related topics.

4.2.5 Professional terms

This function was neither mentioned in Gumprez's (1982) nor Abu Mathkour's (2004) studies. The speakers in this sample switched the most (47 times total) to say their job titles, majors or fields of study, and names of the companies they work for. I am not considering these switches to be borrowings since the speakers are clearly bilingual and know those terms in Arabic yet choose to utter them in English. The pronunciation of the terms was not adapted to the host language and the speakers were fully aware of the switch. For privacy purposes, I will not name the companies. However, I will review the instances in which the speakers code-switched to say their job title and major of study. See tables (18) and (19) below.

Table (18) The occurrence of code-switching for professional terms in the female sample

Speaker	Age	No.	Words and phrases
F1	26	2	English literature, production company
F2	32	5	procurement manager, legal department, graphic design, design (twice)
F3	26	2	production design, film industry
F4	24	0	-
F5	24	1	Jordan Trail
F6	25	0	-
F7	28	1	enterprise system engineering
F8	25	0	-
F9	22	0	-
F10	23	3	business administration, agency marketing, management
Total	14		

Table (19) The occurrence of code-switching for professional terms in the male sample

Speaker	Age	No.	Words and phrases
M1	29	0	-
M2	23	7	*named company*, marketing (twice), business management, marketing and social media, audit (twice)
M3	32	0	-
M4	25	4	*named company*, sales (3 times)
M5	29	3	computer information systems, mobile industry, business
M6	26	0	-
M7	26	5	call center (twice), contact agent, agent (twice)
M8	26	4	*named company*, call center, finance, credit
M9	27	4	*named company*, account executive, digital platforms officer, projects coordinator
M10	23	7	videographer (twice), promoter (twice), supervisor, marketing, marketing team
Total	34		

Hleihil (2001) argues that speakers who live or work in Jordan's metropolitan city, Amman, tend to code-switch to English when discussing work. Since the use of English in Jordan, especially Amman, is considered to be prestigious, it only makes sense for speakers to refer to professional terms such as education and job positions in English. However, a more specific reason would be their exposure to those terms. As mentioned in a previous section, although the language of instruction in universities varies between Arabic and English,

specialized textbooks are in English. Thus, students are used to referring to their majors in English (i.e. Accounting, Marketing, IT, etc.).

As for job positions, most speakers in this sample work for international companies where English use is normal and, in some cases, expected of the workers.

4.2.6 Final remarks

The figure below shows contrast between male and female use of the different functions of code-switching.

