Loanwords in Jordanian Arabic

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(word count: 75291)

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I. consonants

IPA	Arabic Letter	Description	transliteration
ʔ	< ء >	Voiceless glottal stop	ʻ
b	< ب >	Voiced bilabial stop	b
t	< ت >	Voiceless dental stop	t
θ	< ث >	Voiceless dental fricative	θ
ʤ	< ج >	Voiced palate-alveolar stop	ʤ
ħ	< ح >	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative	ḥ
x	< خ >	Voiceless uvular fricative	x
d	< د >	Voiced alveolar stop	d
ð	< ذ >	Voiced interdental fricative	ð
r	< ر >	Voiced alveolar trill	r
z	< ز >	Voiced alveolar fricative	z
s	< س >	Voiceless alveolar fricative	s
ʃ	< ش >	Voiceless palate-alveolar fricative	š
sˤ	< ص >	Voiceless dental- pharyngealised fricative	ṣ
dˤ	< ض >	Voiced dental-pharyngealisd fricative	ẓ
tˤ	< ط >	Voiceless dental- pharyngealised stop	ṭ
ðˤ	< ظ >	Voiced dental-pharyngealised stop	ḍ
ʕ	< ع >	Voiced pharyngeal fricative	ʕ
ɣ	< غ >	Voiced velar fricative	ġ
f	< ف >	Voiceless labiodental fricative	f
q	< ق >	Voiced uvular emphatic sound	q
k	< ك >	Voiceless velar stop	k
l	< ل >	Voiced alveolar lateral	l
ł	< ل >	Voiced velar lateral	ł
m	< م >	Voiced bilabial nasal	m
n	< ن >	Voiced alveolar nasal	n
h	< ه >	Voiceless glottal fricative	h
g	---	Voiced velar stop (spoken)	g
tʃ	---	Palate-alveolar affricate (spoken)	č

II Vowels

MSA	Spoken JA	Description
a	a	Low back short vowel
ā	ā	Low long central vowel
u	u	High short back vowel
ū	ū	Low long central vowel
i	i	High short front vowel
ī	ī	High long front vowel
w	w	Labial semi-vowel
y	y	Palate-alveolar semi-vowel
	o	Mid short back vowel
	ō	High long back vowel
	e	Mid short front vowel
	ē	High long central vowel
	ə	Mid short central vowel

III. Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Description
[ ]	Overlap: competition to take the turn
(…)	Incomplete utterance
(2.0)	Length of silence (in seconds)
…..	Skipped utterance in the same turn
. . .	Skipped turns (deleted segments)
=	Latching: one talk directly follows another with no gap
//	Interruption
→	Chunk of talk that contains code-mixing
↑	Rising intonation
↓	Falling intonation
?	Question mark
hhhhh	Laughter
CAPITAL	Loud voice or emphatic tone

IV. List of Abbreviation

1st	First person
2nd	Second person
3rd	Third person
1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singular
3SG	Third person singular
1PL	Second person plural
2PL	First person plural
3PL	Third person plural
PRES	Present tense
DEF	Definite article
PL	Plural marker
PRON	Pronoun
SUFF	Suffix
M	Masculine
F	Feminine
COP	Copula
GEN	Genitive case/ pronoun
ACC	Accusative case/ pronoun
COMP	comparative
AUX	Auxiliary
PERF	Perfective aspect
NOM	Nominative case/ pronoun
CONN	Connector
POSS	Possessive pronoun
VOC	Vocative particle
NEG	Negative particle
INTERJ	Interjection
PREP	preposition
DM	Discourse marker
ADV	Adverb
PAR	Particle
IMPR	Imperative verb
DUAL	Dual marker
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
JA	Jordanian Arabic
CS	Code-switching
CMC	Computer-mediated communication
RL	Recipient language
SL	Source language
EL	Embedded language
ML	Matrix language

ABSTRACT

The use of English loanwords has become very common in the spoken and written varieties of Jordanian Arabic. This study aims to investigate these words in terms of distribution, frequency, integration, and usage in three genres: newspapers, naturally-occurring conversations, and synchronous Facebook interactions, representing written, spoken, and spoken-written domains, respectively.

It is found that loanwords in JA are distributed across a continuum from established loanwords that are part of the native language to instances of bilingual spontaneous insertions. They are distributed across a number of semantic fields, among which 'Technology and communication', and 'Modern world' are the most prominent ones. Nouns are, by no comparison, the most borrowable word class followed by adjectives and phrases, non-content words, and manner adverbs. Moreover, the most 25 frequent loanwords are all established loanwords that possess written forms, except for two of them. To fit into the linguistic system of JA, loanwords have undergone phonological, morphological, and semantic changes. At the level of phonology, these changes seek to preserve the sound system and the syllable structure of JA. The major morphological patterns of integration include mapping loanwords onto derivational and inflectional word-formation templates. Loanwords are also treated as roots from which other words are generated. As for loan verbs, the light verb and indirect insertion strategies are followed to integrate them. Other word-formation processes like compounding and clipping are shown to take place as well. Finally, loanwords are also shown to inflect for gender, number and possessive assignments. Semantic narrowing, extension, shift, metaphor, and pejoration are the major semantic changes that some loanwords have undergone over time.

As for the usage of English loanwords in JA, the findings reveal that the functions of these words in the spoken domain resemble, to some extent, the functions served in the written domain. As far as the spoken domain is concerned, a sequential analysis of spontaneous insertions in the spoken data reveals that insertions act as an additional device to serve plenty of communicative functions, the most frequent ones are reiteration, humor, and message qualification. In the written discourse, loanwords target the specificity of the meaning intended and act as persuasive devices that attract the attention of the readership to the writer's point of view. They were also used to reflect the writers' linguistic and scientific proficiency. The communicative functions identified in synchronous Facebook interactions match those identified in the written and spoken domains. Yet, some unique aspects have been investigated, such as insertions that flag interpersonal relations and identity, and the correlation between insertions and the writing script.

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Dedication

To my dearest father,

With love and gratefulness

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First and foremost, I am indebted to my supervisor, Prof. Yaron Matras, for his sincere guidance, valuable amendments, and fruitful recommendations. With his professional suggestions, this study could open new insights and explore new areas that have not been examined by previous studies investigating loanwords in the Jordanian Arabic context. Secondly, I want to offer my special thank to Prof. Eva Schultze-Berndt, for her significant role in supporting this study through her comments, suggestions, and continuous follow-up. Thirdly, I would like to express my gratitude towards my parents and family members for their support and endless love. Fourth, I would like to extend my gratitude to everyone who contributed and participated in collecting the data of the current study, especially my brothers and friends.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

In the Arabic-speaking countries, there are two varieties of Arabic. The first is the formal variety that is called the *Modern Standard Arabic* (MSA). MSA is characterized by being a modernized version of the classical language in terms of lexicon and grammar (Zughoul 1980). It is considered the high variety that is used in schools, TV, newspapers, publications, and literature. The second variety is the colloquial variety that is used in informal situations, and is considered the low variety. This language situation in which two varieties of the same language are used for different functions is called *diglossia*. The term *diglossia* is used by Ferguson (1959) to refer to any stable language situation in which two varieties ('High' and 'Low') of the same language are used often by the same speakers to play different social roles. With regard to the diglossic situation in Jordan, Hussein and El-Ali (1989:38) point out that there are two varieties: the formal 'standard' variety, which is used in press and teaching, and the informal 'colloquial' variety, which is used for daily interactions. The former variety is the MSA, whereas the latter variety is the spoken dialect that has three forms: *Fallaḥi*, *Bedouin*, and *Madani*. Fallaḥi is spoken in villages and rural areas, Bedouin in the Jordanian desert, and Madani in cities and urban areas.

The impact of English on the two varieties of Jordanian Arabic (henceforth JA) goes back to the time of the British mandate (Bader 1995). However, this impact was much more noticeable after independence was declared in 1946. Jordan has maintained strong political, military, economic, and socio-cultural relations with the English-speaking

countries (Kailani 1994). Since then, the country has gone through a process of modernization and development, in which English was institutionally supported, whether in schools or universities.

As a result of this socio-cultural impact, English is viewed as a language of prestige and preference in Jordan. Nearly all attitudinal studies that target the attitude of young Jordanians towards the use of English in written and spoken domains reveal that they consider English advantageous for wider communications (e.g., Bani-Khaled 2014; Drbseh 2013). Bani-Khaled (2014) conducted an attitudinal study, in which he showed that the overall attitude of students towards English is 'unanimously positive'. Zughoul (2001) maintains that the intense cultural contact between English and JA, the development of prosperous private sectors in Jordan, and the 'revolutionization of communication' have taken English a step forward to the status of being a second rather than a foreign language in Jordan.

The influx of English words related to technology, modern life, and fashion in JA is thereby a manifestation of the modernization process and the prestigious status of English in Jordan (Al-Khatib and Farghal 1999). Lately, the impact of English on JA has become tremendous after the evolution of social media. Computer-mediated communications (CMC) have developed a new form of language that is exclusive to the internet (Crystal 2001), and accelerated the use of English vocabulary in the informal written variety.

1.2 Immediate research context

In all stages of Arabic development, loanwords from different languages entered Arabic as a way of modernization (Essawi 1967). These loans belonged to different semantic domains such as technology, sport, business, fashion, religion, and others. Old

grammarians were much concerned with the phonological and morphological treatments of these loanwords to fit the Arabic linguistic system (Khassarah 2000). In the modern age and after the emergences of news media (newspapers, television, and radio), the political, economic and scientific influence of foreign languages, especially English, has become more obvious and stronger (Holes 2004). Vocabulary from English swept into news media and consequently into the spoken and written languages through direct insertions or loan translations.

The desire to control the foreign (and dialectical) influence on Arabic and to expand Arabic vocabulary to meet modern demands has led to the establishment of language academies in some Arab countries, such as Syria, Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco. The primary tasks of these institutionalized bodies were to create terms for the various successive innovations in all scientific and technical fields, and to maintain linguistic purity. To achieve these goals, language academies advocate a number of techniques: language revival, semantic extension of a native term, and Arabicization (Khassarah 2000; Holes 2004). Arabicization is viewed as a method of lexical expansion either through word coinage, i.e., the creation of a new term for a new object, or through borrowing. In the case of borrowing, the non-native term is adopted in the standard language of Arabic after being adapted to the phonological and morpho-syntactic patterns of Arabic (Ali 1987:86).

With regard to the Jordanian context, the awareness of the significance of English, the globalization of English through the mass media and the internet, and the emergence of an informal writing in CMC have led to a notable increase in the incorporation of English loanwords in JA, especially by the young people. Some of these loanwords are adopted by the *Academy of Arabic Language* in Jordan, i.e., they are accepted in the standard variety (Arabicized), and become part of the JA lexicon.

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The present study aims to investigate the use of English loanwords in the spoken and written forms of JA. The study examines the structural and functional aspects of loanwords in JA in three modes of communication: written, spoken, and spoken-written.

1.3 Research aims and questions

Given the fact that English words and expressions are heavily used in different settings, various studies have been conducted to explore this linguistic phenomenon in JA. These research studies have devoted their effort to the structural changes that established loanwords undergo (e.g., Hussein and Zughoul 1993; Kailani 1994; Badarneh 2007; Al-Omoush and Al-Faqra 2010; Al-Saidat 2011), or to the attitude of Jordanian speakers towards the use of English elements in their daily conversations (e.g., Al-Khatib and Farghal 1999; Drbseh 2013; Bani- Khaled 2014). Nonetheless, there are certain crucial aspects that these studies did not tackle.

These studies have primarily focused on loanwords that have become part of the lexicon of monolingual speakers (established loanwords). The relationship between established loanwords and bilingual lexical insertions (spontaneous loanwords) has been abandoned. More to the point, the functional view with respect to English words' usages in the spoken and written spheres has been nearly ignored. In the same manner, studies have ignored the phenomenon in online contexts (CMC contexts), and its correlation with spoken and written domains. This study, to the best of my knowledge, is the first comprehensive study that tackles the phenomenon of loanwords (established and spontaneous) in JA from different perspectives. Accordingly, this study will try to fill these gaps by addressing the following questions:

1. How are loanwords distributed in JA in terms of types, semantic fields, word class, and frequency?

2. What are the major changes that English loanwords integrated into JA have undergone at the level of phonology, morphology, and semantics? Is there a correlation between the distribution and integration of these words and their status in JA?

3. What are the communicative functions of spontaneous loanwords in the spoken discourse of JA?

4. What are the pragmatic functions of loanwords in the written JA text? Is there any correlation between the use of the phenomenon in the spoken domain and the use of it in the written domain?

5. Why do JA speakers resort to English words in computer-mediated conversations? Do the communicative functions served by loanwords in computer-mediated communications (CMC) correspond with functions presented in spoken and written domains? Are there any communicative functions that are CMC-specific?

1.4 Overview of methodology

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, data collection and analysis followed a number of stages. This section presents a brief outline of the methodological framework and the procedures adopted to conduct this study. More detailed information about data collection and analysis is given in chapter 3.

The data of this study was gathered from three main sources: naturally-occurring conversations, three daily newspapers, and synchronous Facebook interactions. The three sources represent spoken JA, written JA (MSA), and spoken-written JA (CMC), respectively. The data was collected in the period between November and December 2012.

Data analysis was done within two methodological frameworks: structural, and functional. The structural analysis addressed the distribution, frequency, and integration of loanwords in the main corpus and sub-corpora. The functional analysis, on the other hand, was conducted from conversational and pragmatic perspectives. In this regard, the functions served by loanwords in naturally-occurring conversations and synchronous Facebook 'chat' conversations were examined in the light of *The Sequential Approach* introduced by Auer (1984), while in the case of loanwords in newspapers, the functional analysis was based on the pragmatic functions that these loans fulfil in the written text.

1.5 Research outline

The chapters of this study are explicated as follows: the first two chapters present the background, research questions, literature review, terminology and framework for this study. Chapter 3 explains the procedures adopted for data collection and data analysis. Chapter 4 deals with the structural analysis of loanwords in terms of the distribution, frequency, and integration of loanwords in JA. The next three chapters offer a functional view of loanwords in the written and spoken forms of JA. Chapter 5 addresses the discourse-related functions of spontaneous loanwords in naturally-occuring conversations, chapter 6 is devoted to the pragmatic functions served by loanwords in newspapers, and chapter 7 sheds light on the use of English loanwords in one-to-one interpersonal Facebook interactions. Finally, chapter 8 provides conclusions, implications, and suggestions for future studies.

1.6 Overview of terminology

The term *loanword* is used in this study as a cover term for all instances of lexical items with English etymology. It also applies to foreign words (e.g., Latin or European words) that exist in English. Loanwords in the current study are differentiated by a continuum from established to spontaneous loanwords. An *established loanword* refers to any

English word or expression that is habitually used by monolingual speakers as part of the JA lexicon. On the other hand, *spontaneous loanwords* denote English lexical constituents that are inserted in the structure of JA by bilingual Jordanian speakers to achieve a communicative goal. Thus, the terms *spontaneous loanwords* and *lexical insertions* are used interchangeably in this study. The terms *borrowing* and *code-switching* are used as general terms for the processes by which established and spontaneous loanwords are adopted or inserted in JA. The concept of *integration* is used to designate the linguistic changes that loanwords in JA undergo to fit better into the JA linguistic system. Finally, the term *Jordanian Arabic* (JA) is used as a cover term to denote the colloquial and the standard varieties of Arabic in Jordan.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews the copious literature on loanwords. It specifically reviews the terminology and theories available in the literature to handle spontaneous and established loanwords. The chapter also explains the relationship between spontaneous and established loanwords by addressing the terminology, definitions, and approaches of code-switching as a synchronic bilingual behaviour, and borrowing as a diachronic process. The chapter draws up the conceptual framework of the study for the following chapters.

2.1 Definition of key concepts

Borrowing is a diachronic process by which a language incorporates foreign elements from another language in its structure (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:21). The language from which lexical elements are taken is referred to as the *Source Language* (henceforth SL), whereas the language into which lexical elements are incorporated is called the *Recipient Language* (henceforth RL). As a result of diachronic borrowing, a loanword may become established in the RL, as part of its lexicon. Established loanwords in this study are defined in the sense of matter borrowings (Matras and Sakel 2007a; Sakel 2007; Matras 2009) to refer to any English word, expression, or morpheme that has a phonological form, a meaning, and a morpho-syntactic status in spoken or written JA.

In comparison, code-switching (henceforth CS) is a synchronic bilingual event that is characterized by the alternation of two or more languages, within the same sentence (clause) or between sentences (clauses) in the speech of bilinguals (Matras 2009; Clyne 1991). Lexical insertion refers to a spontaneous bilingual behaviour that entails an insertion of lexical words or constituents from one language into a structure from

another language (Muysken 2000:3). It is also referred to as insertional CS or intra-sentential CS. The base language that provides the structural framework is called the *Matrix Language*, and the contributing language that provides the inserted elements is called the *Embedded Language* (Myers-Scotton 1993b:20). Lexical insertions are here defined following Muysken (2000).

It is argued that diachronic loanwords result from synchronic lexical insertions (Backus 2014). Therefore, lexical insertions are spontaneous loanwords that may become established over time. Considering this, loanwords in this study comprise all English words in JA that are used by monolingual or bilingual speakers. The status of these loanwords is determined by several dimensions on a continuum, ranging from spontaneous lexical insertions to established loanwords.

Assuming that an established loanword begins as a single-occurring synchronic codeswitch in the speech of a bilingual, the following sections are structured as follows: they first address the issue of CS (and thus lexical insertion), then, they discuss the approaches that handle the relationship between lexical insertions and established loanwords, and finally they deal with borrowing (and thus established loanwords) as a diachronic phenomenon.

2.3 Code-switching

This section provides an overview of the definitions, terminology and approaches of CS. It also focuses on the definitions of lexical insertions and their pragmatic and conversational functions.

2.3.1 Definitions and terminology of CS

Code-switching has been defined in different ways. The terminology adopted to refer to this phenomenon differs as well. The terms *code-switching* (e.g., Gumperz 1982;

Myers-Scotton 1993b; Li Wei 1994; Clyne 1991), *code-mixing* (e.g., Muysken 2000; Lee 1991), and *language alternation* (e.g., Auer 1984) have been used as a cover term to include different linguistic behaviour of bilingual speakers. Gumperz defines CS as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems' (1982:59). Clyne (1991:161) provides a similar definition in that CS is 'the alternate use of two languages, either within a sentence or between sentences'. In these definitions, the term intra-sentential is used to denote CS within the sentence, and inter-sentential to refer to switching between sentence boundaries.

Abundant research studies restrict the use of CS to the alternate use of two languages or language forms (e.g., Milory and Muysken 1995; Gardner-Chloros 1991; Gumperz 1982; Clyne 1991; Hoffman 1991). The term code-mixing is used by some researchers to merely signal intra-sentential switches, and CS to refer to inter-sentential switches. (e.g., Singh 1985; Thomason 2001:132). For Muysken (2000), switching entails alternation only. It only concerns the 'rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event'. Auer (1984; 1999) prefers the term language-alternation as a cover term, under which he distinguishes between three language alternation phenomena:

a. Code-switching (CS): the juxtaposition of languages is locally meaningful to participants.

b. Language mixing (LM): the juxtaposition of two languages is seen as recurrent, and meaningful in a more global sense

c. Fused lects (FL): the use of certain constituents from one language or the other is fossilized.

Auer suggests that the three phenomena form a continuum, in which there is a movement in the following direction: CS → LM → FL. In Auer's (1999) typology, the

distinction between CS and language mixing is pragmatically-based, rather than structurally-based. The use of FL in Auer's classification is obligatory, which in fact resembles a state of diachronic borrowing.

2.3.2 Lexical insertion

From the above discussion, it seems that some scholars do not view the process of inserting lexical constituents from another language as CS, but rather as code-mixing. McCormick (1995:194) indicates that, in the case of single words and shorter lexical elements used from another language, the process is code-mixing rather than CS because CS is restricted to the alternation of constituents longer than one word. Muysken (2000:1-5) adopts the term code-mixing to refer to all cases in which 'lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence'. Three processes are categorized in his typology based on structural criteria: (1) insertion, (2) alternation, and (3) congruent lexicalization. Insertion is the embedding of lexical items or larger constituents from one language into the structure of another language. On the other hand, alternation suggests switching of codes between turns or utterances. Finally, congruent lexicalization suggests having lexical constituents from different languages in a shared grammatical structure. In his typology, only alternation is regarded as CS.

In her *Matrix Language Frame Model* (MLF), Myers-Scotton (1993b:4) provides a definition of code-mixing from an insertional perspective. The basis of her model is the distinction between the *Matrix Language* (ML) and the *Embedded Language* (EL). The MLF distinguishes between what Myers-Scotton calls 'system morphemes' (e.g., quantifiers, articles, and inflectional morphology), and 'content morphemes' (e.g., nouns, verbs, and adjectives). In a sentence where code-mixing occurs, it is the ML that supplies the system morphemes, (and of course the content morphemes) whereas the EL only provides content morphemes. Myers-Scotton defines code-mixing as 'the selection

by bilinguals and multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation.

Yet, the inconsistency of definitions proposed for code-mixing to denote lexical insertions leads to a kind of overlap with the notion of established loanwords. For this reason, Muysken (2000) considers lexical insertion as akin to spontaneous borrowing (p.3). Auer (1999) does not classify lexical insertions as code-mixing, but rather as instances of CS. That is, Auer distinguishes between two types of CS: alternational and insertional. The former stands for the type of CS in which 'a return after the switch into the previous language is not predictable', while insertional CS stands for the insertion of a content word from one language into the passage of another (pp. 313-14).

2.3.3 Functions of lexical insertion

When bilingual speakers insert words or phrases from another language, they are driven by several pragmatic and interactional motivations. Perhaps, the most frequently cited function is insertion for gap filling, either because the insertion does not have an equivalent in the matrix language, the meaning of the equivalent is not as specific as the insertion, or because the bilingual cannot retrieve an appropriate word from his/her repertoire (Backus 2001; Myer-Scotton 1993b; Matras 2009). Asserting that specificity is the main motivation of lexical insertion, Backus (2001) introduces the *Semantic Specificity Hypothesis* suggesting that a word from another language is embedded in the matrix language because the matrix language lacks any equivalent or near-equivalent that has the same semantic characteristics (more discussion of the hypothesis is introduced in chapter 6). Loveday (1996:190) cites a list of functions of English insertions in the Japanese context such as insertions for euphemism to avoid taboo terms, insertions as a rhetorical device, insertions for affection, insertions for humor, and insertions to quote, reiterate or summarize. Considering anglicisms in the German

language, Onysko (2007) shows that English insertions function as cultural tones. Some of them are inserted as euphemistic words.

Over and above, insertions can be motivated by several sociolinguistic variables such as the social group setting, the topic of the discussion, the participants' roles and relationships, gender, class, religion, and age (Bhatia and Ritchie 2004). Certain topics motivate insertions because a bilingual lacks specialized and technical terms for these topics in the native language (Fishman 1972; Holmes 2001). Matras (2009:112) uses the term 'institutional terminology' to refer to insertions of words denoting institutional activities and procedures. In interpersonal relationships, insertions can be a mark of intimacy and solidarity (Georgakopoulo 1997; Loveday 1996). Also, it can be a mark of social or ethnic identity (Androutsopoulos 2006).

On the other hand, some approaches have emerged to account for the functions of CS (insertional and alternational) at the conversational level. In this regard, three influential interactional approaches to CS have been proposed, namely *Situational and Metaphorical Code-switching* (Blom and Gumperz (1972), which is later developed by Gumperz 1982), *The Sequential Approach* (Auer 1984), and *The Markedness Model* (Myers-Scotton 1993a).

In their model, Blom and Gumperz (1972:422-25) and later Gumperz (1982) differentiate between two types of CS: situational switching and metaphorical switching. Situational switching presupposes that there is a direct relationship between the social situation and language choice, such that certain situational factors are tied to certain code choices. That is, change in situational parameters such as setting, participants, and social activity will lead to change in language choice. Gumperz (1982:61) states that, in situational switching, the proper selection of language use is

governed by social norms and rules that are shared by all the members of a speech community and, as a result, its use is automatic. Conversely, metaphorical switching takes place for a communicative effect in the same given situational factors, i.e., it is not conditioned by changes in situational factors. This kind of switching functions as a metaphor that enriches the intended meaning of the message.

Later, Gumperz (1982) adopts the term *Conversational CS* that, in one way or another, is similar to the definition of metaphorical CS (pp.75-84). He argues that CS should be viewed as signalling a 'contextualization cue' which corresponds to what monolinguals convey through prosody or other syntactic or lexical processes (p.98). Like any other contextualization cue, CS may contribute to the interpretation of a given utterance. As a result, he provides a semantic framework of CS that lists a number of common conversational functions of CS: namely quotation, addressee specification, interjection, reiteration, message qualification, and personification vs. objectification. Gumperz (1982) introduces the notions 'we code' and 'they code' to account for the association of language alternation with group identity and ethnicity. As such, the language of the majority is considered as the 'they code' which is associated with the 'more formal, out-group relationships', while the language of the ethnic minority is regarded as the 'we code', which is more tied to the 'in-group and informal activities'. Each code is associated with a certain domain of use. For him, code is taken in the sense of 'communicative code' (p.66).

Expanding Gumperz's notion of contextualization, Auer (1984), introduces the *Sequential Approach* in the light of the sequential organization of Conversation Analysis (CA)[1] proposed by Sacks (1967) and Schegloff and Sacks (1973). CS for Auer is similar in function to other pragmatic devices such as gesture, prosody, and

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[1] CA focuses on the organization and the structure of verbal and non-verbal social interactions. See Li Wei (2002) for more information about the roots of CA.

interjection. In other words, CS can have the same effect as other pragmatic devices and it should be viewed as a contextualization cue, i.e., meaning can be contextualized by CS (Auer 1998:1; Auer 1995: 123). Hence, a contextualization cue functions as an interpretive device of an utterance. As a contextualization cue, CS is only interpretive if it is viewed as locally meaningful to the participants involved in an interaction, i.e., the interpretation of CS should be relevant to participants themselves who are involved in an interaction. Applying the CA approach to CS can provide three main advantages: relevance, procedural consequentiality (what Auer calls 'sequential implicativeness of language choice'), and a balance between societal structure and conversational structure (Li Wei 2005a:380-382). This approach also 'limits the possible imposition of the analysts' interpretations on the meanings of CS' as it provides an interpretive rather than analytic framework of language choice (Li Wei 2005b: 276). Details and applications of the *Sequential Approach* are given in chapter 5.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) refuses the local interpretation of CS and calls for a macro-level interpretation of CS. She introduces *The Markedness Model* to account for the social motivations of CS. The crux of her model is that code choices made by speakers in different types of interaction are considered as either *unmarked* (expected) or *marked* (unexpected) language choices. Myers-Scotton assumes that in CS participants negotiate 'positions in rights-and-obligation balances'. That is, code choice is indexical of a set of rights and obligations (RO set) between participants in an interaction. An RO set is an 'abstract construct' derived from situational parameters such as setting, topic, social activity, and status of participants (p.85). For Myers-Scotton, types of interactions are considerably conventionalized in all communities, i.e., speakers are aware that their code choice will be more or less predictable in a particular interaction, or unpredictable as being indexical of other than the unmarked RO set. As a consequence, when speakers

switch between codes, they are likely to seek to maintain the established RO set, or change the normal RO set and negotiate a new RO set.

In the three pragmatic-discourse approaches mentioned above, the *Sequential Approach* gained much attention in bilingual interactions. Though this approach is primarily reserved for spoken interactions, it can also work within the CMC interactional contexts (Androutsopoulos 2013). This study adopts this approach for the communicative functions of spontaneous loanwords in interactional domains (chapters 5 and 7).

2.4 Lexical insertion or established loanword?

Distinguishing established loanwords from insertional CS remains a controversial issue in the field of language contact. Appel and Muysken (1987:173) indicate that the distinction between them is theoretically driven; borrowing entails an adoption into a system, while CS entails the use of two systems. Bilingual competence in the system of the two languages is taken as crucial to juxtapose these systems. Consequently, CS is more a bilingual activity, whereas borrowing is a monolingual habitual activity.

There are two competing approaches with respect to the relationship between lexical insertions and established loanwords. The first calls for establishing clear boundaries between insertional CS and established loanwords on the basis that they are two different processes, while the second advocates that the two phenomena are related processes. Proponents of the first view attempt to demarcate established loanwords and single occurring code-switches (lexical insertion) based on their integration in the base language. The second approach rejects the strict separation between lexical insertions and established loanwords. It adopts the notion of a continuum in viewing the relationship between them. The following sections address the two approaches in detail.

2.4.1 Integration of loanwords

The integration criterion assumes that the degree of integration is a primary determinant of the status of a loanword, whether established or spontaneous (a switch). Influential works in this area are Poplack (1980), and Poplack and her associates (Poplack, Wheeler, and Westwood 1987; Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988) who claim that the two phenomena are distinct, unrelated processes. Poplack (1980) differentiates between established loanwords and insertional code-switches based on morpho-syntactic and phonological integration criteria as the table below shows:

Table 2.1 Poplack's criteria to distinguish borrowing from CS

Levels of integration into base language			
Type	Phonological	Morphological	Syntactic	Code-Switching?
1	√	√	√	No
2	X	X	√	Yes
3	√	X	X	Yes
4	X	X	X	Yes

As per Poplack's criteria, a foreign word is considered a case of borrowing when it is completely integrated. When it is partially integrated or unintegrated, it is highly possible that it is a code-switch. Patterns of integration at different linguistic levels are discussed below.

At the level of phonology, integration affects the sound system and syllable structure. Campbell (2004:66) asserts that loanwords are expected to have undergone two major phonological processes: (1) adaptation or phoneme substitution and (2) accommodation. Phonological integration of loanwords may lead to sound substitution, vowel insertion and deletion, consonant deletion, and substitution of new phonological rules to match the rules of the RL (McMahon 1994, Winford 2003, Hock 1991; Al-Qinai 2000).

With respect to morphological integration, areas such as number and gender assignment of a loan noun, and strategies to integrate loan verbs, are commonly addressed in the morphological treatment of a loanword. Matras (2009:172) indicates that the morphological treatment of loan nouns is limited to: applying native inflectional patterns, avoiding integration, applying the original inflection of the SL, and applying special integration strategies assigned for loan nouns. In the case of applying native inflectional patterns, Matras states that languages that show nominal inflections for gender, case, possessive, number, and definiteness apply them to loan nouns (173-74).

Dealing with loan verbs, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008:89-121) introduce four major integration patterns that a RL may follow to integrate loan verbs: light verb strategy, indirect insertion, direct insertion, and paradigm transfer. Light verbs are those that have an auxiliary-like function with broad referential scope like 'do' or 'make'. Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008) call this strategy the 'do-strategy' and found that it was the most frequent strategy of integrating loan verbs inasmuch as most languages in their sample made use of it when accepting foreign verbs. They found that indirect insertion came next. In this strategy, a native affix is added to integrate loan verbs. The third strategy to operate in their model was found to be direct insertion of a loan verb without any sign of morphological or syntactic integration. Finally, they showed that the least operated strategy was paradigm transfer, which entails borrowing of verbal morphology along with the loan verb. They proposed the following hierarchy of loan verb integration:

Light verb > indirect insertion > direct insertion > and paradigm transfer

Matras (2009:176-180) goes beyond what is proposed by Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008). He proposes that strategies of verb integration should be viewed on a

continuum. Matras indicates that some languages borrow plain verbs without any integration, like the borrowed Chinese verbs in Vietnamese. He also adds that other languages insert loan verbs indirectly by assigning a special template for them. In this regard, Matras shows that certain verbs are indirectly inserted into a template utilized mainly for 'intensification of actions', which is proven to be common in loan verb integration. In addition, Matras indicates that some languages employ native verbalizing suffixes to integrate loan verbs.

As for the integration of loan adjectives, studies reveal that they are treated like native adjectives in the RL. Matras (2009:188-191) cited examples from languages that apply native inflectional morphology to integrate borrowed adjectives, such as German and Hebrew, and/or assign loan adjectives to a certain inflectional class. Arabic is a language that employs the adjectival inflectional suffix /-i/ to integrate some borrowed adjectives as in *'utumātīk-i* 'automatic' and *hāydrulīk-i* 'hydraulic'. Adverbs are mostly integrated from native adjectives. Languages that derive lexical adverbs from adjectives or nouns, act similarly with loan adjectives and nouns. Matras (2009:191) indicates that some languages, like English, employ native lexical adverb derivations to loan adjectives and nouns. This is also true for Arabic. Arabic employs the word *bišakl* 'way or manner' to derive adverbs of manner from adjectives. This also operates to derive adverbs from loan adjectives as in *bišakl 'utumātīki* 'automatically'.

A final point in respect of the integration criteria is the semantic integration of loanwords. Loanwords in any RL may go through certain semantic changes over time, especially when they are old established borrowings. Daulton (2008:22) mentions that such a kind of integration probably takes place because the original meaning is not understood by the borrower or does not need to be, as well as the absence of a cultural motivation to maintain the original meaning. Comparing the SL and the RL, Winter-

Froemel (2014:27-73) attributes the semantic deviation of a word to (1) further semantic modifications in the RL or the SL, (2) borrowing a word in one meaning only, and (3) changes occurring in the first use of the loanword.

However, the integration criterion is problematic because insertional code-switches may show degrees of morpho-syntactic integration as well. For this reason, Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) assert later that, apart from integration, an established loanword tends to be recurrent in the speech of an individual speaker, readily available to the monolingual speakers as part of their native lexicon, and widespread across the community. Also, it does not follow the phonological, morphological, or syntactic paradigm of the SL. The criterion of phonological integration was later discarded due to the existence of different degrees of phonological integration. To account for instances that are morpho-syntactically integrated, but neither recurrent in the speech of an individual, nor widespread across the community, Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988) introduce an intermediary category called *nonce borrowings* as opposed to established borrowings. Nonce borrowings stand for content words which are morpho-syntactically, but not necessarily phonologically, integrated. Apart from recurrence and frequency, they also differ from established loanwords in that they require a certain level of bilingual competence.

Still, integration as a criterion has not proved a big success. Myers-Scotton (1993b) states that the integration criterion fails to distinguish between spontaneous (insertions) and established loanwords that are not phonologically and morphologically integrated to the RL. In the same manner, Auer (1999:314) points out that an insertion can be fully integrated at the level of morphology. Therefore, some scholars propose that it is not useful to establish such strict boundaries between insertions and established loanwords, i.e., they have to be treated along a continuum.

2.4.2 From lexical insertion to established loanword: The notion of 'continuum'

It is argued that synchronic spontaneous insertions are related to diachronic established loanwords. McMahon (1994:205) asserts that speakers may borrow a word from a language to impress someone or when a prestigious connotation is assigned with this word (innovation). Then, the loanword might undergo changes if repeated by the same speaker in the presence of a monolingual. This process of integration is preserved when monolingual speakers learn and employ the word. In the same vein, Muysken (1995:190) points out that the process of language change has three levels. At first, an element from language A is spontaneously inserted into a construction in language B by a fluent bilingual speaker. With time, the element becomes a 'conventionalized CS' as it develops to be frequently occurring in a speech community. Finally, the element is phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into B, and recognized as a word in B by monolingual speakers.

Assuming that the occurrence of a foreign element as a code-switch is tied to its likely future status as a loanword, Backus (2010; 2012; 2014) outlines a usage-based approach. The essence of this approach is that insertional code-switches can be considered future candidates for loanword status or they might even be established loans already. For Backus (2010), some insertions are themselves typical candidates for a loanword status as they are semantically specific, having no competition from other equivalents, so speakers will seize upon the usefulness of these particular words and use them recurrently. Backus states that this could only be examined if a huge amount of data is available. Backus (2010, 2014) concludes that a journey towards a loanword status begins after the first use of a code-switch.

Matras (2009:110) suggests that the existence of a loanword along with a native equivalent in the same language presupposes the occurrence of CS, at least initially. A

fact that, for Matras, makes it more appropriate to deal with lexical insertions and established loanwords as related processes on a continuum.

As a result, opponents of the integration criteria as a decisive factor to distinguish established loanwords and spontaneous insertions believe that the two phenomena are tied to each other, i.e., they do not treat loanwords and insertional CS as two distinct processes (e.g., Myers-Scotton 1993a; Bentahila and Davies 1983; Eastman 1992; Treffers-Daller 1994). Driven by the fact that some borrowings are not fully integrated into the RL, some scholars (e.g., Bentahila and Davies 1983; Eastman 1992; Myers-Scotton 1993b; Treffers-Daller 1994; Romaine 1995; Backus 1996; Auer 1999; Matras 2009) are in favour of avoiding such strict dividing boundaries between insertional code-switches and established loanwords.

Unlike Poplack and her associates, Myers-Scotton (1993a:21) reports that lexical borrowings and single occurring code-switches are related processes on a single continuum. For Myers-Scotton, a loanword path begins when a bilingual switches, and this switch can take the form of insertion of a foreign element into the structure of another language, which may become a future loanword. Also, Myers-Scotton refuses the morpho-syntactic criterion proposed by Poplack and her associates and adds that established loanwords and insertions behave similarly in the matrix language in terms of the morphosyntactic procedures for both. Nonetheless, she argues that frequency is the best basis for considering borrowed words part of the mental lexicon of speakers of the RL. Myers-Scotton also claims that borrowing goes beyond filling a lexical gap (p.169). Likewise, an established loanword for Auer (1999:327) is on a continuum 'from a bilingual to a monolingual mode'. It is initiated as a discourse or competence-related insertional CS with a local interpretation before it becomes an established loanword via nonce borrowing, where there is no such a local interpretation. Matras (2009: 110-11)

takes this notion a step further by providing several dimensions that need to be taken into account in such a continuum, as shown below:

Table 2.2 Dimensions of the CS - borrowing continuum

Bilinguality
bilingual speaker ↔ monolingual speaker
Composition
elaborate utterance/phrase ↔ single lexical item
Functionality
special conversational effect, stylistic choice ↔ default expression
Unique referent (specificity)
lexical ↔ para-lexical
Operationality
core vocabulary ↔ grammatical operations
Regularity
single occurrence ↔ regular occurrence
Structural integration
not integrated ↔ integrated
codeswitching ↔ borrowing

One extreme point of the continuum is the first occurrence of the word (the insertion), and the other end point is the final destination of the word (established loanwords). As per the continuum, the more a word represents a bilingual speaker activity, an elaborated utterance, a conversational effect device, a lexical reference to an entity, a core vocabulary, a momentary occurrence, and an unintegrated lexical item, the more it is closer to the switching end point of the continuum than to the borrowing end point. The following section addresses the other extreme end of the continuum, which is diachronic borrowing.

2.5 Borrowing as a diachronic process

This section focuses on some diachronic aspects of loanwords. It provides some definitions, taxonomies, and classifications of diachronic borrowing as well as the motivations for adopting a word from another language in the RL lexicon. Additionally, it discusses the borrowability of lexical loans in relation to borrowing hierarchies and semantic domains.

2.5.1 Definitions and classifications of borrowing

The field of linguistic borrowing has gained much attention after the classical studies of Haugen (1950), and Weinreich (1953). Haugen defines borrowing as the reproduction, by speakers of X, of forms and patterns that previously existed in Y. In his classification, Haugen distinguishes between two kinds of borrowing based on the original pattern (model) and its imitation: *importation* and *substitution*. While importation suggests the maintenance of the model, so that native speakers of the RL consider borrowings part of their language, substitution involves replacement of some patterns due to inadequate reproduction of the model (1950:212). On the other hand, Weinreich (1953:7) uses the term *interference* as a cover term for the contact phenomenon in general. He defines interference as 'those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language'. In his terminology, Weinreich deals with borrowing as a sub-type of *interference* and defines it as 'elements that do not belong to a certain language'. For Weinreich, borrowing is of two types. The first one has to do with the *transfer of elements*. This type concerns the borrowing of lexicon. The second type is the transfer of structural elements or *interference without outright transfer* which is used to label the borrowing of structural patterns.

After the classification of Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953), various taxonomies of borrowing have emerged. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:39) differentiate between *borrowing* and *substratum interference*. They define borrowing as 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of incorporated features'. Unlike borrowing, interference mainly influences the structure of a language (sounds, semantics, and maybe morphology) and does not begin with the lexicon. Van Coetsem introduces borrowing as a sub-category of what he refers to as *transfer* (1988:10). Johanson (2002) prefers the term *copying*. Copying in Johanson's terminology encompasses two basic types: *global copying*, which is a cover term for lexical borrowing, of free or bound items, and *selective copying*, as a cover term for grammatical borrowing, of structural features that are inserted into the RL (2002:11-18).