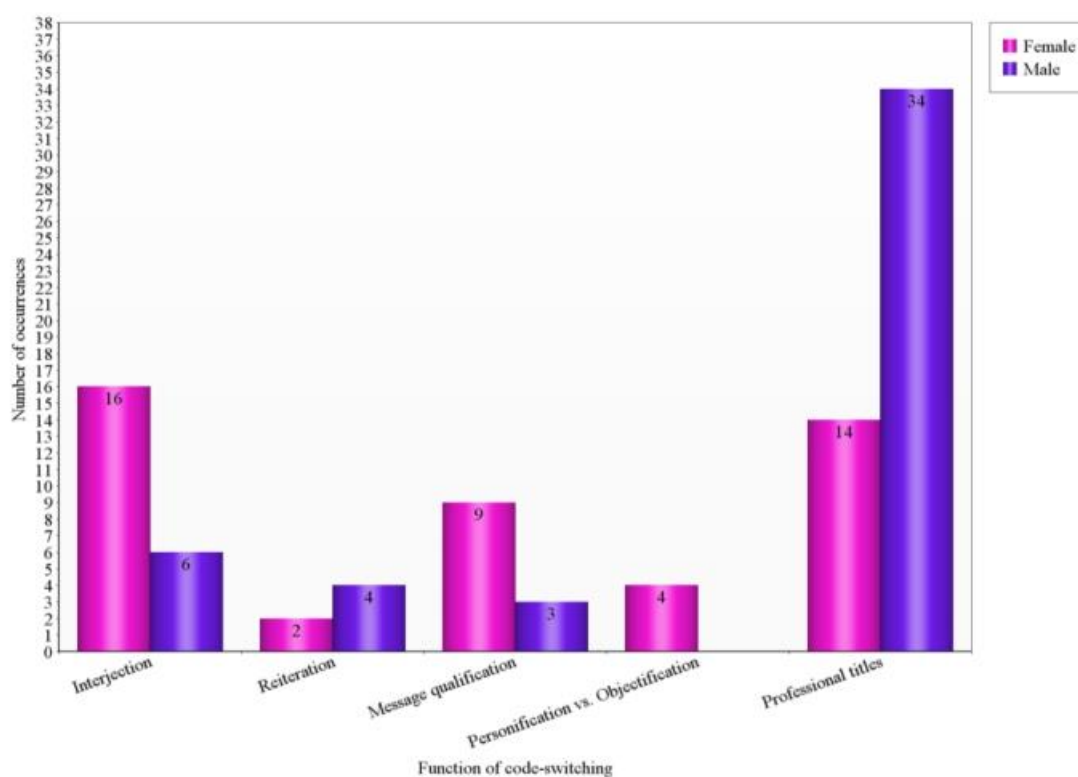


Figure (3) The occurrence of conversational functions of code-switching in this sample

Abu Mathkour (2004) found that the most frequent function of code-switching among Jordanian speakers is *interjection*. This is also evident in my data where interjection scored the second-highest frequency and occurred 22 times. He also found that interjection is more common in females' speech, and once again my data shows the same result; females used interjection 16 times, whereas males used it 6 times. Females have a tendency to use prestigious styles (see Ibrahim 1986).

Reiteration scored the second-highest frequency in Abu Mathkour's (2004) study, while mine was message qualification with 16 occurrences. It is possible that reiteration scored higher in his research because the conversations were televised. The fact that not every Jordanian speaks fluent English has to be kept in mind, especially if you are speaking on national television. To illustrate, if a guest says a word in English because it comes naturally to them, they will have to follow it with the Arabic term. In some cases, the host might say the Arabic term if the guest fails to recall it.

The most frequent function of code-switching present in my data, which occurred 48 times, was used to mention professional terms. Words and phrases like '*English literature, Graphic design, Enterprise system engineering, Business and IT, Marketing, Computer information systems, and Finance*' were used when the speakers talked about their studies. They also used the following phrases to refer to their job titles: '*contact agent, videographer, promoter, audit officer, account executive, digital platforms officer, projects coordinator, sales, and procurement manager*'. This is probably due to education and the heavy presence of international companies in Jordan.

5. Conclusion

This study investigated two aspects of the variation in the Ammani dialect: Qaf variation and Arabic-English code-switching. After reviewing the previous research done on those topics, the methodology in which I conducted my research was covered. 20 native speakers from Amman were interviewed in a relaxed context. They were asked to tell a story or share an experience of their choosing.

After analyzing the data, I accounted for all the tokens of Qaf in the 20 recordings to investigate its variation in Amman. It was mentioned in the literature review that this variation emerged due to dialect contact (Jordanian and Palestinian). The indigenous dialects of Jordan have [g] while the Palestinian ones have [ʔ]. After the contact, the previously regionally-bound features became gender-bound. The data shows that all women, irrespective of their origin, use [ʔ]. This supports Al-Wer and Herin's (2011) claims that the change from [g] to [ʔ] is complete in the female speech in Amman, and might even be spreading to other major cities in Jordan (see Al-Wer 1991). The more complex use of the variation was found in the speech of men; they used a mix of [g] and [ʔ] based on their origin and sometimes even the topic of discussion. The different uses of Standard Arabic /q/ were also discussed in the Qaf variation section. I have found that the use of [q] might be limited to semi-formal/formal semantic domains, borrowings from Standard Arabic, and proper nouns.

Although it might seem from the data and some previous research done by different scholars that a change in the speech of Western Ammanis is taking place from [g] to [ʔ], I hardly think that [g] will disappear from the Ammani dialect. [g]'s macho characteristics are engraved

in the speakers' brains, and it is still very much present in other Jordanian cities and towns which will prevent its extinction.

In the code-switching sections, five functions of code-switching were reviewed, and the code-switches found in the data were categorized based on those functions. The frequencies of each function were then compared between the two genders to determine the correlation between that social factor and the different functions.

Female speakers used code-switching more than male speakers, as code-switching symbolizes prestige in Amman. The male speakers caught up to the female speakers' frequency of code-switching with the near-exclusivity of English use for professional terms. I think the motivation here is showing the level of education rather than prestige. This can also be evident with the males' extensive use of SA [q] as a variable.