In order to emphasize the communicative nature of the employment of the linguistic item taken from another language, a more recent classification is initiated by Matras and Sakel (2007a), Sakel (2007), and Matras (2009). In their classification, Matras and Sakel favour the term *replication* and view borrowing as 'the replication of a linguistic structure of any kind in a new, extended set of contexts, understood to be negotiated in a different language' (Matras 2009:148). Matras and Sakel make a distinction between *matter* and *pattern* replication. *Matter replications* (MAT) concern the replication of morphological elements along with their phonological shapes, while *Pattern replications* (PAT) involve replication of only features, not phonological forms, from another language. In other words, MAT borrowings refer to the borrowing of lexeme stems such as content words, non-content words, and phrases, whereas PAT borrowings refer to the borrowing of morpho-syntactic and semantic patterns (e.g., word order and calques).

2.5.2 Defining lexical borrowing ('established' loanword)

The term *lexical borrowing* is used as a synonym of *loanword* although the former involves the process of incorporation of linguistic units into the RL, while the latter denotes the units being incorporated (Rendon 2008:26). Heath states that lexical borrowings can differ morphologically from loanwords inasmuch as borrowing could be a phrase, whereas loanwords are always single words (2001:432). A distinction between the process (lexical borrowing) and the product (loanword) is made by Haspelmath, who defines a loanword as 'a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing (or transfer or copying)' (2009:36).

Definitions for lexical borrowing abound. Some scholars describe the process itself: using the SL words in the RL (e.g., Haugen 1950; Hock 1991). Hock (1991:380) defines it as 'the adoption of individual words or even large sets of vocabulary from another language, or dialect'. Others extend the definition to include the changes a borrowed word undergoes in the RL. In this sense, Poplack et al. (1988:52) define lexical borrowing as 'the incorporation of L2 words into the discourse of L1, the recipient language, with the possibility of being phonologically and morphologically adapted to obey the rules of that language and occupy a syntactic status'. Some scholars shed light on the status between the two languages involved in the process, as in the definition provided by Myers-Scotton (2002:41) who tackles it from a sociolinguistic perspective to state that lexical borrowing involves adoption of L1 (the more prestigious language) words into L2 (the less prestigious language) by the speakers of L2. Backus and Dorleijn (2009:77) focus on the status of the borrowed word in the RL. For them, lexical borrowing is a process whereby words from L1 become well-established as conventional words in L2 (the RL).

Haugen (1950) was the first to provide a taxonomy of lexical borrowing from a morphological and semantic basis, based on his distinction between importation and substitution. His taxonomy was later adopted and developed by Winford (2003). Haugen states that every loan is part imported and part substituted (p.212). Under what he calls the outcomes of the borrowing process, Haugen sets apart three types of outcomes: (1) loanwords to refer to elements that show a degree of phonological substitution without showing morphological substitution; (2) loanblends (hybrids) that consist of a combination of two parts, one native and another borrowed; and (3) loanshifts that involve the borrowing of a semantic dimension only without sound shapes. Loanshift includes loan translation, referred to as 'calque'. Calque is basically the translation of words from a SL following the syntactic and the semantic patterns of that language, but not the phonological ones (Hudson 1996:58).

Another classification of loanwords is provided by Myers-Scotton (2002:239, 2006) who distinguishes between two types of loanwords: *cultural* and *core loanwords*. The term cultural borrowing signifies words for objects new to the culture and words for new concepts. Cultural borrowings may appear in the speech of monolinguals or in the code-switches of either bilinguals or monolinguals. On the other hand, core borrowing refers to the state of duplication of a native word. Albo 1970 (cited in Appel and Muysken 1987; Field 2002) labels the two types of borrowing as *addition* (cultural) and *substitution* (core).

2.5.3 Functions of established loanwords

Borrowing, as frequently reported by language contact scholars, is motivated by either the need to fill a gap in the linguistic system of the RL, as meaning can only be expressed in one language, or by the prestigious social associations of a borrowed term (Matras 2009; Romaine 1995; Loveday 1996; Myers-Scotton 2002; Haspelmath 2009).

However, borrowing seems to be driven by social, pragmatic, or stylistic motivations, depending on the communicative goal of the user or the borrower.

Haspelmath (2009) discusses some social and linguistic motivations, such as the desire to avoid taboo words and to resolve the conflict of homonymy. Additionally, borrowing can be driven by stylistic motivations as it provides speakers with stylistic choices that permit the alternation of foreign and native words with the same meaning (Winford 2003:39). Matras talks about cognitive motivation that applies when there is a pressure on the bilingual to simplify the selection procedure (2009:151-152). Loveday lists some motivations that can be regarded as communicative for the use of English in Japanese such as lexical gap filling, prestige, homonymy avoidance, creation of a semantic distinction, accidental transfer through intensive bilingualism, entertainment, stylistic effects, desire of synonymy, pejorative purposes, and response to cultural influence (1996: 190). As far as JA is concerned, Al-Khatib and Farghal (1999:7-14) cite functions such as filling gaps, prestige, modernization, attractiveness, and euphemism.

It is worth noting here that the functions served by established loanwords, and those served by spontaneous insertions support the view of the interrelatedness between them. That is, most of the functions served by established loanwords also apply when it comes to the use of spontaneous lexical insertions such as filling a gap, prestige, a stylistic effect, euphemism, playfulness, and others.

2.5.4 Borrowing hierarchies in the lexical domain

Borrowability indicates the readiness and ease of a linguistic item 'A' to be borrowed more frequently than 'B'. More precisely, it is 'the likelihood of a structural category to be affected by contact-induced change of some kind or other, and is usually accompanied by the presence or absence of what is called 'linguistic constraints on

borrowing' (Matras 2007:31). In studies of linguistic borrowing, borrowability is manifested through hierarchies and scales of borrowability that place linguistic items on a scale from the most to the least frequently borrowed words.

There is a consensus that content words are more borrowable than non-content words. The borrowability of content words in relation to function words is reflected in Field's morpheme type-borrowing scale (2002:38) as follows:

Content item > function word

Content words refer to major parts of speech: namely nouns, verbs, adjectives and sometimes adverbs. Nouns are the most prominent borrowable category of content words in nearly all cross-cultural studies (e.g., Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988; Loveday 1996; Brown 1999; Field 2002; Rendon 2008). This is because of their referential functions and low level of structural integration. Verbs are less borrowable than nouns since they are structurally complex; they carry structural information, and are subject to derivational mechanisms (Van Hout and Muysken 1994:55; Matras 2009:168). As for the borrowability of adjectives, they are reported to be the third most frequently borrowed words after nouns and verbs. Adverbs, in contrast, are a controversial category as some adverbs are functional and not regarded as content words. Content adverbs (adverbs of manner) are the least borrowed content words. This typical order of the borrowability of content words is reflected in Haugen's (1950) scale:

Nouns > verbs > adjectives > adverbs, ….....

Adjectives are sometimes argued as being more borrowable than verbs, as appeared in Muysken's (1981) hierarchy of borrowability (cited in Treffers-Daller 1994:94):

Noun > adjective > verb > ……..

Field (2002:36) placed adjectives and verbs in the same position in his borrowing hierarchy:

Nouns > adjectives, verbs

Lexical borrowability is aslo investigated in relation to the semantic fields that content loanwords belong to. The most affected semantic fields seem to depend on several factors like the type of contact, the dominant language from which words are transferred, the function and the usage of the borrowed words, and the socio-cultural setting of the subordinate language. In analyzing loanwords in the Wolof language in Senegal, Ngom (2000) separated loanwords coming from three contact languages: French, Arabic, and English. He found that loanwords from English fell into the semantic domains of culture (American), music, TV, and the movie industry, while Arabic ones fell into the field of religion. French loanwords, in turn, were borrowed from the fields of politics, media, institutions, and culture.

Loveday (1996, repeated by Matras 2012:26), reports that terms for computers, broadcasting, and journalism and marketing are the most borrowable English loanwords in Japanese, as shown below:

computer (99%) > broadcasting (82%) > journalism, marketing (75%) > engineering (67%) > flowers (52%) > vegetables (35%) > animals (24%) > colours (9%)

In the *Loanword Typology Project* (LWT) (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009 (eds.)), a fixed meaning list that consisted of 1.460 items was generated. These meanings were

divided into the following 24 fields: *Physical world, Animals, Kinship, The body, Food and drink, Clothing and grooming, The house, Agriculture and vegetation, Basic actions and technology, Motion, Possession, Spatial relations, Quantity, Time, Sense and perception, Emotions and values, Cognition, Speech and language, Social and political relations, Warfare and hunting, Law, Religion and belief, The modern world,* and *Function words*. Their study reported the following generalizations:

1. Religion and belief received the highest borrowing rate (41.2%). A possible explanation was that these words were borrowed along with the outspread of main religions.

2. Clothing and grooming showed a high borrowing rate as well (38.6%), followed by the house, which formed the third highest borrowing rate (37.2%). An explanation proposed was that colonialism and globalization helped to increase such rates.

3. Kinship, the body, spatial relations, sense, and perception had the lowest borrowing rate (10-15%) due to, was suggested, the existence of indigenous words for such concepts.

In JA, Hussein and Zughoul (1993) found that most loanwords used in newspapers filled lexical gaps and were distributed across the following semantic domains:

abstract concepts (14%) > brand names (13.8%) > oil products, chemicals, diseases (8.5%) > food, clothes, business services (7.7%) > sports and cosmetics (7.7%)

However, after the invasion of computer related technology in Jordan, and the globalization and internationalization of English, semantic domains such as technology, computer, fashion and art have been extensively affected by borrowings. This has been reflected in the distribution of loanwords by semantic domain in the study conducted by

Al-Omoush and Al- Faqara (2010), where most of the identified loanwords in their corpus belong to the domain of computer, technology, and their applications.

2.6 Concluding remarks

This chapter aims at presenting the definitions, terminology, and approaches that will be employed in the subsequent chapters. As discussed in section 2.4.2, viewing loanwords along a continuum of structural and functional dimensions is the essence of the current study. This view of continuum is used to addresses the distribution, frequency and integration of loanwords in chapter 4. The other perspective from which loanwords are treated in this study is functional. There are various approaches to the communicative functions of loanwords as shown in section 2.3.3. To get a full picture of why loanwords are incorporated in JA, pragmatic and interactional approaches will be used in chapters 5, 6, and 7, respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter exposes the procedures and methodology that were adopted to conduct this study in terms of data collection and data analysis. It provides a description of the material, the participants' characteristics, as well as the methodology used to analyse the data, from structural and functional perspectives. The chapter also offers a note on the transcription and transliteration of the data.

3.1 Data collection

This section aims to give a general idea about the procedures that were followed to collect the data of this study. More detailed information is given in the next section (section 3.2).

The current study focuses on the use of English loanwords in formal and informal domains of JA. The data was gathered from three resources: naturally-occurring conversations, newspapers, and CMC conversations. Naturally-occurring conversations were gathered from audio-recordings, and TV/radio programs, representing the colloquial informal variety (spoken variety), whereas data representing the written (formal) variety was gathered from three daily newspapers. Data from CMC conversations (synchronous Facebook conversations) represent the spoken variety that is represented in online writing.

The spoken corpus consisted of 37 hours of audio-recorded spontaneous conversations, and 15 hours of TV/ radio programs. With respect to audio-recordings, only 15 hours of the audio-recorded conversations were considered for analysis for various reasons. First of all, some recordings were excluded due to the poor quality of the recording.

Secondly, the focus was set on conversations in which university students were involved because they often possess a high degree of English language competence, in comparison to other participants, due to the fact that English is the medium of study in universities, i.e., material, textbooks, lectures, and examinations are in English. Also, university students are expected to be more active in social media, in which English has become a lingua franca. For this reason, recordings in which university students were not fully or partly involved in conversations were excluded. Finally, a few conversations were entirely in English, and so, were excluded. In order to obtain a balanced spoken corpus in terms of sex, age, and educational background of participants, a number of Jordanian informants, both males and females, from different age groups and of different educational levels, were selected to take part in the audio-recorded conversations (details are given in the next section).

The other source of the spoken corpus was TV/ radio programs. Approximately 10 hours of TV/ radio programs varying in length were considered for analysis (see details in 3.2.2). Data from TV programs was recorded from three channels: *Jordan TV (JTV)*, *Ruya* 'Vision' *TV*, and *JOSAT TV*, while five radio channels were considered for collecting data: *Ayyam* 'Days' *FM*, *Hayat* 'Life' *FM*, *Inbox Radio*, *Rotana Jordan FM*, and *Yarmouk FM*. The selection of TV/radio programs as a resource was attributable to several reasons: (1) it is a good medium to observe the use of English words, (2) it offers naturally-occurring conversations, (3) it is accessible online, so there is no need to tape-record the conversations, and (4) there are no ethical constraints in comparison to spontaneous audio-recordings.

With regard to the written corpus, it was based on two sources. The first was Facebook chat conversations, which represent a spontaneous informal written variety, and the second was newspapers, representing the written standard variety. To begin with, chat

conversations occupy an intermediary status between spoken and written varieties, i.e., they have features from both the spoken and the written varieties. The data obtained from chat conversations was restricted to synchronous Facebook chat conversations. It consisted of 45 Facebook chat histories of 45 informants representing different socio-economic backgrounds. Each chat history consisted of at least one conversation thread and a maximum of 10 conversational threads. The total number of chat conversation threads for the 45 participants was 161 conversational threads (see section 3.2.3 for more details).

The other source of the written corpus was newspapers, which represent the standard variety (Modern Standard Arabic). Three daily newspapers were considered: *Al-Dustoor* 'The Constitution', *Al-Rai* 'The Opinion', and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm* 'The Arabs Today'. Initially, five issues of each newspaper were collected between November and December, 2012. Later, only three issues from each newspaper were considered for analysis. The choice of newspapers as a main resource representing the standard language was for several reasons. First, these newspapers are directed at a broad range of readerships, from the highly educated to the lay (uneducated) audience, so they are audience-oriented. Secondly, these newspapers are accessible online, i.e., they offer a PDF file for each issue. A third reason is that newspapers work in collaboration with Arabic language academies; so they are the medium for displaying new words adopted in the standard language, whether foreign or native. As a fourth point, newspapers also act as agents for the introduction of foreign words for various communicative functions through journalists, who either live in western countries or are in constant contact with different international agents. The fifth and final reason, newspapers cover wide domains and genres that are not possible with any other printed publications. Some of these domains are rich in English words, such as the sectors of advertising, science, and fashion.

3.2 Characteristics of material and participants

3.2.1 Audio-recordings

As noted, 15 hours of spontaneous conversations that were audio-recorded between November and December, 2012, were considered for analysis. Most recordings took place at the Jordanian universities (Yarmouk University, University of Jordan, and Jordan University of Science and Technology). Some other recordings took place in public places in Irbid and Amman (two main cities in Jordan), like cafes and restaurants, while others were recorded in participants' homes. In all these recordings, the role of the researcher was marginal and he was involved in few conversations in cases where he was addressed or asked by one of the participants. This has not affected the spontaneity of the conversations as informants got more comfortable after they engaged in discussions. On the other hand, aiming at getting conversations that were as spontaneous as possible, participants were not told about the exact topic of the study. Instead, they were told that their conversations would be subject to linguistic analysis. Some recordings involved a big group of people (up to 10). The smallest number was in conversations of two participants (see table 3.2). Participants were given full freedom to raise and discuss any topic without any kind of interference on the part of the researcher. Most conversations were among friends at university.

Since sociolinguistic factors such as education, gender, and age can determine language choice in an interaction (Rindler-Schjerve 2001:225), the participants who took part in audio-recorded conversations were chosen to belong to different levels of education, genders, and age groups. The level of education for these students varies to include PhD, MA, and BA students. In some conversations, there were uneducated people (those who did not have a university degree) along with university students participating in the same conversations.

Additionally, the audio-recorded conversations included conversations of male and female informants. Few of them contained mixed groups of males and females due to cultural and religious constraints. Males were more willing to take part in conversations than females. Approximately 64% of the participants were males and 36% were females. Informants, as well, belonged to different age groups. BA university students were the most accessible group and they showed a greater willingness to participate as opposed to other age groups. The age group distribution of the participants involved is approximately the following:

Table 3.1 Age distribution of informants involved in audio-recordings

Age Group	Number/Percentage
18-24	48 (30%)
25-34	40 (25%)
35-44	48 (30%)
45-59	19 (12%)
60-	5 (3%)

The most popular topics raised by participants had to do with relationships, teaching, job opportunities, study, technology, memories, examinations, work conditions, food, politics, social media, songs, and TV channels. Also, recordings varied in length since the length of conversations was determined by several factors such as the topic of the interaction and the number of participants. The length of the recordings ranged from recordings of less than 15 minutes long, to recordings of more than 30 minutes long. Only one recording exceeded an hour. The table below shows the percentage of length of recordings along with comments regarding the number of participants and the topics raised:

Table 3.2 The length of audio-recordings

Length of recordings	Percentage	Comments
Less than 15 minutes long	24%	- Almost all of the recordings consisted of 2-3 participants. - One main topic was raised in each recording.
Between 15-30 minutes long	29%	- Almost all the recordings consisted of 3-6 participants; 2 recordings consisted of only 2 participants. - Minimum of 2 main topics were raised by the participants.
More than 30 minutes long	47%	- All the recordings consisted of 3-10 participants. - More than 2 main topics were raised by participants. - Recordings that contained topics about politics were considerably longer than others.

At the end of each recording, the participants were asked to answer a short questionnaire that was aimed at ascertaining their level of engagement in English. The questions and situations were translated into Arabic to ensure full comprehension of the questions. The two-part questionnaire consisted of eight questions, as shown below:

Part 1: How often do you do the following activities?

Question	More than 10 times	Between 5-10 times	Between 1-4 times	None
How often in the past month did you watch English movies and/ or talk shows?				
How often in the last month did you read English magazines or newspapers?				
How often in the last week did you listen to English songs or radio channels?				

Part 2: Which language(s) do you use in the following situations?

Situation	Arabic	Arabic with a little English	English	English with a little Arabic	Mixed (English and Arabic equally)
Meetings with your manager/supervisor at work					
Doing paper work					
Conversations with your teacher at the university					
Conversations with your friends and colleagues					
Internet chatting and/or text messaging					

Finally, in collecting the data from audio-recorded conversations, the researcher faced some difficulties of a technical nature due to the following reasons:

- Discouragement of female students, especially university students of a religious background, to record their voice or be a part of a mixed group. Some of them who were willing to cooperate offered transcribed short conversations instead.

- In some conversations, background noise could make part of the conversations unintelligible.

- Informants' overlap and loud voices in some conversations (mainly those that dealt with politics) made some utterances unclear and, thus, difficult to identify and isolate turns, which, as a result, made the transcription a complicated process.

- Side conversations between two or three participants, which sometimes took place in big groups, could affect the flow of some conversation.

3.2.2 TV/ radio programs

Approximately 37 hours from TV/ radio programs were initially compiled. The dates of these programs extend from 2011 to 2012. These programs were available online, so there was no need to record them as long as they were downloadable. Among the compiled TV/ radio material, only 10 hours of different program types were chosen for analysis. The programs took the form of interaction between a presenter, or presenters, and guests. The format of the TV/radio programs is based on one-to-one or a panel discussion either about a certain topic in which participants provide opinions from personal experience, or about the participants themselves who are the object of the discussion (e.g., in the case of public figures, designers, project leaders). These programs were talk shows of political, economic, religious, sport, and entertainment nature. Each program began by introducing the topic of the discussion and the guests involved. The guests were from different age groups, and ranged in their level of education from uneducated to PhD holders. They may include experts (specialists), public figures (celebrities), authors, students, and lay people.

TV programs were of the talk-show type and varied to include sketches, chat shows, interviews, and entertainment programs. In contrast, radio programs were call-in entertainment programs where the presenter(s) opened a discussion about a certain issue or hosted a famous figure and received calls in from the audience. The length of TV

programs also varied from a ten-minute sketch to programs that exceeded an hour, while programs from radio channels were relatively shorter. The most accessible programs were those of an entertaining nature due to their popularity, frequency, suitable time of broadcasting and ease of finding them online.

Three TV channels were considered in data collection: one governmental and two private channels. The number of programs compiled from these channels was 42: 15 from *JTV*, 15 from *Ruya TV*, and 12 from *JOSAT TV*. These programs were talk-show programs of different themes. Below is an illustration of the types of programs compiled from each channel:

Table 3.3 Types and length of TV programs considered for the study

Types of talk-show programs	Number of programs	Duration of programs
JTV		
political	2	2 hours
religious	1	1 hour
medical	2	30 minutes
entertainment	10	4:30 hours
JO SAT		
political	3	4:30 hours
sport	2	1:30 hours
entertainment	6	1:45 hours
medical	1	25 minutes
RUYA		
political	3	1:10 hours
sport	1	30 minutes
economy	1	15 minutes
entertainment	10	3:30 hours

Among the compiled TV programs, 18 programs were chosen for analysis making up around 5:30 hours. The URLs for these programs are provided below (except for two of them, for which the URL is no longer available):

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

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtnM6txV0rw

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d5xEgfk_OiQ

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0KFjMtbAhKM

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_9wFlKQYRT8

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oNq3NSpRQuA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rQnVEY2KIlw

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n7Am0sXN7Rg

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S89n1diqUcw

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6q4IRMPRPDA

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPFwlTC2-UU

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZtPHMDU11_0

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QI3ZcY2NcmI

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AUyiGSC6txc

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eMxcU5MqzFk

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YniV0etr4RQ

On the other hand, radio programs that were considered for analysis were talk-show programs of a variety of entertainment types such as music, sketches, fashion, lifestyle, technology, and so on (except for Yarmouk FM radio channel). Recording from live broadcasting radio channels was time consuming because of having to record so many songs between each and every call-in or short conversation. Unfortunately, such songs involved Egyptian, Lebanese, Saudi, or Syrian singers in most cases, so they were not useful for the study. For this reason, only two programs were recorded from live broadcasting and the rest were downloaded from the internet. Below is a table which shows the types, number, and duration of the programs taken from the five radio channels:

Table 3.4 Types and length of radio programs taken from the five radio channels

Types of talk-show programs	Number of programs	Duration of programs
AYYAM FM		
entertainment	10	2:30 hours
HAYYAT		
entertainment	7	1:45 hours
INBOX FM		
entertainment	4	2:15 hours
ROTANA FM		
entertainment	2	30 minutes
YARMOUK FM		
social	2	4 hours
sport	1	1:30 hours
folkloric	1	2 hours
entertainment	3	4:30 hours

Eight programs were chosen for analysis making up around 4:30 hours; six were downloaded from the internet and two were audio-recorded by the researcher. Below are the available URLs of the radio programs that were considered for analysis:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SABM--FL6Xc

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9CkcWMUySk4

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HTW2fIyKOYQ

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Egm9oVc6shU

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HupJE_KLcs0

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qs0uSqPJOsQ

3.2.3 Chat conversations

Chat conversations were restricted to Facebook chats in which two people were involved in each conversation. As an initial stage, the researcher contacted ten people on his Facebook friends' list (four females and six males) who did not mind having their chat conversations used as part of the corpus of the study. The choice of these informants was based on three main factors: they were active on Facebook, they had long lists of friends, and they had a certain level of English competence. Then their friends on Facebook were asked to take part as well. Consequently, 35 invitees of their friends accepted, so the number reached 45 participants of which 16 were female participants.

The researcher requested the informants to supply their chat conversation threads in their original language without any modification or correction even if they contained grammar, spelling, or sentence structure errors. In addition, the researcher stated clearly that he was interested in synchronous conversations (on-going conversations that

contained no delay in reply). All of the chat conversations were in the form of word documents that were sent to the email of the researcher. Conversational threads were separated either by date or line. A maximum of three threads were chosen from each participant, providing that he/she was chatting with different people. A thread was specifically defined as a complete chat conversation about a specific topic or topics that took place continuously without a delay. The criterion put forward for thread selections relied mostly on the existence of English vocabulary, phrases, or clauses, which would be useful for achieving the goal of the study. In the chat history they sent to the researcher, the participants gave their first names only. Sometimes fake names were given instead of their real names. The chats in the database represent different age groups as shown below:

Table 3.5 Age group distribution of informants in chat conversations

Age group	Number of chat history senders
18-24	14
25-34	16
35-45	15

Most of the chats dealt with interpersonal relationships. Some of the chat history senders asked for time to edit their chats to avoid sending private information, so they either entirely excluded chat conversations of private matters from their chat history, or substituted real names with fake ones or with marks such as X, M, or F. Other participants, mainly the 18-24 age group, sent the researcher a record of their chat history on the spot without editing anything. Most interactions in the chat records were in Arabic language, in Arabic script and Romanized Arabic script. A few chat conversations were entirely in English. The following table shows the languages used for conversation in the chat history data:

Table 3.6 Languages used in chat conversations

Language of chat threads	Number of chat threads (%)	Status
Arabic with Arabic letters	47 (29%)	included
Arabic with Roman letters	88 (55%)	included
Arabic (mixed Arabic and Romanized letters)	18 (11%)	included
Entirely English	8 (5%)	excluded

Some of the participants sent the researcher a long record of chat history, while others sent a history record of a few conversations. Below is a table that presents the length of the chat records:

Table 3.7 The length of chat conversations

Length of chat history	Number/ (%)
10 conversation threads	4 (9%)
5-9 conversation threads	13 (29%)
1-4 conversation threads	28 (62%)

In terms of the gender of the participants in the chat conversations, chat records consist of male-male, male-female and female-female conversations. Gender distinction was clearly shown because participants were requested by the researcher in case of substituting real names to replace a masculine real name with a fake masculine name or provide a clue about the gender of the participants, such as the use of M for masculine and F for feminine. The signal X was used for people who were not part of the conversations but whose names were mentioned in the body of the conversation. The majority of threads consist of conversations between two participants of the same gender. The table below illustrates the gender of the participants in the chat records:

Table 3.8 Gender of participants involved in chat conversations

Gender in chat threads	Number (%)
male-male conversations	76 (47%)
female-female conversations	46 (29%)
male-female conversations	39 (24%)

3.2.4 Newspapers

Three daily newspapers were considered in the data collection: *Al-Rai, Al-Dustoor,* and *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*. Three issues of each newspaper were considered for analysis making up nine issues altogether. All the newspapers concerned are available online in a PDF format, with the following URLs: http://www.alrai.com, http://www.addustour.com, and http://alarabalyawm.net. Specifically, the *Al-Rai* issues of 5/11/2012, 29/11/2012, and 5/12/ 2012; the *Al-Dustoor* issues of 10/11/2012, 15/11/2012, and 27/11/2012; and the *Arab Al-Yawm* issues of 22/11/2012, 28/11/2012, and 2/12/2012, were chosen for analysis.

Some sections in these newspapers were not available online (e.g., supplements), so their paper versions were collected. The three newspapers have many headings and sections in common which encompass the following:

- Front page: headlines of political events

- Domestics: political, scientific and social news

- Culture and art: music, folklore, lifestyle, poems, conferences, festivals, etc

- Arabic and international news: political news

- Economy

- Sport

- Advertisements

- Last page: variety of local and international short news

- Issues and opinions: local and international events with comments

Nevertheless, each newspaper has its unique sections. The table below shows the divergent sections of each newspaper:

Table 3.9 Specifications of the three newspapers' unique sections

Newspaper	Section/ Specification
Al-Rai	- Studies: cultural, and religious scientific - Arabic press: articles from Arabic newspapers - Doors: variety of musical, cultural, scientific, and religious knowledge
Al-Dustoor	- Roads : comments on a variety of social local news - Electronic guidebook: contact information for different public and private institutions
Al-Arab Al-Yawm	- Arabs and the world: political and cultural articles - Backstage: classified information - Our world: international events - Translations: translations of international articles

The *Al-Rai* newspaper is considered the most common newspaper in Jordan because the paper is known to gain governmental support and is the only one that announces government tenders and job opportunities abroad. Also, each issue has the largest number of pages. This daily newspaper is published by the *Jordan Press Foundation*. The Jordan Press Foundation offers its customers a wide range of services according to the highest international standards, both electronic and printed. Another newspaper published by the Jordan Press Foundation is *The Jordan Times*, which is an independent daily newspaper published in English and distributed in all governorates of the Kingdom of Jordan. The online version of the *Al-Rai* newspaper has no difference from the printed copy except the absence of the advertising section and of the supplements

that are provided with the paper version. A screenshot of the online version of the newspaper is provided below:

Figure 3.1 A screenshot of Al-Rai newspaper online front page of the 14-11-2012 issue

 The *Al-Dustoor* newspaper is considered the second most widespread local newspaper. This newspaper pays more attention to localities and international news, as well as to sections that discuss culture, art and fashion (entitled as *Doors*). The newspaper tries to address the latest fashions and trends. Moreover, the newspaper gives more space to subjective articles in which the opinions of the writers towards certain political and cultural issues are displayed. The following image is taken from the front page of the online version of the newspaper:

Figure 3.2 A screenshot of Al-Dustoor newspaper online front page of the 27-11-2012 issue

The last newspaper adopted in this study is *Al-Arab Al-Yawm*. This newspaper is a comparatively new one. It was established in 1997 with a new format in terms of font and layout, as shown in the following screenshot of its online front page:

Figure 3.3 A screenshot of Al-Arab Al-Yawm newspaper online front page of the 28-11-2012 issue

The newspaper aims to provide more insights into the modern world by placing more emphasis on issues and events happening around the world. This is clear from the space given to writers to mark international events, whether political, social, or cultural, under a huge section entitled 'our world'. Furthermore, the newspaper devotes more space to translated international articles under a section entitled 'translations'. There is also a

daily portion in this newspaper devoted to specialized scientific topics (medical, biological, educational, economic, etc.).

For the three newspapers, the researcher contacted the editors and the deputy editors to obtain an idea about the criteria followed to select journalists. Apart from academic qualifications and experience, proficiency in the English language was revealed as a chief requirement for the selection of journalists in these newspapers. However, not all authors who wrote articles in these newspapers were journalists, but rather some scientific articles were written by different specialists or experts.

3.3 Data analysis

Data analysis was run through two main stages; each stage was sub-divided into subsequent stages. Initially, English elements were extracted along with their contexts. Then, they were subjected to different types of analysis. In the first stage, a structural analysis was conducted. This kind of analysis concerned the types, distribution, frequency, and integration of loanwords. The second stage of analysis was functional-based that aimed at exploring the communicative functions of English lexical items in the spoken and written corpora.

3.3.1 Structural analysis

The corpus as a whole contained 1251 English word types with 3096 tokens (occurrences). Each sub-corpus was analysed separately, so three tally sheets were developed: one for English words in the spoken corpus (audio-recordings and TV/ radio programs), the second for English words in the written corpus (newspapers), and the third for English elements in the spoken-written corpus (chat conversations). In each tally sheet, a loanword was provided with an index[2] to facilitate referring back to it.

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[2] An index is simply a set of numbers and letters initiated by the researcher to identify the location of the loanword in the corpus.

Each loanword in the respective tally sheets was coded for frequency, equivalence in JA, state of integration, word class, and semantic fields. Coding for these structural factors is outlined below.

First, the distribution of loanwords in terms of the availability of Arabic equivalents was targeted. For this purpose, loanwords were categorized into cultural and core loanwords following Myers-Scotton's (1993b; 2002) terminology. The criterion that was applied to distinguish between cultural and core loanwords is that cultural loanwords in JA are those loans that denote items, entities, objects, or concepts unfamiliar to the Arabic culture and entered JA to fill a lexical gap. In the case of core loanwords, they belong to words denoting concepts or objects that already exist in JA and that have Arabic equivalents. Bilingual dictionaries such as *The Hans Wehr Dictionary* and *Qāmūs al-maʕāni* 'The Dictionary of Meanings' as well as lexicographers were consulted to decide on Arabic equivalents of loanwords.

A further structural analysis addressed was the distribution of loanwords by semantic field and word class. For the distribution by semantic field, a list of semantic fields was developed based on the previous lists in the literature and the data of this study. The first list consulted was the list of the 'Loanword Typology Project' (LWT) (edited by Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). The second list was from a prominent study on lexical interference in JA carried out by Hussein and Zughoul (1993). As for the distribution by word class, the word classes *Noun, Verb, Adjective,* and *Adverb* (manner) were adopted as the major content words. Instances of non-content loanwords were also considered in the analysis of word class distribution. For this reason, two more categories were added to the list of 'word class distribution'. The first was called phrases, expressions, and idioms and the second was non-content words (function words and affixes). With regard to the frequency of a loanword, the analysis was based on the number of occurrences

(tokens) of loanwords in the sub-corpora. The option 'find' that the word document provides helped to save time.

The last stage of structural analysis was devoted to the integration of English words at the level of phonology, morphology, and semantics. The type and degree of integration were identified through a match between the SL (English) model and the RL (JA) replica. Loanwords were categorized into fully integrated, partially integrated and non-integrated, depending on the degree of morpho-phonological changes a loanword had undergone. At the level of phonology, changes were investigated in the light of Campbell (2004) and Al-Qinai (2000). Campbell (2004:66) asserts that loanwords are expected to have undergone two major phonological processes: (1) Adaptation or phoneme substitution and (2) Accommodation. Al-Qinai (2000), on the other hand, mentions that loanwords that enter Arabic from different languages are subjected to three major integration processes: consonant changes, vowel changes, and epenthesis of vowels and syllables. Finally, patterns of semantic integration were also investigated in terms of possible semantic changes such as extension and narrowing of loanwords (see e.g., Campbell 2004).

With respect to morphological integration, three areas were examined: integration related to word-formation processes (e.g., derivational integration, affixation, clipping, and compounding), loan verb integration, and inflectional integration. A comparison between the morphology of the English item in the SL and its reproduction in JA was conducted to examine word formation-based integrational patterns. The analysis of patterns of verb integration was based on Wichman and Wohlgemuth (2008) and Matras (2009). Changes targeting the inflectional paradigm focused mainly on gender, number, and possessive assignments of English words entering JA. Since English is a language that does not assign number, gender, and possessive distinctions, reliance was on the

reproduction of the English terms in the RL (Arabic) in order to examine how these words were changed to fit in its inflectional paradigm.

The final step of structural analysis was to determine the degree of establishment of loanwords in JA, relying on the frequency, equivalence, and integration of these loans, and on other factors (e.g., dictionary entry). Established loanwords were also identified as either Arabicized (adopted as part of the standard language) or non-Arabicized. For this purpose, issues and periodicals of *The Academy of Arabic Language* in Jordan were consulted. As well, three main Arabic dictionaries were consulted for the same purpose. They were *Lisān el-ʕara* 'The Tongue of the Arab', *Qāmūs al-maʕāni* 'The Dictionary of Meanings', and *al-Mawrid* 'The Resource'. Furthermore, the researcher had personal contact with language planners who were, or are still, members of the Language Academy body for additional support. The following sketch is an example of the structural analysis of loanwords in the corpus of newspapers:

Figure 3.4 A sketch of structural analysis of the newspapers data

NEWSPAPERS								
Word	Status	Freq.	Equiv.	Integ.	W. class	Semantic field	Index	Context
Rally	Est.	5	√	√	N	sport	D7/S1	و بهذه النتيجه يَتصدر مازن طنطش بطولة الأردن للراليات لعام 2012 مؤقتًا
Photography	Est.	3	√	√	N	Art, ...	D10/S2	... سنهتم بالابداع في كافة الحقول (الفن التشكيلي, التصوير الفوتوغرافي, الفيلم, الموسيقى)-
Static	Spon.	1	√	√	Adj.	Motion, ...	AY 28	العربيه من اجل الانتقال بها من واقعها التلغوي الاستاتيكي
Propaganda	Spon.	1	√	√	N	Marketing, ...	D3/S2	انها الحقيقة التي يجري تجاهلها عبر بروبوغاندا لا تغير في الواقع شيئا
Manifesto	Spon.	1	√	NI	N	Speech, ...	AY28	نشر صور الحشود والاليات العسكرية وترسيخ صورة تفوق القوة العسكرية للطرف المعني ... وهو الاحساس بالعداء للدولة العبرية وذلك ما عبر عنه جابوتنسكي منذ المانفيستو الشهير : جدار الفولاذ
Litre	Est.	3	NA	√	N	Quantity	R4/S3	قال مدير الاعلام والاتصال لدى منظمة الامم المتحدة للطفولة سمير بدران»إن منظمة اليونيسيف تعمل مع شركائها لتوصيل نحو مليون لتر من المياه النقية الى ...

3.3.2 Functional analysis

The analysis presented in the remaining chapters aims at uncovering the functionality of loanwords in the spoken and written corpora. For naturally-occurring conversations

(audio-recordings and TV/radio programs), the analysis adopted *The Sequential Approach* introduced by Peter Auer (1984; 1995; 1998). That is, the analysis focused on the functions of spontaneous loanwords (lexical insertions) in bilingual conversations. As discussed in section 2.3.3, the essence of *The Sequential Approach* is that context is locally defined by the participants of an interaction, so that a switch (insertion) is locally meaningful. Therefore, the sequential organization of an interaction must be taken into account when interpreting an insertion, which is attainable by a turn-by-turn analysis of the preceding and following utterances. Excerpts that illustrated each communicative function were chosen due to their demonstration of the local interpretation of lexical insertion under investigation.

Although this approach is restricted to spoken data, it can also be applied to data in computer mediated communication (CMC). Synchronous Facebook conversations are interactive-like (Sebba 2012), and thereby *The Sequential Approach* can work within such a kind of interaction. In addition to the Sequential Approach, lexical choice in CMC was investigated from a macro-level perspective taking into account factors such as participants, topic, and setting (Androutsopoulos 2006, 2007). Four patterns of writing systems were identified in chat conversations: Arabic, Romanized Arabic, English, and mixture of Romanized Arabic and Arabic. Only chat conversations entirely in English were excluded from the analysis. In order to figure out whether there is a relationship between insertions and the writing scripts, a script-based functional analysis was separately carried out. Extracts were carefully chosen to represent the strategy being investigated.

As for the functional analysis dedicated to the use of loanwords in newspapers, it was done through several stages. To begin with, numerous newspaper extracts that contained English words were chosen for identifying the patterns of introducing these words in the

written corpus. This kind of analysis was conducted based on McClure (2001) and Davies (2008) who hypothesized that there is a direct link between the way of incorporating a lexical element in the written corpus and its 'markedness'. The second phase of analysis was devoted to the functionality of these words in the written corpus. This was achieved through identifying the discourse-strategies employed by the authors to convey their messages, and whether these strategies correlate with strategies used in the spoken domain.

In the absence of a theoretical approach that deals with the communicative functions of loanwords in the written discourse (e.g., a turn-by-turn analysis), these functions were explored from a pragmatic perspective. The functions were pragmatically analysed from two angles: audience-oriented, and author-oriented. This kind of functional analysis was motivated by the fact that the newspapers from which the data was extracted are public newspapers that attempt to address the needs of a diverse readership. Delivering a specific meaning to the readership and attracting his/her attention to a particular point of view are two characteristics that determine the lexical choice of the writers (audience-oriented vs. author-orinted). To attain a proper categorization of the pragmatic functions of loanwords in newspapers, several studies related to the topic were used as a theoretical framework (e.g., Davies 2008; McClure 2001; Backus 2001, Callahan 2004, Haarmann 1989). All in all, a variety of extracts belonging to different genres were carefully chosen to demonstrate the most prominent audience/author pragmatic functions that English lexical items fulfil in the written discourse. Each of the two pragmatic functions was sub-categorized to facilitate the process of analysis.

3.4 Transcription and transliteration

In order to represent specific discourse characteristics, certain symbols were adopted for transcription, transliteration, abbreviation, and glossing. These symbols were based on Schiffrin (1987), Tannen (1989), and Matras (2009).

While transliteration of written orthography in JA follows established Arabic conventions, transcription of spoken language follows the phonology not the written representations. So far, the symbols used are largely the same, i.e., the phonology of JA does not crucially diverge from that of MSA as represented in writing. For the chat conversations, transliteration is applied wherever the conversation is in Arabic script. Transliteration is by this means faithful to the orthography used by the participants rather than the standard orthography.

Accordingly, transliteration of written data (newspapers and chat conversations) was executed according to the way the lexical element is written, not to the way the word is realized by the different speakers of JA. This is to avoid confusion resulting from the probable phonological variation of a word due to its possibly different enunciations by different speakers. For instance, the word 'jacket' might be realized by different speakers as *dʒakit*, *dʒākit*, *dʒākīt*, or *dʒākēt*. To avoid such variation, the transliteration of the word is orthographically-based. Consequently, the word is transliterated as *dʒākīt* according to its spelling shown in the newspapers and CMC. Likewise, the definite article /*al*/ is transliterated as /*ʻal*/.

Additionally, in Arabic, when the /*l*/ letter of the definite article /*al*/ is followed by a sun letter, it is assimilated to the initial consonant of the noun defined resulting in a double consonant, while in cases where the /*l*/ is followed by a moon letter, no assimilation takes place. That is, unlike moon letters, sun letters are the sounds that absorb the sound

of the /l/ in the Arabic definite article. When a word in Arabic begins with a sun letter, the definite article /'al/ is written, but the /l/ is not pronounced, it is rather absorbed in the first letter or sound yielding a doubled letter in strength, which is represented through a diacritic mark called *šadda* (Ryding 2005:40). Sun letters in Arabic are the /t/, /ð/, /š/, /θ/, /ḍ/, /ṣ/, /ẓ/, /r/, /z/, /s/, /l/, /n/, ṭ/ and /d/ letters or sounds. They represent coronal sounds, i.e., sibilant fricatives, dental fricatives, dental-pharyngealized fricatives, stops, alveolar nasal and approximants. Hence, the word *'al-nās* (the people) is read and transliterated as *'an-nās*.

Finally, the final-positioned letter */t/* that corresponds to a feminine suffix, as in *ʤamīlat* 'nice', is transliterated as */ʤamīlah/* because in Arabic it is seldom pronounced as */t/* except in the genitive case, elsewhere, it is realized as */h/*. As for vowels, there is no problem with long vowels since they are transliterated as they appear in the text. Short vowels, in contrast, are represented by diacritics in written Arabic, and these diacritics do not normally appear in printed materials. For a native speaker of Arabic, these vowels are mainly problematic at the end of the word since they reflect case (nominative, accusative, genitive). The solution adopted is that short vowels reflecting case ending are transliterated only if they appear in the Arabic text.

As noted, in chat conversations with a Romanized writing system, extracts were reproduced as they appeared without any kind of change or substitution. In so doing, discourse features like grapheme lengthening, substitution of letters or syllables by numbers, emoticons, and others were preserved in any given chat exchange.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISTRIBUTION, FREQUENCY, AND INTEGRATION OF LOANWORDS IN JA

The aim of the current chapter is to explore the structural aspects of loanwords in the spoken and written discourse of JA. The chapter addresses the following questions: how are loanwords distributed in the corpus (and sub-corpora) in terms of types and semantic fields? Where do we find loanwords other than nouns? What are the most frequent loanwords in the corpus, among the sub-corpora, and among the different semantic fields? What are the major phonological changes that loanwords in JA have undergone in terms of phones, phonemes, and syllable structures? How are loanwords adapted to match the derivational and inflectional paradigms of JA? And what are the major semantic changes that loanwords have undergone over time?

4.1 Distribution of loanwords

Across the sub-corpora of the study, the distribution of loanwords shows different degrees of types in JA in terms of status (entrenchment) and the availability of an Arabic equivalent. It also shows differences in terms of word classes, and semantic fields.

4.1.1 Distribution of loanwords by types

As loanwords in JA are differentiated across a continuum, the corpus identifies loanwords that have become well-established in JA, i.e., they have become part of the JA language. Sometimes they are hardly recognizable by the speakers of JA as of non-native origin. At the other end of the continuum are instances of spontaneous loanwords that are inserted in a momentary fashion by bilingual speakers. Other loanwords vary in

their status on the continuum. Accordingly, loanwords in the current study are found to fall under four categories:

(1) Loanwords that are fully established in the standard variety of JA (MSA), and are no longer recognized as foreign. In other words, they are Arabicized and have dictionary entries, such as *computer > kumbyūtar, archive > ʿaršīf, technology > tiknulūʤyā, democracy > dīmuqrāṭiyyah, tactics > taktīk, parliament > barlamān, diplomacy > diblumāsiyyah, internet > ʿintarnit, battery > baṭṭāriyyah, logistics > lūʤistiyyah, liberalism > librāliyyah, dictatorship > diktātūriyyah, geography > ʤuġrāfyū, geology > ʤiyulūʤyā, film > film, video > fīdyū, bus > bāṣ*, etc.

(2) Loanwords that are fully established in the colloquial variety of JA, with native recognition. Nonetheless, they have not yet been accepted in the standard language (not Arabicized), so they do not have written forms (dictionary entries), examples are *body > budy, block > blukk, axle > ʿāks, pick up > bakam, overhaul > ʿafarhōl, silver > silfar, lock > lukka, mood > mood, option > ʿobšin, motor > mātōr, bye > bye, full > full, chat > šāt / čāt, jack > ʤakk, bravo > brāvō, fuse > fyūz, tin can > tanaka, manual > manuel, manawēl*, etc.

(3) Loanwords that are partially established. Unlike loanwords in 1 and 2 above, these loanwords are accessible in certain contexts and are only frequent in the speech of literate people, who have acquired a certain degree of bilingual competence. They are not used or known by uneducated speakers. Furthermore, they receive the least integration (mostly phonological; substitution of foreign sounds). That is why they are easily recognized as non-Arabic. It is also found

that nearly all of them are not Arabicized. Examples are *handouts, busy, single, online, download, profile > brōfayl), team, group > grūb, presentation > brazantēšin, training, chapter > šābtar, čābtar), staff, stress, casual, professional, scanner, charisma, conclusion, project, coordinator,* etc.

(4) Non-established, spontaneous loanwords. They are lexical insertions that are mainly known to, and used by, bilingual speakers. They are infrequent loanwords that are used momentarily, by speakers who have a good level of bilingualism, such as *disaster, line, creative, typical, gallery, frank, focus, soft, guide, souvenir, standard, whatever, nomadic, quality, jobless, confirm, depression, stinky, forget,* etc.

Loanwords in 1 and 2 above are classified in this study as established for many reasons. First of all, some of them are accepted in MSA; they are considered part of the native lexicon. Additionally, they are phonologically and morphologically integrated to an extent that some of them appear distant from their English etymology like *battery > baṭṭāriyyah*, *pick up > bakam*, and *tin can > tanakah*. Heath (2001:433) mentions that an established loanword is fully integrated into the RL and is perceived as part of the native lexicon. Besides, they are frequently cited in the corpus of the current study. Thomason (2001:133) indicates that when a word is used frequently either by a bilingual or a monolingual who learns it from a bilingual, then the word is an established loanword. Finally, these loans are habitually used by speakers of JA without bearing any pragmatic value or conversational effect. Established loanwords make up around 48% of the overall number of loanwords found in the corpus.

Partially established loanwords represent loanwords that are neither established nor spontaneous, but rather have varying positions on the borrowing-CS continuum. Al-

Khatib and Farghal (1999:3) refer to this type of loanwords as words 'belonging to the specific, marked register'. Spontaneous loanwords (lexical insertions) in category 4 represent the switching end point of the continuum since they characterize clear cases of loanwords used by bilingual speakers to create a stylistic effect.

In connection with types of loanwords, Myers-Scotton (2002) differentiates between cultural and core loanwords based on the availability of semantic equivalents (section 2.5.2). Cultural loanwords in the corpus are consequences of English cultural diffusion in JA. Rosenhouse (2008:160) describes the nature of the contact between English and other languages (including Arabic) as 'culture-dependent', which involves products and concepts that are new to the RL. Indeed, a large number of loanwords in the four categories above are cultural loans. Most of them fill lexical gaps for denoting objects and concepts that are unavailable previously in Arabic, so there are no such Arabic equivalents for them. Cultural loanwords are not only words denoting technology, but also words referring to fashion, art, food, sport, and modern world. Examples from my corpus are *filtar* 'filter', *lābtub* 'laptop', *vayrūs* 'virus', *fāks* 'fax', *ġāz* 'gas', *'asfalt* 'asphalt', foliklōr 'folklore', drāmā 'drama', *ʤītār/gītār* 'guitar', *sāksfõn* 'saxophone', *bōtās* 'potash, *stūdyū* studio', *kāzinū* 'casino', *waršah* 'workshop', *šukulātah* 'chocolate', *kuktēl* 'cocktail', *hamburġar* 'hamburger', *kunġfu* 'Kong fu', *ʤūdō* 'judo', *'ūlombyād* 'Olympics', *'idyulūʤyā* 'ideology', and *daktōrāh* 'doctorate'.

Myers-Scotton (1993b) states that cultural loanwords go beyond filling a gap in the RL. As found in the corpus, cultural loanwords are sometimes used to build a positive image, especially in advertisements, fashion, and art genres. The same holds true for cultural loanwords that reflect aspects of the new world in terms of modernity, life style, and fashionable trends such as 'take away', 'graphic design', 'podium', 'one man show', 'background', 'business', 'four wheel drive', 'casual', 'kg1', and 'VIP'. Cultural

loanwords are also used to talk about or express westernised contexts, such as 'marshal', 'rap', 'Christmas', 'break dance', 'commandos', 'down town', and 'rock and roll'. Takashi (1990) called these loanwords 'special-effect givers'. In some cases, cultural loanwords are inserted into Arabic and then a native word is formed. This has led to the state of having two common words for one meaning as in 'visa' and *ta'šīrah*; 'petrol' and *nafṭ*; 'telephone' and *hātif*; 'taxi' and *sayyarit 'udʒrah*; 'computer' and *ḥāsūb*; and 'filter' and *miṣfāh*.

In contrast, core loanwords are those that co-exist with native equivalents, i.e., they are used in variation with the Arabic words. Haspelmath (2009:48) mentions prestige as a major motivation for the use of a loanword that has an equivalent in the RL. Additionally, core loanwords may behave as gap fillers in the sense defined by Backus (1992:3) who asserts that gap fillers refer to both unknown concepts and to words that bilingual speakers hear more frequently in code A, rather than in code B.

In my data, core loanwords are chiefly inserted to create a stylistic effect. In agreement with Backus (1992), some core loanwords have exact Arabic equivalents; still these equivalents are not frequently associated with the same contexts in which core loanwords are used. The core loanwords 'message', 'training', 'goal', 'brother', 'option', and 'group work' have the exact equivalents *risālah, tadrīb, hadaf, 'axx, xayār,* and *ʕamal dʒamāʕi*, respectively. Further, the term 'message' is more associated with the context of mobiles or internet than the Arabic term. The same holds true for 'training' which is more associated with work environments. In the same manner, 'goal' is more associated with sport, 'brother' with interpersonal relations in CMC, 'option' with cars, 'group work' with work and school settings. In this regard, the use of core loanwords in JA seems to provide more specific classifications (Loveday 1996:85-86) of a given meaning. The word 'elegance' is specifically used to denote quality of cars,

'full option' to refer to conditions of cars and vehicles, 'check' to mean car check, 'single' to refer to a song, and 'double' to refer to a size of glass. A detailed analysis on the pragmatics and motivations of these words will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

4.1.2 Distribution of loanwords by semantic fields

In general, the data shows that loanwords in spontaneous conversations are distributed across a wider range of topics. Around 30% of the total number of loanwords in this corpus appears in fields about social networks, electronic devices, and car parts. Topics that discuss academic matters such as exams, courses, staff, and university social life contain more than 20% of the total number of loanwords in this corpus. As for newspapers, the findings show that loanwords that appear in art, culture, music, and fashion sections constitute around 32% of the total number of loanwords. Besides, loanwords that appear in the local news make up about 18%, and those in the economy section about 16%. Approximately 12% of loanwords appear in the advertisement section. Conversely, the lowest number of loanwords appears in the sport sections making up about 7% of the total number of loanwords found in newspapers. In the corpus of TV/ radio, a high rate of loanwords is shown to occur in the entertaining programs and talk shows targeted at young people such as designers, singers, artists, and those who are interested in electronics. These loanwords constitute around 57% of the total number of loanwords in this corpus. The lowest number of loanwords in the TV/ radio corpus appears on talk shows of political nature, constituting about 7%. As for chat conversations, the occurrence of plenty of institution-related and technical loanwords is a common feature of this kind of interactional mode. These words constitute around 30% of the total number of loanwords in this corpus. This is probably attributed to the fact that the most frequently discussed topics relate to computers and internet, work affairs, and academic matters. In addition, this corpus is characterized by

the notable occurrence of loanwords that express interpersonal relationships, making up around 19% of the total number of loanwords. The occurrence of English function words (around 12% of the total number) is another distributional feature. Interestingly, though female participants constitute nearly 36% of the chat corpus, their loanwords' contribution outclassed their male counterparts with 65% use of the total loanwords.

The distribution of loanwords across the different semantic fields may reflect the motivation behind the use of these loans. In the light of Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009) and Hussein and Zughoul's (1993) lists of semantic fields discussed in chapter 2 (section 2.5.4) and taking into consideration the loanwords identified in the current corpus, the following semantic fields are proposed:

- Modern world: this field contains words for modern concepts, entities, and institutions.

- Physical world

- Technology and communication: this field consists of loanwords of technological inventions. It also includes loanwords of computer and internet devices, tools and applications as well as loanwords of broadcasting and media. Furthermore, it comprises loanwords denoting means of transportation and related words.

- Material and Substance: it contains oil products, chemical and natural substances and elements, and minerals

- Knowledge and perception: it embraces loanwords that denote acquiring and perceiving knowledge. This includes those relating to scientific doctrines, exams, academic degrees, and sense perception.

- Quantity and measuement: it combines loanwords relating to amount, measurements, containers, and related words.

- Actions and motion: this field contains loanwords relating to actions, processes, methods, and plans

- Spatial and time relations

- Emotions and qualities

- Art, music, and fashion

- Finance, marketing, and business

- Social and political relations

- Food and drink

- Language and Speech

- Professions and related words

- Clothes and grooming

- Body

- House and construction

- Religion and belief

- Animals

- Sport

- Kinship

- Warfare

- Function words: this group includes words that do not have, or have little, content meaning such as discourse markers, auxiliaries, quantifiers, interrogatives, affixes, formulaic words and chunks, numerals, and negators. The classification of function words as a semantic category is based on Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009). Among this group, discourse markers are categorized as functional based on Maschler (1997).

Technology and communication is the semantic field that absorb the highest percentage of loanwords, with a significant difference between the percentage of loanwords in this field and the percentage of loans in the remaining semantic fields. The high percentage of loanwords in this field is possibly attributed to the introduction of a large number of new concepts associated with technology, computer, and internet. These cultural concepts are introduced along with the words that are used to label them. Loanwords that belong to the *Modern world* and *Emotions and qualities* are the second and third top borrowable loanwords, respectively.

In contrast, the findings of this study concerning the semantic fields with the lowest rate of loanwords agree partially with Swadesh (1952) and Haspelmath and Tadmor's (2009). This study reports that the semantic fields *Animals*, *Kinship*, and *Physical world* are among the semantic fields that contain the least number of loanwords. Loanwords belonging to these fields are considered borrowing-resistant in the list generated by Swadesh (1952)[3] that consists of 207 words entitled 'basic vocabulary'. As claimed by Swadesh, these words are resistant to borrowing because they are generic; since they represent concepts and entities that exist in all human communities. The table below reports the distribution of loanwords by semantic fields in JA along with examples and percentage of each field:

Table 4.1 Loanwords by semantic field in the corpus

Semantic fields	%	Examples
Technology and communication	16.7 %	*tilfizyōn* 'television', *kombyūtar* 'computer', fax, *tilifōn* 'telephone', *rādār* 'radar', *kāmira* 'camera', *kondišin* 'air conditioner', *rādyō* 'radio', 'mobile', *mākīna(h)* 'machine', 'software', 'wireless', 'attachment', 'online', 'like', *ʾintarnit* 'internet',

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[3] Swadesh proposes that in any language, the most stable words that are resistant to borrowing are culture-free terms, such as 'hand', blood', 'moon', 'women', etc. For more details and examples from his list, see Tadmor (2009).

		'media', 'message', 'email', 'folder', *brobaġanda* 'propaganda', 'admin', 'server', mātōr 'motor', *taraktar* 'tractor', *bikam* 'pick up', 'taxi', *modēl* 'model', *šaṣi* 'chassis', 'steering', 'clutch', 'gear', 'cut-out', 'engine'.
Modern world	7.5 %	*warša(h)* 'workshop', *bīroqrāṭiyyah* 'accreditation', 'on-job training', 'recycling', *sīdჳāra(h)/ sīgāra(h)* 'cigarette', *brūšūr* 'brochure', *šāmbū* 'shampoo', 'hand-out', 'KG1', 'door sign', 'serial number','aviation',' *akādīmiyyah* 'academy', 'mall', 'casino', *kofišob* 'coffee shop', 'night club', 'podium', 'human resources', 'parliament', 'Jacuzzi', 'bar', 'copyrights'.
Emotions and qualities	7.2 %	'beautiful', 'love', 'nice', 'miserable', 'positive', 'pure', 'major', 'good', 'hospitality', 'great', 'modern', 'organized', 'intimacy', 'creative', 'homesick', 'romance', 'flexible', 'darling', 'typical', 'super', 'depressed', 'negative'.
Social and political relations	6.1 %	*diblomāsiyyah* 'diplomacy', *dჳrūb/ grūb* 'group', 'friend', *itikēt* 'etiquette', *siks* 'sex', 'girlfriend', 'family', 'man', 'lobby', *fidrāliyyah* 'federation', *kōta* 'quota', 'single', *diktātōriyyah* 'dictatorship', *'imiryāliyyah* 'imperialism', *fītō/ vītō* 'veto', *brotokōl* 'protocol', 'relation'.
Knowledge and perception	5.9 %	*fīzyắ* 'physics', *dჳiolōdჳyā* 'geology', *kīmyā* 'chemistry', *falsafa(h)* 'philosophy', *brāġmātiyya(h)* 'pragmatics' *daktōrā(h)* 'doctorate', 'quiz', 'assessment', 'lecture', 'course', 'MA', 'logic', 'education', 'look', 'listen', 'calculation', 'analysis', 'diagnostic', 'biological clock', sociolinguistics'.
Substance and material	5.8 %	*batrōl* 'petrol', *fōsfā* 'phosphate', *banzī* 'benzene', *blāstīk* 'plastic', *bōtās* 'potash', *ʾismint* 'cement',

		kartōn 'carton', *kālisyom* 'calcium', *brōtīn* 'protein', *'inzī* 'enzyme', *baktīryā* 'bacteria', *tobākō* 'tobacco', 'wax', *'alaminyom* 'aluminium', 'superglue', 'silicon', 'cocaine', 'fuel'.
Art, music, and fashion	5.7 %	*albūm* 'album', *komīdyā* 'comedy', 'clip', *drāā* 'drama', 'music', *karikatēr* 'caricature', *muntādʒ* 'montage', 'rap', *studyō* 'studio', *filim* 'film', 'new look', 'break dance', 'solo', 'duet', 'opera', 'photography', 'guitar', 'jump-cut', 'folklore'.
Function words	5.1 %	'well', 'you know', 'okay', 'whatever', 'so', 'I mean', 'by the way', 'less', 'please', 'anti', 'lol', 'hi', 'because', 'forty', 'me', 'why', 'over', 'sorry'.
Action and motion	4.9 %	'return', 'done', 'search', 'pass', 'switch', *taktīk* 'tactic', 'check-up', *stātīki* 'static', *trānzīt* 'transit', *'istātīdʒiyya(h)* 'strategy', 'step by step', 'finish', 'cancel', 'take off', 'landing', 'action', 'policy', 'move', 'start', 'trigger', 'fabricate'.
Spatial and time relations	4.7%	'end', 'side', 'cover', 'top', 'line', 'high', 'order', 'mid', 'first', 'afternoon', 'December', 'immediately, 'oriental', 'landscape', 'February', 'part-time', 'spacing', 'address'.
Quantity and measurement	4.4 %	*kīlō* 'kilo', 'micro', 'full', 'medium', *mitir* 'meter', *dabil* 'double', little, *ṭonn* 'ton', *litir* 'litre', *mīdʒabāyt* 'megabyte', *galan* 'gallon', *barmīl* 'barrel'.
Language and Speech	4.0 %	'dialect', 'vocabulary', 'word', 'confirm', 'sound', 'name', *šāt* 'chat', 'document', 'comma', 'comment', 'dictionary', 'spelling', 'feedback', 'paraphrase', 'manifesto', 'transliteration'.
Body	3.4 %	'back', 'haemophilia', 'gene', *bankiryās* 'pancreas', 'heart', 'bone', *pippī* 'pee', 'eye shadow', 'sick', 'handicapped', 'rib', 'smile', 'face', 'prostate'.

Food & drink	3.3 %	*hamburġar* 'hamburger', cocktail, *sandwīša(h)* 'sandwich', *šokolāṭa(h)* 'chocolate', 'cake', 'coffee', *filē* 'filet', 'fried chicken', *krēma* 'cream', *šips* 'chips'.
Professions	3.1%	*daktō* 'doctor', *mikanīki* 'mechanic', 'manager', *kābtin* 'captain', 'career', *sukurtēr* 'secretary', *ʤinirāl* 'general', 'linguist'
Finance, marketing, and business	2.9 %	*malyōn* 'million', 'bank', 'sponsor', 'business', *ʾakawnt* 'account', *dūlār* 'dollar', *kāš* 'cash', 'dealer', *kōbōn* 'coupon', 'fund', 'money', 'loan'.
Sport	2.8 %	*ōlombiyya(h)* 'olympics', *ʤūdō* 'judo', 'kong fu', 'rally', *midāliyya(h)* 'medal', *brōnziyya(h)* 'bronze', 'polo', 'derby', 'club', 'marathon', 'polo', 'tennis'.
House and constructions	2.2 %	'room', *fēlla/ vēlla* 'villa', 'roof', *balkōnih* 'balcony', *dubliks* 'duplex', *siramīk* 'ceramic', *twālēt* 'toilet', 'store', 'hanger'.
Cloth and grooming	2.1 %	*šīfōn* 'chiffon', *ʤākīt* 'jacket', 'maillot', 'blouse', 'sleeves', *šāmwā(h)* 'chamois', 'coat', 'scarf', 'casual', 'pyjamas', 'T-shirt'.
Religion and belief	0.6 %	'religion', *kaθolīk* 'catholic', *baṭriyārk* 'patriarch', *ʾorθoðoks* 'orthodox', *katidrāʾiyyah* 'cathedral'.
Warfare	0.5 %	'commandos', *milīšya* 'militia', 'fighter', 'self-defence', 'fighting'.
Animal	0.4 %	*kanġar* 'kangaroo', 'elephant', 'spider', 'donkey', 'Chimpanzee'.
Kinship	0.3 %	'brother', 'baby', 'family', 'grandma'.
Physical world	0.2 %	'foam', 'earthquake', 'disaster'.

As per the above table, some semantic fields such as *Technology and communication, Social and political relations, Art, music, and fashion,* and *Knowledge and perception*

are rich of both established loanwords that are part of the JA lexicon, and spontaneous loanwords that are inserted by bilingual speakers. At the same time, other semantic fields such as *Quantity and measurement, Food and drink, House and construction,* and *Material and substance* contain more established than spontaneous loanwords. In comparison, spontaneous insertions from fields like *Emotion and quality*, *Spatial and time relations*, and *Language and speech* are larger in number than established loanwords belonging to the same fields. The transliteration of loanwords in the table above indicates that these words are spelt and pronounced according to JA rules (integrated into Arabic), which is the case in most established loanwords. However, the use of English orthography is an indication of absence of integration and maintenance of English spelling and/or pronunciation, which is the case in many spontaneous loanwords. The distribution of loanwords across semantic fields reflects the following hierarchy:

Technology and communication > Modern world > Emotions and qualities > Social and political relations > Knowledge and perception > Material and substance > Art, music, and fashion > Function words > Action and motion > Spatial and time relations > Quantity and measurement > Language and speech > Body > Food and drink > Profession > Finance, marketing, and business > Sport > House and construction > Cloth and grooming > Religion and belief > Warfare > Animal > Kinship > Physical world

The distribution of semantic fields in each corpus reveals that the highest percentage of loanwords in all corpora falls under *Technology and communication* except in the TV/ radio corpus. In the data obtained from newspapers, the striking finding is the high percentage of loanwords that belong to the semantic fields *Material and Substance*, and *Knowledge and perception* in comparison to their percentage in other sub-corpora. This

is because of their high number of occurrences in sections like economy and finance. Still, *Kinship*, *Physical world*, *Function words*, *Animal*, and *Warfare* are the semantic fields with the lowest percentages of loanwords. In fact, no loanwords are found in *Kinship*, *Physical world*, and *Function words*. On the other hand, only one loanword in the semantic field of *Animal* is found in this corpus, which is *kanġar* 'kangaroo'.

In the corpus of TV/ radio, the data reflects that most loanwords belong to *Art, music, and fashion*. The reason behind the high rate of loanwords in this semantic field is the dominance of youth programs on TV and radio channels. Along with *Kinship*, *Physical world*, and *Warfare*, the semantic fields *Body* and *Sport* are among the fields that contain the least number of loans.

Within the corpus of chat conversations, the fields *Emotions and quantities* and *Function words* are among the semantic fields with high percentages of loanwords. *Function words* includes discourse markers, i.e., interjections, e.g., 'wow', 'Oh', and 'I mean'; conjunctions, e.g., 'so', 'but', and 'whatever'; response forms, e.g., 'yes', 'no', and 'okay'; and polite speech-act formulae, e.g., 'sorry', and 'please'. It also contains few examples of numerals, affixes, phrasal adverbs, and negators. No loanwords belonging to *Religion and beliefs*, *Animal*, *Sport*, and *Warfare*, are identified. At the same time, only one loanword is found in *Physical world*, and *House and constructions*.

Finally, in audio-recorded conversations, *Quantity and measurement* and *Language and speech* contain the highest percentages of loanwords in addition to *Technology*, *Modern world*, *Knowledge and perception*, and *Art, music, and fashion*. In contrast, *Religion and belief*, *Animal*, *Kinship*, and *Physical world* are the semantic fields with the least number of loanwords.

Conversely, across all corpora, the study reports that the semantic fields with the lowest percentages of loanwords reflect the following hierarchy: *Physical world > Kinship > Animal > Warefare > Religion and beliefs*. Each of these semantic fields shows a borrowing percentage less than 1%. The semantic field *Physical world* is placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. In the case of *Religion and beliefs*, the fact that Islam is the predominant religion in Jordan and that Arabic is the language of the Quran (the holy book of Islam) affect the borrowing rate of loanwords belonging to this semantic field. Almost all loanwords found in the data to denote religion and belief belong to Christianity. They are principally found in newspapers in sections related to the Western world or Christians in the Middle East.

4.1.3 Distribution of loanwords by word class

In studies of English loanwords in JA, loan nouns have also been reported as the most borrowable category. As for adjectives, they are more borrowable than verbs as attested by most studies. Hussein and Zughoul (1993) investigated the lexical interference of English in journalistic Arabic in Jordan. They aimed at identifying loanwords used in Jordanian newspapers, their frequency, and their integration. Nearly all loanwords identified in their study were nouns. Kailani (1994) studied 500 loanwords gathered from different sources: local publications, journals, dictionaries, informants and observations. Nouns were found to be the most frequent word class, overwhelmingly borrowed to designate new objects and concepts. Adjectives also featured in his dataset as the second top borrowable word class (though far smaller in number than nouns). Loan verbs, in contrast, were rarely found in his data.

The findings reveal that content words are more borrowable than non-content words. Within the category of content words, nouns are the most borrowable word class. Discourse markers and conjunctions are the most borrowable loanwords among non-

content words. Table 4.2 below presents the percentages of loanwords' distribution by word class:

Table 4.2 The distribution of loanwords in the corpus by word class

Major category	Word class	Percentage (%)	Total (%)
Content words	Nouns	72.5	84.8
	Verbs	2.3	
	Adjectives	9.8	
	Adverbs (manner)	0.2	
Phrases	Phrases/ idioms	9.8	9.8
Non-content words	Conjunctions, interjections, discourse devices, prepositions, affixes, pronouns, numerals, negators.	5.4	5.4

As per the above table, the findings present the following borrowing hierarchy of content words:

Nouns > adjectives > verbs > adverbs

The high percentage of loan nouns goes in line with the findings of many studies in the literature, as identified in chapter 2 (section 2.5.4). This is because of their referential meaning, and the structural ease of incorporating them into JA. For this reason, the percentage of loan nouns is the highest in all sub-corpora. As for loan adjectives, they are the second borrowable word class in the data. They are more borrowable than verbs in each sub-corpus as well. The vast majority of these loan adjectives are found in the spoken corpora. More to the point, most of them are descriptive adjectives or adjectives of quality such as 'free', 'typical', 'political', 'creative', 'flexible', 'nomadic', 'dramatic', 'main', 'oriental', 'automatic', 'beautiful', 'nervous', 'essential', 'pure',

'spare', 'roasted', 'spoken', 'modern', 'miserable', 'negative', and others. Like nouns, the insertion of adjectives seems easy as they do not carry structural information. Besides, they require a low level of morpho-syntactic integration. In Arabic, integration to Arabic word order, in which an adjective must be placed after the noun it modifies, is the only major requirement, as shown in the expression *sayyārah 'otomatik* 'an automatic car'.

Loan verbs only constitute 2.3% of loanwords found in my data. Most loan verbs are spontaneous insertions. The loan verbs 'start', 'stop', 'forget', 'open', 'paste', 'block', 'have fun', 'move', 'break', 'twist' 'consult', 'hide', and 'take off' are some examples. One reason for the low borrowability of verbs is that they are complex in terms of their morpho-syntactic properties. A verb is more central to the syntax of a sentence (Winford 2003:51-52). With regard to loan verbs in JA, a primary reason for the low borrowability of verbs is the morphological derivational productivity of Arabic word-formation templates to derive verbs from borrowed nouns, adjectives, or prepositions. The perfective and imperfective forms *fallal* 'he filled' and *yfallil* 'he fills', for instance, are derived from the loan adjective 'full' (see section 4.3.2.1).

Phrases are fixed expressions, formulaic chunks, and idioms. They are also technical expressions. These expressions occur merely in spoken corpora, and are inserted to achieve a pragmatic meaning. Examples are 'no comment', 'false flag operation', 'business is businesses, 'no news good news', 'so far so good', and 'ups and downs'.

With reference to non-content words, they constitute 5.4% of the borrowed words. Discourse markers and formulaic words are the most borrowable, constituting together more than 50% of the total borrowed non-content words. The high borrowability of them, in comparison with other non-content words, is probably for their ease of

integration and their communicative force in spoken interactions. Among the category of discourse markers, *well* represents the most frequent insertion. The accusative personal pronoun 'me' and the pronoun of address 'you' are the only pronouns found in this study. As for prepositions, most of them are found to be spatial prepositions such as 'out', 'under', and 'on'.

Finally, with regard to loan affixes, they are not as borrowable as discourse markers and other function words. In principle, most studies in the literature affirm that discourse markers and conjunctions, are more frequently borrowed than affixes (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Muysken 1981, Matras 2007). In general, Arabic rarely borrows affixes accompanying loanwords. Normally, these affixes are deleted or substituted. Nonetheless, the corpus identifies cases of borrowed derivational suffixes and prefixes, particularly the suffixes */-less/ and /-tion/*, and the prefixes */non-/ and /anti-/*. With a few exceptions, these affixes are used by bilingual speakers in humorous contexts, as in *anti lēl* 'anti-night', *non-ʿinsāniyyah* 'non-humane', and *ṣahlal-ation* (*ṣahlalah* in the spoken variety means great pleasure). In some cases, they are attached to a native word in a novel fashion yielding funny and, sometimes, meaningless words. The use of these humorous insertions will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.

Finally, the overall hierarchy of the borrowed word classes in the study yields the following hierarchy:

Nouns > adjectives, phrases > non-content words > verbs > adverbs

4.2 Frequency of loanwords

The frequency of a loanword in the RL correlates with the status of the concerned loanword. Poplack and her associates (1988) consider that frequency of a loanword in the RL increases its possibility to be integrated into that language. As per the findings of

the current study, the more frequent a loanword is, the more likely it is established. The

25 most frequent loanwords are established loanwords in JA. Approximately 92% of

them have dictionary entries and 2 are only spoken. Below is a table showing the most

25 frequent loanwords and their number of occurrences:

Table 4.3 The most 25 frequent loanwords in the corpus

Loanword	Number of occurrences	Loanword	Number of occurrences
malyōn 'million'	247	Facebook	69
filim 'film'	219	vīdyō/fīdyō 'video'	69
duktōr 'doctor'	201	kombyūtar 'computer'	68
bank 'bank'	174	mādʒistēr 'master'	60
dūlār 'dollar'	167	'akādīmiyyah 'academy'	56
dīmoqrāṭiyyah 'democracy'	152	banzīn 'benzene'	50
'ōkay 'okay'	140	'īmēl 'email'	43
'istrātīdʒiyyah 'strategy'	132	tilfizyōn 'television'	43
tiknolōdʒyā 'technology'	105	'inglīzi/'indʒlīzi 'English'	42
'iliktrōniyyāt 'electronics'	101	nit 'net'	41
barlamān 'parliament'	100	tilifōn 'telephone'	38
ġāz 'gas'	99	bāy 'bye'	37
'intarnit 'internet'	96		

In the table above, the most frequent loanwords are clear established loanwords that are

Arabicized. The loanwords 'okay' and 'bye' are the only exceptions. A primary reason

for the large number of occurrences of the loanwords in table 4.4 is their wide

application and usage in different registers, topics, and contexts. For example, in the

corpus of newspapers, the loanword 'million' occurs 17 times in the art, music and

culture sections; 10 times in the sport sections; 21 times in the local news section; 68

times in the economy section; and 10 times in the Arabic and international news sections. The loanword 'film' occurs 198 times in newspapers, 16 of them in a section about news from all over the world (entitled 'Our World'); 95 times in sections for reports and opinions; twice in the section for local news; twice in the economy section; and 104 in the art and music section. This is also true when it comes to the loanwords 'dollar', 'democracy', 'okay', 'technology', 'electronics', 'internet' and others.

Nonetheless, the number of occurrences in each corpus reflects varying results. In newspapers, the top 10 frequent loanwords are also found to be among the most frequent loanwords in the corpus. All of them are established and have dictionary entries as the table below shows:

Table 4.4 The most frequent loanwords in newspapers

Loanword	Frequency	Loanword	Frequency
malyōn 'million'	135	duktōr 'doctor'	141
filim 'film'	216	istrātīʤiyyah 'strategy'	127
dūlār 'dollar'	163	tiknolōʤyā 'technology'	84
bank	161	ġāz 'gas'	82
dīmoqrāṭiyyah 'democracy'	146	barlamān 'parliament'	77

With regard to loanwords' frequency in the different sections of newspapers, the loanwords 'film', 'cinema', 'album', 'million', 'drama' and 'caricature' are the most frequent loanwords in the section for art, fashion, and culture with 194, 61, 51, 17, 10, and 8 occurrences, respectively. In the section for local news, the high occurrences of loanwords are found to be for 'democracy', 'casino', 'strategy', 'doctor', 'workshop', 'million', and 'parliament', showing 48, 45, 40, 31, 24, 21, and 19 occurrences, respectively. In the economy section, the loanwords 'bank', 'million', 'dollar',

'strategy', 'Euro', 'ton', 'benzene', and 'solar' are the most frequent loanwords, showing 93, 68, 61, 42, 26, 25, 22, and 14 occurrences, respectively. In the sections for Arabic and international news, the loanwords 'dollar', 'democracy', 'million', 'scenario', and 'pentagon' show the highest number of occurrences; 20, 14, 10, 7, and 5, respectively. The loanwords 'dollar', 'Olympics', 'million', 'rally', and 'marathon' show the highest number of occurrences; 15, 11, 10, 5, and 3, respectively in the sport section. Finally, in the advertisements section, the most frequent loanwords are 'villa', 'master', 'garage', 'English', 'bachelor', 'full', 'automatic', and 'balcony'; with 27, 18, 13, 12, 11, 10, 10, and 8 occurrences, respectively.

Similarly, the most frequent loanwords in the TV/ radio and spontaneous conversations are found to be established loanwords in JA. Most of them are words related to technology. Moreover, both corpora contain the spoken function word 'okay' among the most frequent loanwords. Indeed, 'okay' is the loanword with the second highest number of occurrences in spontaneous conversations, and the top highest occurrences in TV/ radio data as the table below shows:

Table 4.5 The most frequent loanwords in spontaneous conversations and TV/ radio

Frequent loanwords in spontaneous conversations	%	Frequent loanwords in TV/ radio	%
duktūr 'doctor'	201	ʾōkay 'okay'	140
ʾōkay 'okay'	140	ʾiliktrōniyyāt 'electronics'	101
ġāz 'gas'	99	barlamān 'parliament'	100
ʾintarnit 'internet'	96	ʾintarnit 'internet'	96
facebook	69	vīdyō/ fīdyō 'video'	69
kumbyūtar (computer)	68	tilifizyōn 'television'	43
ʾīmēl (email)	43	DJ	25
ʾinglīzi/ ʾinʤlīzi (English)	42	T-shirt	20
tilifōn (telephone)	38	ʾaršīf 'archive'	16

In comparison, loanwords of high occurrences in Facebook synchronous conversations yeild somehow different findings. In the first place, most of them are spoken, such as 'bye', 'good', and 'message'. Furthermore, the list includes an adjective (the word 'good') among the most frequent loanwords. Table 4.6 shows the top 10 loanwords of high occurrences in the data obtained from chat conversations:

Table 4.6 The most frequent loanwords in chat conversations

Loanword	frequency	Loanword	frequency
duktōr 'doctor'	201	bye	37
ʿōkay 'okay'	140	man	34
facebook	69	message	18
mādʒistēr 'master'	60	hi	17
ʿīmēl 'email'	43	good	12

In addition, 26 loanwords are found to recur in the four corpora. All of them are established loanwords in JA. 10 of them are listed among the most frequent loanwords in the study as table 4.7 shows:

Table 4.7 Loanwords recurred in all corpora

Loanword	Frequency	Loanword	Frequency
malyōn 'million'	247	bāṣ 'bus'	27
duktōr 'doctor'	201	sīnāryō 'scenario'	27
bank	174	kamirā 'camera'	23
tiknolōdʒyā 'technology'	105	sīdʒāra(h)/sīgāra(h) 'cigarette'	21
ʿintarnit 'internet'	96	full	17
facebook	69	mikanīki 'mechanic'	17
kumbyūtar 'computer'	68	mall	15
ʾakādīmiyya(h) 'academy'	56	dʒrūb/ grūb 'group'	10
banzīn 'benzene,	50	online	9

tilfizyōn 'television'	43	mākīna(h) 'machine'	9
'indʒlīzi/'inglīzi 'English'	42	kartōn 'Carton'	9
net	41	kuntrōl 'control'	7
tilifōn 'telephone'	38	business	6

The above table illustrates that the recurrent loanwords in JA belong to different semantic fields although loanwords related to technology are dominant. Also, nearly all of them belong to the word class of nouns except for the loanword 'full'. Despite the fact that loanwords in the above table are considered established and appear in all corpora, five of them are not Arabicized; they do not have dictionary entries, namely 'control', 'group', 'business', 'online', and 'full'.