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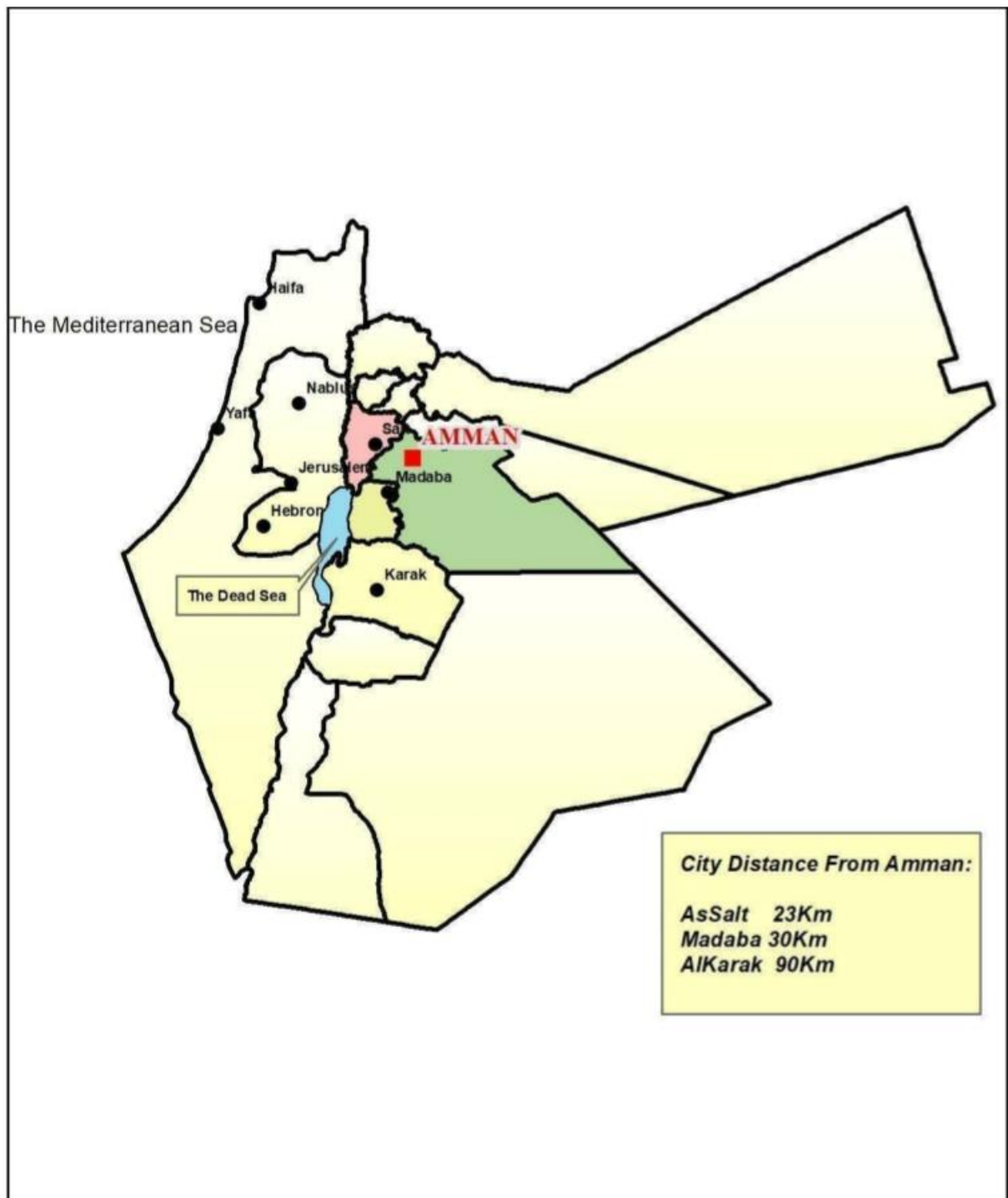
Appendix A: Map of Jordan

Figure (4) A Map of Jordan showing the cities referred to in the paper

Appendix B: The Sample

Speaker	Origin	Age	Education
F1	Palestinian	26	MA in English literature
F2	Palestinian	32	BA in Graphic design
F3	Palestinian	26	B.Eng. in Architecture Engineering
F4	Palestinian	24	BA in Media, information and techno culture
F5	Palestinian	24	BA in Accounting
F6	Jordanian	25	BA in Arabic language and Translation
F7	Jordanian	28	BA in Computer graphics and animation
F8	Jordanian	25	B.Eng. in Industrial Engineering
F9	Jordanian	22	B.Eng. in Industrial Engineering
F10	Jordanian	23	MA in Management
M1	Palestinian	29	BA in Information technology
M2	Palestinian	23	DIP Marketing and business management
M3	Palestinian	32	B.Eng. Engineering
M4	Jordanian	25	BA Marketing
M5	Jordanian	29	BA in Information technology