As for the frequency of loanwords by semantic fields, *Finance, marketing and business* features the highest number of occurrences for a loanword, e.g., the loanword 'million' is found 247 times. Also, 3 out of the five top occurring loanwords belong to this field. The overall number of occurrences of recurrent loanwords is found in the field of *Technology and communication*. Table 4.9 shows the highest number of occurrences in each semantic field:

Table 4.8 The most frequent loanwords in each semantic field

Technology and Communication		Modern World		Finance, Marketing, and Business	
technology	105	parliament	100	million	247
electronics	101	cinema	68	bank	174
internet	96	academy	56	dollar	167
Material and Substance		Art, Music, and Fashion		Action and Motion	
gas	99	film	219	break	10
benzene	50	album	61	delete	5
petrol	38	drama	27	start	4
Language and Speech		Knowledge and Perception		Social and Political Relations	
English	42	master	60	democracy	152
chapter	8	bakalōryos 'bachelor'	37	tactic	18
chat	7	dʒuġrāfyā 'geography'	20	dictatorship	14
Spatial and time relations		Emotion and quality		Food and drink	
next	5	deluxe	17	sandwich	12
over	3	good	11	chocolate	10
top	2	special	6	hamburger	8
Professions		Quantity and measurement		Sport	
doctor	201	ton	45	olympics	13
general	16	barrel	32	rally	5
brofisōr 'professor'	10	kilo	26	medal	5
Body		Function Words		Religion and Belief	
face	17	okay	140	patriarch	14
gene	15	yes	10	orthodox	9
sick	5	so	8	qibṭi 'coptic'	5

As per the table, nearly all the most frequent loanwords in the semantic fields are established loanwords. Most of them have dictionary entries as well (around 82%). Nonetheless, the semantic fields with the least number of loanwords are found to contain fewer numbers of frequent loanwords. Only one frequent loanword is found in the semantic field *Warfare* which is 'militia' with 8 occurrences. In the semantic field *Animal*, only two are found; 'kangaroo' with 12 occurrences, and 'spider' with 5 occurences. In the domain of 'kinship', two are found: 'baby' 6 times and 'brother' 3 times.

4.3 Integration of loanwords

Loanwords entering the RL are subject to changes in their morphophonemic forms to fit the linguistic system of the RL. Integration of loanwords in the RL also varies in its degree according to different factors (Hoffman 1991). Haugen (1950) refers to a scale of 'adoptability' along which non-native elements range from completely integrated to non-integrated elements (elements that retain their phonological and morphological shapes). This holds true for the integration of loanwords in JA. The following sections investigate the various phonological, morphological, and semantic patterns of loanwords' integration in JA.

4.3.1 Phonological integration of loanwords

Loanwords in JA vary in their degree of phonological integration. In principle, there are certain constraints that govern the phonological integration of loanwords into JA. These constraints stem from the fact that Standard Arabic and English have different phonological systems.

Campbell (2004:66) classifies phonological changes that loanwords undergo into phoneme substitution, and accommodation. In phoneme substitution, loanwords are

shown to go through cases of consonant and vowel substitutions, whereas phonological accommodation of loanwords includes phonological processes like epenthesis, gemination, omission, and metathesis. Studies that investigate phonological integration of loanwords in JA report that loanwords are adapted to the phonological rules of JA by undergoing phonological processes such as replacement of foreign phonemes (e.g., /v/ → /f/ 'receiver' > *risīfar*), vowel shortening and lengthening (e.g., 'microphone' > *makrafōn*), segment insertion (e.g., 'scrap' > *sikrāb*), and segment substitution (e.g., /e/ → /i/ 'sex' > *sikis*) (Al-Omoush and Al-Faqara 2010; Kailani 1994).

In one of the inspiring studies on the integration of loanwords in Arabic, Al-Qinai (2000) investigated the morphophonemics of loanwords in Arabic, relying on loanwords from Persian, Latin, Greek, Turkish, Hebrew, Italian, Syriac, English and other languages. He classifies phonological changes that loanwords undergo into: (1) substitution of sounds that are not part of the Arabic phonological systems, i.e., foreign consonants, vowels, and diphthongs, (2) substitution of consonants and vowels that exist in the Arabic phonological system, (3) addition of segment and features, i.e., declusterization by way of epenthesis, (4) deletion of sounds, and (5) stress shift.

In the subsequent sections, an attempt is made to investigate the phonological integration of loanwords in JA in the light of Al-Qinai's classification of phonological changes that loanwords in Arabic undergo. Although Al-Qinai cites few examples of loanwords from English, his classification can serve as the basis for patterns of phonological integration of loanwords in this study. It is worth noting here that the phonology discussed in this section concerns the phonology of both MSA and spoken JA. In cases where the phonology is different with respect to a certain phonological operation, reference will be made to such a variance.

4.3.1.1 Consonant change

This kind of integration concerns the substitution of foreign consonants that do not exist in the JA phonological system. It also concerns the substitution of some consonants that are part of the phonological system of JA.

Foreign sounds are replaced by their nearest phonetic counterparts in the RL (Campbell 2004:59). Dealing with consonants, the English phonemes /p/, /č/, /v/, and /g/ do not exist in MSA and only the phonemes /č/ and /g/ are available in some dialects of the spoken variety in Jordan, especially in rural and Bedouin dialects. Khasara (2000:97) indicates that it was the Jordanian Academy of Arabic Language's proposal to assign a fixed Arabic phoneme to substitute each foreign sound; as such /č/ is substituted by /k/, /g/ by /ʤ/, /v/ by /f/, and /p/ by /b/.

As a result, the phonemes /p/, /č/, /v/, and /g/ in loanwords identified in the corpus are replaced by their homorganic Arabic equivalent sounds. The voiceless phoneme /p/ is replaced by its voiced counterpart /b/ especially in the case of established loanwords as shown in *crepe > krīb, laptop > lābtob, pancreas > bankiryās, diplomacy > diblumāsiyya(h),* and *potash > būtās*. With respect to spontaneous loanwords or those that are not fully established in the standard language (not part of the native lexicon), the phoneme /p/ does not show constant integration. The phoneme /p/ in the loanword 'option' is found in two forms: /b/ and /p/ depending on the speaker of the word. In contrast, the loanword 'adapter' is found to retain its /p/ phoneme. In other cases such as 'supply', 'stop', and 'shopping', the /p/ phoneme is replaced by its /b/ counterpart as *sablāy, stobb,* and *sobbing,* respectively although these loans are non-established bilingual insertions.

In the same manner, the /č/ phoneme in loanwords is replaced by its /š/ equivalent, as in *sandwich > sandwīšah*, *check > šīk*, and *chat > šāt*. Nonetheless, this phoneme is sometimes retained in the spoken variety in cases of established loanwords, since the inventory of some colloquial varieties includes the /č/ sound. This is probably an effect of foreign brand names that have been familiar in Jordan for a long time. That is, while /č/ is orthographically rendered as /š/ in writing, it is sometimes retained in speaking. For example, the loanword 'chapter' is rendered as *šābtar* in writing and *čābtar* in speaking).

As far as the /v/ phoneme is concerned, there are three ways of integrating it in JA. First of all, it is retained in most non-established or spontaneous loanwords as in 'bravo', 'views', 'creative', 'visually', 'reversal', 'silver', and 'delivery'. Secondly, in most cases of established loanwords, the /v/ phoneme is retained when spoken and replaced by /f/ when written. A possible explanation is that the spoken variety has the phoneme sound /v/ in its inventory, although it is restricted to the use of foreign words that are old borrowings, such as terms denoting brand names and western concepts. Consequently, the /v/ sound in the loanwords 'virus', 'visa', and 'vitamin' is rendered as /f/ in MSA (*fāyros*, *fīza,* and *fitāmīn*, respectively), but is retained in spoken JA. Thirdly, in a few cases, the /v/ phoneme is devoiced and rendered as the voiceless counterpart /f/, in both varieties of JA, e.g., *archive > 'aršīf,* and *television > tilifizyōn.*

Likewise, the phoneme /g/ is missing in MSA, but available in some colloquial varieties. Loanwords that contain the phoneme /g/ show a number of possible integrations based on their status (established or not). First, most spontaneous loanwords retain their /g/ phoneme. These are found in the spoken variety (chat, tape recordings, and TV programs). Examples are 'cargo', 'eggs', 'diagnostic', 'good', 'travelling', and 'god'. Second, in established loanwords in MSA, the /g/ phoneme has

two variants: /ʤ/ or /ġ/, as shown in *hamburger > hamburġar, demographics > dimuġrāfiyyah, kilogram > kīluġrām, England > 'inʤiltra*, and *cigarette > siʤārah*. In certain limited cases, /g/ is found in two written forms, one with /ʤ/ and another with /ġ/, as in the case of *gallon > ʤalūn/ ġalūn*, and *graphic > ʤrafik / ġrafik*. One more possibility of integrating the /g/ phoneme is to merely replace it with the /k/ phoneme as in *garage > karāʤ,* and *gasoline > kāz*.

Substitution of sounds does not only include sounds that are not part of the Arabic phonological system. It sometimes affects sounds that exist in the Arabic phonological inventory. The phonological motivation behind the substitution of consonants that exist in Arabic seems to add an Arabic phonological color to loanwords by resorting to distinctive phonological features of Arabic. This relates to the substitution of specific consonants in fully-established loanwords. These consonants are /t/, /d/, /s/, and /k/, which are substituted by their emphatic consonants /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /ṣ/, and /q/, respectively.

Emphatic consonants in Arabic are articulated by raising the tongue body toward the back of the soft palate, or, in other words, by thickening the root of the tongue (Stuart 1995). As a consequence, these sounds are labelled 'pharyngealized', 'velarized', or 'emphatic' sounds (Saiegh-Haddad and Henkin-Roitfarb 2014:5). The term *emphasis* which is used to refer to this phenomenon is a translation of the Arabic word *tafxīm* (lit., heaviness or magnification). Ali (1987:109-110) attributes the occurrence of this phonological phenomenon to the 'tendency of Arabic sounds to combine in certain sequences rather than others'. A more satisfying interpretation is introduced by Al-Qinai (2000) who attributes it to the tendency of Arabs to preserve the character of Arabic by taking advantage of one of the salient Arabic features, which is the employment of emphatic sounds.

In this process of integration, the /t/ phoneme and sometimes the /s/ phoneme, occurring in some loanwords, are replaced by their emphatic counterpart /ṭ/, such as *battery > baṭṭāriyya(h), Baltic > balṭīq, patriarch > baṭriyar, captain > qubṭān, Copts > 'aqbāṭ, democracy > dimuqrāṭiyya(h),* and *bureaucracy > bīruqrāṭiyya(h).* As to the phoneme /s/, it is replaced by its emphatic counterpart /ṣ/ as in *sandal > ṣandal, solo > ṣolo, sodium > ṣodyom,* and *saloon > ṣālōn.* Furthermore, the /k/ sound is sometimes substituted by the emphatic counterpart /q/; as a result, 'captain' is rendered as *qubṭān, democracy > dīmuqrāṭiyya(h), music > musīqa, Coptic > qibṭi,* and *Baltic > balṭīq.*

4.3.1.2 Vowel change

Phonological integration of loanwords also affects vowels in terms of substitution and lengthening. Similar to the substitution of consonants, vowel substitution is also applied to foreign vowels and diphthong that do no exist in the phonology of Arabic and to some vowels that are part of the Arabic phonology. To begin, not all English vowels and diphthongs are available in the Arabic language. The vowels, /ɛ/, /ɒ/, and /ɔ:/ are not vowels in Arabic. The same is also true for the diphthongs /əʊ/, /eɪ/, and /aɪ/. These vowels and diphthongs are substituted when integrating a loanword. In this respect, the data of this study demonstrates that there is a preference of the Arabic /i/ over the foreign /ɛ/ in integrating loanwords, e.g., *general > ʤinirāl, cent > sint, sex > siks* and *net > nitt.* A preference of /u/ and /o/ over /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ is also common, where /ɒ/, and /ɔ:/ are substituted by /o/ in the spoken variety or /u/ in MSA, as in *dem<u>o</u>cracy > dīm<u>o</u>qraatiyyah/ dīm<u>u</u>qraatiyyah, c<u>o</u>medy > c<u>o</u>mīdi/ c<u>u</u>mīdi, exh<u>au</u>st > ogz<u>o</u>zt, holoc<u>au</u>st > holoc<u>u</u>st,* and *<u>au</u>tomatic > '<u>o</u>tomatik/ '<u>u</u>tomatik.* Likewise, diphthongs that are not available in the Arabic phonological inventory are replaced by either short or long vowels. When the diphthong is located in a final syllable, there is a preference to substitute it with a long vowel. For example, the diphthong /əʊ/ tends to be rendered as /ō/ or /ū/ in *teleph<u>o</u>ne > tilif<u>ū</u>n / tilif<u>ō</u>n, dynam<u>o</u> > dinam<u>ū</u>/ dinam<u>ō</u>,* and *hell<u>o</u> > hal<u>ō</u>.*

Conversely, the /aɪ/ and /eɪ/ diphthongs tend to be substituted by long vowels, e.g., *stadium > stād, prostate > brustāt, dictator > diktātōr/ diktātūr,* and *confederation > konfidrāliy-yah*.

Loanwords entering JA have also undergone certain changes in terms of vowel lengthening. Short vowels tend to be lengthened when these loans are integrated in JA. In this way, *tactic* becomes *taktīk, petrol > batrōl, million > malyōn >, service > sarfīs, motor > matōr,* and *automatic > 'otomatīki*.

Substituting of diphthongs and short vowels with either long or short vowels is a matter of orthographic rendering of vowel signs. It is also an attempt to preserve the Arabic syllable structure, which, in turn, determines the stress location in Arabic, especially in the substitution of diphthongs and short vowels with long vowels. In principle, Arabic has three types of syllable structures: light/weak syllables (CV), heavy syllables (CVV and CVC), and super heavy syllables (CVVC, CVCC, and CVVCC), where V stands for a short vowel and VV for a long vowel (Halpern 2009). By the same token, in Arabic, there is a strong relationship between syllable structure and stress location because one governs the other (Ryding 2005:36). That is, a final syllable in Arabic is never stressed unless it is a super heavy syllable, and the second to last syllable is stressed if it is a heavy syllable (McCarthy and Prince 1990). Therefore, having a long vowel in final or pre-final positions automatically attracts the stress in Arabic. In other words, vowel lengthening in loanwords indicates a case of stress shift. The table below illustrates the Arabic syllabification of loanwords, which explains the lengthening of final short vowels:

Table 4.9 Lengthening of final vowels in loanwords

Arabic CVV-CVVC	Arabic CVC-CVVC	Arabic CV-CV-CVVC
motor > mā-tōr, mō-tōr	tactic > tak-tīk	ceramic > ci-ra-mīk
saloon > sā-lōn	service > sar-fīs	vitamin > vi- ta-mīn
dollar > dū-lār	barrel > bar-mīl	
solar > sū-lār	carton > kar-tōn	
balloon > bā-lōn	petrol > bat-rōl	
	doctor > dok-tōr	
	million > mal-yōn	

In the table above, all the CVVC syllables are stressed indicating a case of stress shift. In word-final position, this syllable structure is very common in Arabic, as shown in *ʕaṣ-fūr* 'sparrow', *hā-sūb* 'computer', *mak-tūb* 'letter', *nā-qūs* 'bell', *ǰī-rān* 'neighbours', *sā-rūx* 'missile', etc.

4.3.1.3 Addition (epenthesis)

Epenthesis is related to patterns of vowel and syllable additions. It is defined as the 'insertion of transitional sounds without etymological motivation' (Bussman et al. 1996:150). Arabic does not allow a word or a syllable to begin with a consonant cluster. Al-Qinai (2000) asserts that to overcome such a constraint, Arabs insert a vowel, or prefix an additional syllable consisting of a glottal stop (') and a short vowel. The two operations (inserting a vowel or a syllable) are applied to loanwords in JA.

In the case of inserting a vowel to break consonant clusters, it is found that the consonantal string of CC in loanwords like 'balcony', 'film', 'scrap', 'cadre', 'tractor', 'folklore', 'bluff', 'pancreas', and 'secretary' is broken into CVC, rendering *balakōnah, filim, sikrāb, kādir, taraktar, foliklōr, balaf, bankiryās,* and *sokortēr*, respectively. The other technique of breaking initial consonant clusters is also applied to loanwords like

'sponge', 'strategy', 'studio', and 'stadium' that are rendered as *'isfindʒ, 'istratīdʒiyya(h), 'ostudyū,* and *'istād*, respectively.

4.3.1.4 Deletion

An introduction of loanwords into Arabic phonology may demand omission of some phonemes. This might be attributed to the need to avoid consonant clusters and to abide by the syllable structure of Arabic, or simply to facilitate pronunciation. In cases of consonant omission found in the study, the last consonant of a word is omitted, such as the deletion of /t/ in *repor̲t > rabōr* (only spoken)*, spor̲t > sbōr* (only spoken)*, parliamen̲t > barlamān, cigare̲t̲te > sigāra,* and *due̲t > diyo*. As for vowel omission, examples are *choc̲o̲late > šoklāta(h)/ šoglāṭa* (spoken)*,* and *diplom̲a > diblōm*.

4.3.2 Morphological integration of loanwords

Morphological integration seems to be more difficult when the languages in contact possess two distant morphological paradigms. Winford (2003:48) states that, in comparison with syntactic integration, morphological integration can prove more difficult, particularly if the borrowing language has 'complex' inflectional and derivational paradigms, such as case, number, gender, etc.

This section explores the different morphological changes that loanwords go through to comply with the morphological paradigm of Arabic. It examines the word-formation processes that loanwords undergo, such as derivation, affixation, and clipping. Moreover, it investigates the patterns of verb integration in JA and the patterns of loan noun inflectional integration.

4.3.2.1 Derivational integration

Arabic lexical morphology is made up of a system of consonant roots that intertwine with patterns of vowels to generate words or word stems (Ryding 2005: 45). This root-

pattern combination is very productive in Arabic in forming different words. In order to demonstrate word formation in Arabic, a model root f-ʕ-l is used so that any pattern can be expressed by fitting into it. Benmamoun (2003) indicates that the word-based derivation in Arabic requires three elements: a consonantal root, a pattern or a template, and a computational system that maps the root onto the template. In other words, the word-formation process is expressed by the template consisting of the consonantal and vocalic melodies. The root is the anchor of the relations between the templates. This Arabic root can be two-root consonants, three-root consonants, four-root consonants, and five-root consonants. Benmamoun asserts that the various verbal or nominal forms are related as 'the mapping onto the template involves the same consonantal root', that deals with a particular semantic field. By way of illustration, the verbal forms *katab* 'he wrote', *yaktub* 'he writes', and the nominal forms *maktab* 'office', *maktaba* 'library', and *kātib* 'writer', are derived from the tri-consonantal root k-t-b 'write' which deals with the semantic field *writing*. The forms are built by mapping the root k-t-b onto the already-existing verbal templates CaCaC, and yaCCuC, and the nominal templates maCCaC, maCCaCa, and CāCiC, respectively.

The same procedure is followed in the derivational integration of loanwords in JA. Most of the loanwords are identified as roots or word-stems from which further words are derived by mapping the root onto already existing templates. Like this, the loanwords 'million', 'condition', 'telephone', 'filter', 'out', 'tactic', and 'nervous' are rendered as word-stems of the roots m-l-y-n, k-n-d-š, t-l-f-n, f-l-t-r, t-k-t-k, n-r-f-s, respectively, from which the perfective verb forms *malyan* 'became a millionaire', *kandaš* 'air conditioned', *talfan* 'made a call', *faltar* ' filtered', *taktak* ' used a tactic', and *narfaz* 'became nervous' are derived. These words are derived by mapping the root onto the templates CaCCaC, which is assigned for the perfective form of the quadri-literal roots. In generating further verbal forms, Arabic affixes are employed. For instance, the

imperfective verb forms *yutalfin* 'makes a call' and *yufaltir* ' filters' are derived from the root t-l-f-n and f-l-t-r by the insertion of the prefix (verb conjugation) /yu/, which is used to derive the imperfective in four-consonantal roots, to fit into the template yu-CaCCiC. Following the same tendency, the loanwords 'nervous', 'fabricate', 'archive', and 'hallucinate' are mapped onto the verbal noun template CaCCaCa to generate the words *narfaza(h)* 'nervousness' , *fabraka(h)* 'fabrication', *'aršafa(h)* 'data archiving', and *halwasa(h)* 'hallucination'.

It appears that any established loanword is treated as a stem regardless of its word-class. The adjective *foll* 'full' was treated as a tri-literal root from which the spoken perfective verb form *fallal* ' filled' and the spoken active participle verb form *mfallil* 'filling' are derived. In the same way, the loan preposition 'out' is rendered as a stem (a-w-t) in JA and is used to derive the perfective verb form *'awwat* (used to mean 'run out of something'). A more attention-grabbing example is the use of the preposition 'over' from which the spoken verbal noun form (called *maṣdar* in Arabic) *'awvara* (lit., exaggeration) is derived.

4.3.2.2 Affixation

Loanwords that contain foreign suffixes are treated differently. In some cases, suffixed loanwords such as 'liberalism', 'federation', 'logistics', 'pragmatics', and 'romanticism', are not borrowed together with their English suffixes. Rather, the corresponding forms are derived from existing Arabicized adjectival stems by the addition of an Arabic nominalizing suffix. For this reason, these loanwords are borrowed as *librāly* 'liberal', *fidrāly* 'federal', *lūdӡisty* 'logistic', *brāġmāty* 'pragmatic', and *rōmansy* 'romantic' respectively. Later, a nominal derivation process takes place by the addition of the native suffix /ya(h)/ to derive nouns as presented in *romantic >*

romansiy-ya(h), logistic > ludʒistiy-ya(h), liberal > libraliy-ya(h), pragmatic > brāġmatiy-ya(h), federal > fidrāliy-ya(h), and *confederal > kunfidrāliy-ya(h).*

However, there are examples of loanwords that are borrowed along with their accompanying suffixes, such as the loanwords containing the foreign suffixes */-ology/* and */-graphy/*, which are are borrowed as a whole. Loanwords containing these suffixes are integrated by adding the suffix /ā/ directly to them. Maintenance of the suffixes */-ology/* and */-graphy/* may be due to the difficulty of integrating loanwords without them as opposed to the integration of those containing other suffixes. Another possible explanation is that the suffixes */-ology/* and */-graphy/* are functionally specific in referring to sciences and branches of knowledge, unlike the broader use of other suffixes. It seems then that the maintenance of these suffixes facilitates the process of integrating the loanwords that they are attached to. The loanwords *biology > bayolōdʒyā, geology > dʒiyolōdʒyā, mythology > miθolōdʒyā, technology > tiknolōdʒyā, photography > fotoġrāfyā, geography > dʒiyoġrāfyā,* and *demography > dimoġrāfyā* are some examples.

Interestingly, the study finds that in integrating some foreign expressions that contain a prefix into the standard Arabic (MSA), the opposite direction occurs: the prefix is retained and the stem is replaced by an Arabic counterpart, as shown in *geo-political > geo-syāsi,* and *Euro-Mediterranean > ʿōrō-mutawassiṭiyyah.*

4.3.2.3 Clipping

Clipping is creating new words by truncation of already existing words. Katamba (2005:180) states that clipping is a word-formation process with a phonological dimension because the clipped word may become monosyllabic or disyllabic. Kortmann (2005:95) suggests that, although clipping is considered one of the less productive word-formation processes, it is becoming more important in our daily lives. This is

mainly due to people's familiarity with a particular subject, which made clippings come into common usage because of the preference for a more easily and quickly pronounceable version of the word (Harley 2006:95). There are two types of clipping: fore-clipping and back-clipping. The former refers to the deletion of the initial part of the word and the latter to the deletion of the final part of the word.

Most clipped loanwords found in the corpus are back-clipped. Few fore-clipped loanwords are identified. In both types, the dominant type of clipping refers to clipped compounds. Mattiello (2013:76) states that compound clipping takes place when a compound is reduced to one of its parts. Notably, most of these compounds belong to the domain of transportation and related parts. The back-clipped compounds *self-ignition > silf, steering wheel > steering, clutch pedal > clutch, spare tyre > spare, four wheel drive > four wheel, power steering > bawar, and body shell > budi* are examples of clipped loanwords belonging to this domain. In comparison, the clipped compounds *electronic fuel injection > inǰikšin and air-conditioner > kondišin* are examples of fore-clipped compounds belonging to the domain of cars.

A number of clipped loanwords in the study are created by university students to refer to university life. In this respect, Lieber (2011:53) states that universities are prolific grounds for the emergence of clipped words. These clipped loanwords denote university subjects, exams, and employees. Examples are *biology > bayo, mid-term examination > mid-term/mid, sociolinguistics > sōsyo, doctor > dok[4],* and *first exam > fẽrst*.

Finally, in agreement with Harley (2006), the truncation of compounds in the above examples seems to be motivated by the need to obtain an easily pronounceable version of the compound. The clipping pattern is nearly consistent, i.e., deletion of the last part

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[4] *Dok* is also a clipped word in the source language (English)

of the compound (back-clipping) although most of these compounds are right-headed. An example is the right-headed compound 'self-ignition'. In its clipped version, the head (ignition) was deleted, not the other part. The same thing can be said about 'spare tyre', 'final exam', 'power steering', etc.

4.3.2.4 Loan verb integration

In chapter 2, we discussed the loan verb integration strategies introduced by Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008) and Matras (2009). Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008:89-121) introduce four major verb integration strategies: light verb strategy, indirect insertion, direct insertion, and paradigm transfer, demonstrating that the light verb strategy is the most common among these strategies.

With regard to the loan verb integration in the corpus, two strategies are employed when integrating these verbs, which are light verb strategy and indirect insertion. Light verb strategy is found to be the most recurrent strategy. It only operates in the spoken language. The most common light verb used for integrating these loan verbs is *'iʕmal* (make or do) and its verbal forms that are produced by the addition of verb conjugations (such as *yiʕmal* [he makes], *ʕimil* [he made], *'iʕmal* [you make], *'iʕmilit* [I make], *tiʕmal* [she makes], *baʕmal* [I make] etc.). The use of the light verb do/make in *'iʕmal download, tiʕmal block*, and *baʕmal click* are some examples. The strategy of the light verb *'iʕmal* is also found to operate in cases of English verb participles, e.g., 'sharing', 'shopping', 'rebuilding', and 'scanning', as shown in *e3mal sharing l-post*, which was used by a participant in Facebook synchronous chat conversation.

In the case of indirect insertions, the findings match with what Matras (2009) proposes in that some loan verbs are found to be inserted into an inflectional template used for 'intensification of actions'. The loan verbs below are integrated by the strategy of indirect insertion by assigning the template *CaCCaC* to them:

save > sayyav, charge > čarradʒ, check > šayyak, connect > kannak, finish > fannaš

After being inserted into this template, they inflect as verbs to form other verb forms. For example, the loan verb *check* is used in the imperfective as *yšayyik*, *finish > yfanniš*, *charrag > yčarridʒ* etc.

However, the loan verbs 'fabricate', 'hallucinate' and 'cancel' are found not to fall under the same template reserved for loan verbs. This is attributed to the fact that they are viewed as four consonantal root words in Arabic, f-b-r-k, h-l-w-s, and k-n-s-l respectively. Quadri-consonantal verbs in Arabic do not show intensification of meaning. An exception of a loan verb that does not fall into the above inflectional template is the loan verb 'bluff'. It is found as *balaf* not *ballaf*.

Finally, it is reasonable to view integration of loan verbs as a process on a continuum with two polar end points: non-integrated spontaneous loan verbs, and fully integrated established loan verbs. As shown in the data, applying the light verb strategy to integrate loan verbs might be the first strategy towards establishing such loan verbs. As well, functioning as a root or stem for further derivations and inflections is considered a clear sign of being accepted in JA and thereby becoming established loan verbs. Moving from the unintegrated spontaneous loan verbs endpoint towards the established integrated endpoint, the continuum should contain points like indirect insertions by reserving a template for loan verbs, and the employment of light verb strategy.

4.3.2.5 The definite article

The Arabic definite article /al/ marks the definiteness of the noun it pre-modifies. Similar to Arabic nouns and adjectives, the Arabic definite article /al/ is prefixed to loan nouns and loan adjectives. As illustrated in section 3.4, the letter /l/ of the definite article is assimilated to the initial consonant of the loanword if it is followed by a sun

letter, just like Arabic words. The definite article is realized as /el/ in the spoken variety, and as /'al/ or /al/ in the written language. For instance, the loan loans 'the computer', 'the mobile', 'the democracy', and 'the size' are rendered as *elkumbūtar, elmubāyl, ed-dimuqrāṭiyya,* and *es-sāyz* in the spoken variety and as *'alkumbūtar, 'almubāyl, 'ad-dimuqrāṭiyya,* and *'as-sāyz* in the written language.

However, the script choice is shown to create a discrepancy between the written and the spoken varieties of JA. In spoken data, the users tend to introduce the /el/ before the loanword regardless of its status on the continuum. The same practice is replicated in CMC, probably for being an interactive-like mode of communication. In the written language, on the other hand, authors tend to avoid the use of the definite article when the loanword is inserted in its original orthography. Accordingly, the pre-modified loanwords 'end user', 'Cyber', and 'foundation' were rendered *as el-end user*, *es-saybar*, and *el-foundation* in the spoken and CMC varieties. In writing, pre-modified loanwords that were orthographically integrated such as 'break dance', 'etiquette', and 'checking' were rendered as *'al-brīk dāns, 'al-itikīt,* and *'al-tašyīk*, while pre-modified loans that were inserted in their original spelling such as 'main spine', 'search box' , and 'big Bang' appeared without the definite article.

4.3.2.6 Inflection for gender, number, and possessive

Loanwords tend to comply with inflectional integration patterns of JA in terms of gender, number, and possessive assignment. Gender assignment of loan nouns is determined by factors like the natural gender of the referent of the loanword, the gender of the word in the SL, and the gender of an equivalent or near equivalent in the RL (Matras 2009:174). Treffers-Daller (1994:123) emphasizes that gender assignment of loan nouns takes place when the gender systems of the RL and SL do not correspond. For Corbett (1991:74), 'loanwords are assigned to a gender according to meaning or

form, depending on the assignment system of the borrowing language'. Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff (1982) examine gender assignment of English loan nouns in Puerto Rican Spanish and Montreal French. Their findings demonstrate that nouns signifying animate referents are assigned gender according to their biological sex. This factor is the most significant factor in determining gender in their corpora. The other major factors are the phonological shape of the loan nouns and the semantic analogy of loan nouns' equivalents in the RL

All loan nouns found in the current corpus are assigned a gender, either masculine or feminine. There are three factors that have a role in determining the gender of loan nouns in JA: the semantic analogy of the Arabic equivalent, the phonological shape of the loanword, and the biological sex of the referent (Poplack, Pousada, and Sankoff 1982). The biological sex of the animate referent does not have a crucial role in determining the gender of the loan noun. In fact, very few loan nouns in the corpus are assigned a gender (masculine or feminine) based on their biological sex. To cite some examples, the loan nouns *kunt* 'count, *lurd* 'lord', and *baṭriyārk* 'patriarch' are assigned a masculine gender, and the loan nouns *kuntisah* 'countess', 'girlfriend', 'miss', and 'prostitute' are assigned a feminine gender, based on their biological sex.

The more significant factor in determining the gender of loan nouns in the corpus is the semantic analogical gender of their equivalents in JA. Several loan nouns are assigned a masculine gender because their Arabic equivalents are masculine. The native equivalent of the loanword *budi* 'body' *(ʤisim)* is masculine, so the loan noun 'body' is masculine. The same is true for the masculine loan nouns *mātōr* 'motor', 'bank', 'scenario', 'email', 'rally', 'condition', *'igzost* 'exhaust', and *yaxt* 'yacht', which have the masculine counterparts or near counterparts *moḥarrik, maṣraf, naṣ, barīd, sibāq, mokayyif, ʕādim,* and *qārib*, respectively.

In the same way, other loan nouns are assigned a feminine gender under the influence of their semantic analogical gender in JA. That is, these loan nouns are assigned a feminine gender because their native equivalents or near equivalents are feminine. The loan nouns *balkōna(h)* 'balcony', *mākīna(h)* 'machine' and *tanakah* 'tin can' are assigned a feminine gender because their Arabic equivalents and/ or near equivalent *šurfa(h)*, *'ālah* and *ʕolba(h)* are feminine. More to the point, the feminine gender of these loan nouns is demonstrated by attaching the loan noun to the Arabic feminine marker */-a(h)/* , which is one of the unmarked feminine markers in Arabic, as presented in the following examples:

cigarette	→	sigāra(h)	workshop	→	warša(h)
balcony	→	balkōna(h)	democracy	→	dimōqrāṭiyya(h)
flash	→	flāša(h)	blouse	→	blūza(h)
tin can	→	tanaka(h)	machine	→	mākīna(h)

There are also quite a few spontaneous loan nouns that are assigned feminine gender because of the semantic analogy of their Arabic equivalents. Examples are 'screen', 'bottle', 'culture', 'end', and 'message' which are assigned a feminine gender since their native equivalents *šāša(h)*, *zudʒādʒa(h)*, *θaqāfa(h), nihāya(h),* and *risāla(h),* respectively, are feminine.

The third factor that has an effect on the assignment of feminine gender to loan nouns is the phonological shape of the loan noun. In Arabic, loan nouns that end in /-a/ are feminine, since this ending is recognized as a feminine marker. As such, loan nouns like *kamira(h)* 'camera', *sīnama* 'cinema', *milīšyā* 'militia' *kōta* 'quota', *drāmā* 'drama', and *'adʒinda* 'agenda' are assigned a feminine gender in JA.

Number assignment of loanwords is another inflectional aspect of morphological integration. In MSA, a noun can be singular, dual, or plural. There are two suffixes that assign duality: the suffix */-ān/* in the nominative case and the suffix */-ayn/* in the accusative and genitive case. As for pluralization, there are two types of plural nouns in Arabics: sound plural nouns and broken plural nouns. The former is formed by the addition of masculine or feminine plural suffixes, whereas the latter entails internal changes to the base noun. The tables 4.10 and 4.11 give an idea of the dual and plural distinction in MSA:

Table 4.10 Dual distinction in MSA

	Gender	**Dual**	
		Nominative	Accusative/ genitive
mohāsib 'accountant'	M	*mohāsibān*	*mohāsibayn*
mohāsibah 'accountant'	F	*mohāsibatān*	*mohāsibatayn*
madīnah 'city'	F	*madīnatān*	*madīnatayn*

Table 4.11 Plural number distinction in MSA

	Plural			
	Sound			Broken
	Masculine		Feminine	
	Nominative	Accusative/ genitive		
mohāsib	*mohāsibūn*	*mohāsibīn*	*mohāsibāt*	
mohāsibah				
madīnah 'city'				*modon* 'cities'

Number distinction in spoken JA is nearly the same with slight differences. Spoken JA does not employ the */-ān/* dual form. Instead, it only uses the /-ēn/ form, which is the

colloquial rendering of the standard /-ayn/. As a result, the dual has only two forms: /-ēn/ for masculine nouns and /-tēn/ for feminine nouns. Moreover, plural nouns in spoken JA do not adopt the /-ūn/ plural suffix for masculine plural nouns. Only the /-īn/ plural suffix is used for the pluralization of masculine nouns. These differences between MSA and spoken JA are due to simplification, a feature of all colloquial varieties in the Arab world (Al-Saidat 2011:65).

JA applies its number rules to loanwords. When the loanword is masculine, the dual is formed by the addition of /-ēn/ suffix as in *kart (card)* → *kartēn, cover* → *kavarēn, goal* → *gōlēn,* and *bawnd* → *bawndēn.* When the singular loanword is feminine or referring to a feminine referent, the dual noun is formed by adding the /-tēn/ suffix, as in *makīna* → *mākintēn, doktōr* → *doktortēn,* and *sandwīšah* → *sandwištēn.*

The findings confirm that most loan nouns are pluralized in the form of sound plural nouns. The feminine sound plural is found to be much more productive than the masculine sound plural. Very few masculine sound plurals are found in the corpus in comparison to the feminine sound plurals. Within the feminine sound pluralization of loan nouns, loan nouns that end with the sound /o/ or /u/ are pluralized by adding the /-hāt/ suffix, or in a few cases, the /-wāt/ suffix. This is also true for the duality of these loan nouns which is formed by adding the suffix /-hēn/ and /-wēn/. Acronyms are also pluralized by adding /-hāt/ to the loan noun. This finding is supported by studies that tackled the integration of loanwords in JA, such as Kailani (1994), Badarneh (2007) and Al-Saidat (2011). Below are some examples from the data:

parliament	→	*barlamānāt*	video	→	*vīdyohāt*
dollar	→	*dūlārāt*	kilo	→	*kilowāt, kilohāt*
message	→	*masidʒāt*	scenario	→	*sinaryohāt*

More importantly, it is found that pluralization by the addition of the suffix /-āt/ is the default procedure when loanwords inflect to show pluralization, especially for loan nouns that are only spoken and have not been adopted in the standard language yet. Some examples are shown below:

break	→	brēkāt
group	→	grūbāt
course	→	kōrsāt
coffee	→	kufišubbāt

In the same way, such a default procedure is also applied to some spontaneous loan nouns, as shown in the pluralization of *shoes → šūzāt, store → stōrāt,* and *attachment → atāšmintāt*. Nevertheless, unlike the situation in the colloquial JA, pluralization by adding the feminine suffix /-āt/ is sometimes avoided in MSA. Instead, a plural lexical modifier is used before the loanwords. Badarneh (2007) reports a similar finding. The loanwords 'laptop', 'coffee shop', and 'scanner' below are pluralized by the addition of plural lexical modifiers:

'adʒhizit lab tob 'laptop devices'
maqāhy kofyšob 'coffee shops'
'ālāt skanar 'scanner machines'

Regarding the loan nouns that take the broken plural form, there are not many instances in comparison to those receiving the sound plural forms. Indeed, all loan nouns that are pluralized in the form of broken plurals are old established loan nouns that have been accepted in the standard language a long time ago. In all cases, assigning a broken

plural form for loan nouns entails mapping these loan nouns (roots) onto existing inflectional templates, a fact that Badarneh (2007) refers to as pluralization by analogy to Arabic forms. The table below provides some examples of loanwords that take the broken plural in both written and spoken varieties along with examples of native words that are pluralized similarly:

Table 4.12 Pluralization of loanwords in JA by means of analogy

Loan nouns	Broken plural form	Examples of analogy
filim 'film'	*'aflām*	*ʤaras > 'aʤrās* 'bells'
taksi 'taxi'	*takāsy*	*kursy > karāsy* 'chairs'
sarfīs 'service'	*sarāvīs*	*masḥūq > masāḥīq* 'powders'
barmīl 'barrel'	*barāmīl*	*masḥūq > masāḥīq* 'powders'
kādir 'cadre'	*kwādir*	*hāmiš > hawāmiš* 'margins'

It is also noticeable that broken plural nouns are inflected to plural number after they are phonologically integrated into JA. So they are formed based on their integrated forms not on their original forms in the donor language. The loanword 'barrel' is phonologically integrated as *barmīl*, and then its broken plural form *barāmīl* is generated.

It is worth mentioning here that there are old spoken loan nouns that have broken plural forms in the colloquial, but are given the feminine plural form when they are Arabicized. The loanwords *kābil* 'cable', *waršah* 'workshop', *taksi* 'taxi', and *'albūm* 'album' had broken plural forms *kawabil, woraš, takāsi,* and *'alābīm,* respectively, in the colloquial. These loanwords are given the feminine sound plural */-āt/* in MSA. In the corpus of newspapers, they are found as *kablāt, waršāt, taksiyyāt,* and *'albūmāt*.

As a final remark, the pluralization of loan nouns denoting masculine animates does not show consistency. Three loan nouns referring to masculine animates are found in their

plural forms in the corpus. They are the loan nouns *kābtin* 'captain', *daktōr* 'doctor', and 'teacher'. The loan nouns 'doctor' and 'captain' are assigned the broken plural forms *dakātrah*, and *kabātin*, whereas the loan noun 'teacher' is assigned the feminine plural form *tīšar-āt*, though it is used by a female participant to denote male teachers, which may support the claim that the /-āt/ plural suffix is the default procedure for the pluralization of spontaneous loan nouns.