M6	Jordanian	26	BA in English language and translation
M7	F:Palestinian M:Jordanian	26	BA in Management information systems
M8	F:Palestinian M:Jordanian	26	BA in Accounting
M9	Circassian	27	BA in Management
M10	Syrian	23	DIP Airport management

Appendix C: Female Qaf-words

Speaker	[ʔ]	[q]
F1	ʔusʔasʔ ‘stories’ ʔəde:ʃ ‘how many’ ʔəʃdt ‘stayed’ ʔəda:jʔt ‘I was upset’ ʔa:ʃde ‘stayed’ ʔəʃdet ‘stayed’ ʃəʒʔa ‘messy’ bəʔdar ‘I can’ bəʔədɪm ‘I introduce’ təʔriban ‘approximately’	ʃəla:qat ‘relations’ ʔəqrəʔ ‘I read’ mowa:fəqa ‘approval’
F2	ʔəʃdt ‘stayed’ ʔəd:amt ‘I applied’ (x2) ʔəbel ‘before’ biʔdar ‘he can’ bəʔbal ‘I agree’ ʔbɪlt ‘I agreed’ ʔəra:jbi ‘my relatives’ ləʔɛ:t ‘I found’	qudra:to ‘his capabilities’ rəwnaq ‘beauty’
F3	ʔa:lətɛlna: ‘she told us’ ʔəl:a:jet ‘An Arabic dish’	ʔəqrəʔ ‘read’ bəqrəʔ ‘reading’
F4	(x2) fəriʔ ‘diffirence’ xələʔna: ‘created us’ (x2) wəʔɪt ‘time’ (x2) tʔəriʔɪt ‘way’ tʔəriʔ ‘path’ tɪʔdar ‘you can’ fo:ʔ ‘above’ nfər:ɛʔ ‘diffrenciate’ nɪlʔa ‘find’ mɪnla:ʔa:hom ‘we find them’	qədr ‘as much as’ mo:si:qa ‘music’
F5	biʔdəro ‘they can’ (x2) təʔriban ‘approximately’ məna:tʔeʔ ‘places’ ba:ʔi ‘left’ bəʔdar ‘he can’ biʔʔariʔa ‘in a way’ məʃʔo:le ‘possible’ ʔosas ‘stories’	məntʔiqa ‘place’ ʃarq ‘East’ (x2) təsəl:oq ‘climbing’ miʔqawqɪʃ ‘confined’ qəfɪz ‘jumping’ Barqɪʃ ‘Barqish Forrest’ tʔa:qa ‘energy’ ʃoro:q ‘sun rise’

	ᠰᠠᠷᠠᠪᠠᠨ ‘Aqaba city’	noqtʰa ‘point’
F6	beʔrəbli ‘my relative’ ʔəra:be ‘relatives’ (x2) wəʔit ‘time’ bəʔədʰi ‘I spend’ ʔəʔdar ‘I can’ ʔləħiʔ ‘make it on time’ bəʔdar ‘I can’	mitwəqʰsa ‘I thought’
F7/M-Circassian	(x2) ʔətʔal ‘heavier’ ʔəd:əmt ‘applied’	ᠰira:qij:e ‘Iraqi’ ʔistiqʰa:lti ‘my resignation’ qər:ərt ‘I decided’
F8	(x4) təʔriban ‘approximately’ ba:ʔi ‘left’ nʰəʔəʔo: ‘got confused’ ʔəʂdt ‘I stayed’ ʔəbɪl ‘before’ ʔəʂ:od ‘I stay’	moqʰa:wla:t ‘contracting’ qʰa:bəlna: ‘we interviewed’ bəqʰrəʔ ‘I read’ (x2) ʔəqʰrəʔ ‘I read’
F9	mʰəʂl:ʔa ‘stuck’ tʰoroʔ ‘ways’ jiʔdar ‘can’ ʔəwʔa:t ‘times’ tʰəriʔ ‘way’ wəʔit ‘time’ sa:jʔa ‘driving.F’ (x3) sa:jiʔ ‘driving.M’ səw:a:ʔi:n ‘drivers’ jso:ʔ ‘drive’ swa:ʔiθa: ‘their way of driving’ swa:ʔa ‘driving.N’	jɪtnəqʰ:al ‘commute’ nəqɪl ‘transportation’
F10	(x4) wəʔit ‘time’ (x3) ʔoda:m ‘in front of’ (x3) biʔdar ‘can’ (x2) ʔəla:ʔi ‘I find’ ʔra:b ‘close’ ʔəblo ‘before that’ (x2) ʔənʔol ‘transfer’ ʔəd:ɛ ‘how much’ ʔəbɪl ‘before’ jomroʔ ‘pass by’ jiʔdar ‘can’ jɪtnəʔ:al ‘commute’ tɪʔbalo ‘approve of’	