Finally, loan nouns in the corpus inflect to show possessives. In Arabic, nouns are inflected to show the possessive case by adding a possessive pronoun to the noun that is owned. The possessive pronouns are used as suffixes attached to the noun. In comparison, possessive assignment in JA differs slightly from MSA. As an illustration, below are the possessive forms of the word *kitāb* 'book' in MSA and spoken JA:

Table 4.13 Possessive in Arabic and spoken JA

Person	MSA	JA
1st	kitāb**i**	ktāb**i**
2nd .M	kitāb**uk**	ktāba**k**
2nd .F	kitābu**ki**	ktābi**k**
3rd .M	kitāb**uh**	ktāb**o**
3rd .F	kitābau**ha**	ktāb**ha**
2nd .DUAL	kitābu**kumaa**	ktāb**ko**
3rd .DUAL	kitābu**humaa**	ktāb**hom**
1PL	kitābu**na**	ktāb**na**
2PL.M	kitābu**kum**	ktāb**ko**
2PL.F	kitābu**kun**	ktāb**ko**
3PL.M	kitābu**hum**	ktāb**hom**
3PL.F	kitābu**hun**	ktāb**hom**

Unlike spontaneous loan nouns, established loan nouns inflect to show the possessive case following the Arabic possessive patterns. Examples of such an inflection in the spoken language are *ʔīmēli* 'my email', *tilifōnak* 'your phone', *fāylo* 'his file', *daktōrko* 'your doctor', and *ʔīmēlhom* 'their email'. Another interesting finding concerns the possessive assignment of some spontaneous loanwords. In the spoken language, they are sometimes expressed by the native possessive adjective *tabaʕ* (belong to) which is placed after the noun owned. This is also true for established loanwords that consist of two parts. Some examples are given below:

el-cover photo tabʕaty   'my cover photo'

el-body tabaʕo   'his body'

el-girlfriend taʕtu   'his girlfriend'

el-hangar tabaʕna   'our hanger'

el-accreditation tabaʕhom   'their accreditation'

4.3.3 Semantic integration of loanwords

Semantic change is defined as a change in the concepts related to a word (Campbell 2004:253). Loanwords in any RL may go through certain changes over time, especially when they are old established borrowings. In the JA context, a unique study on the semantic integration of loanwords in JA was carried out by Bader (1990), who investigated various semantic changes on established loanwords from English and French. Bader (1990) found that English and French loanwords in JA have undergone some semantic changes for different reasons. The most common changes reported in his study are semantic widening, narrowing, metaphor, shift, pejoration and amelioration. The findings of this study nearly match with the findings of Bader (1990) regarding the

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main semantic changes of loanwords. The main difference is that, contrary to what Bader claims, semantic restriction, not widening, is the most frequent semantic change that loanwords have undergone in my data. These changes are addressed one by one below.

First, semantic extenstion is one of the major changes that loanwords in JA have undergone. Semantic extension involves extending the meaning of a word to be used in more contexts (Campbell 2004: 254). In JA, the loanword *kofyšob* 'coffee shop' does not only mean a café serving coffee and light refreshments, but also a café where *shisha* is served. Likewise, the loanword *sūbarmarkit* 'supermarket' is also used to refer to a small market that sells food and other products. Almost all mini-markets in Jordan are termed supermarkets in their business signs. Similarly, the loanword *twālēt* 'toilet' is used to denote a bathroom. In fact, 'toilet' and 'bathroom' are used interchangeably in JA. The loanword *blūzih* 'blouse' is also extended in meaning to denote a sweater or a pullover. It is used for both males and females. In the statement *blūzāt ridӡdӡaliyyi(h) šatwiyyi(h)* (winter blouses for men), which is taken from an advertisement, the loanword 'blouse' is used to mean a male sweater for sale. Likewise, the established loanword *ṣālōn* 'saloon' is used to signify a public room used for specific purposes or a car having a closed body or a closed boot, as per its definition in the Oxford Dictionary. The word is found in the data to have undergone semantic widening to also mean the room or space in the house where the family gathers.

Another finding with respect to loanword extension in JA applies to loanwords that refer to containers of different sizes. The loanword 'tank' extends its meaning to also denote a tanker, a vehicle carrying water or other liquids, as shown in the following statement from the data … *tank el-mayy* 'the water tanker'. As for *tanaka(h)* 'tin can', its meaning is extended to cover containers of bigger sizes such as a jerry can, a box or

a bucket as in the widely used expression *tankat el-banzīn* 'benzene jerry-can'. In like manner, this loanword is found to refer to any metal container that has a thin handle, e.g., *tankat zēt* 'olive oil tin can' and *tanakat mayy* 'water tin can'. Concerning the loanword *ġalōn* 'gallon', it is not only used as a unit of volume for liquid measure, but also, in most cases, the loanword is used to mean a jerry-can. Indeed, the loanwords *ġalōn* 'gallon' and *dʒarkan* 'jerry-can' are used interchangeably to refer to a big container that has a thick handle used to carry water or liquid, as in the widely used expression *galan kāz* (a gasoline container that can hold up to 20 litres).

A last example is the use of 'lol'. The spontaneous loan abbreviation 'lol', which is frequently used in CMC contexts, has also undergone semantic extension. This abbreviation is used in online chat conversations not only to mean 'lots of love' or 'laughing out loud', but is also used to mean an exclamation or a questioning discourse device.

The second notable semantic change that loanwords in the corpus have undergone is narrowing. Semantic narrowing of a loanword includes restriction and specialization of its meaning, changes to a more concrete meaning (Campbell 2004:255). The semantic narrowing of loanwords in JA is possibly attributed to the need to make new semantic distinctions. An example of narrowing is the use of the loanword 'full'. It is used in JA in two senses that are related to vehicles. The first sense relates to car conditions or types, in which *full, full ʻobšin* 'full option', and/or *full ʻotomatīk* 'full automatic' are used to convey the same meaning. The second sense refers to the action of filling the fuel tank of a car. In the domain of car, other loanwords are also found in a restricted semantic sense. The loanword *silindar* 'cylinder' is only used to mean the car cylinder when talking about how strong a car's engine is. Also, the loanword 'spare' is only used

to mean the spare wheel of a car. More examples from the study are given in the table below:

Table 4.14 Semantic narrowing of loanwords in JA

Loanword	Semantic narrowing	Example
būṭ 'boot'	restricted to denoting a sports trainer	*būṭ/bōt riyāḍa(h)* 'sports boots'
kuktēl 'cocktail'	restricted to denoting cocktail juice	*ʕaṣīr kuktēl fawākih* 'fruit juice cocktail'
sandal 'ṣandal'	restricted to denoting sandals worn by males	*eštarēt sandal lal-walad* 'I got my boy sandals'
delivery	restricted to denoting food delivery	*wajbit delivery* 'delivery meal'
open	restricted to denoting liberated people	*lāzim el-bint tkūn open* 'a girl must be open'
kwāfēr 'coiffeur'	restricted to denoting a female hair-dresser	*kwāfēra(h) šāṭra(h)* 'a good coiffeur'

Third, semantic change of loanwords may also involve cases of meaning shift, in which a loanword acquires a completely different meaning. For Bader (1990), meaning shift varies from partial to complete shift. In JA, some loanwords appear to acquire a culturally-specific sense that is entirely different from their meanings in the SL. The loanword *rūf* 'roof' no longer means the upper covering or the top of a building or a vehicle. In JA, the loanword came to mean the flat or apartment on the roof along with the space in front of it. The loanword *lukka(h)* 'lock', which means to fasten or fix something, has also shown a semantic shift in JA where it is sometimes used to mean a serious problem, as in the expression *ʕimlinna lukkah mbāriḥ* 'he created a serious

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problem for us yesterday', which was used by one of the participants in chat conversations.

An important type of semantic shift is the additional metaphorical meaning that some loanwords gain. On the whole, metaphor is a semantic change in which an extension of the meaning of a word takes place due to semantic similarity or connection between the new meaning and the original one, i.e., 'one thing is conceptualized in terms of another' (Campbell 2004:256). The metaphorical meaning goes beyond the literal meaning of a loanword.

A number of loanwords have taken an additional metaphorical meanings in JA based on analogical connection between the original meaning of the loanword and the new metaphorical meaning. Since metaphorical meaning is associated with analogy, the original meaning of the loanword needs to be well-known to the speaking community, which is the case with loanwords that are found to receive additional metaphorical meanings in JA. That is, they are established loanwords that are known to monolingual speakers of JA. Below are some expressions from the corpus that contain loanwords that have gained additional metaphorical meaning:

Table 4.15 Metaphorical meaning of loanwords in JA

Loanword	Metaphorical meaning
filim 'film'	trick/prank
kartōn 'carton'	easy to break
lurd 'lord'	a person who lives comfortably
'antīka 'antique'	old-fashioned

The loanword 'film' is used in some conversations to mean prank. The expression *saḥab filim*, which was used by one of the participants in chat conversations to literally

mean [he] has made a film, is metaphorically said to mean that [he] has pranked someone. As long as a film is something that is not true or real, an additional metaphorical meaning of the loanword film is conceptualized. By this means, 'film' is used metaphorically to mean unreal, or tricky. 'Carton' is a material known for being very light and easy to bend. Its connection with any product adds a metaphorical meaning to it as being not strong or very breakable. In the use of 'lord', the connection between the original meaning and the new meaning is that both lords and the person concerned live peacefully, comfortably, and with no worries. Finally, the loanword 'antique' in *wāḥad 'antīka* (lit., an antique person), is used in a new sense to mean that someone has an old way of thinking or behaving, and that he is an old-fashioned person not a modern one; the new meaning is conceptualized through analogy to antique.

The last semantic change to be addressed here is pejoration. Some loanwords have undergone pejoration by receiving a less positive evaluation in JA, especially some cultural loanwords. The loanwords 'bar' and 'casino' are found to gain a somehow negative sense denoting disreputable places where people get drunk, meet prostitutes, and are exposed to immoral things. In a chat conversation between two male friends commenting on news related to their school mate, the expression *hād wāḥad xarrīʤ bārāt* (lit., he is a person who has graduated from bars) was used by one of them to express how bad their school-mate was. Another example is the pejorative meaning that the loanword 'lobby' has taken on. In JA, 'lobby' is used to talk about a group of evil people who work on conspiracies. The word is found four times in the data, in topics and discussions that have to do with enemies of or conspiracies against the Arabs, the Arab world, and Islam, as in *wakāna 'al-**lūbi** 'al-'isrā'īli hwa al-laði kataba muswadat 'al-qarār* 'the Israeli lobby was the body that wrote the draft resolution', which is an example from a newspaper's article on the decision taken by the US senate about the war on Gaza.

4.3.4 Degree of integration

Loanwords can be divided into three groups in terms of their integration: non-integrated, partially-integrated, and fully-integrated loanwords. A number of loanwords that are phonologically unintegrated in JA are newly introduced to Arabic, especially in the domain of technology and social media. Others do not require phonological modifications due to their proximity to Arabic phonological and syllabic structure (e.g., the loanword 'zoom'). The loanwords 'free', 'cut-out', 'flash', 'security', 'online', 'sensor' are some examples. By the same token, non-integrated loanwords preserve their English morphological form since they do not show inflections for number, gender, or possessive, neither are they subject to any derivational process, as shown in the loanwords *kuntrōl* 'control', 'first', *bawar* 'power', 'full-time', *fīto* 'veto', *siks* 'sex', *bikini* 'bikini', *'intarnit* 'internet', 'forever', 'good', *fāynal* 'final', 'sorry', and 'messenger'. Some of these loanwords are found in their original spelling.

Loanwords that are characterized as partially integrated somehow undergo compulsory changes to fit to the phonological and syllable paradigms of Arabic. Most partially-integrated loanwords are those that contain foreign consonants and/or vowels. As shown, these foreign sounds are substituted by their closest phonetic equivalents, as in *chat > šāt, scrap > sikrāp, gram > ġram, option > 'obšin, balcony > balkōnə (h)*. At the level of morphology, they are integrated by the addition of suffixes, such as those that inflect for number, gender, or possessive. The vast majority of integrated loanwords fall under this category. Instances are many, to mention some: *model > modēlāt, email > 'īmēlāt, bar > bārāt, break > brēkāt, scenario > sināryohāt, group > grūbāt, dʒrūbāt, code > kōdat, cover > kavarāt, kafarāt, link > linkāt, pound > bawndāt,* and *course > kōrsāt.*

Finally, fully-integrated loanwords are those that have undergone major phonological changes to an extent that many speakers in JA are not aware of their foreign origin. These loanwords have a phonological form that has become, to some extent, distant from the original form, since they have undergone more than one phonological process, as in the case of *pick up > bikam, bakam, tin can > tanaka (h), back axle > bakaks, workshop > warša, hallucination > halwasa(h)*. In terms of morphology, fully-integrated loanwords are those that (1) show full inflections (for gender, number, and possessive), and (2) function as a root for further derivations and inflections. Consider the loan noun 'telephone'. This loan noun is used as a word-stem to derive the verb *talfan* (he phoned) and *yutalfin* (he phones). Additionally, it is also inflected to show number, gender, and possessive. The same can be said for the loan nouns *kondišin* 'air conditioner', *sigārah* 'cigarette', *sarfīs* 'service', *taksi* 'taxi', *yaxt* 'yacht', *kart* 'card', *tanakah* 'tin can', *filtar* 'filter', *kartōn* 'carton', *falsafah* 'philosophy', *daktōr* 'doctor', *dʒākēt* 'jacket', 'bank', 'save', 'chat', 'film', and *'albūm* 'album'. Moreover, fully-established loanwords have undergone new semantic classifications over time.

4.4 Summary

English words in JA range from clear instances of established loanwords known to all speakers of JA to clear instances of spontaneous lexical insertions. An intermediary type is those words that are, to some extent, recurrent, but they are accessible in certain contexts. They receive the minimum degrees of integration, which makes them resemble what Poplack et al. (1988) call *nonce borrowings*. Cultural loans in JA in many cases fill lexical gaps, whereas core loanwords fulfil a variety of communicative functions in the written and spoken domains of JA (this will be discussed in the following chapters). English words from the fields of *Technology and communication*, and *Modern world* are the most borrowable ones. In contrast, *Animals*, *Physical world*, *Warfare*, *Religion and belief*, and *Kinship* contain least borrowable loanwords, probably

because they entail what is so called *basic vocabulary*. The distribution of loanwords across semantic fields may give a clue about the relationship between semantic fields and the type of loans (established or spontaneous). Nouns, by and large, constitute the largest percentage of loanwords. Adjectives are by far more borrowable than verbs. Surprisingly, non-content words and phrases are larger in numbers than verbs. Moreover, except for Facebook chat conversations, the most frequent English words in all sub-corpora are fully-established loanwords. In Facebook chat conversations, loanwords denoting formulaic interactional devices such as 'bye', 'hi', and 'ok' appeared among the most frequent loanwords as well as insertions referring to social relations and emotions such as 'man' and 'good'.

Integration of loanwords is motivated by the need to comply with the phonological and morphological rules of Arabic. At the level of phonology, integration opts to preserve the sound system (e.g., substitution of foreign sounds), and the syllable structure (e.g., epenthesis and germination) of Arabic. In some cases, it seeks to make use of Arabic distinctive phonetic features (e.g., emphatic sounds). Similarly, morphological integration is motivated by the need to assign loanwords to Arabic verbal and nominal morphological templates (e.g., loanwords as word-stems for further derivations, loan verb integration, and inflection of loanwords for broken plurals). The native light verb *'iʕmal* is found to be very productive to integrate loan verbs, especially newly introduced ones. In other derivational morphological processes, loanwords are consistently integrated for preserving the Arabic morphological system, adding a native shape for the loanword, and making their pronunciation easier, as shown in the affixation of Arabicized loanwords referring to abstract notions and Latin scientific doctrines, and the clipping of spoken non-established loanwords related to cars and university settings. In the same manner, inflectional integration for gender, number, and possessive assignments is rule-governed. The gender of the native equivalent or

semi-equivalent is found to be the primary factor for determining the gender of loan nouns. Arabic rules of duality and pluralisation are also applied to loan nouns with slight differences between MSA and JA. Most loan nouns receive the feminine sound plural form. For the pluralisation of spontaneous loan nouns, the feminine suffix /-āt/ appear to be a default procedure. Possessive assignment is shown to operate by the addition of native suffixes. In cases of loan expressions or newly introduced loan nouns, the native lexical possessive *tabaʕ* (belong to) is found to operate. Finally, the data also demonstrate that the main semantic changes that loanwords in JA undergo are semantic widening, semantic narrowing, semantic shift, and pejoration. Semantic narrowing of loanwords is the most attested type of semantic change in JA.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF LEXICAL INSERTIONS IN THE SPOKEN DISCOURSE OF BILINGUAL JA SPEAKERS: A SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS

In chapter 4, the distribution, frequency, and integration of loanwords are discussed. The subsequent chapters (chapters 5, 6, and 7) examine the interactional and pragmatic functions of loanwords in spoken, written, and spoken-written domains. This chapter deals with the communicative functions of lexical insertions (spontaneous loanwords) in the speech of bilingual JA speakers. Three communicative functions are investigated: reiteration, humour, and message qualification. The chapter adopts *The Sequential Approach* of Peter Auer (1984) that aims at interpreting why a bilingual speaker switches from one language to another. Auer's functional approach proposes that the communicative function of an inserted element from another language into the matrix language is best understood when viewing such a switch as a 'contextualization cue' (Gumperz 1982).

5.1 The Sequential Approach: local interpretation of CS

According to Auer (1984; 1995; 1998), a speaker(s) choice of a particular language will influence the speakers' subsequent language choices in a course of conversation. In other words, the function of a code-switch is best manifested if the preceding and following sequences are taken into account. Such a consideration of the preceding utterances outlines 'the contextual frame' for the utterance in which CS occurs (Auer 1995:116). A turn-by-turn analysis of the sequential organization in a conversation is fundamental to interpreting the meaning sought by a language choice (switch) by participants in a conversation (1984:5). Auer categorizes CS into participant-related CS and discourse related CS.

Participant-related CS is a language choice adaptation by the individual who performs the switch, while discourse-related CS concerns the way a conversation is organized. Participant-related CS is motivated by the participants' preference for and competence in a certain language. Auer (1995:125) indicates that preference-related CS is a resort when a speaker feels insecure in a certain language and thereby speaks the language in which he/she feels competent. In contrast, discourse-related CS concerns what Auer calls 'conversational moves' which may cover a variety of pragmatic meanings. It provides an interactional meaning of CS and considers elements of the wider context of interaction (Auer 1998:4-5). Furthermore, discourse-related CS establishes a contrast between the two languages chosen in a stretch of talk (Auer 1995). Unlike discourse-related CS, participant-related CS entails a process of language negotiation. In Auer's words:

> Thus, the basic difference is that, in discourse-related switching, participants search for an account for 'why that language now?' within the development of the conversation, while in participant-related switching, they search for an account within the individual who performs this switching, or his or her co-participants.

(Auer 1998: 8)

5.2 Overview

CS in general is not an arbitrary bilingual behaviour. Rather, it serves communicative functions and aims at creating a stylistic effect. As for the functionality of lexical insertion in the spoken discourse of JA, a sequential analysis revealed that Jordanian bilingual speakers made use of lexical insertions from English as a supplementary tool

for best delivering their communicative messages. Jordanian bilinguals tend to show good level of English proficiency, especially the young participants. This has led to an unconscious use of English terms to convey different pragmatic meanings. The questionnaire distributed to informants who participated in the audio-recorded conversations reflects varying degrees of English language involvement, as shown below:

Table 5.1 Jordanian informants' involvement in English

Question	More than 10 times	5-10 times	1-4 times	Never
How often in the past month did you watch English movies and/ or talk shows?	15 (19%)	60 (75%)	4 (5%)	1 (1%)
How often in the last month did you read English magazines or newspapers?	------------	10 (12.5%)	30 (37.5%)	40 (50%)
How often in the last week did you listen to English songs or radio channels?	24 (30%)	28 (35%)	12 (15%)	16 (20%)

Situation	Arabic	Arabic with little English	English	English with little Arabic	Mixed (English and Arabic equally)
Meetings with your manager/ supervisor at work	13 (16%)	40 (50%)	8 (10%)	15 (19%)	4 (5%)
Doing paper work	18 (22.5%)	16 (20%)	22 (27.5%)	14 (17.5%)	10 (12.5%)
Conversations with your teacher at the university	45 (56%)	20 (25%)	11 (13.8%)	4 (5%)	-----------
Conversations with your friends and colleagues	35 (44%)	32 (40%)	-----------	4 (5%)	9 (11%)
Internet chatting and/or text messaging	21 (26%)	32 (40%)	22 (27.5%)	5 (6%)	------------

The analysis of conversations between different speakers, on different topics, and in different settings revealed that Jordanian bilingual speakers embedded English lexical items into JA to serve a number of discourse-related functions. Auer views discourse-related CS as completely tied to the organization of the conversation (1995). When

embedding English lexical elements into the spoken discourse of JA, bilingual speakers of JA opt to convey a number of pragmatic functions, such as filling a lexical gap, quoting someone, referring to a technical or institutional term, repairing a previously mentioned piece of information, reiterating an utterance for best achieving the goal of their messages, qualifying what they have said, joking, and others. Among the functions served, the most frequent ones are *reiteration*, *humour*, and *message qualification*. Furthermore, the data shows that, in most cases of insertions, the key word of an utterance (the one that the bilingual speaker presumed to best summarize the pragmatic function of a message) was habitually inserted to serve such communicative functions.

5.3 Insertions for reiteration

Reiteration in interaction can fulfil various communicative functions. It can signal social involvement, ratify agreement, express appreciation, open a conversation (openings), indicate a move towards closing, seek confirmation, opt for clarification, repair, and so forth (Tannen 1989; Bamford 2000).

Reiteration of a linguistic constituent in another code is also a linguistic resort for bilingual speakers. In an ongoing conversation, such a repetition aims at either clarifying the point of discussion or emphasizing it (Gumperz 1982:78). In some cases, reiteration of an utterance in a different code gives space to the speaker to clarify his message and hold the floor as well. Gardner-Chloros (2009:75) indicates that reiteration of certain utterances in a different language can allow speakers to maintain the floor and act as floor-holder without being rude.

In this study, reiteration is taken to refer to any lexical insertion that has, in one way or another, the same meaning as a previously mentioned Arabic word. In addition, any

instance of lexical insertion is considered as reiteration if, and only if, the speaker makes use of the English lexicon, after using its Arabic counterpart, to talk about the same idea that he/she is trying to convey. Also, any case in which the reiterated element is a partial synonym of the Arabic word is also dealt with as a case of reiteration. The same is true in cases where the inserted element gives the same meaning of an Arabic expression. Jordanian bilingual speakers make use of reiteration to convey a number of pragmatic functions. It is worth noting that in the analysis below, the reiterated element is in boldface and its Arabic equivalent is underlined.

5.3.1 Reiteration for emphasis

A lexical insertion is considered as an instance of reiteration for emphasis when the speaker repeats the lexical item in English to confirm, intensify, stress, or reinforce what he/ she is saying about a particular point. In fact, marking emphasis is a primary function of switching for reiteration in an ongoing stretch of talk (Then and Ting 2011). Such a pragmatic function should be seen through the organizational sequences of the speaker's utterances. In this strategy, the speaker focuses on a particular lexical item (the key lexical item) in his/her utterance and reiterates it in English as a technique of emphasis.

In the examples of reiteration in my data, the insertion was either a literal or a modified reiteration of a previously mentioned Arabic term. In some cases, reiteration of a lexical item in English to emphasize a certain point is the main strategy that speakers of JA go for to confirm what they have said. In the following excerpt, three males were talking about a job advertisement. M1 wanted to apply for a job in Saudi Arabia that was advertised in one of the newspapers. As per the advertisement, applicants could either send their documents by email or hand them in person to a committee in Amman (the capital city of Jordan). M3 was encouraging M1 (the applicant) to go for the second

option, so that he could see the committee face-to face, while M2 thought that it was not

necessary and that an email and a phone call were enough:

Excerpt 5.1

1 M1 ... *mā* *ʕind-i* *madʒāl* *'arūḥ*
... NEG have-1SG availability PRES.1SG.go

ʕammān *babʕaθ-il-hom* *šahad-āti* *b-el-'īmēl*
Amman PRES.1SG.send-to-3PL certificate-PL-1SG. in- DEF-email

2 M2 *'iḥki* *maʕ-hom* *tilifōn* *w* *esʕal-hom*
talk.1SG with-3PL telephone and ask.3PL

ʕan *el-'ašyāʕ* *el-maṭlūba*
about DEF-thing.PL DEF-PERF.need

3 M3 *lāzim* *tšūf-hom* <u>*šaxsiyyan*</u> <u>*el-moqabalə*</u> <u>*eš-šaxsiyyə*</u>
necessary PRES.2SG.M.see-3PL personally DEF-interview DEF-personal

bitḍałł *'aḥsan*
stay better

4 M1 *ṣaḥ* *ṣaḥ* *(0.3)* *bas* *(0.3)* *lāzim*
right right (0.3) but (0.3) necessary

'ōxoð *'idʒāzə* *min* *eš-šoġol* *//*
PRES.1SG.take leave from DEF-work //

5 M3 *lamma* *tiḥki* *maʕ* *ḥada* <u>*wadʒhan li-wadʒih*</u>
when PRES.2SG.talk with someone face-to-face

ġēr *lamma* *twaddī* *'īmēl* *'aw*
different when PRES.2SG.send email or

tiḥki *maʕ-o* *tilifōn*
PRES.2SG.talk with-3SG.M telephone

6 M2 *waddi* *el-CV* *w* *'iḥki* *maʕ-hom* *tilifōn*
send DEF-CV and 2SG.talk with-3PL telephone

law *badhom* *eyyāk* *biṭlob-ū-k* *la-moqābalə*
if want.3PL 2SG.ACC PRES. ask -3PL-2SG.M to-DEF-interview

→ 7 M3 *mā* *bikfi* *zayy* *mā* *got-lak*
NEG enough like PAR tell-for.2SG.M

hāy *el-'ašyāʕ* *lāzim* *tkūn* ***face to face***
this DEF-thing.PL necessary PRES.COP face to face

laʕinha *bitʕaziz* *foras-ak* *'akθar*
because reinforce chance.PL-2SG.M more

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<u>Translation</u>

1   M1   .... I cannot go to Amman, I will send them (the job committee) an email with all my documents

2   M2   Talk to them on phone and ask them about the requirements

3   M3   You have to see them <u>in person</u> since a <u>personal interview</u> is far better for you

4   M1   Right, right, (0.3) but (0.3) I have to take a business leave from work in case I want to see them and apply in person //

5   M3   When you talk to someone <u>face to face</u> is not like when you send him an email or talk to him on phone, it is far better

6   M2   Send them the CV and give them a call, if they want you, they will call you for an interview

→   7   M3   It is not enough, as I told you, these things must be done **face to face**, because this will enhance your chances more to get the job

In the beginning of the talk exchange, M1 said that he had no time to go to Amman and he would apply for the job by email. M2 advised him to also give the committee a call to know exactly the required documents. M3 was in support of seeing the committee in person and advised M1 to do it because the personal interview for him was far better, as shown in segment 3. In the beginning M1 agreed with what M3 said, but then there was a dispreferred silence (three seconds). For him, the problem was the business leave that he was permitted to take from his work in case he would go to Amman to apply in person. After the agreement of M1 on what he proposed, M3 interrupted him, took the floor and further recommended seeing the committee in person by adding that seeing people face-to-face is highly different from sending them an email or talking to them on phone, as shown in segment 5. M2 then repeated his idea and proposed that sending a

CV and calling the committee were more than enough, and if they wanted M1, as he said, they would call him for an interview. At this stage, M3 confirmed his point again and stated that such a thing proposed by M2 was not enough and that in similar cases seeing the committee face-to-face could enhance the possibility of getting the job as shown in segment 7. To do so, M3 reiterated the expressions *šaxṣiyyan* and *waǧhan li waǧih* (face to face) but in a different code. He switched to English and inserted their equivalent 'face-to-face' to intensify his point. Such a reiteration did not aim at clarifying his message since M3 made use of the Arabic equivalents for 'face to face' three times before the insertion of the English term and he was clearly understood by M1, as shown in M1's agreement reply in segment 3. Rather, the reiteration of 'face-to-face' in English was intended to emphasize the point that M3 was trying hard to state from the beginning of the exchange.

In other conversations, bilingual speakers of JA tend to emphasize their point of interest by providing literal reiteration in English immediately after the Arabic term, i.e., in the same turn not in the subsequent turns. An example of a literal reiteration for emphasis is given in the extract below which is taken from a TV program. Two presenters, a male presenter (MP) and a female presenter (FP), were interviewing a DJ guest (G). They were talking about his music and his opinion about other DJs:

Excerpt 5.2

1	MP	*šū*	*raʕy-ak*	*b-eššaġlə*	*hāy*	*ʕinno*
		what	opinion-2SG.M	in-thing	this	that

		ṣār	*[ʕay*	*wāḥad]*
		became.3SG.M	[any	one]

2	G		*[DJ*	*yīǧi*		*w*	*birūḥ]*
			[DJ	PRES.3SG.M-come		and	PRES.3SG.M-go]

3	FP	*hhhhhhhh*	*//*
		laugh	

4	MP	*yimsik*	*lābtob*	*w*	*yiḥki*	*ʕan*	*ḥālo*
		PRES.3SG.M-catch	laptop	and	PRES.3SG.M-talk	about	himself

DJ .....
DJ .....

→	5	G	....	*bas*	*bnafs*	*el-waʻt*	*ḥilo*
				but	same	DEF-time	nice

el-wāḥid	*yiʕraf*	*ḥaʤm-o*	*yaʕni*	*ʻinta*
DEF-one	PRES.3SG.M-know	size-3SG.M.POSS	(DM)I mean	2SG.M.PRON

halla	*saʻal-t-ni*	*ʻinta*	*bitġanni*	*ʻot-lak*
now	ask-2SG-1SG	2SG.M.PRON	PRES.2SG.sing	say-for.2SG.M

la	*mā*	*baġanni*	*mā*	*baḥib*
NEG	NEG	PRES.1SG.sing	NEG	PRES.1SG.love

ʻaġanni	*ḥilo*	*ʻana*	*ʻarakkiz*	*ʕala*
PRES.1SG.sing	nice	1SG.PRON	PRES.1SG. focus	on

šaġlə	*waḥdə*	*ʻakūn*	***focus***	*ʕa*
thing	one	PRES.1SG.COP	focus	on

šaġlə	*waḥdə*
thing	one

Translation

1 MP What do you think about this thing , I mean, it has become that [any one]

2 G [A DJ that comes and goes]

3 FP laugh

4 MP Anyone can play with laptop programs and call himself a DJ

→ 5 G .. but at the same time, it is good if each one of us could know his limits, I mean, when you asked me whether I sing or not, I said I don't sing since I don't like to sing. It is good if I <u>focus</u> on one thing, to **focus** on one thing.

In the stretch of talk above, the male presenter (MP) initiated the first pair part of an adjacency pair[5] in the form of a question that needed an answer. He was asking the DJ about the fact that every day there was a new name of a DJ. The presenter did not complete his question because the guest (G) offered an insertion sequence[6] in the form of a comment that overlapped with what he (MP) was saying. The guest hinted that those new DJs were not specialized and that they just opted to try anything, as clear from his overlapping utterance in segment 2 (a DJ that comes and goes). The female presenter (FP) laughed at such a comment, as shown in segment 3. In segment 4, the male presenter completed his question and asked about the role of computer software and technology. The DJ guest provided the second pair part and answered in a way that emphasized his point of attention to the audience, that those new DJs are not specialized. In segment 5, he added that they did not know their limits; they were ready to try any profession (a DJ and a singer at the same time). At the end of the turn, the DJ guest summarized his point of attention; that a person should show concern to only one thing (specialism) *ḥilo 'ana 'arakkiz ʕala šaġlə waḥdə* (it is good to focus on one thing). As this was his main point of attention, he switched to English, replaced the Arabic word *'arakkiz* (the key term of his message) by its literal counterpart in English 'focus' to further emphasize his utterance about specialism and intensify the fact that those (unspecialized) DJs did not have a specific job in mind and that they merely tried any profession in the domain of music.

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[5] An adjacency pair is a two-turn exchange in which the two turns are functionally interrelated, as in the case of the paired utterances: question-answer, and offer-acceptance. See Schegloff and Sacks (1973) for more details.

[6] An insertion sequence is a sequence of intervening turns between the first and second parts of an adjacency pair.

5.3.2 Reiteration to elicit a response

Lo (2008) points that participants may switch from one language to another when they want to elicit a direct response from the other participants. Lexical insertion is considered a reiteration to elicit a response when a speaker wants to make sure that the participants understand what he/she has said, or when he refers to English to question whether he gets a particular point correctly. In both cases, the speaker reiterates the Arabic term in English in the form of a question to elicit a response from the other participant(s). In the following conversation, three male participants were involved; M1, M2, and M3. M1 was talking to M2, who works in an aviation company, about the possibility of getting M3 a job in his company:

Excerpt 5.3

1	M1	*šu* what	*mumkin* possible	*yištaġil* PRES.3SG.M.work	*ʕali* Ali	*ʕind-ko* ADV.Place-2PL
		ṭayyib ? INTERJ				
2	M2	*maʕ-o* with.3SG.M	*tawdʒīhi* (2.0) secondary certificate (2.0)	**klīnar** (2.0) cleaner (0.2)		
		'akθar more	*min* than	**klīnar** cleaner	*mā* NEG	*bigbal-ū-š* PRES.accept-3PL-NEG
3	M3	*waḥ-ḥid* worship	*'aɫ-ɫa* Allah	*ya* VOC *'abu* father	*yasir* (2.0) Yasir (0.2)	*šu* what
		'aštaġil PRES.1SG.work	**klīnar** cleaner	=		
→ 4	M2	= *maʕ-āh* with-3SG.M	*dawrit* course	<u>*tazwīd*</u> ? operating ?	*maʕ-ak* with-2SG.M	*dawrit* course
		<u>*tazwīd*</u> ? supply ?	(0.4) (0.4)	**supply**? supply ?		
5	M3	*la'↓* NEG				

6   M2   *mā   fī   ?*
         NEG   there

7   M3   *laʿ*
         NEG

Translation

1   M1   What kind of jobs could Ali (the third participant) apply for, at your company?

2   M2   With a secondary certificate (2.0), he can only apply for a **cleaner** position (2.0); he cannot apply for any other position.

3   M3   What are you saying 'father of Yasir'? (2.0) I cannot work as a **cleaner** =

→   4   M2   = (addressing M1) Does he have a course on <u>supply</u>? (addressing M3) do you have a course on <u>supply</u> (0.4), **supply**?

5   M3   No ↓

6   M2   You do not have any?

7   M3   No

The talk began with M1 initiating the first pair part of a question-answer adjacency pair. M1 was inquiring about job opportunities in M2's company. M2 stated that with such qualifications M3 could only apply for a cleaner position. There was a gap of two seconds after his dispreferred response[7], then he emphasized that his company would not offer M3 any other position with such qualifications. M3 provided an implicit dispreferred reply. His dispreferred answer was followed by a two-second silence, then he stated explicitly that he would not work as a cleaner, as shown in segments 3. At this

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[7] In CA, a preferred/dispreferred response relates to the second pair part of an adjacency pair. For example, if the first pair part of an adjacency pair is a request, the second pair part is expected to be an acceptance or a refusal. In the case of an acceptance, it is a 'preferred response', and in the case of a refusal, it is a 'dispreferred response'.

stage, M2 addressed M1 again and asked whether M3 had completed a specialized course; namely a course on *tazwīd* (supply), and in the same turn, he passed the same question to M3 .There was a four-second pause without an answer from M3 or M1. After the pause, M2 switched to English and inserted the English word 'supply', the English equivalent of his key term *tazwīd* in the form of a question, which indicated that he sought to elicit a response from M1 & M3 that aimed at checking whether they understood his point or not, as clearly shown in segment 4. Lo (2008:120) states that reiterating an utterance in a different code to elicit a response principally aims at attracting the participants to what has been said. It is the same case here. In segment 5 and as a sign of understanding what M2 said, M3 then replied by negation.

In like manner, eliciting a response can also be initiated by co-participants. This is found to take place when a co-participant wanted to check his/her comprehension of a given utterance. An example is given in the extract below from a conversation between two brothers; M1 and M2. M1 was asking his brother (M2) about the reason why Hussien (M2's friend) kept sleeping in their house.

Excerpt 5.4

1	M1	..... *w*	*lēš*	*ynām*	*b-bēt-na*
		..... and	why	PRES.3SG.M.sleep	in-house-1PL.POSS

b-bēt-na
already

2	M2	*ʕašān*	*yiḥki*	*maʕ*	*ṣāḥibt-o*
		because	PRES.3SG.M.talk	with	friend-3SG.M.POSS

b-rāḥt-o   *bigdar-š*   *yiḥki*
in-rest.3SG.M   PRES.3SG.M.can-NEG   PRES.3SG.M.talk
qoddām   *'ab-o //*   *la'inn-o //*
in front of   father-3SG.M.POSS   because-3SG.M //

3   M1   *ṣāḥibt-o ?*
          friend-3SG.M.POSS ?

| | 4 | M2 | *ṣāḥibt-o* | | |
| | | | friend-3SG.M.POSS | | |

| → | 5 | M1 | ***el-girlfriend?*** | | |
| | | | DEF-girlfriend? | | |

| | 6 | M2 | *ḥabīb-i↑* | *bidʒdʒannin* | *kamān* |
| | | | love-1SG.POSS | 3SG.F.beautiful | also |

Translation

	1	M1	Why has he (Hussien) kept sleeping in our house?
	2	M2	To talk freely to his <u>girlfriend</u>, he cannot do it in front of his father, because he //
	3	M1	<u>Girlfriend</u>?
	4	M2	<u>Girlfriend</u>
→	5	M1	You mean **girlfriend**?
	6	M2	Dear, she is also very beautiful

In the first pair part of the adjacency pair, M1 asked his brother about the reason why Hussien (M2's friend) kept sleeping in their house. The brother replied that it was because he (Hussien) wanted to talk to his girlfriend *ṣāḥibto* freely and he could not do it in his place in the presence of his father (Hussien's father). After he knew that Hussien had a girlfriend, M1 interrupted M2, took the floor, and, with a surprising tone, initiated another question-answer adjacency pair by repeating the word *ṣāḥibto* (his girlfriend) in Arabic in the form of a question to check if he got the meaning right, i.e., whether M2 meant a girlfriend (love) or just a normal friend. His brother did not close the adjacency pair (he did not answer M1's question), but rather repeated what he said in the previous turn (which was not clear for M1). Sequentially, M1 solved the conflict by switching to English and inserting the English counterpart of the word *ṣāḥibto* 'girlfriend' in order to elicit a clear response from his brother, as illustrated in segment

5. A fact that made his brother confirm his utterance again by adding a new piece of information about the girlfriend; that she was also beautiful.

5.3.3 Reiteration for confirming comprehension

This function has to do with the understandability of the message conveyed. Lexical reiteration is considered as such when the co-participant inserts the English lexicon to show the main participant that what he/she wants to say is understood. Bailey (2000) asserts that in the case of reiteration of an utterance in another code to confirm comprehension, it is not the propositional content that matters, but the conversational activity and the request for common understanding.

In spoken JA, reiteration for confirming comprehension is found to follow a scenario; the main participant makes an effort to elaborate and reformulate his/ her utterance to make himself/ herself clear, and then, as a sign of comprehension, the co-participant inserts the English lexical equivalent of the key Arabic lexical item in the utterance as a sign of getting his/ her point. In the conversation below, two girls were talking about the famous international program 'The Voice' which is devoted to discovering talented singers. In the Arabic version of the program, four famous Arab singers were chosen as coaches (Kazem, Shereen, Sabir, and A'asi). In the program, each coach chooses the singers that he/she believes can make a good team. After selecting the team members, each coach sings with his/her team in the beginning of each episode; a fact that F2 was trying to convey to F1:

Excerpt 5.5

1	F1	*b- tiḥḍar-i*	*the voice ?*				
		AUX-2SG.see.F	The Voice				

2	F2	*šakil-hom*	*el-ḥalaq-āt*	*hadōl*	*(0.2)*	*hāy*	*el-ḥalaqāt*
		look-3PL	DEF-episode-PL	these	(0.2)	this	DEF-episode-PL

	'illi	*halla*	*ḥilw-āt*	*(0.2)*	*'inno*	*biġanno*
	that	now	nice-PL	(0.2)	that	PRES.sing.3PL

	(0.2)	*širīn*	*faraḍan*		*maʕ*	*fārīq-ha*
	(0.2)	Shereen	example		with	team-3SG.F.POSS

3 F1 *wałła ?*
swear (really) ?

4 F2 *wałła*
swear (really) =

5 F1 *= mā baʕrif*
    NEG PRES.1SG.know

6 F2

w	*kāḍim*	*maʕ*	*farī'-o*	*(0.2)*	*'inno*
and	Kadim	with	team-3SG.M.POSS	(0.2)	that

hēk	*'oġniyyə*	*w*	*biġanno*	*faraḍan //*
like	song.F	and	PRES.sing.3PL	example //

→ 7 F1

kollo	*(0.2)*	*maʕ*	**el-team**	*kollo*	*biġanni*
all	(0.2)	with	DEF-team	all	PRES.3PL.sing

Translation

1 F1 Do you watch 'The Voice'?

2 F2 These episodes seem (0.2) the episodes nowadays are nice (0.2), I mean, they (coaches) sing, sing (....) Shereen ,for example, sings with her <u>team</u>

3 F1 Really?

4 F2 Yah =

5 F1 = I do not know this

6 F2 And Kazem sings with his <u>team</u> (0.2), I mean, they chose a song, and for example, sing //

→ 7 F1 All (0.2) as a **team**, they all sing

The first two turns in the exchange above were the first and the second pair parts of a question-answer adjacency pair on which the subsequent exchange of turns were based on. In the beginning, F1 asked her friend whether she watched 'The Voice' or not (F1 seemed not interested in the program as later shown in segment 3). In her response, F2 indicated that the episodes of the programs that time were nice because each coach used to sing with his team members. To deliver her point about coaches singing with their team members, F1 exerted effort as shown in her pauses, incomplete utterances, effort to reformulate her point continuously (the frequent use of *'inno* 'that') , and examples , as clear in segment 2. F1 expressed her surprise and interest in the piece of information delivered by F1 as shown in segments 3 & 5. In segment 6, F2 tried further to elaborate her point by giving another coach's name (Kazem) and exerting effort to reformulate her point of interest to state that every coach sang with the singers he/ she chose as one team. At this stage, F1 interrupted her, switched to English, and inserted the English word 'team' to confirm that she got what F2 was trying hard to convey.

Another example is taken from a TV program in which the presenter interviewed a guest who used to upload scarce videos on the Youtube. The guest was telling the presenter that he, once, was selected among the first top 100 video uploading people on Youtube. In the short extract below, the presenter was asking him about this issue:

Excerpt 5.6

1	P	*hāða*	*ṭabaʕan*	*kēf*	*yoqaddar ?*	*bi-nisbit*
		this	of course	how	PERF. measure ?	by-percentage

		el-mošāhadih	*?*
		DEF-view	?

2	G	*ṭabaʕan*	
		of course	//

3	P	*yaʕni*	*ʕadad*	*en-nās*	*'illi*	*bodxol-o*
		mean	number	DEF-people	that	PRES.enter-3PL

		ʕ-al-video to-DEF-video	*yšūf-ū-h* PRES.see-3PL-M			

→ 4 G | *sabʕīn*
seventy | *malyōn*
million | *tamanīn*
eighty | *malyōn*
million | <u>*mošāhada*</u>
view |

| ***views***
views | *naʕam*
yes | *naʕam*
yes |

<u>Translation</u>

1   P   How is this (ranking) measured? With the percentage of <u>views</u>?

2   G   Sure//

3   P   So, by the number of <u>people who watch the video</u>

→   4   G   70 million, 80 million **views**, ya ya

In the first pair part of the adjacency pair (segment 1), the female presenter was questioning the way Youtube ranks people who upload videos, and whether such a thing is measured by the percentage of views. The guest replied by confirming that what she said about the percentage of the views was true. The female presenter interrupted the guest and initiated another question-answer adjacency pair to further qualify her point. So, she reformulated her point of inquiry again in segment 3 by redefining the word views (the number of people who watch the video). At this point, the guest confirmed his comprehension of her point by giving a figure and inserting the English word 'view', the counterpart of the Arabic *mošāhada*, along with the duplicated agreement word (yes) at the end. The reiteration of 'view' in English was a confirmation of common understanding between the presenter and the guest, which supports Bailey (2000).

5.3.4 Reiteration for clarification

This function specifically concerns the insertions that a participant makes upon the co-participant's request for explanation. In this sense, reiteration for clarification is intended to make what has been said by a participant clear. Zheng (2009) indicates that enhancing clarity of key points in a conversation is a common function for reiteration.

The following short extract is taken from a TV program called 'Housewives'. The program aims at giving housewives avenues for getting a job. The episode from which the extract was taken was about a website that helps housewives market their handmade goods, so that they could be sold for reasonable prices instead of selling them to businessmen with low prices as usual. The male guest (G) was one of the creators of the website. He was talking to the presenter (P) about the reason why handmade objects were mostly sold for low prices.

Excerpt 5.7

→ 1 G

lamma	*ʕmil-na*	*dirāsit*	*dʒadwa*	*ʕala*
when	PERF.do-1PL	study	feasibility	on

el-moškila	*el-motafāqima*	*b-el-ʕālam*	*el-ʕarabi*	*ʕrif-na*
DEF-problem.F	DEF-aggravating.F	in-DEF-world	DEF-Arabic	PERF.know-ISP

inno	*taqrīban*	*el-qiṭʕa*	*'illi*	*btinʕamal*
that	nearly	DEF-piece	that	PERF.make

b-el-'īd	*b-'ayy*	*maḥall*	*b-el-waṭn*	*el-ʕarabi*
in-DEF-hand	in- any	place	in-DEF-country	DEF-Arabic

ʕam	*bitbaddil*	*sitt*	*marr-āt*	*sitt*
AUX	PRES.F.change	six	time-PL	six

'id-ēn	*ʕabēn*	*mā*	*tūṣal*	*el-mostahlik*
hand-DUAL	until	PAR	PRES.F.reach	DEF-customer

'aw	**el-end user**	**el-customer**
or	DEF-end user	DEF-customer

2 P

kēf	*yaʕni*	*momkin*	*tišraḥ-il-na*	*el-fikra ?*
how	mean	possible	PRES.2SG.M.explain-to-1PL	DEF-idea.F ?

fi	*ḥalaqa*	*ṭawīl-a*	*ḥatta*	*tūṣal*
there	chain.F	long.F	until	PRES.F.reach

ʕ-al (.....) //				
to-DEF (....) //				

→ 3 G

ḥalaqa	*ṭawīl-a*	*ktīr*	*(0.2)*	*el-supply chain*
chain.F	long.F	much	(0.2)	DEF- supply chain

ktīr	*ktīr*	*muʕaqqada*
much	much	PERF.complicate.F

Translation

1   G   When we had a feasibility study of this problem in the Arab world (low prices of handmade items) we came to know that nearly each handmade item in any place in the Arab world goes into a <u>chain</u> of six times, six hands until it reaches the <u>customer</u>, or the **end user**, the **customer**

2   FP   What do you mean? Can you explain the idea for us, you mean there is a long <u>chain</u> until it reaches the (....) //

→   3   G   A very long chain (0.2) the **supply chain** is very very complicated

In the short extract above, the guest was talking about his feasibility study to state the reason why handmade objects were sold for cheap prices and how his website could sort out this problem for housewives. Justifying the low prices of handmade objects, he was telling the presenter that the supply chain of any product was a long one until it reached the customer. He clarified the meaning of the word 'customer' (*mostahlik*) by switching to English and inserting two terms. The first one was 'end user' which is a synonym of 'customer', and the other one was 'customer', which is the English counterpart of the Arabic word *mostahlik*. Reiteration by the guest took the form of translation (Zabrodskaja 2007). In segment 2, and in order to check whether she understood his

point or not, the female presenter started a question-answer adjacency pair in which she attempted to summarize what the guest said in the form of a question. At this point, the guest interrupted her and restated his point about the chain (a very long chain), then he paused for two seconds and closed the adjacency pair by switching to English and inserting the expression 'supply chain' as a modified counterpart of the Arabic *halaqa* (chain) to further clarify and explain what he exactly meant by *halaqa* (chain).

The co-participant may also ask for clarification when the Arabic lexical item can bear more than one meaning. As a clarification technique, the main speaker reiterates the word in English to explicate what is exactly meant by his Arabic lexical choice. An example is given in the short extract below between two university students; M1 and M2. They were talking about their university lecturer:

Excerpt 6.8

| | 1 | M1 | *... 'aṣlan* | *hū* | *ʕind-o* | *'idʒāza* | |
| | | | ... already | 3SG.M.PRON | have-3SG.M | leave.F | |

| | 2 | M2 | *'ayy* | *'idʒāza* ? | | | |
| | | | which | leave.F ? | | | |

| | 3 | M1 | *sabbatical* | *rayiḥ* | *el-'imarāt* | | |
| | | | sabbatical | PERF.3SG.M.go | DEF-United Arab Emirates | | |

| → | 4 | M2 | *nuṣ* | *el-qisim* | *ṭālʕ-īn* | *sabbatical* | ... |
| | | | half | DEF-department | go-3PL.PL | sabbatical | ... |

Translation

    1   M1   … he is already on <u>leave</u>

    2   M2   Which <u>leave</u>?

    3   M1   **Sabbatical**, in the United Arab Emirates

→   4   M2   Half of the staff are on **sabbatical** leaves

In the above short extract, M1 and M2 were talking about their university lecture. M1 stated that the lecturer was on leave. M2 enquired about such a leave as shown in his first pair part of the question-answer adjacency pair. M1 closed the adjacency pair in the following turn. In his answer, he inserted the word 'sabbatical' to clarify what he exactly meant by the word leave. M1, who clearly got the meaning, added, in a surprising tone, that half of the staff members were on sabbatical leave.

5.3.5 Reiteration as a repair strategy

Linguistic repair occurs when there is a discourse problem such as making a mistake in picking the right code or being unable to find the right word in a particular language. In this case, CS emerges as a technique to sort out such a problem just like other techniques in discourse e.g., self-interruption, vowel lengthening, hesitation, pause, and repetition (Alfonzette 1998:186-187). Repair can be self-initiated or sought by a second turn speaker.

In my data, repair concerns insertions that are made to correct a speaker's lexical choice, regardless of the reason for correction. The speaker reiterates a previously mentioned Arabic term (uttered by another participant) in English as he/she believes that it is the English term that should be used not the Arabic term. The following short exchange is taken from a conversation between two female students. They were talking about university exams. One of them was complaining about the difficulty of studying biology:

Excerpt 5.9

	1	F1	*mīn*	*ḥakā-lik*	*trūḥ-i*	*'aḥyā'*	*?*
			who	PERF.tell-2SG.F	go-2SG.F	biology	?
→	2	F2	***bio***	*'ismi-ha*			
			bio	name-POSS.F			
	3	F1	*'ēh*	*?*			
			what	?			
	4	F2	***bio***				
			bio				

Translation

	1	F1	Who told you to go for biology?
→	2	F2	Its name is **bio**
	3	F1	What?
→	4	F2	**Bio**

F1 initiated the first pair part of an adjacency pair (question), in which she was blaming F2 for studying biology. F1 mentioned the name of the specialisation (biology) in Arabic *'aḥyā'*. F2 seemed not happy about the Arabic version of the term for the field, may be because all branches of study in the Jordanian universities are in English; the sole medium of study in all scientific specializations. So, she did not make the second pair part which was supposed to be an answer to F1's question (the adjacency pair remained open). Instead, she wanted to repair the utterance of her friend. To do so, she reiterated the same word in English telling her friend that the specialisation was called 'bio' (biology)**.** F1 could not get it first and asked for further clarification as exemplified in the use of question marker *'ēh* (what), so, F2 reiterated her repair in English for the second time as in segment 4.

Reiteration as a repair strategy is also found to occur as a response to the second participant's utterances. Also, it is sometimes found to be initiated by the second turn

participant. This is found in cases where the first participant cannot get the right term in Arabic, so that he provides a definition of the concerned term, may be due to a short memory loss, so the second participant reiterates what he/she has said by offering the term in another language. An example is shown below in an excerpt taken from a conversation between a male (M) and a female (F). The male was talking to his friend about his visit to Amsterdam:

Excerpt 5.10

1	M	*ṭabaʕan*	*ʕind-hom*	*el-ḥašīš*		*b šakil*	
		of course	there-3PL	DEF- marijuana		in way	

		la	*yūṣaf*	*b-šatta*	*el-'aškāl*	*w*	
		NEG	PERF.describe	in-different	DEF-ways	and	

		el-'anwāʕ	*b-šatta*	*w*	*el-'aṭʕima*	*w*	*(0.2)*
		DEF-kind.PL	in-different	and	DEF-food.PL	and	(0.2)

		doxān	*el-ḥašīš*		*ʕilkə*	*ʕa-ḥšīš*	
		smoking	DEF- marijuana		gum	with- marijuana	

		mašrūb	*ʕādi*	*ḥašīš*	*fāxir …*	
		drink	normal	marijuana	elegant …	

		maqha	*bas*	*bibīʕ*	*ḥašīš*	
		café	but	PRES.sell	marijuana	

2	F	*'ē↓*	*maġšūšə*	*hhhhhhh =*	
		INTERJ	fake	laugh	

3	M	*el (…)*	*el (…)*	<u>*moštaray-āt*</u>	*'illi*	<u>*bištarū-ha*</u>
		INTERJ (…)	INTERJ (…)	purchas-PL	that	PRES.3PL.buy-F

		<u>*la-eððikra*</u>		*'ā //*	
		to-DEF-memory		INTERJ	

→	4	F	*el-**souvenirs***	
			DEF- souvenirs	

→	5	M	*el-**souvenirs***	*ḥašīš*	*ḥašīš*	*ḥašīš*
			DEF-souvenirs	marijuana	marijuana	marijuana

	1	M	You know, they (in Amsterdam) have marijuana available in all shapes, kinds, and flavours and (0.2) marijuana cigarettes, marijuana chewing gums, marijuana fizzy drinks, marijuana luxury drinks (non-fizzy drinks) with all flavours, a cafe but for marijuana,
	2	F	Ah ↓ fake cafe (laugh)
	3	M	Even the, the (...) <u>the purchases that people buy as memories,</u> ah//
→	4	F	**souvenirs**
	5	M	The souvenirs were of marijuana, marijuana, marijuana

In the conversation above, the male was describing to his female friend how marijuana was publically sold in Amsterdam. In segment 1, he gave detailed examples of things containing marijuana such as cigarettes, food, and fizzy drinks, and places where it was sold such as cafes. The female in the above extract was a passive participant who only had a few comments on the speech of the male. In segment 3, the male speaker wanted to mention that even souvenirs are made of marijuana. He, in the beginning of his point, had an incomplete utterance *el (...) el (...)* because he could not find the word in Arabic. As a result, he brought a paraphrase of what he was trying to remember *moštarayāt 'illi bištarūha laððikra* (things people buy from other countries to remember). The female wanted to correct his utterance by getting him the right term. Therefore, she immediately interrupted him, switched to English, and inserted the word 'souvenir' which the male provided a definition for. The reiteration aimed at repairing the male's utterance by giving the exact term of his definition, but in another language. This also goes in line with the notion of specificity (Backus 2001). The male then repeated the

English word since it was the meaning that he was looking for and continued his talk about marijuana using the English term 'souvenir'.

5.4 Insertions for humour

5.4.1 Introduction

There is no consensus on the linguistic definition of humor in the literature. Attardo (1994:4) introduces humour as a whole category that covers any event or object that brings forth laughter, amuses, or is perceived as funny. He further contributes that the effect that the speaker attempts to achieve by the playful use of humorous constituents in discourse is considered the primary function of humor in conversation (p.322).

From a psychological perspective, three theories emerge to elucidate the reasons for humor (Raskin 1985:30-40; Attardo 1995: 48-50), namely: incongruity, hostility/disparagement, and release. Incongruity theory claims that humor is initiated from the mismatch or contrast between two unrelated ideas. It is cognitive-perceptual in nature. The idea of 'play' is considered a very significant feature of this theory for being closely related to the notion of incongruity (Attardo 1994: 49). Furthermore, incongruity includes kinds of humor resulting from violation of language rules (Goldstein 1990:39). As for the disparagement theory, it concerns humor arises from aggressiveness, contempt, and ridicule. By means of this, it is social-behavioural in nature. According to the release theory, humor arises from the linguistic liberation of language rules and does not aim at conveying information. It concerns humor used for social play. It is referred to as defunctionalisation.

5.4.2 The relationship between lexical insertion and humor

All of the theories above, as Siegel (1995:103-04) shows, are relevant to the use of CS for humor. Siegel clarifies that CS can lead to humor in three ways: a sign that joking is

taking place, the switch itself is humorous, and the language of the switch is regarded funny. He claims that interpretation of CS for humour can be seen in the light of interactional approaches to CS, such as CS as a contextualization cue, and CS as a marked choice. As per the former approach, CS for humor symbolizes that content is not serious, while in view of the second approach CS for humor is an unexpected use that serves a pragmatic / social function (pp.100-01).

On the whole, the unexpected use of language in CS may have a humorous effect. In an interesting study of humor and CS in Morocco, Caubet (2002) introduces different unexpected language-based insertions to generate humor, such as phonological games, taking a set of expression and isolating one of the elements and playing with it, calquing, using language in the wrong circumstances or in an unexpected environment, changing elements of an expression, and using French suffixes with Arabic words.

The humorous function of lexical insertion in the spoken discourse of JA arises from the innovative, unexpected and the unusual use of English constituents in playful contexts. The prevailing procedure followed by young participants is found to be inserting an English word into their speech at an unexpected point of discourse to mock the topic being discussed. This entails that the context of the interaction is itself humorous. Such a humorous context can be exemplified by laughs, jokes, mocking utterances, etc. Three conditions are set to consider an insertion as humorous: (1) the insertion is unusual (novel), (2) the context is playful (relaxing, not serious, fun, etc.), and (3) the impact of the humorous insertion (laugh, jokes, creation of another humorous usage).

The humorous behaviour of JA bilingual speakers entails a usage of an English term in a way that assimilates its English pronunciation in terms of suprasegmental features (e.g., tone, voice quality, and intonation). By the same token, JA speakers create humor

by integrating an English word in a novel manner, which leads to a laugh or a humorous reply. In addition, they translate Arabic terms into English forming an expression that is not found in the English language. Finally, they substitute an element of Arabic cultural and religious-bound expressions by an English word in a random fashion. To sum up, lexical insertions for a humorous function are found to take the following forms:

- Imitation of English phonology (suprasegmental features)

- Calquing from Arabic into English.

- Creative integration of English words and bound morphemes

In the three forms above, humor is achieved by the unexpected lexical insertion. Also, these forms of humorous insertions by JA bilinguals are in fact a marker of solidarity and participants' in-group social membership. These kinds of switches are not possible between socially distant participants. Besides, the insertions have contributed neither to the content of the message nor to the pragmatic meaning intended. Most importantly, the comic effect of the switch, resulting from its incongruity, is locally meaningful, so it is mainly understood by the same speech community, and not necessarily by other speech communities.

5.4.3 Imitation of English phonology

When a speaker chooses to imitate a foreign language in a humorous trend, there is a cultural message behind such a use (Gurillo and Ortiga 2013:172). In the data for this study, entertaining by inserting English lexicon into the Arabic discourse with an attempt to assimilate its English prosodic/suprasegmental features is found to be very common, especially in the speech of young people (university students). To achieve a humorous effect, the lexical item inserted is accompanied by an imitation of its phonological features, such as intonation and voice quality, and a loud laugh after.

Caubet (2002) refers to this kind of phonological imitation as phonological games. The unexpectedness in the imitation of English phonology is resulted from both the unexpectedness of the switching point and the imposition of phonological features in such an insertion. Below is an example of a short extract taken from a long conversation in which three males were making fun of a proposal initiated by their friend; M1:

Excerpt 5.11

1	M1	*b*	*tiʕrif*	*'inn-i*	*lagēt*	*riḥlə*
		AUX	PRES.2SG.know	that-1SG	PERF.1SG.find	trip

[rā'iʕa   *bimaʕna*   *el-kalimə]*
[great   meaning   DEF-word]

2   M2   *[bokra*   *b-enrūḥ-ha*   *]*
            [tomorrow   AUX-PRES.1PL.go-F   ]

3   M3   *hhhhhhhh*   ....
            laugh

→   4   M4   ***BEAUTIFUL***   ***BEAUTIFUL***   *b-gaddēš*   *?*
                BEAUTIFUL   **BEAUTIFUL**   how much   ?

Translation

1   M1   Dou you know that I found a completely [great trip]

2   M2   [Tomorrow we will go]

3   M3   Laugh .....

→   4   M4   **BEAUTIFUL, BEAUTIFUL** (humorously), how much does it cost?

In the beginning of the conversation, M1 who read about a trip organized by a travel agency in Jordan proposed the idea to his friends who seemed uninterested, probably for financial reasons. That is why they turned the whole situation to a funny one and just mocked what he was saying about the trip. The humorous context was first initiated by M2 in segment 2 who ironically replied to his friend's proposal *bokra binrūḥha* (we will go tomorrow). Generally, the use of such an expression in spoken JA as a reply aims at

mocking a suggestion. M3 mocked the proposal with a laugh. Later, M4 who was making fun of the idea as well took the floor and wanted to express his excitement in a mocking way. To do so, he switched to English, and tried to imitate the English way of showing interest (e.g., in terms of pitch/intonation and stress), i.e., he inserted the word 'beautiful', repeated it to make it sound English context-like, and asked about the price to also pretend to be interested. Such a procedure is a clear sign that he was making fun of the idea and keeping on the same track of his friends.

As shown above, imitation of English phonology in playful contexts can have the functions of expressing excitement, showing surprise, and exclamation. Another example of such an imitation is taken from a conversation between two female university students, F1 and F2. F2 was attempting to say that listening to radio programs was far nicer than watching TV programs because, as she added, she no longer could stand seeing people on TV:

Excerpt 5.12

	1	F1	... bas	el-brogram	ʕala	er-rādyo	miš
			... but	DEF-program	on	DEF-radio	NEG

			ḥilo				
			nice				

	2	F2	bilʕaks	'aṣlan	'inti	'adʒmal	ši
			on the contrary	already	2SG.F.PRON	nice	thing

			momkin	tiṣnaʕ-ī	'inn-ik	mā	tšūf-ī-š
			possible	PRES.2SG.make-F	that-2SG.F	NEG	PRES.2SG.see-F-NEG

			kamān	la'inno	el-wāḥad	min	koθor
			too	because	DEF-one	from	much

			šōf	el-bani'ādamīn	girf	ed-dinya	
			seeing	DEF-human being. PL	digust	DEF-life	

			w-elly	fī-ha			
			and-those	in-it			

→	3	F1	**WHY↑**	ya	radʒā' ?		
			why	VOC	Rajaa ?		

4	F2	*why↓*	*lamma*	*tikbar-i*	*w*	*tṣīr-i*
		Why ↓	when	PRES.2SG.grow-F	and	become-2SG.F

		fi	*ʕomor*	*'inn-i*	*'adʒāwb-ik*	*rāḥ*
		in	age	that-1SG	PRES.answer-2SG.F	AUX

'adʒāwb-ik
PRES.answer-2SG.F

Translation

1   F1   ... but listening to programs on radio is not good (in comparison to watching TV programs)

2   F2   On the contrary, the best thing you do is not to listen to people and see them at the same time, because the more we see people (and listen to them), the more we feel that life is disgusting

3   F1   WHY ↑, Rajaa?

4   F2   Why↓? When you grow up and reach the right age of getting an answer, I will answer you

In the short exchange above, the two females were talking about radio and TV programs. F2 believed that the more one saw people and listened to them at the same time, the more life became disgusting. For this, she preferred to only listen to radio programs, so that she would not be able to see people who were talking on radio, as shown in segment 2. It seems that F1, after the harsh words of F2 about people and life, wanted to lighten the conversation by lowering the level of seriousness of the topic and shifting to a more relaxing and humorous atmosphere. She decided to ask her about what she said but in a humorous way. In segment 3, she switched to English and inserted the English question word 'why' but in a funny way; she was imitating the English way of using such a word in such a context in terms of intonation and loudness. In fact, the humorous effect of 'why' is achieved through imitation of English phonology/prosody and through the unexpected insertion (switch) around the

interrogative. In the later turn, F2 understood that F1 was creating a humorous atmosphere to shift from the seriousness and firmness of context to a more relaxing one, but she did not like it. She repeated the inserted word in a different intonation to show surprise (or unpleasant behavior), and, then, added that she would tell her the answer when she grew up and reached a suitable age.

5.4.4 Calquing

Calquing is the morpheme-by-morpheme translation of linguistic constituents taken from a source language (SL) following the syntactic and the semantic patterns of the recipient language (RL). The process is also called 'loan translation'. Backus and Dorleijn define loan translation as 'any usage of morphemes in language A that is the result of literal translation of one or more elements in a semantically equivalent expression in language B' (2009:77).

JA bilingual speakers tend to apply the morpheme by morpheme translational technique to add a humorous tone to the context of the interaction. The direction of calques is from Arabic to English. The calques translated into English are cultural-bound in nature, which makes the result a humorous pattern that has no meaning or that is said in a different way in English. In the following example, three engineering students; M1, M3, & M4, were trying to convince their mate (M2) to skip his lecture as they wanted to go outside the university to get their breakfast together. They were telling him that whether he attended the class or not would make no difference as he would not understand anything from the lecturer. M2 insisted on attending his class and refused to listen to them:

Excerpt 5.13

1 M1 ......   ʕala   'asās   'inn-ak   fāhim
                  on   base   that-2SG.M   understand

        'iši   b-el-moḥādara
        something   in-DEF-lecture

2 M2 fāhim   'ašyāʕ   kθīrə
        understand.1SG   thing.PL   many

3 M3 miθil   šu?
        like   what ?

4 M2 'inno   fi   'iši   'ism-o   circuit
        that   there   something   name-POSS   circuit

                  LAUGH

5 M4 w   'iši   'ism-o   engineering
        and something   name-POSS   engineering

                  LAUGH

→ 6 M2 **point**   **over**   **line**   'ana   miš
        point   over   line   1SG.PRON   NEG

        mṭanniš   baxāf   ed-daktōr   yifraḥ
        PERF.ignore   afraid   DEF-doctor   PRES.3SG.M.get happy

        w   mā   baddi   'aʕṭī-h   h-al-forsa
        and NEG   need.1SG   PRES.1SG.give-M this-DEF-chance

                  LAUGH

Translation

1   M1   ..... as if you understand anything in the class

2   M2   I understand a lot of things

3   M3   Like what?

4   M2   I know that there is something called *circuit*

                  LAUGH

5   M4   And something called *engineering*

                  LAUGH

→   6   M2 **Point over line** (meaning *cut-and-dried*), I am not ignoring the

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class, I am afraid that the lecturer will get happy if I ignore the class and I do not want to give him this chance

LAUGH

The short talk exchange took place between four males from the faculty of engineering. M1, M3, and M4 were making effort to let M2 skip the engineering class to go with them. M2 was not willing to do so, and he conveyed his disagreement of the proposal in a humorous way from the beginning. When M1, in the beginning of the exchange, told M2 not to attend the lecture because he (M2) did not understand anything from the lecturer, M2 replied that he did understand a lot of things. When M3 asked about an example of the things he understood, as shown in segment 3, M2 said 'circuit'. This answer was by itself funny as 'circuit' is the course title and it is one of the basic concepts in engineering that supposedly every engineer ought to be familiar with. That is why all of them laughed at the answer. M4 immediately responded with a similar humorous statement *w 'iši 'ismo engineering* (and you understand something called engineering), followed by a laugh from all as well. In segment 6, when M2 wanted to deliver a straightforward rejection, he maintained the humorous tone by claiming that the lecturer would be happy to know that he missed the class, and he (M2) did not want him to get happy. M2 introduced such a funny statement in a funny way as well. He calqued the Arabic expression *noqṭa foq el-ṣaṭir* (lit., a point on/over the line) that is used in the spoken and written language to mean that something is final and no more discussion about it. Calquing of this expression is considered funny. The humorous side of such a morpheme-by-morpheme translation arises from the fact that the expression is considered language-specific, and is not used in English in a similar way. That is why there was a loud laugh from all.

It is also found that bilingual speakers of JA do the same translational techniques with some expressions that have a metaphorical meaning in the Jordanian context. In excerpt (5.14), three males were talking about a cunning person (X) who was known for being bent on making mischief:

Excerpt 5.14

1	M1	*txayyal*	*'inno*	*lamma*	*rawwaḥ*	*min*
		imagine	that	when	PERF.3SG.M.go home	from

		esʕūdiyyə	*bāʕ*	*'aθāθ-o*
		Saudi Arabia	PERF.3SG.M.sell	furniture-3SG.M.POSS

		la-eθnēn	*//*
		to-two	//

2	M2	*ḥada*	*bonṣob*	*ʕ-al-ḥukūma ?*	*hū*
		anyone	PRES.3SG.M.bluff	on-DEF-government ?	1SG.M.PORN

		ʕimil-ha	*//*
		PERF.3SG.M.do-F	//

3	M1	*w*	*'axaḍ*	*flūs-hom*	*w*	*fall*	*=*
		and	PERF.3SG.M.take	money.PL-3PL	and	PERF.3SG.M.run away	=

4	M3	*'aḥsan*	*naḥfāt-o*	*maʕ*	*ḥamad*	*hhhhhh*
		best	Prank.PL-3SG.M.POSS	with	Hamad	laugh

5	M2	*kēf ?*
		how ?

→	6	M3	*ḥamad*	*sallaf-o*	*xams*	*'ālāf*	*ʕala*
			Hamad	PERF.lend-3SG.M	five	thousand.PL	on

			'asās	*la-nihāyit*	*eš-šahr*	*w*	*ṣāḥb-na*
			base	to-end	DEF-month	and	friend-1PL.POSS

			farak	*gabil*	*nihāyit*	*eš-šahr*
			PERF.3SG.M.run away	before	end	DEF-month

			bittaṣil	*mā*	*birod*	*w*	*baʕd-o*
			PRES.3SG.M.call	NEG	PERF.3SG.M.answer	and	still-3SG.M

			mitʕaššim	*miš*	*ʕārif*	*'inno*	*dīn-o*
			PERF.hope	NEG	3SG.M.know	that	religion.3SG.M.POSS

			little	***sugar***	*hhhhh*
			little	sugar	laugh

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→ 7 M1 *little*   *sugar* *?*   *mā*   *fi*   *sugar*   *'aṣlan*   *hhhhhh*
             little   sugar   ?   NEG   there   sugar   already   laugh

Translation

1   M1   Just imagine that when he (X) left Saudi Arabia, he sold his furniture to two people at the same time //

2   M2   Do you think that there is someone who can deceive the government? He did it //

3   M1   and he took their money and ran away =

4   M3   = his greatest prank was what he did to Hamad, hhhhhhh

5   M2   How?

→ 6   M3   Hamad lent him five thousand to be paid back by the end of the month, and our friend just ran away from Saudi Arabia before the end of the month, Hamad keeps calling him and he (X) does not answer, and Hamad still has hope, he does not know that the religious morals of him (X) are of **little sugar**, hhhhhh

→ 7   M1   **Little sugar**? there is no **sugar** at all, hhhhhhhh

In the above extract, the three males were talking about some of the mischievous acts of someone (X). In the beginning, I will clarify the metaphorical use of the native expression *sokkar xaftf* (little sugar). This expression is used in the Jordanian context to indicate that someone has no value regarding something. If someone is described as *karamu sokkar xaftf* (lit. his generosity is of little sugar) it means that he is a mean and stingy person.

The whole exchange above was about the mischievous acts of X, such as selling the furniture to two people at the same time, cheating the government, and borrowing money from Hamad without the intention to pay him back, as shown in segments 1, 2,

and 6 respectively. Sequentially, the three males exchanged turns, so that each one of them could provide a piece of information about how mischievous X was. The funny part started from segment 4 when M3 introduced what X did to Hamad with a laugh. When he (M3) was humorously narrating how X took Hamad's money and ran away, he laughed at the fact that Hamad still had hope to get his money back. At this moment, M3 wanted to add that poor Hamad did not know that X had no religious motives to return his money back. Maintaining the humorous tone, M3 inserted the English expression 'little sugar' to describe X's religious motives, as a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of the Arabic expression *sukkar xafīf.* The humorous effect of such insertion stems from the fact that the English expression is not used in such a metaphorical meaning as it was a morpheme-by-morpheme translation of a context-bound Arabic usage. At the end of the exchange, M1 maintained the humorous atmosphere and added that X had no sugar at all to mean that he was totally immoral.

As a final remark, humor in excerpts 13 and 14 above is achieved by challenging the context-appropriate selection of bilingual repertoire (Matras 2009:151). That is, humor is achieved by defying rules of context-bound selection of bilingual repertoire forms, while maintaining the form-function mapping of idioms' blueprint in Arabic.

5.4.5 Creative integration

Another employment of lexical insertion for humor arises from the tendency of the bilingual speakers of JA to play with English words in terms of their integration. In the literature, there are a number of studies that cite examples of language play and playful integration of insertions (Zabrodskaja 2007; Rampton 1999; Onysko 2007). Zabrodskaja (2007) mentions examples of Russian words that are integrated into Estonian in a playful way that does not occur in Estonian.

This study reveals many instances of novel integrations to create humor. The novelty of some pattrns of integration is a sign of the creative exploitation of the Arabic language resources to subject the English lexical constituents to these resources. Although the humorous flavour resulted from such novel integrations would not be always obvious to non-speakers of JA, these integrations are found to be solely created in playful contexts, and considering the organization of the conversation in terms of sequences turns out to be the best way to grasp the humorous usage of such integrations.

Types of novel integrations attested in the study are basically found to be: imposing Arabic morphological rules to integrate an English lexical item in an attempt to sound Arabic-like, duplication of English stems, attaching English affixes to Arabic stems, and substituting an element from an English prepositional phrase. Excerpt 5.15 is an example of imposing Arabic morphological rules on English words to create humor. In the conversation below, F1 was explaining to F2 why she deleted her email address. F3 joined the conversation later:

Excerpt 5.15

→	1	F1	*'aaa*	*'aṣlan*	*mā*	*estaxdam-t-ū-š*		*ktīr*
			INTERJ	already	NEG	PERF.use-1SG-M-NEG		much
			ʕašān	*hēk*	*ḥadaf-t-o*	*(0.2)*		*ʕašān*
			because	this	delete-1SG-M	(0.2)		because
			hēk	***daltalt-ill-o***	*(0.5)*			
			this	PERF.1SG.delete-for-M	(0.5)			

A third friend came and joined them

	2	F3	***hāy***	*kēfik*	*?*
			hi	greeting	

→	3	F2	**hāy-ēn**	hala	kēfik ?	[hhhhhh	]
			hi-DUAL	welcome	greeting ?	[laugh	]

	4	F3				[šu	'axbār-ik]
						[what	news-2SG.F]

	5	F2	el-ḥamdo	l-ellā	šu	'axbārik	'inti ?
			DEF-thanking	for-Alla	what	news-2SG.F	2SG.F.PRON ?

<u>Translation</u>

→	1	F1	Well, I did not use it a lot, because of this, I deleted it (0.2) because of this I **deleted** it (0.5)

<u>A third friend came and joined them</u>

	2	F2	Hi, how are you?
→	3	F3	**Two hi(s)**, welcome, how are you? [laugh]
	4	F2	[How are you?]
	5	F3	Thank God, what about you?

In the beginning of the extract above, F1 mentioned that she did not use her email much and that was why she deleted it. Her utterance was followed by a 2-second pause then she repeated the same utterance in a humorous tone. When doing so, she did not use the Arabic *ḥaðafto* (I deleted it). She switched to English and inserted the English word 'delete'. As she was taking the direction of conversation to a humorous one, she used the word in an innovative way applying the Arabic patterning to the English word by integrating the word in a funny way. The word *daltaltillo* was used to mean 'I deleted it' or 'I made deletion for it'. The essence of the playful integration of 'delete' is in fact a reduplication of /d-l-t/ to form the Arabic four-consonantal root /d-l-t-l/. This integration is playful because the outcome *daltaltillo* does not occur in Arabic. Had F1 used the Arabic counterpart of the word 'delete' (*ḥaðafto*), such a humorous effect would not have been achieved. This humorous exploitation was followed by a 5-second pause. Meanwhile, a third female joined the conversation and greeted F2. The humorous

atmosphere continued to exist through the greeting response of F2 who replied to the 'hi' of her friend humorously by a very innovative usage *hayēn* 'two hi(s)' followed by a greeting in Arabic and a laugh as shown in segment 3.

Another bilingual instance of creative integration to create humor is the duplication of the word stem. In excerpt 16, two friends, M2 and M3, were trying to sort out a problem between M1 and M4. M1 was attempting to apologize to M4 for his mistake:

<u>Excerpt 5.16</u>

1	M1	(addressing M2)	*miš* NEG	*ʕārif* 1SG.know	*šu* what	*'aʕmal* 1SG.do
		maʕ-o with-3SG.M				

2	M2	*tʕāl* come	*būs* kiss	*rās-o* head-3SG.M.POSS	*(0.4)* (0.4)	*'aw …* or …

Laugh

3	M1	*šikl-o* look-M	*hēk* like

<u>M1 headed to M4 to kiss his head (a sign of apology)</u>

→ 4	M3	(addressing M1 while he was apologizing)	***Give him a hug*** Give him a hug	
		***haghig**-o* IMPR.hug-3SG.M		

5	M4	*hhhhh* laugh	*xalaṣ* enough	*miši* walk	*el-ḥāl* DEF-state

<u>Translation</u>

1   M1   (Addressing M2), I do not know what to do with him (how to make him accept my apology)

2   M2   Come and kiss his head (0.4) or …

Laugh

	3	M1	It looks like this

M1 headed to M4 to kiss his head (a sign of apology and respect)

→	4	M3	(Addressing M1 while he was apologizing) **give him a hug**, **hug** him (**hughig** him)

	5	M4	(Laughs) , no need, it is okay now

In the extract above, M1 was looking for a way to apologize for his mistake (it seems that M4 did not accept his apology before), so he addressed M2 stating that he did not know what to do to get M4 accept his apology. Here, M2 initiated the first pair part of a request-acceptance adjacency pair, askeding M1 to kiss his head, which is an act that is usually done to old people as a sign of respect. There was a four-second pause after which M2 proposed that M1 should further kiss something else. There was a loud laugh after he said so. M1 closed the adjacency pair by accepting the request, as shown in segment 3. When he (M1) headed to M4 to kiss his head as a sign of apology, M3 switched to English and inserted the expression 'give him a hug'. To maintain the humorous context initiated by M2, he integrated the word *hug* but in a very novel way by reduplication of /h-g/ to form a four consonantal root of the Arabic integration template CaCCiC producing the imperative *haghig* (give a hug). M4 laughed at such a use, and added that there was no need for a hug as things had been sorted out.

Playful integration made by bilingual speakers of JA also arises from the attachment of English affixes to Arabic stems. Specifically, three affixes are found at work in the data of the study; namely: the prefix *anti*, and the suffixes *-tion* and *-less*. Let us consider the following extract from a conversation between two males, M1 and M2. M1 was mocking his friends' love posts on Facebook:

<u>Excerpt 5.17</u>

1	M1	*el-yōm*	*fotit*		*ʕala*	*el-Facebook*
		DEF-today	PERF.1SG.enter		to	DEF-Facebook

eṣ-ṣobḥiyyāt	*garfān*	*wāḥad*	*min*	*ha-eš-šillə*
DEF-morning.PL	bored	one	from	this-DEF-group

el-hāmlə	*haḍōl*	*eṣḥāb-i*	*w-ʾinno*
DEF-bad/silly	those	friend.PL-1SG.POSS	and-that

kātib	*baḥib-ha*	*bamūt*	*fī-ha*
PERF.write.3SG.M	PRES.1SG.love-3SG.F	PERF.1SG.die	in-3SG.F

w	*ʕayn-āk-i*	*//*
and	eye-DUAL-2SG.F	//

→ 2 M2

ʾaʕṭī-ni	*wāḥad*	*min*	*šilt-ak*	*ʕind-o*
give-1SG.ACC	one	from	group-2SG.M	have-3SG.M

šaraf	*wałłāhi*	*kol-hom*	*šaraf-**less***	*=*
honor	swear	all-3PL	honor-less	=

3 M1

=hhhh	*wałła*	*w*	*ʕayn-āk-i*
laugh	swear	and	eye-DUAL-2SG.F

<u>Translation</u>

1 M1 Today, I was facebooking in the morning, I was bored, ... one of my silly friends in my bad group posted ' I love her', 'I die for her', 'your eyes' //

→ 2 M2 Give me one of your friends who has honor, I swear all of them are without honor (honor-**less**) =

3 M1 = Laugh, I swear, and 'your eyes are ....'

I will clarify the situation first to best understand the insertion of the suffix *-less*. The word *šaraf* 'honour' is used extensively in the speech of intimate friends in Jordan. Mostly, it is used as *ʕadīm eššaraf* or *bidūn šaraf* 'without honour' as a way of teasing each other. It is never understood differently between intimate friends. In the two-turn extract above, M1 was mocking one of his friend's posts on Facebook by repeating what he exactly wrote for his love. He was hinting that his friends were silly as clear

from the expression *ha-eš-šillə el-hāmlə* (this silly group). After saying so, his intimate friend interrupted him and wanted to state that all of M1's friends were without honour, but he did it in a very novel way to add a humorous flavour to the interaction. He inserted the English suffix *-less* and attached it to the Arabic *šaraf* 'honor'. M1 laughed at his innovation and continued talking about the post of his (silly) friend.