	ʔəʔdar 'I can'	
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Appendix D: Male Qaf-words

Speaker	[ʔ]	[q]	[g]
M1		(x2) qəwɪj:ɛ ‘strong’	ʔɪntəɡlt ‘transfer’ məɡlab ‘prank’
M2	ʔad ‘as much’ jɪʔdar ‘can’ (x2) ləʔoda:m ‘in the future’ (x2) jhəʔɪʔha: ‘make it come true’ ʕəʔlo ‘his mind’ tʕri:ʔa ‘way’	qɪsm ‘department’	
M3	məʔlo:bɛ ‘Jordanian dish’ ʔəlbɪk ‘your heart’ wəʔɪt ‘time’		
M4		mostəqbalɪj:ɛ ‘future’ sʕədi:q ‘friend’	ɡa:ʕdi:n ‘we hang out’ ɡəbɪl ‘before’ fo:ɡ ‘above’
M5	ʔəbɪlha ‘before it’	(x3)təqri:ban ‘approximately’ bəqrəʔha ‘I read it’ ʔəqrab ‘closer’ məqro:ʔ ‘readable’	mɪnɪɡdar ‘we can’ ʃərgɪ ‘Eastern’ bəɡəʃɪr ‘get goose bumps’ (x2) wəɡɪt ‘time’ ʔəɡrab ‘closer’ (x2) ɡədɪmɛ ‘old’ bəlgotʕha: ‘catch it’ təwfi:ɡ ‘luck’
M6		bɪnɪqɑ:tʕ ‘bullet points’ (x6)təqri:ban ‘approximately’	(x2) ʔəɡol:ko ‘tell you’ (x2) ɡa:ʕdi:n ‘set down’ (x2) ɡa:ʕɪd ‘sit’ ɡodsɪj:ɛ ‘Jordanian dish’ (x2) ɡəl:a:jɪt ‘Jordanian dish’

			btogʃod 'she starts' gəbɪl 'before' (X5) mnogʃod 'we start' (x2) gəhwɛ 'coffee' golt 'I said' gəʃde 'she starts'
M7	(x2) bɪʔdar 'he can' bɪzhəʔ 'get bored' jʔədʰ:i 'spend' ʔədə 'how much' tʰəbəʔa:tʰ 'levels'	təqri:ban 'approximately' fɪqəri 'spinal' dəqi:qa 'accurate' mow:əθəq:a 'documented' qərdʰ 'loan'	bɪtʰəri:ga 'in a way' wəgɪt 'time' (x2) ba:gi 'left' gdɪrt 'could'
M8	ʔəbɪlha 'before that' ʔɪntəʔəlt 'transferred' ʔəʃdt 'stayed' təʔri:ban 'approximately' bəʔdarʃ 'he can't'	ʃəqarij:ɛ 'real-estate' tədqi:q 'auditing' modəqi:q 'auditor' bədəqi:q 'audit' ʔəqraʔ 'read' qədɑm 'foot' məna:tʰi:q 'places' mosiqij:ɛ 'musical'	ntəgalt 'transferred' gɪrbɛ 'bagpipe'
M9		(x2) təswi:q 'marketing' təqlidi: 'traditional' sa:bɪqan 'previous' (x3) məwa:qɪʃ 'sites' qəbɪl 'before' tʰəri:q 'way' fəri:q 'team' (x2) bɪtʰəri:qa 'in a way' mostəqbal 'future' qəri:b 'close' qa:dɪr 'capable' qəri:bat 'close'	tɪgdɑr 'you can' ʔəg:əl 'less' nɪgdɑr 'we can'
M10	təʔri:ban 'approximately' ʔəʃadɪt 'stayed' (x2) ʔəd:amɪt 'I applied' (x2) ʔɪnʔablɪt 'got accepted'	ʔɪstəqalt 'I resigned'	