A final example of playful integration is the substitution of an element of an Arabic phrase by an English word. Caubet (2002) provides a number of examples of Moroccan Arabic/ French playful substitution of elements. The following extract is taken from a conversation between two females; F1 and F2. F1 was talking about something she posted on Facebook.

<u>Excerpt 5.18</u>

| → | 1 | F1 | *el-marra* | *hadīk* | *nazzalt-l-ik* | ***post*** | *ʕal-**wall*** |
| | | | DEF-time | that | PERF.1SG.post-for-2SG.F | post | on-wall |

| | | | *tabaʕi* | *min* | *el-**end*** | *ʕan-ʤadd* | *min* |
| | | | 2SG.POSS.PRON | from | DEF-end | seriously | from |

| | | | *el-'āxir* | *'ismaʕ-i* | *'iʕmal-ī* | ***like*** | *w* | ***comment*** |
| | | | DEF-end | listen-2SG.F | do-2SG.F | like | and | comment |

| | | | *maʤʤanan* | *hhhhhh* | = |
| | | | free | laugh | = |

| | 2 | F2 | = *ʕa-'asās* | *'inn-i* | *rāḥ* | *'aʕmal-li-k* | *yaʕni* |
| | | | = on-base | that-1SG | AUX | do-for-2SG.F | DM (I mean) |

| | 3 | F1 | *lēš ?* | (0.5) |
| | | | why? | (0.5) |

| | 4 | F2 | *mā* | *baʕraf* | *hhhhhh* |
| | | | NEG | PRES.1SG.know | laugh |

<u>Translation</u>

| → | 1 | F1 | Last time I put a great post on my Facebook wall, from the **end** (meaning great and innovative), listen, make a like and a comment, for free, laugh = |

2   F2   =You think I will do it, you mean

3   F1   Why not?

4   F2   (0.5) I do not know, laugh

In spoken JA, the expression *min el-'āxir* (lit., from the end) is used to state that something is perfect, great, or innovative. In the short extract above, F1 was talking about something innovative that she posted on Facebook. To express how great the post was, she referred to the common expression *min el-'āxir.* Nevertheless, she used the expression in a very playful way by replacing the Arabic *'āxir* with its English counterpart 'end' to yield a hybrid humorous combination *min el-end*. She asked F2 to write a comment and humorously stated that such things were for free. As a sign of humour (teasing), F2 gave an unexpected reply. She said that she would not do so, very possibly just to tease F1. That is why when F1 asked her about the reason; she added with a laugh that she did not know why.

Once again, humor is achieved by the unexpected lexical insertion. In the above example, it is based on the contrast between the expected idiom and the unexpected lexical insertion, creating a hybrid.

5.5 Message qualification

Message qualification is one of the pragmatic functions of CS by which speakers qualify a particular point that has been previously mentioned (Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982). In the data of this study, lexical insertion is considered as message qualification if the lexicon is intended to clarify a point by giving extra information. In brief, any case of insertion is considered as a message qualification if it aims at:

(a) Naming the English word or expression that is used to describe a point explained in Arabic (message credibility/ authentication)

(b) Summarizing/ paraphrasing what the speaker has said, after elaborating and reformulating his utterance in Arabic (message paraphrasing)

(c) Elaborating a message given in Arabic (message elaboration)

5.5.1 Message credibility/ authentication

In some examples, and while illustrating a certain idea or concept, the Jordanian bilingual speakers resort to the English term for the sake of adding a kind of reference and validity to the message conveyed. The insertion here acts as a quotation of the scientific or cultural term which adds a scientific or cultural authenticity to the message conveyed (Paolillo 2011). As being a status marker in Jordan, reference to English to name a certain process or concept contributes to the value and credibility of the message. It is also noticed that such a procedure is introduced by native verbs like *yoʕraf* 'known', *yusamma* 'named', *yudʕa* 'called', etc. The following extract is taken from a TV program. The female presenter (P) was interviewing a judge (G) about his project on online litigation:

Excerpt 5.20

1	P	*bidāyatan* beginning	*li-nataḥaddaθ* let-1PL.talk	*ʕan fikrat* about idea	*mašrūʕ* project
		ʼat-taqāḍi DEF-litigation	*w- attaḥākom* and-DEF-resorting	*ʼal-ʼiliktrōni* DEF-electronic	
→ 2	G	*hiya* PRON	*bi-başāṭa* in-simple	*naql* transference	*el-ʕamaliyya* DEF-process
		el-qaḍāʼiyya DEF-judicial	*min wāqiʕ* from state	*el-ḥoḍūr* DEF-presence	*el-mobāšir* DEF-live
		ʼila wāqiʕ to state	*ʼal-ʼitişāl* DEF-connection	*ʼaš-šabaki* DEF-network	*biwāsiṭat* by

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'inšā'	*maḥākim*	*'iliktrōniyya*	*toʕraf*
establishment	court.PL	electronic	known

ʕālamiyyan	*bi*	*eh, eh*	*maḥākim*	*es-**cyber***
globally	in	INTERJ	court.PL	DEF-cyber

'aw	***Justice online***
or	Justice online

Translation

1   P   In the beginning let us talk about the project of online litigation and judicial resorting

→ 2   G   It is simply transference of the judicial work from physical appearance to the state of network connection through establishing online courts known globally as **cyber** courts or **Justice online**.

The two-turn extract above was simply a question-response adjacency pair. The guest was talking about his project which was on electronic courts. After the presenter asked him to describe his project, he provided a definition of the online litigation courts. To add credibility to his message, he switched to English and inserted the English terms (technical terms) used to describe such kind of courts. Reference to English did not add to the content of the idea as his definition in Arabic was straightforward, but it could qualify his message by giving reference, value and credibility to it.

Another example is taken from a radio program called *kalmia* 'word' in which a certain topic is raised for discussion in each episode. In the example, the presenter (P) introduced the topic of the episode, which was on the online government, and interviewed a government representative (G) to talk about this topic:

1	P	... 'ittaṣal-na	b-es-sayyid	hayθam	el-qaysi	w
		PERF.call-1PL	with-DEF-mister	Haytham	DEF-Qaysi	and

		saʿal-nā-h		ʕan	el-ḥokūmə	el-'iliktrōniyyə
		PERF.ask-1SP-3SG.M		about	DEF-government	DEF-electronic

		b-šakil	ʕām		w-hēk	kān
		in-way	general		and-this	PERF.COP

		ʤawāb-o				
		answer- 3SG.POSS				

→ 2 G

		..... haðihi	el-xadamāt	mawʤūdə	el-yōm	min
		..... this	DEF-service.PL	available	DEF-today	from

		xilāl	bawwābit	e-ddafiʕ	el-'iliktrōniyy
		through	gate	DEF-payment	DEF-electronic

		yaʕni	**online**	**payment**	b-'imkān-ik
		mean	online	payment	in-possible-2SG.F

		tqadm-i	el-xidmə	w-tidfaʕ-i	**online**
		apply.2SG-F	DEF-service	and-pay.2SG.F	online

Translation

1 P ... we have called Mr. Haytham Al-Qaysi and we asked him about the electronic government in general ... and his answer was as follows

→ 2 G ... these services are available today through the electronic online payment door, it is called **online payment**, you can apply for a service and pay online

In the extract above, the female presenter introduced the topic of the episode, which was the 'online government' which meant having online websites through which all the government services and applications that concern people could be accessed online. When the guest was given the floor, he started explaining to the audience what the online government meant and what it offered to them. At the end of his talk, he was

talking about one of the facilities offered by the online government concerning the ability to pay for transactions and certificates online. In the beginning, he mentioned the expression in Arabic *bawwābit el-dfiʕ el-ʾiliktrōny* (lit. the door of online payment). In order to add credibility and authenticity to it, he switched to English and inserted the English expression used to name this process. This procedure was introduced by the Arabic verb *yaʕni* (mean).

5.5.2 Message paraphrasing

Bilingual speakers may switch codes to provide a paraphrase of their messages as a means of clarification (Zentella 1997). JA bilingual speakers tend to insert lexical items from English to paraphrase what they have said. The insertion is found to be preceded by a description of the idea under focus. In this case, the insertion is a procedure to reflect what the speaker has been elaborating. JA speakers tend to elaborate their messages in Arabic and change code to make this message understandable by inserting English lexical constituents that function as a paraphrase or a summary of what they have said. Below is an example taken from a TV program in which two university students were talking about their newly issued magazine named *quiz šabāb* (the quiz of the young):

Excerpt 5.22

1	M1	*... bšakil*		*miš*		*namaṭi*	*b-šakil*	*ʾaksir*
		... in- way		NEG		classical	in-way	PRES.1SG.break

		fī	*el-dʒarīdə*	*et-taqlīdy-yə //*
		in	DEF-newspaper	DEF.traditional //

2	FP	*ʾaywa ↑*
		INTERJ

→ 3	M1	*ʾaxallī-h*	*ʾakθar*	***flixibil***	*ʾēēē*
		PRES.1SG.make.M.	more	flexible	INTERJ

['akθar   ḥur-riy-ya]
[more   freedom   ]

4 FP *['akθar   garīb   min   eṭ-ṭul-lāb]=]*
       [more   close   from   DEF-students =]

→ 5 M1 *...w   'ēš   momkin   niṭlaʕ   b-'iši*
         ...and   what   possible   PRES.1SP.come up   in-thing

         dʒdīd (2.0)   niḥki   ʕan-nu   'iši   hēk
         new   (2.0)   PRES.1Sp.talk   about-GEN   thing   INTERJ

         xallī-na   niḥki   'iši   kryētiv   fikra
         let-us   PRES.1SP.say   thing   creative   idea.F

         dʒdīdə   b-ṭarīqa   ġēr   taqlīdiyy-a fa
         New.F   in. way.F   NEG   traditional-F so

         kān-at   qwiz   šabāb...
         COP.F   qwiz   youth

Translation

1 M1 ... (we thought of designing a newspaper) in an untraditional way; in a way
       that is different from the typical newspaper pattern //

2 FP Okay

→ 3 M1 To make it more **flexible**, [more free]

4 FP   [closer to students]

→ 5 M1 and what new thing we can come up with (0.2) something that we call, let us
         say, something **creative**, a new idea in an untraditional way, so it was the
         idea of ' quiz šabāb (the youth quiz)'

In the beginning of the above extract, M1 was telling the presenter about what they

opted for in their new magazine. He was elaborating his message to state how they (the

team of the magazine) sought something unusual in shape and content of their

magazine. The prolonged utterances *bšakil miš namaṭi* (in an unusual way) and *bšakil*

'aksir fī el-dʒarīdə et-taqlīdy-yə (in a way that breaks the shape of the ordinary

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magazine) in segment 1 were pieces of evidence on his attempt to express how novel their magazine was. In segment 3, he took the floor again and changed his code to further qualify his message by inserting the English word 'flexible' as a paraphrase of what he was trying to state. The insertion was followed by a non-literal translation *'akθar ḥur-riy-ya* (more freedom), which supports what Callahan (2004:106) notes that insertions may be accompanied with a paraphrase that precedes or follows the embedded element. The same procedure was repeated in segment 5 when the male student was talking about the nature of the content of their magazine. He was making an effort to point out that they wanted to come up with something new. This is clear from the number of utterances he produced to make himself clear such as *ʾiḥna ʾēš miḥtadʒ-īn b-hāy el-fatra* (what do we need in this time), *ʾēš momkin niṭlaʕ b-ʾišidʒdīd* (what is the new thing that we can come up with), and *ʾiši hēk xallī-na niḥki* (something like, let us say). To paraphrase his key point and to exempt himself from elaboration, he changed his code and switched to English and inserts the word 'creative'. Callahan (2004) mentions that some embedded lexical elements are followed by a native paraphrase as a way of clarification. Interestingly, this was the case in the two insertions given in the above extract. The speaker provided a paraphrase of the insertions in Arabic after each insertion.

In another example taken from a radio program called *miš bēnna* (not between us), the female presenter (FP) and the male presenter (MP) were talking about whether a man's code of dress was a sign of how good or bad he was. The MP was against judging a man by his dress, while the FP was stressing that taking care of such a thing was an indicator of a man's quality:

→ 1 M *yaʕni*   *'inno*   *eš-šab*   *momkin*   *moḥtaram*
        I mean   that   DEF-young man   possible   respectful

         momkin   *'axlāq-o*   *rā'iʕa*   *dʒiddan*
         possible   moral.PL-3SG.M.POSS   great   very

         momkin   *taʕāmol-o*   *ykūn*   *maʕ*
         possible   deal-3SG.M.POSS   PRES.COP   with

         en-nās   *mnīḥ*   *w-b-nafs*   *el-waqt*   *momkin*
         DEF-people   good   and- in-same   DEF-time   possible

         miš   *miʕtani*   *b-maḍhar-o*
         NEG   PERF.3SG.M.take care   in-look-3SG.M.POSS

         el-xāridʒi   *'aw*   *zayy*   *mā*   *niḥki*
         DEF-external   or   like   PAR   PRES.1PL.say

         old fashioned   *yaʕni*   *qadīm*
         old fashioned   mean   old

→ 2 F **old fashioned**   *ktīr*   *ktīr*   *ktīr*
         old fashioned   much   much   much

   3 M *howwa*   *ḥorr*
         3SG.M.PRON   free

Translation

→ 1 MP Maybe the man is respectful, maybe he has great morals, maybe he deals with people nicely, but at the same time, maybe he is not taking care of his external appearance, or let us say, he is **old fashioned**, that is, antiquated

→ 2 GP This is very, very, very **old fashioned**

   3 MP It is his business, not ours

In the beginning of the exchange, the MP disagreed that the way a man dressed was an indicator of how good or bad a man was, and he elaborated his utterance to say that clothes tell nothing about a person. This is clear in segment 1 when the MP stated that a man could be respectful with great morals and know how to deal with people nicely, but at the same time did not take care of his external appearance. In order to paraphrase his

point about the external appearance, he first introduced the Arabic expression *'aw zayy ma niḥki* (lit., or as we say) and then switched to English and inserted the expression 'old fashioned'. The insertion of the word *old fashioned* could exempt the MP from talking about all things related to external appearance, e.g., clothes, shoes, hair style, etc. The insertion of *old fashioned* to summarize and paraphrase all what the MP wanted to say about external appearance was successful, such that the FP maintained its use in segment 2 to defend her point.

5.5.3 Message elaboration

Gumperz (1982) refers to message qualification as an elaboration of a previous utterance. Bilingual JA speakers tend to switch to English and insert a lexical item to elaborate their point of discussion. Reference to English lexicon could help them expand their point and reinforce it. The following extract is taken from a radio interview with a Jordanian singer named Jony. The presenter was asking the singer about his latest songs:

Excerpt 5.24

1	P	*xallī-na*	*nirdʒaʕ*	*šway*	*la*	*dʒōni*
		let-us	PRES.3PL.go back	little	to	Jony
		maymūn	*(0.2)*	*dʒōni*	*'a'a*	*'ismiʕ-na*
		maymoon	(0.2)	Jony	INTERJ	PERF.listen-1PL
		'aġāni	*'ila-k*	*ra'iʕa*	*...*	
		song.PL	for.2SG.M	great.F	...	
		šu	*kānat*	*'illi*	*'abil*	*?*
		what	PERF.COP.F	that	before	?
2	G	*ʕaddi-t*	*'oṣād-i*			
		PERF.Pass-3SG.F	beside.1SG			
→ 3	P	*ʕaddi-t*	*'oṣād-i*	*ṭabaʕan*	*'oġniyy-a*	*ra'iʕ-a*
		PERF.Pass-3SG.F	beside.1SG	sure	song.F	great.F
		dʒiddan	**high**	**quality**	*...*	
		very much	high	quality	...	

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ṭayyib	*dʒōni*	*miš*	*mfakkir*	*b-el-videoclip ?*
INTERJ	Jony	NEG	2SG.M.think	of-DEF-video clip ?

Translation

1 P Let us go back to Jony Maymoon (0.2) Jony, ah, ah, we had already listened to great songs of your's, ...before, we also listened to your song , eh, what was it called?

2 G (It was called) ' she passed by me'

→ 3 P 'She passed by me', sure, it is a very great song, **high quality** ... okay Jony, do not you think of portraying your songs as video clips?

In the extract above, the presenter was trying to name some of his nice songs in order to tell him that such nice songs deserve being video clipped as shown in segment 1. While doing so, the presenter could not remember the title of one of his songs and asked the singer to remind him of it. After being told about the title of the song, he stressed that it was a wonderful song, may be to act politely after not being able to remember its title, as shown in segment 3 *ṭabaʕan 'oġniyyə rāʕa dʒiddan* (it is for sure a wonderful song). To best show his point and qualify the message that the song, which he failed to remember, was a wonderful one, the presenter changed his code and switched to English. He inserted the English expression 'high quality' to expand his message about the excellence of the song, as shown in segment 3.

5.6 Summary

A qualitative analysis of conversations taken from TV/ Radio and of spontaneous conversations revealed that lexical insertion in the spoken data is exploited as an additional device to serve a number of communicative functions. Specifically, the chapter discussed three main discourse-related functions; reiteration, humour and

message qualification. Jordanian bilingual speakers are shown to insert words from English to reiterate what has been said. Such linguistic behaviour is found to aim at emphasizing a point of interest, eliciting a response, confirming understanding, clarifying a point, and repairing an utterance. Furthermore, bilingual speakers are found to make use of lexical insertion to form different humorous patterns, such as imitation of English phonology, calquing, and innovative integrations, all of which are revealed to take place in playful contexts and based on the contrast between the expected context-selection and the unexpected insertion. As for message qualification, bilingual speakers are shown to resort to English lexicon to elaborate, validate, and paraphrase what they have already mentioned.

CHAPTER SIX

LOANWORDS IN THE WRITTEN TEXT

Chapter 6 discusses the use of lexical insertions in the spoken domain of JA. This chapter examines the use of loanwords in the written text of JA. It specifically investigates the status of English words in JA newspapers and the ways of introducing them to the written text. More importantly, the chapter also deals with the pragmatic functions of these words in the written text. The chapter begins with the use of Arabic (MSA) in newspapers and a theoretical review of the use of loanwords in different written genres.

6.1 MSA and written newspapers

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the form of language used in all written Arabic media, including newspapers (Ryding 2005:4; Abdelali 2004). The language style used in Arabic newspapers differs from that used in other publications. Abdul Razaq (2011) indicates that word choice is one of the most significant features of the Arabic newspaper language style. He lists five characteristics of a good word choice in newspaper writing: clarity, simplicity, immediacy, decisiveness, and accuracy. As the aim of a newspaper is to attract the attention of a diverse group of readers ranging from lay people to highly educated ones, the word choice can ensure the avoidance of any kind of misunderstanding and precisely convey the message to readers from different sociolinguistic backgrounds. Such a goal of accuracy and preciseness helps open a path to the acceptance of foreign words in the written Arabic discourse.

In the modernization process of MSA, Arabic journalism played a significant role because it could meet the ongoing need to create new terms in order to cope with innovations resulted from global contact and communication. This has been attained by

means of semantic broadening (*madʒāz*), and derivation ('*ištiqāq*). As well, Arabic newspapers are considered the most effective agent to adopt new words or concepts from other languages by means of lexical insertion and semantic borrowing. Furthermore, in most cases of new words coined by the language academies all over the Arab world, publicity of these new words is done in accordance with newspapers. As a result, lexical acculturation and development in MSA is best tracked by the investigation of words' change in newspapers (Abdul Razaq 2011: 61-62).

6.2 Loanwords in the written text

Loanwords in written texts have been examined from various perspectives. Among others, two primary perspectives have gained much attention in language contact studies. The first one focuses on means of differentiating established and spontaneous loanwords in written genres. It primarily addresses factors such as typographical markings, the writer's intentionality, and the choice of script to separate the two processes. The other perspective, nevertheless, examines the communicative functions of loanwords in the written language and their correlation with functions in the spoken language in the light of the pragmatic approaches to CS.

In addressing French loanwords in written Quebec English, Grant-Russel and Beaudet (1999) differentiate between two types of borrowings: marked borrowings and unmarked borrowings. They count on notions of intentionality and typographical markings in distinguishing established from spontaneous loanwords. They suggest that there is a relationship between the frequency of a loanword from the one hand and the presence of a typographical markings and the intentionality of the writer's usage on the other hand. That is, the more a loanword is frequent in a language community, 'the more it is unmarked, and the less intentionally it conveys'. Grant-Russell and Beaudet assert that typographical markings such as quotation marks, italics, or boldface are used

to ascertain the status of the loanword and signal the writer's awareness of its markedness. According to Grant-Russel and Beaudet, marked borrowings (spontaneous insertions) are indexical of the writer's ideology in the written text, and can be examined using factors such as topic, genre, and purpose of written discourse, the identity and attitude of the writer, and the relationship between the writer and the audience.

In the same vein, Angermeryer (2005:495-96) states that bilingual writers rely on the choice of script to determine the status of a foreign word, whether established or spontaneous. They have the choice to alternate between writing systems or rely on transliteration of a word into the writing system of the matrix language. That is, the status of a loanword in the written text is best reflected through the choice of the script. In investigating the script choice in Russian American classified ads and signage, Angermeryer shows that writers tend to choose the Cyrillic script to mark an established loanword and the Roman script to signal an insertion.

On the other side, most studies that tackle the communicative functions of CS (and spontaneous insertions) in written discourse come up with communicative functions that match, with few exceptions, those attested in spoken discourse. Montes-Alcala (2001) shows that CS in written discourse is an 'idiosyncratic' phenomenon that is governed by social and grammatical rules and requires proficiency in more than a language. These characteristics are also applicable for oral CS. Similarly, in investigating the differences between oral and written CS, McClure (2001:157-189) did not find crucial differences, but merely states that CS in speech has a broader range of forms and functions than CS in written discourse. Likewise, Jonsson (2010) illustrates that spontaneous insertions in Chicano plays, a form of writing projected for performance, served creative, artistic, and stylistic functions and is intended to emphasize, add, intensify, clarify a certain word or

message as well as to include or mark distance, evoke an image, mark closeness and express familiarity. In an interesting study of lexical insertion of French words in English journalism, Davies (2008) asserts that French words were inserted for effective stylistic reasons such as availability, connotations, local colour, metalinguistic comment, and intertextuality. Different discourse functions are presented by Pahta (2004: 73-99) who studies lexical insertions in Medieval medical writing and argues that the insertion of words from Latin fulfils a number of discourse functions such as to express decorum, to mark charm, and as a device to organize a text.

All in all, two problematic issues are of concern when it comes to the analysis of loanwords in the written text. The first issue has to do with the interpretation of the inserted element. It seems that additional cognitive efforts are required from the part of the bilingual readers to interpret the specific message (Onysko 2007:273). In this regard, Sebba (2012: 100) indicates that to understand the language choice of the author in a written discourse, the language preferences and competence of both the author and the readers have to be taken into account. The other problematic issue is applying the theories of spoken CS to account for written CS. Sebba (2012:99) explains that the three prominent interactional models of CS (*Metaphorical and Situational code-switching* of Blom & Gumperz 1972, and Gumperz 1982; *The Markedness Model* of Myers-Scotton 1993; and *The Sequential Approach* of Auer 1984) may work for 'conversation-like interactive written genres' such as emails chat, and play scripts, but they are difficult to apply to less interactive written genres (e.g., newspapers), where the communication is between a writer and distant readers.

6.3 English lexical elements in Jordanian Newspapers: an overview of the findings
As noted in chapter 1, English is a status marker in Jordan and the attitude towards using its elements is all the way positive (Bani-Khaled 2014; Drbseh 2013). This

hospitality towards English elements has resulted in a noticeable use of loanwords in Jordanian newspapers. The status of these lexical constituents has been left unspecified in some studies that have been carried out (e.g., Hussien and Zughoul 1993) by using the term interference to avoid labelling lexical elements as instances of borrowing or CS. For other studies, the starting point was to investigate established loanwords relying merely on integration and formal status of the borrowed word and ignoring instances that are questionable (e.g., Kailani 1994).

Based on the discussion of borrowing-CS continuum in chapter 2 (section 2.4.2) and the distribution of loanwords discussed in section (4.1.1), English lexical items in the written text of newspapers are found to spread over a continuum ranging from instances that can be clearly considered as established loanwords to those that can be regarded as more likely insertions of a momentary use. Foreign lexical constituents attested in the written text (newspapers) can be classified into two major categories:

- Established written loanwords: they constitute the largest portion of English lexical items attested. These words are considered part of the Arabic language because they have been adopted by language planners in Jordan, and thereby have dictionary entries in MSA. Most of these loanwords are found to fill lexical gaps as they stand for terms denoting innovations related to modern world, science, and technology as well as cultural terms that have been introduced to the Jordanian context. To mention some, *doctor > duktūr, million > malyūn, democracy > dīmuqrāṭiyyah, internet > internet, computer > kumbyūtar, technology > tiknulūdʒya, college > kulliyyah, petrol > batrūl, bank > bank, barrel > barmīl, potash > būtās, meter > miti, gas > ġāz,* and others.

- Spoken foreign words appearing in the written text: these words are never found written in the Arabic script, i.e., they lack the formal status of having written

forms. Also, they are with varying levels of establishment. Though these words are merely spoken, Jordanian authors use them in written texts for achieving a stylistic function. Some of them are very frequent in the spoken variety such as *pick up > bikʿab, control > kuntrūl*, *gear > gīr,* and *caoutchouc > kawtšūk*. The status of others is quite difficult to classify. The uncertainty of their status is presumably because they are not known to monolinguals or users of low English proficiency, but are habitually used when treating particular specialized (scientific) topics. Most probably, further studies with a large corpus need to be carried out in order to determine their status in JA. The words *propaganda > brobaganda, hydraulic > hydrulīk*, and *make up > mīkʿab* are some examples. Finally, the largest group of foreign words under this category can be considered as clear instances of spoken lexical insertions (spontaneous loanwords). Their foreignness in most cases is indicated by glosses, quotation marks, and English orthography. These words are primarily used for stylistic, symbolic, and effective purposes and their insertion is triggered by the positive attitude of the readership towards using English words. To mention some, *taboo > tabu, rap > rāb, monologist > munuludʒist, rock > ruk, manifesto > mānfīstu,* and *premium > brīmyum*.

General remarks are to be raised here. First of all, a number of discourse-related functions familiar in the spoken domains are identified in Jordanian newspapers, mainly lexical need, culturally marked terms, reiteration, quotation, message qualification, and others. The slight difference is that insertions in the spoken domain can show a wider range of functions.

In most cases, writers employ typographical means such as brackets to highlight the marked use of the word. McClure (2001) regards such techniques as a sign of the status

of the foreign word as well. Such insertions are heavily attested in commentary articles that deal with the writers' opinions regarding an event. In addition to typographical devices, the use of the English word as 'contextualization cue' can be also grasped from the contribution of the writer before and after the insertion.

Reiteration is, by all means, the most predominant discourse-related strategy that was exploited to serve different pragmatic functions. Similar to its function in the spoken domain, reiteration was primarily used to emphasize and qualify a message. Reiteration in newspapers in Jordan is found to follow two scenarios: (1) reiteration of a previously mentioned Arabic term by inserting its English counterpart using Arabic orthography, and (2) reiteration of the Arabic term by insertion of its English counterpart with its original orthography (English spelling). According to the first type, the study shows that the writers tended to insert the English term after an Arabic equivalent, which is formed on the basis of literal (morpheme-by-morpheme) translation of the loanword. In this kind of reiteration, writers aimed at clarifying what they have said. As for reiterated words that retain their original English orthography, reiteration is found to act as a tool of reference, authenticity, and proficiency. Interestingly, these functions of reiteration were attested in the spoken domain as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

Although established loanwords are habitually used as parts of the JA lexicon, in a few cases, they are still rendered as symbolic, not habitual, regardless of their mode of display. They are still perceived as foreign, though they have written forms in the standard language. The loanword *professor* was primarily used when talking about a western setting. Likewise, in the examples attested in Jordanian newspapers for the use of *pragmatic*, which has been newly Arabicized as *brāǧmātiyyah*, the word is not treated as an established loanword that is routinely referred to, but rather is used as a contextualization cue to summarize or qualify a message. The word lacks a precise

Arabic equivalent, though in some contexts, the words *nafʕiyyah* and *waqiʕiyyah* are used to convey the same meaning.

Third, mixed script (Arabic and Roman) has become a salient feature in some articles, i.e., insertion of words along with their English spelling, especially for technical words and acronyms. This procedure is another sign of the pragmatic usage of the loanword and consequently, of its status. It can also be regarded as a sign of the writers' competence or preference when it comes to certain terminologies and topics. This breaks strongly with the normative usages of MSA. Somekh (1991:7-8) reports that the use of words that are not defined in dictionaries such as foreign words, and the language used with 'a foreign news item' (foreign orthography) are only attested in certain written texts including newspapers, and are regarded as a salient deviation of the standard norm of Arabic.

Fourth, the usage of terms for months constitutes a special case. In some cases, they are used along with their Arabic equivalent separated by a dash, as in the use of April (*'ibrīl / nīsān*), and September (*'aylūl / sibtambar)*. In some other cases only the English term is used. Indeed, such a procedure concerns particular months; namely April, August, September, October, November, and December. Other months were only attested in Arabic.

6.4 The incorporation of English lexical items in Jordanian newspapers

English lexical elements are displayed in the newspapers' discourse in a variety of ways. Since journalists address an Arabic readership, they are aware that their readership has the potential to understand the meaning conveyed by the insertion of English or foreign lexical items. They presumably rely on the level of English language proficiency of their audience as they presuppose that most of their readers have a degree

of bilingualism. On certain occasions, authors are found to provide the readership with glosses to make sure that their message is fully understood.

The way of incorporating an English element into the Arabic text can be shown to reflect the status of the concerned item in JA. Incorporation follows two trends: applying the Arabic orthography to the inserted element, or inserting the element with its source language orthography (English spelling). In both types of incorporation, two possibilities exist:

 (1) Insertion without any accompanying gloss and/or a comment, or

(2) Insertion that is supplemented by a gloss, a comment, or a typographical marking

The decision whether to provide such a gloss or not depends heavily on the status of the incorporated term and on the intended pragmatic-discourse functions achieved by the insertion. Davies (2008:230) indicates that it may also be a reflection of the differences in the writers' expectations about their readership. The provided gloss is found to be a kind of literal translation, paraphrase, or even an explanation of the incorporated English term.

The first type of incorporation is shown to take the form of orthographical integration of the lexical element, i.e., embedding a lexical element into the Arabic text after being orthographically integrated. This also entails a phonological and, sometimes, morphological integration of the embedded element (as discussed in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). It is seen that this type occurs frequently when the English term is widespread in the spoken variety. This kind of incorporation is also found to take place with foreign words denoting proper names, such as names of companies, teams, cities, events, etc. The same procedure is also followed for insertions that do not require a high level of

proficiency such as globalized English terms denoting scientific inventions. All in all, these words are incorporated into the Arabic discourse without any sign, comment, or typographical marking of their origin or meaning. So, no orthographical differences can be made between them and the surrounding Arabic words, as shown in (6.1). It is worth noting that in all extracts used for the analysis in this chapter, an Arabic script and its transliteration are provided. The Arabic script reads from right to left, and the loanword is given in italics and boldface.

Excerpt 6.1: A play to be displayed on the theatre of the Royal Cultural Centre in Amman

المشايخ   عزيز   **سينوغرافيا**   و   نصيرات   خليل   اخراج   من   المسرحية...

....'al-masraḥiyy-ah	*min*	*'ixrāʤ*	*xalīl*	*nṣīrāt*	*wa*
... DEF-play-F	of	direction	Khaleel	Nserat	and

sinuġrāfya	*ʕazīz*	*'al-mašāyikh*
scenography	Azeez	DEF-Mashayekh

'.... The play is directed by Khaleel Nserat and the **scenography** is done by Azeez Al-Mashayikh'

Excerpt 6.2: An index related to economy and finance

الكبرى   الأوروبية   الشركات   لأسهم   *300* **يوروفرست**   مؤشر   وارتفع

wa	*'irtafaʕa*	*mu'aššir*	***yūrūfrist 300***	*li-'ashum*	*'aš-šarik-āt*
and	DEF.increase	index	EuroFirst 300	for- share.PL	DEF-company-PL

'al-'ūrūbiyy-ah	*'al-kubra*
DEF-European-F	DEF-big

'The **EuroFirst 300** index for the shares of the leading European companies rose'

While in examples (6.1) and (6.2), there are no orthographical or typographical indications of the loanword, in other cases the inserted words were distinguished by providing typographical devices such as parentheses and inverted commas to delimit them from the surrounding words. These devices indicate that the use of these words in a given context is 'marked' (Davies 2008:229). McClure (2001) relied on these typographical markings to distinguish spontaneous insertions from established loanwords. This procedure is followed by Jordanian authors who mark the foreignness of the inserted word by the employment of such typographical markings as shown below:

Excerpt 6.3: The assassination of a Palestinian leader by an Israeli commando

<div dir="rtl">

فرقة **(كوماندوز)** مكونة من 26 شخص

</div>

firqat	**(kūmānduz)**	*mukawwan-ah*	*min*	*26*	*šaxṣ*
troupe	(commandos)	PERF.consist-F	from	26	Person

'A group of (**commandos**) that consisted of 26 people'

Excerpt 6.4: Internet surfing

<div dir="rtl">

(التشييك) على الايميل و الفيس بوك

</div>

(ʿat-tašyīk)	*ʿala*	*ʿal-ʾīmīl*	*wa*	*ʾal-Facebook*	...
(DEF-checking)	on	DEF-email	and	DEF-Facebook	...

'(**Checking**) of **email** and **Facebook** …'

The writers in the extracts above did not provide any explanation of the bracketed words that could enable the readers to understand the meaning of the inserted elements. The loanword 'checking' was orthographically integrated. It was also morphologically integrated such that it is a case of a nominalised verb that is morphologically integrated

into the word formation template *CaCCīC*. It is introduced by the definite article /el-/ which is rendered as /'at/ since it is followed by a sun letter (the dental stop /t/).

However, not all typographically marked insertions are given without explanations of their meanings. So many parenthesized insertions are accompanied by explanations that elucidate their meanings. The explanations take the form of contextual cues, or glosses that come before the typographically (parenthesized) marked insertions. Grant-Russell and Beaudet (1999:27) point that when a writer uses an infrequent loanword (lexical insertion), he/she may play an intermediary role, explaining the loanword for the monolingual reader. These glosses would insure the comprehensibility of the insertion, as illustrated in the following extracts in which the Arabic gloss is underlined and the insertion is given in boldface:

Excerpt 6.5: Tzipi Livni returns to politics as the head of a new party

<div dir="rtl">

و كانت   ليفني   أعلنت   استقالتها   في الأول   من أيار   الماضي   من

البرلمان   (الكنيست)

</div>

...wa	*kāna-t*	*lifni*	*'aʕlana-t*	*'istiqālata-ha*	*fi*	*'al-'awwal*
… and	PERF. COP.F	Livni	PERF.3SG.announce-F	retirement-3SG.F	in	DEF-first

min	*'ayyār*	*'al-māḍi*	*min*	<u>*'al-barlamān*</u>	(*'al-knīsit*)
from	may	DEF-past	from	DEF-parliament	(Knesset)

'… and Livni announced her resignation from the <u>parliament</u> (the **Knesset**) on the first of last May'

Excerpt 6.6: Sport news on Bayern Munich (a German football club)

<div dir="rtl">

<u>...الفريق   المتصدر   بالدوري   الألماني</u>   لكرة القدم   (بوندسليغا)

</div>

...	*'al-farīq*	*'al-mutaṣaddir*	<u>*bi-l-dawrī*</u>	*'al-'almānī*
	DEF-team	DEF-leader	In-DEF-league	DEF-German

li-kurat	*'al-qadam*	*(bundislīd͡ʒā)*
for-ball	DEF-foot	(Bundesliga)

'... The team which is leading <u>the German football league</u> (**Bundesliga**)'.

The parenthesized proper names 'Knesset' and 'Bundesliga' above are unique referents (unique referents are discussed in details in section 6.5.1.3). They were introduced in the text by explanations that took the form of literal translation. Nonetheless, for some insertions, more than one gloss was provided by the writer. This is done when the lexical insertion requires a detailed explanation to be understood by the readership. An illustration is given in (6.7) where the writer provided a typographical marking, a literal translation preceding the lexical insertion, and a paraphrase of its meaning after, to ensure the readership's comprehension of the insertion:

Excerpt 6.7: New habits begin in the prefrontal cortex of the brain

<div dir="rtl">

قشرة   الفص   الجبهى   المعروفة   باسم   ‹‹ انفراليمبك ››   (المفتاح الرئيسى)

</div>

qišrat	*'al-faṣṣ*	*'al-d͡ʒabhi*	*'al-maʕrūfah*	*bi-'isim*
cortex	DEF-lobe	DEF-frontal	DEF-PERF.know	with- name

‹‹ *'infralimbik*››	(*'al-miftāḥ*	*'ar-ra'īsi*)
‹‹ 'infralimbic››	(DEF-key	DEF-main)

'The <u>prefrontal cortex</u> known as the **«infralimbic»** (<u>main key</u>)'

The second pattern of incorporating loanwords in the Jordanian newspapers is shown through the insertion of the foreign word with its original orthography (English spelling). This kind of incorporation may be attributed to several reasons such as:

- A deliberate procedure by the authors to display their level of proficiency (author-oriented)

- The nature of the targeted readership as being educated and knowledgeable, especially with newspaper articles addressing highly professional topics (audience-oriented)

- A straightforward clear-cut indication of the status of the incorporated lexical element, i.e., signaling a switch (item-oriented)

Some of these words are incorporated into the Arabic script by their original source orthography without any gloss or comment. In other examples, loanwords incorporated with their English orthography (spelling) are introduced with glosses and comments to clarify their meaning. Generally, the gloss is a literal translation of the English word, as shown in (6.8) below, or a paraphrase that elucidates the incorporated word by means of contextual cues, as shown in (6.9). In the two extracts, the Arabic glosses used to clarify the meaning of the inserted elements are underlined:

Excerpt 6.8: Installing more than one operating system on computer

وممكن   <u>لجهازك</u>   ال   *PC*   ان يعمل   <u>اغلاق</u>   (*SHUTDOWN*)   كل ساعة

w	*momkin*	*li-ʤihāz-ak*	*'al*	*PC*	*'ann*	*yaʕmal*
and	possible	for-device-2SG.M	DEF	PC	PAR	PRES.3SG.M.do

'iġlāq	*(SHUTDOWN)*	*koll*	*sāʕh*
shutdown	(SHUTDOWN)	all	hour.F

'… and it is possible that your PC makes shutdown (SHUTDOWN) every hour'

Excerpt 6.9: Constructing a sub-gate of the Hashemite University

و   .... اضاف   ان   البوابة   الجديدة   تصل   المجمع   الجديد   بممر

المشاة   الرئيسي   او   المحور الاجتماعي   *main spine*   داخل   الحرم   الجامعي

...wa   'aẓāfa   'anna   'al-bawwāb-ah   'al-ʤadīd-ah   taṣil
... and   3SG.PERF.add   that   DEF-gate-F   DEF-new-F   connect

'al-muʤammaʕ   'al-ʤadīd   bi-mamar   'al-mušāh
DEF-complex   DEF-new   with-corridor   DEF-pedestrian

'ar-ra'īsi   'aw   'al-miḥwar   'al-'iʤtimāʕi   main spine   dāxil
DEF-main   or   DEF-centre   DEF-social   main spine   inside

'al-ḥaram   'al-ʤāmiʕi
DEF-campus   DEF-university

'He added that the new gate connects the new complex with the main pedestrian corridor or social centre, **main spine**, inside the university campus.'

In (6.8), the loanword 'shutdown' was inserted in its original orthography, provided by parenthesis, and preceded by its Arabic literal meaning, which is a clear sign of its ststus in JA as a spontaneous (marked) choice. In the same manner, 'main spine' was inserted in English spelling and accompanied by two Arabic paraphrases for clarifying its 'foreignness'.

6.5 The pragmatic functions of loanwords in JA newspapers

As long as the newspapers from which the data is taken are principally directed to the public audience, the use of foreign elements is motivated by the desire to deliver the specific message of the author. On the other hand, some loanwords, as found in the corpus, are motivated by the writer's intention to persuade the audience with his/her point of view, or as a reflection of his/her specialization in a given topic. On this basis, the motivations of using English (or foreign) elements under this section are categorized into: Audience-oriented and Author-oriented.

6.5.1 Audience-oriented: The specificity hypothesis

This category entails all embedded elements that aim at facilitating the comprehension process for the readership. The use of these loanwords is beneficial to the content of the message since it is related to the *specificity* of the meaning conveyed. The role of the author is limited to the choice of the appropriate discourse strategy that delivers the meaning specifically without any interference or subjectivity from his/her side in the formation of the meaning intended. Under these circumstances, this category is more content-oriented.

The notion of specificity was suggested by Backus (2001), who introduced the *Specificity Hypothesis* which claims that it is the high degree of semantic specificity that stimulates the insertion of a constituent from another language to the Matrix language:

Embedded language elements in code-switching have a high degree of semantic specificity

For Backus, a lexical item is regarded as highly specific if it is difficult to be replaced by another lexical item 'that is even more specific', and 'if it can only be paraphrased with a novel expression, it is maximally specific' (2001:127). Backus set two criteria as determinant of the semantic specificity of a given lexical item: 'high referential meaning and equivalent conjures quite different connotation'. For lexical insertions, as Backus indicates, each embedded element is attached, in one way or another, to a semantic domain that triggers its insertion. For the association between embedded elements and semantic domains, Backus introduced his *Semantic Domain Hypothesis*:

Every embedded language insertion is used by virtue of its belonging to a typically embedded language semantic domain (p.134)

Among others, three major factors, as Backus suggests, can make a certain lexical item possess a high degree of semantic specificity:

- Referential characteristics : lexical gaps

- Being tied to a certain topic (relevance): topic/domain-specific terminology

- Being expressive of the embedded language culture: unique referents

The three sub-categories of specificity may overlap. For example, the use of the word *sinoġrāfyā* 'scenography' in the written corpus of JA can be motivated by being a lexical gap and being associated with a certain topic/domain, which is 'art'. This study tries to reduce the overlap by giving clear definitions of what each category and sub-category specifically entail. For instance, since the sub-category of lexical gap includes words that have no exact counterpart in JA, the word 'scenography' is more likely to be discussed under lexical gaps, though its association with a certain topic is not neglected, i.e., in similar cases, the point of association with certain topic will be pinpointed even if they are classified under 'lexical gaps'.

6.5.1.1 Lexical gaps

A lexical gap in this study is taken to denote any loanword that does not have an equivalent in JA, or that has an equivalent which does not denote the same meaning as the concerned loanword. This category incorporates English elements that (1) are real gaps in JA, (2) have an Arabic equivalent that is generic in meaning, (3) have different Arabic equivalents representing the same, but not the exact meaning, and (4) have different connotations in JA.

Real gap fillers have swept into JA in domains like fashion, lifestyle, art, and technology as a consequence of the western, especially American, scientific and

technological innovations as well as the process of modernization that is rapidly taking place in Jordan. Most gap fillers found in newspapers are cultural loanwords. Some were adopted (Arabicized) in the standard language since they refer to western concepts and innovations that have been unknown to the Jordanian context. In fact, the quality of being semantically specific has been a major factor for adopting loanwords denoting cultural gaps in the standard language (MSA) in Jordan. The loanwords *sinoġrāfyā* 'scenography', *'istudyō* 'studio', *barlamān* 'parliament', *fāks* 'fax', *ṭonn*, 'ton', *fōsfāt* 'phosphate', *dīmuqrāṭiyyah* 'democracy', *ṭubuġrāfyā* 'typography', *tiknolōǧyā* 'technology', *'intarnit* 'internet', *film/filim* 'film', *'istrātīǧiyyah* 'strategy', and *kīlu* 'kilo' are some examples. The same is also true for some foreign words that are cultural-specific such as 'countess' and 'baron', which were Arabicized as *kuntisah* and *bārūn* respectively.

For these cultural gaps, the author is left with two options: either presenting a paraphrase or embedding the foreign word denoting this concept. For reasons related to semantic specificity, the insertion of a foreign lexical element seems a preferable procedure, as shown in (6.10):

Excerpt 6.10: A famous comedy show called 'xarābīš' (scratches):

<div dir="rtl">

الستاند اب كوميدي   لتعليم الاطفال   الفريق   سعى   كما...

</div>

...kama	*saʕa*	*'al-farīq*	*li-taʕlīm*	*'al-'aṭfāl*	*'al-**stānd-'ab***	*komidi*
... also	PERF. seek	DEF-team	for-teaching	DEF-child.PL	DEF-stand-up	comedy

'...the team, as well, sought to teach children the **stand-up comedy**'

قدم   فقرة   راقصة   او ما   يعرف   ب**البريك دانس**...

... *qaddama*	*faqrah*	*rāqiṣ-ah*	*'aw*	*ma*	*yuʕraf*	*bi-*	*'al-**brīkdāns***
...PERF.3SG.present	part.F	dancing-F	or	what	Known	with-	DEF-break dance

'... [he] presented a dancing part, or what is known as the **break dance**'

The writer in (6.10) was reporting on the event held by the comedy team *xarābīš* 'scratches'. When naming the type of the program, the writer embedded the English expression 'stand-up comedy'. The concept 'stand-up comedy' is a western concept that entered the Arab world recently. There is no precise expression that stands as an Arabic counterpart, but may be a paraphrase. By means of this, the expression 'stand-up comedy' is inserted here as a gap filler due to the lack of an Arabic equivalent that can precisely deliver the same meaning which, as a consequence, makes the English expression of a high semantic specificity value. In (6.11), the writer introduced news about a dancing activity performed by one of the members of an entertaining program. In the beginning, the writer used the general term *faqrah rāqisah* (dancing part), then he introduced the expression *'aw ma yuʕraf bi* (lit., 'or what is known as') and reiterated the same expression in English (modified version of the Arabic term) by inserting the exact cultural-specific term. Such a linguistic procedure goes in line with the specificity hypothesis through embedding the exact term used to denote such a dancing activity. Indeed, this copies the interactional procedure dicussed in (5.5.1). The same motivation is applied to western concepts like 'Pop and Rock', 'break dance', 'flash back', and others, where their insertion is triggered by their semantic specificity as a result of the absence of specific equivalents.

Furthermore, insertions for lexical gap filling are motivated by the fact that the Arabic equivalent is generic in meaning and denotes a wide range of semantic senses. As a result, the insertion serves the need to embed a term that semantically specifies the meaning conveyed. The insertions *brašūr* 'brochure' and *falit* 'valet' in (6.12) and (6.13), respectively, are some examples:

Excerpt 6.12: A campaign which was run by a voluntary committee in the city of Al-Mafraq

... اضافة الى توزيع **بروشورات** تذكر المواطنين ان موعد الانتخابات يوم الاربعاء

... *'iẓāfatan*	*'ila*	*tawzīʕ*	***brašūr-āt***	*tuðakkir*	*'al-muwāṭin-īn*
... addition	to	distribute	brochure.PL	PERf.remind	DEF-citizen.PL

'anna	*mawʕid*	*'al-'intixab-āt*	*yawm*	*'al-'arbiʕā'*	*32-1-2013*
that	date	DEF-election-PL	day	DEF-Wednesday	32-1-2013

'... in addition to distributing **brochures** that remind citizens that the day of the election is Wednesday 23-1-2013'

Excerpt 6.13: A university graduate who worked as a valet

... عمل بسيط لا يتطلب الشهادة التي حصل عليها **"فاليت"** بمطعم يقوم بصف السيارات للزبائن

...*ʕamal*	*basīṭ*	*la*	*yataṭallab*	*'aš-šahād-ah*	*'allati*
... work	simple	NEG	PRES.require	DEF-.certificate-F	that

ḥaṣala	*ʕala-yha*	***"falit"***	*bi-maṭʕam*	*yaqūm*	*bi-ṣaff*
PERF.3SG.M.get	on- 3SG.F	"valet"	in-restaurant	PRES.3SG.M.do	in-parking

'as-sayyar-āt	*li-l-zabā'in*
DEF.car-PL	for-customer.PL

'... a simple work, does not require the certificate that he got to do it, which is "valet" in a restaurant that is in charge of parking the customers' cars.

The extract in (6.12) is taken from local news in a newspaper about a campaign run by a voluntary committee that was in charge of reaching out to most areas of Mafraq (a city in the north of Jordan) and distributing brochures to urge people in the city to take part in the parliament election in Jordan. The word 'brochure' has no specific equivalent in Arabic. It is found morphologically integrated by adding the default pluralisation suffix */-āt/* (as shown in section 4.3.2.5). The generic native word *našrah* is used to express the meaning of 'brochure' in Arabic. At the same time, the word *našrah* is also used to refer to 'pamphlet', 'leaflet', 'flier', 'bulletin', and 'poster'. An investigation of the meanings of these words of publication in *Al-Mawrid Dictionary*, which is one of the most authentic and reputable English-Arabic, and Arabic- English dictionaries, will give the same meaning for the words 'brochure', 'pamphlet', 'leaflet', 'bulletin', 'flier', and 'poster', which is *našrah*. The same result is obtained when checking the meaning in the *Online Dictionary of Meanings* (qamūs ʻal-maʕāni); another famous bilingual dictionary. Consequently, the insertion of the word 'brochure' in the above extract resulted from the fact that there is no precise semantic equivalent to denote the (folded) piece of publication, which makes the insertion stand as a lexical need due to its referential features as a semantically specific term that best expresses the intended meaning. Likewise, in (6.13), the semantic specificity of the lexical element 'valet' - as opposed to its semantically broad Arabic counterparts like *mustaxdam* or *ʕāmil* 'employee' - facilitated its insertion.

Another motivation of insertions for gap filling is the existence of a range of Arabic equivalents that express different shades of the meaning, but not the exact one. To demonstrate, there is no specific equivalent for the word 'casual', but rather a range of Arabic words and expressions. Though these equivalents express the same meaning but none of them can precisely be the perfect equivalent. An illustration is given below in (6.14):

<u>Excerpt 6.14</u>: Casual shoes

<div dir="rtl">

... احذية « **كاجوال** » بألوان براقة لموسم العيد

</div>

... *aḥðyah*	« *kādʒwal* »	*bi-'alwān*	*barrāq-ah*	*li-mawsim*	*'al-'aʕyād*
... shoe.PL	« casual»	in- color.PL	bright-F	for-season	DEF-Eid.PL

'... bright **casual** shoes for the Eid season'

The loanword 'casual' can be expressed in Arabic by different means, such as *ġēr rasmi* (informal), *ʕādi* (normal), and *šabābi* (youth). The most common one is the word *ġēr rasmi* (informal), but this word does not exactly mean 'casual'. The same can be said about the other Arabic equivalents. Another interesting example of loanwords that have a range of Arabic equivalents is the word 'etiquette' in (6.15):

<u>Excerpt 6.15</u>: Tears of the American winning candidate (president Obama) as a sign of a margin of honesty between him and his voters

<div dir="rtl">

... هامش لم تفسده قواعد **الاتيكيت** و الصورة

</div>

... *hāmiš*	*lam*	*tufsidu-hu*	*qawāʕid*	*'al-'itikīt*	*wa*	*'aṣ-ṣūrah*
... margin	NEG	PRES.spoil-M	rule.PL	DEF-etiquette	and	DEF-photo

'... this margin has not been spoiled by the rules of **etiquette** when taking a photo'

The word 'etiquette' has many Arabic linguistic representations, such as *fann 'attaʕāmul* (lit., 'the art of dealing') *'al-labāqah* (lit., 'tact')*, 'ādāb 'assulūk wa 'al-muʕāšarah* (lit., 'rules of conduct and gregariousness')*, fann 'al-ḥayāh 'ar-rāqiyyah* (lit., 'the art of modern life'), etc. All of the given equivalents are definitions and paraphrases that describe the word. However, none of them can semantically replace the English 'etiquette' and convey the precise meaning of 'etiquette' in the above extract, so that it is the semantic referential meaning that promotes the use of 'etiquette'.

Finally, some loanwords that have Arabic equivalents are considered as gap fillers because their Arabic equivalents bear different connotations. Jonsson (2010:1304) states that a need for a lexical gap can arise from the fact that the foreign word and its equivalent in the native language bear different connotations. In JA, this is applied to loanwords that have undergone semantic change (section 4.3.3) after being borrowed. The loanword 'militia', for example, is used in JA to mean an armed illegal group or gang, while its Arabic counterpart is *qwa mosallaḥah šibih niḏāmiyyah* ('armed paramilitary forces'). This meaning is an outcome of the semantic pejoration through which the word has undergone after being borrowed. Similarly, the spoken loanword 'control' has been taken from English and undergone semantic shift to denote the person who is responsible for collecting fares from passengers. The use of the Arabic equivalents *taḥakkom* and *sayṭarah* in a context related to buses will yield a different connotation as they have nothing to do with collecting fares. On this basis, these loans are considered as gap fillers due to the different connotation that their Arabic equivalents bear.

6.5.1.2 Topic/domain–specific terminology

This category incorporates terms that are associated with particular topics and domains. It encompasses concepts that in some contexts are more appropriate to be expressed in English. That is to say, certain topics are best handled using the English terms, rather than the Arabic equivalents of these terms. It is worth noting that these insertions have Arabic equivalents that convey the same meaning. So, they do not fill lexical gaps. The relationship between topic/domain and loanwords has been addressed by some scholars (e.g., Fishman 1972; Grosjean 1982; Holmes 2001; Backus 2001; Matras 2012). For Fishman (1972), domains are defined in terms of institutional contexts, in which an appropriate usage prescribes that only one of the co-available linguistic varieties will be used 'on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular topics'. Fishman (1972)

terms these usages as 'topical regulation of language choice'. The regularity of their occurrence as per Fishman (p.439-40) may be attributed to:

- Users trained to discuss topic x in the terminology of a foreign language

- Users' lack of specialized terms in the native language

- Native language lacks exact terms for topic x or has many terms to handle it

- Inappropriateness to discuss x with native language

Grosjean (1982:140) indicates that 'some topics are better handled in one language than another either because the bilingual has learned to deal with a topic in a particular language, the other language lacks specialized terms for a topic, or because it would be considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a topic in that language'. Similarly, Holmes (2001:44) indicates that some 'technical topics' are associated with particular code and that their use triggers 'a switch to the appropriate code'. In the age of globalization, the status of English as a language of science and technology assists the spread of English terms and their regularity of use. Delamotte and Desoutter (2011:62) indicate that English has become a *lingua franca* for a number of specialized domains and is considered dominant with regard to some domains like IT. That is why English terms for computer, internet, and related technological tools and machines have become more appropriate to use even if they have native equivalents, as shown in the following extract:

Excerpt 6.16: One of the instructions for setting up Windows 8

Disk Management   اطبع   **search box**   في   **start**   شاشة   على

ʕala	šāšat	**start**	fi	**search box**	ʾiṭbaʕ	**Disk Management**
on	screen.F	start	in	Search box	IMPR.type	Disk Management

'On the **start** screen, in the **search box**, type (the words) **Disk Management**'

The loanwords 'start', 'search box', and 'disk management' are terms related to the domain of computer and IT. These terms are globalized and therefore, are used regularly as being more appropriate to handle such a topic, not their Arabic equivalents. In like manner, the use of 'laptop' and 'scanner' in the Arabic script is facilitated by the fact that they are technical terms related to computer that are more frequent and appropriate to use, though they have the Arabic equivalents *kumbyūtar maḥmūl* (hybrid loan) and *māsiḥ ḍawʻi*, respectively.

Though to a lesser degree, this kind of association between the topic/domain and the embedded elements is also identified in some other fields like politics, sport, fashion, business, and others. Most of the loanwords found in these fields can be regarded as 'globalized English terms' due to their associations with 'globalized fields or domains'. They are considered more appropriate to use since users are trained to refer to them when handling certain topics to the extent that their Arabic equivalents are scarcely used, as shown in extracts from (6.17) to (6.20):

Excerpt 6.17: Military preparation in Israel

<div dir="rtl">

... رفع   مستوى   الاستعدادات   العسكرية   في اسرائيل   الى   درجة   *«B Plus»*

</div>

... rafʕ	*mustawa*	*'al-'stiʕdād-āt*	*'al-ʕaskariyyah*	*fi*	*'isrā'īl*	*'ila*
raise	level	DEF-preparation-PL	DEF-military	in	Israel	to

daraʤa-t	*«B Plus»*
degree-F	‹‹B Plus››

'... raising the level of military preparations in Israel to the degree of «**B Plus**»'

Excerpt 6.18: OPEC: the demand for crude oil is stable for 2012/2013

<div dir="rtl">

... يمكن   **للكارتل**   خفض   توقعاته   على   الطلب   *لعام 2013*

</div>

... yumkin	*li-l-**kartal***	*xafiḍ*	*tawaquʕ-āt-uh*	*ʕala*
... PRES.Aux	For-DEF-cartel	lower	expectation-PL-M	on

'aṭ-ṭalab	*li-ʕām 2013*
DEF-demand	for-year 2013

'...it is possible for (oil) **cartel** to lower its expectations on oil demand for the year 2013'

Excerpt 6.19: Palestinians, United Nations, and Obama

<div dir="rtl">

... الصوت   الامريكي   المنحاز   *بـ**الفيتو***

</div>

... 'aṣ-ṣawt	*'al-'amrīki*	*'al-munḥāz*	*bi-l-**fītu***
... DEF-voice	DEF-American	PERF.DEF-bias	with- vito

'... The biased American **veto** voice [towards Palestine]'

Excerpt 6.20: Annual report on movie production in the Arab world

<div dir="rtl">

... شؤون   ‹‹ البزنس ››   السينمائـي

</div>

... šu'ūn	*‹‹'al-**biznis**››*	*'al-**sinimā**-'i*
... affair.PL	‹‹DEF-business››	DEF-cinema-ADJ

'… **cinema** ‹‹**business**›› affairs'

The extracts above belong to different domains, (6.17) to military, (6.18) to economy, (6.19) to politics, and (6.20) to trade and business. The words 'B Plus', 'cartel', 'veto', and 'business' are technical terms that are associated with these domains, respectively. Although the term 'B Plus' can be literally translated to Arabic to yield the same meaning, the researcher came to know (by personal contact with senior ranks in the military) that the Arabic term is rarely used, and that the English term is dominant even among uneducated individuals. 'Cartel' is the appropriate term used when talking about competing firms that agree on procedures related to production and price. In the case of oil production, it is called *'al-kartal 'al-nafṭi* (the oil cartel). In the same way, the use of 'veto' is associated with, and restricted to, the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, elsewhere the Arabic equivalent *haqq 'an-naqḍ* is used. Finally, the term 'business' has recently been used to handle any topic about commercial activities.

It is worth mentioning here that while some English terms have already replaced, somehow, their Arabic equivalents, especially in the most striking globalized domains such as computer, internet, technology, fashion, and sport, other areas have also started to compete with their Arabic equivalents. That is, in terms of use, they have begun to co-exist in the written text with their frequently used Arabic equivalents. This can be shown in the use of the loanwords 'charisma', 'folder', 'online', and 'dealer', which

have become frequently associated with personality, computer, internet, and business agent, respectively. The use of the word 'dealer' in (6.21) is an example:

Excerpt 6.21: A character in a movie

<div dir="rtl">... حيث   يضطر   للعمل   كـديلر   في تجارة   المخدرات</div>

...ḥayθu	*yaḍṭarr*	*li-l-ʕamal*	*ka-**dīlar***	*fi tidʒāra-t*	*'al-muxaddar-āt*
... where	PRES.3SG.M.oblige	for-DEF-do	as-dealer	in trade. F	DEF-drug-PL

'... where he is obliged to work as a drug trade **dealer**'

6.5.1.3 Unique referents

Certain loanwords used in JA newspapers represent unique events, institutions, or concepts related to the west, i.e., they make reference to western or western-like entities. Resorting to the translation or to the Arabic equivalents of these loanwords would affect the authentic image associated with these terms, and the specificity of the meaning intended. The use of loanwords for cultural considerations has been addressed by a number of studies in the literature (e.g., Backus 1996, 2001; Loveday 1996; Clyne 1967; Onysko2007; Matras 2009). Backus (1996) refers to these words as 'specific entities'. Clyne (1967) indicates that cultural-specific terms trigger switching since these terms are considered unique terms in one language.

Onysko (2007:275) mentions that some foreign words are unique because they have cultural associations, showing that foreign words in the native written discourse may act as 'culturally specific tones' and 'cultural indices' that evoke in the reader an image of the source culture, which will eventually contribute to the authenticity of the picture given. Such usages by the writer, as Onysko states, presuppose the reader's ability to well recognize the cultural cues and be able to form such an image. He further indicates that such a procedure communicatively reduces the 'receptive distance' of the reader by

replicating the original picture associated by the term (P.277). To refer to this kind of association between the use of the loanword and the replication of the original image, Matras (2009:107; 2012:23-24) adopts the term 'unique referents'. Unique referents activate the associations embodied by the original term and sustain the 'transposition of imagery of the original setting'. The translation of these terms by their native equivalents will detach them from the original scene (Matras 2012).

In short, loanwords belonging to this category are intended to get the reader to build a cultural image about the foreign event or entity reported. The association that the loanword creates makes such a choice loaded with meanings, contrary to what might be achieved in case a native equivalent is used. That is, a translation of the term whether by calquing or providing the exact equivalent, or semi-equivalent may reflect the semantic denotation of the term, but not its cultural connotation. Below are some examples:

Excerpt 6.22: Iranian fighter jets fired on a US drone

... *البنتاغون* تكتم حول الموضوع

... *'al-bintaġun*	*takattama*	*ḥawla*	*'al-mawdūʕ*	...
... DEF- Pentagon	PERF.mute	about	DEF-topic	

'...the **Pentagon** muted the subject-matter'

: Washington and President Morsi

<div dir="rtl">

حذر **السيناتور** الجمهوري جون ماكين من احتمال قيام دولة
اسلامية في مصر

</div>

ḥaððara	*'al-**sinatur***	*'al-dʒumhūri*	*John Macken ...*	*min*
PERF.3SG.M.warn	DEF-senator	DEF.republican	John Macken ...	from

'iḥtimāl	*qyām*	*dawlah*	*'islāmiyy-ah*	*fi maṣir*
probability	establishment	country.F	islamic-F	in Egypt

'The republican **Senator** John Macken warned against the establishment of an Islamic state in Egypt'

(6.24) A match for Manchester United within the competition of the Premier League

<div dir="rtl">

... ضمن منافسات الجولة 13 من **البريمرليغ**

</div>

... ẓimna	*munāfas-āt*	*adʒ-dʒawlah 13*	*min*	*'al-**brāymarlīġ***
... within	competition-PL	DEF-round.F 13	from	DEF-Primer League

'... within the competitions of round 13 of the **Premier League**'

The loanwords in the above extracts are unique cultural referents signifying unique entities and activities. They principally belong to the American setting for the loanwords 'senator', and 'Pentagon', and the British setting for the loanword 'Premier League'. Unlike their Arabic equivalents *wizarat 'ad-difāʕ 'al-'amrīkiyyah* (lit., American ministry of defence), *ʕuḍu madʒlis 'aš-šuyūx* (member of the Senate), and *'ad-dawri 'al-'indʒilīzi* (The English football league), respectively, their usage serves to carry an authentic cultural image for the readership with all its associations, where the Arabic equivalents or translation would ban forming such an image.

Unique western loanwords related to military ranks and units such as 'sergeant', 'general', 'marshal', 'colonel', 'commandos', and others are heavily inserted not only

when referring to the western context, but also when referring to non-Arab settings, or western-like contexts, as shown in the use of 'colonel' below:

Excerpt 6.25: The spokesman of the Kenyan army

وقال **الكولونيل** سايروس اوغونا المتحدث باسم الجيش الكيني ...

wa	*qāla*	*'al-**kolonil***	*sayros*	*ogona*	*'al-mutaḥaddiθ*	*b-ism*
and	PERF.3SG.M.say	DEF-colonel	Sayros	Ogona	DEF-spokesman	with-name

'al-dʒayš...	*'al-kīni ...*
DEF-army	DEF-Kenyan ...

'… and the spokesman of the Kenyan army **colonel** Sayor Ogona said ...'

Nevertheless, some writers used these unique words when talking about a local activity, event or entity. The goal of such a usage is to create a foreign-like image of the local event. A good example is the use of the word 'carnival' in the following extract:

Excerpt 6.26: A carnival car march

امام من **كرنفالية** سيارات مسيرات الاربعاء امس صباح انطلقت
طلال بن الحسين الراحل لذكرى تخليدا الحسين حديقة

'inṭalaqa-t	*ṣabāḥ*	*'ams*	*'al-'arbiʕā'*	*masīrat*	*sayyār-āt*
PERF.set out-F	morning	yesterday	DEF.Wednesday	march	car-PL

karnafaliyy-ah	*min*	*'amām*	*ḥadā'iq*	*'al-ḥusayn*	*taxlīdan*
carnival-F	from	front	park.PL	DEF-Hussein	immortalization

li-ðikra	*ar-rāḥil*	*'al-ḥusayn*	*bin*	*ṭalāl*
for-memory	DEF-late	DEF-Hussein	son	Talal

'A **carnival** car march' set out on Wednesday morning in front of King Hussein Park in memory of the late Hussein Bin Talal'

The loanword 'carnival' is associated with a cultural image of those lively colourful festivals in which people flood through the streets singing and dancing. In (6.26), the writer wanted to report specifically that countless Jordanian people took part in the car

march of immortalization, in which cars were blaring out patriotic songs and people were raising Jordanian flags. So, he embedded the word 'carnival' to associate the cultural image known for western carnivals with the local event. Such an activity is capable of getting the readership draw a picture of how the car march was in terms of number of people and other related associations. The use of the loanwords 'Christmas' and 'casino', to refer to local events or entities, is also driven by the same motivation.

6.5.1.4 Words associated with the spoken variety

This group includes words that are restricted in use to the spoken variety, and are used by the Jordanian authors in the written text to add specificity to the message delivered. Since the writers' goal is to deliver a precise meaning, they have used these words to fulfil such a task as the popularity of these terms in the colloquial variety makes it easier for the readership to absorb the meaning. I categorize these words under the umbrella of specificity for many reasons. First, the ultimate goal of using these words is to provide the reader with the specific term that is very frequent in his/her spoken variety. Second, these words are tied to a certain topic, i.e., they are very common when addressing certain topics in certain domains, which correspond to Backus' notion of specificity for relevance (what I term as topic/domain-specific terminology). Their Arabic equivalents are also common and used, so unlike topic/domain-specific terminology discussed earlier, it is not more appropriate to use the English words when handling certain topics, i.e., both Arabic and English terms bear the same degree of appropriateness. The slight difference between the Arabic and the English term might be attributed to the slight differences between formal and informal, written and spoken language. The use of the word 'mini' is an example:

Excerpt 6.27: A road accident

وقع   حادث   مروع   على   طريق   الزرقاء   جرش   بين   **ميني**

باص   وشاحنة   خضرة

waqaʕa	*ḥādiθ*	*murawwiʕ*	*ʕala*	*ṭarīq*	*ʾal-zarqā*	*dʒaraš*
PERF.happen	accident	PERF.terrify	on	road	DEF-Zarqa	Jerash

bayna	***mini***	*bāṣ*	*wa*	*šaḥina-t*	*xuḍrah*
between	mini	bus	and	van-F	vegetable.F

'A terrifying accident happened between a **mini** bus and a vegetable van on the road between Zarqa and Jerash [two cities in Jordan]'

The use of the word 'mini' in (6.27) is motivated by its semantic specificity. A 'mini' bus is a small bus that is, unlike other sizes of buses in Jordan, used for private business. This bus is referred to as a Korean bus in JA. Legally speaking, these buses are not allowed to be used as a means of public transportation. Other buses used in Jordan for public transportation are of two types: a 24-passenger bus and a 50-passenger bus. The message the writer wanted to deliver did not only concern the size of the bus, but also the fact that the small mainly Korean buses in Jordan, are not allowed to serve as a means of public transportation. The loanword 'mini' is not part of the written language in Jordanian Arabic (not codified) and only appears in the spoken domain, nevertheless, the writer made use of it in the written discourse to be sure that his specific message is properly delivered.

There are cases in which authors tend to refer to a spoken loanword to specify a previously mentioned formal Arabic term. That is, formal Arabic words are followed by spoken loanwords as to assure the delivery of the exact meaning of the word. Because of this, authors make use of the discourse strategy of reiteration to best clarify the

specific meaning intended. In the written text, these loanwords were parenthesized as a sign of their markedness. The words in (6.28) and (6.29) are given as illustration:

Excerpt 6.28: The government policy to reduce tariffs on hybrid cars

تخفيض الرسوم الجمركية الى 25% على السيارات الهجينة (هايبرد)
التي تعمل على الكهرباء والبنزين

taxfīz	*'r-rusūm*	*'al-ʤumrukiyy-ah*	*'ila*	*25%*	*ʕala*	*'as-sayyar-āt*
reduction	DEF-fee.PL	DEF-customs-F	to	25%	on	DEF-car-PL

'al-haʤīn-ah	(**haybrid**)	*'allatti*	*taʕmal*	*ʕala*	*'al-kahrabā'*	*wa*	*'al-banzīn*
DEF-hybrid-F	(hybris)	that	PRES.F.work	on	DEF-electricity	and	DEF-gasoline

 'Reduce tariffs to 25% on <u>hybrid cars</u> (**hybrid**) that run on gasoline and electricity'

Excerpt 6.29: Caravans to shelter Syrian refugees in Al-Zaatri camp in Jordan

يتجه الى الاردن عبر البحر نحو 240 من البيوت
الجاهزة (الكرفانات) لتدعيم مخيم الزعتري

yattaʤih	*'ila*	*'al-'urdun*	*ʕabra*	*'al-baḥr*	*naḥwa 240*	*min*
PRES.head	to	DEF-Jordan	across	DEF-sea	about 240	from

'al-biyūt	*'al-ʤāhiz-ah*	(*'al-**karafān**-āt*)	*li-tadʕīm*	*moxxayyam*	*'az-zaʕatri*
DEF-house.PL	DEF-ready-F	(DEF-caravan-PL)	to-suport	camp	DEF-Zaatri

'About 240 <u>prefabricated houses</u> (**caravans**) are heading to Jordan across the sea to support Zaatari camp'

The above extracts are taken from local news sections regarding hybrid cars (a kind of car that has newly entered the car market in Jordan), and caravan houses as shown in (6.28) and (6.29) respectively. As for the lexical insertion in (6.28), the Arabic coined expression *'as-sayyar-āt 'al-haʤīnah* is merely used in the standard (written language). The writer in the above extract reiterated the term in English to specify the meaning of the Arabic term as it is the technical term that is frequently used (in the spoken

language) to denote this kind of cars. To the best of my knowledge, the term 'hybrid' is used in JA to solely refer to cars, so it is a topic/ domain specific term. At the same time, its Arabic equivalent is also common, but it is more formal. In (6.29) the Arabic expression '*al-biyūt 'al-ʤāhizah* (lit., 'ready houses') is mostly used in the written language. The writer embedded a term that has become frequent in the spoken language (highly possibly after the Syrian crisis) to specify what he exactly meant by ready houses.

This was not always the case. The word 'cash' in the following extract is inserted after its formal Arabic equivalent though the Arabic equivalent *mwaḍḍaf ṣandūq* is also clear and frequent. The reference to 'cash' was probably driven by the writer's commitment to provide a specific term that is more informal and common in the spoken language, as shown below:

(6.30) A person who works as a cashier

<div dir="rtl">

... موظف   صندوق   «كاش»

</div>

... mwaḍḍaf   ṣandūq   «kāš»
... employee   box/machine   «cash»
'… a «**cash**» machine employee'

In these usages, orthography did not stand as a constraint for insertions of spoken loanwords. In order to deliver a specific meaning, writers insert spoken loanwords with their original spelling, probably for the difficulty of their orthographic integration. In these usages, writers were also consistent. They made use of the discourse strategy of reiteration to convey their specific meaning, as shown below:

السماح بعد الموعد بالبيع المباشر دون جلوس الزبائن (*TAKE AWAY*)

وكذا بخدمة التوصيل (*delivery*)

'as-samāḥ	*baʕd*	*'al-mawʕid*	*bil-bayʕ*	*'al-mubāšir*	*dūna*
DEF-allowing	after	DEF-date	to-sell	DEF-direct	without

dʒulūs	*'az-zabā'in*	*(Take Away)*	*wa*	*kaða*	*bi-xidmat*
seating	DEF-customer.PL	(Take Away)	and	too	to-service.F

'at-tawṣīl	*(delivery)*
DEF-delivery	(delivery)

'The permission of <u>sales without allowing customer seating</u> **(Take Away)**, and <u>delivery service</u> **(delivery)**'

In (6.31), the loanwords 'Take Away' and 'delivery' are associated with fast food restaurants in Jordan. Their Arabic equivalents are also extensively used. As a result, their reiteration in the written discourse after their Arabic counterparts aimed to specify the message intended to the readership, though they are only used in the spoken language. The insertion of 'take away' and 'delivery' in their source spelling is not a sign of displaying the writers' proficiency, as they are frequent terms, but rather a sign of an integration constraint, especially for the word 'take away'. The word 'take away' was attested in two newspapers inserted with its English spelling, while 'delivery' was attested in both Arabic and English spellings.

6.5.2 Author-oriented

This category covers loanwords that express the authors' tone regarding a certain topic. It is concerned with the intentionality of the author, i.e. his/her point of view. It is also concerned with the authors' display of their competence and proficiency in specialized (scientific) topics.

6.5.2.1 Author tone (figurative usage)

The use of loanwords in newspapers may also reflect the point of view of the author, i.e., they are directed to the readership as persuasive devices of the authors' intended meaning. Callahan (2004) illustrates how insertions can be used by writers to reach their objectives. In this corpus, all of these usages have been reported in columns devoted to the opinions or comments on political or social events. So in all these usages there is a tone and vision of the author in a way that goes beyond quoting information. We can conclude that attracting the attention of the readership to the meaning intended by the writer is the common denominator of these usages.

In reflecting on his/her tone, the author was in favour of using English words in figurative structures. The prevalence of this pattern is not arbitrary. Presumably, the high symbolic value of English in Jordan makes its words a fertile ground for figurative usages. In general, the use of CS, particularly lexical insertions, for rhetoric (figurative) and symbolic functions has been addressed by some scholars (e.g., Haarmann 1989; Rampton 1995; Hamam 2011; Daoudi 2011; Barnes 2012). The corpus shows that the most prominent figurative use of loanwords is exemplified through metaphor.

Metaphor is defined as a figure of speech which helps convey meaning in a non-literal way (Wu 2003:74). The essence of metaphor is relating the unfamiliar to the familiar. It helps comprehend what cannot be totally comprehended, such as emotions, experience, evaluation, aesthetic, and moral picture (Knowles & Moon 2006). A metaphor also fulfils variety of functions such as arousing the feeling of the readership and attracting its attention, reflecting intimacy, and decorating an idea and adding to its formativeness (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Metaphor as a rhetoric and/ or a symbolic device, is a key concept for the interpretation of CS. Gumperz (1982:61) states that CS has a symbolic value as speakers 'build on their own and their audience's abstract understanding of

situation norms, to communicate metaphoric information about how they intend their words to be understood'.

Jordanian writers made use of loanwords in metaphorical expressions to persuade their audience with their intended meaning through attracting their attention, arousing their feeling, expressing their emotiveness, and reflecting intimacy, as shown in (6.32), (6.33), and (6.34):

Excerpt 6.32: Expressing how vivacious a drown child was

<div dir="rtl">

كان   **دينمو**   البيت

</div>

kāna	***dinamu***	*'al-bayt*
PERF.3SG.M.COP	dynamo	DEF-house

 'He was the house **dynamo**'

Excerpt 6.33: Defending the prime minster after voices calling for his resignation

<div dir="rtl">

لم   يختار   حقن   الوطن   بـ**مورفين**   التخدير

</div>

lam	*yaxtār*	*haqn*	*'al-waṭan*	*bi-**murfīn***	*at-taxdīr*
NEG	PRES.3SG.M.choose	inject	DEF-homeland	in-**morphine**	DEF-anaesthesia

 'He [the prime minister] did not choose to inject the country with the anaesthesia

morphine'

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<u>Excerpt 6.34:</u> Consequences of teachers' strikes in Jordan on school boys

<div dir="rtl">

وهل   هناك من   باستلامهم   لتدريبهم   على استعمال   ‹‹ المولتوف كوكتيل ››

</div>

w	hal	hunāk	mann	yaqūm	b-istilāmi-him	li-tadrībi-him
and	AUX	there	who	PRES.3SG.M.do	with-receive-3PL.M	for-training-3PL.M

ʕala	'istiʕmāl	‹‹**'al-molotūf cocktail** ››
on	usage	‹‹DEF-l-molotūf cocktail ››

'And is there anyone who trains them (school boys) on how to use «**Molotov cocktail**»'

The extract in (6.32) is taken from an article talking about a child who drowned in a pool in one of the private schools in Amman. The writer was attributing the reason for his death to the carelessness of the school administration. The author created an association between the word 'dynamo' and the child through his metaphorical usage, to reflect how much he/ she is sympathizing with the child who was as active and vivacious as a 'dynamo'. The writer is attempting through such a usage to express his emotiveness and intimacy as a way to arouse the feelings of the readership towards the price that this child paid due to carelessness, which was his core message in the article. In (6.33) the writer was defending the prime minister for his sincerity with Jordanians. So, to contribute to the expressiveness of his message, he made use of the metaphor *ḥaqn 'al-waṭan bi-murfīn at-taxdīr* (lit., 'injecting the country with the anaesthesia morphine') to refer to the fact that the prime minister did not lie to people, nor did he tell them unachievable things to reduce their pain resulted from the harsh economic situation. The insertions of the word 'morphine' into a metaphorical expression could add a persuasive value to his message. In (6.34), the writer was criticizing teachers' strike in Jordan and was attempting to highlight its heavy-burden consequences. So he claimed that school boys, as a result, participated in those strikes and became familiar

with using weapons. The author selected the expression 'Molotov cocktail' to convey this message. He made use of a familiar concept to the readership, which is 'cocktail' to state that school boys were trained to use collections of weapon (Molotov) because they had no school to attend. It is worth noting that the word 'cocktail' is used in JA to only refer to fruit juice. In this sense, the use of it in (6.34) to mean a collection is metaphorical. The writer was hinting that teachers were violent in their strikes and boys were trained by them to use variety of Molotov weapons. The use of the word 'cocktail' in such an expression seems very powerful in attracting the readership's attention to how miserable the situation had become because of such strikes.

In some metaphorical expressions, writers seem to make use of loanwords to give a dramatic effect to the event reported so that they attract the attention of the readers and get them involved. The word 'dynamo' in (6.32) can be an example. This kind of dramatization was created through what seems to be kind of re-conceptualization of the embedded element to best suit the intention of the writers. The use of 'holocaust' and 'like' in (6.35) and (6.36) are given as illustrations:

Excerpt 6.35: U.S. senate decision regarding war on Gaza

اسرائيل   يؤيد   قرار   على   صدق   الامريكي   الشيوخ   مجلس

صنع   **هولوكوست**   غزة

madʒlis 'aššūx	*'al-'amrīki*	*ṣādaqa*	*ʕala*	*qarār*	*yu'ayyid*
senate	DEF-American	PERF. ratify	on	decision	PRES.support

'isrā'īl	*ṣunʕ*	***hulukust***	*ġazza*
Israel	make	Holocaust	Gaza

'The U.S. Senate, with full approval of its members, ratified the decision that supports Israel in making Gaza **Holocaust**'

Excerpt 6.36: A news article about a student who created a device to examine diabetes

لم يلق الاهتمام الذي يستحقه ولم يفز ‹‹بـلايك›› واحدة

... *lam*   *yalqa*   *'al-'ihtimām*   *'allaði*   *yastahiqq*   *wa*
... NEG   PERF.3SG.M.find   DEF-attention   that   PRES.3SG.M.deserve   and

lam   *yafuz*   *bi-‹‹lāyk››*   *wāḥid-ah*
NEG   PRES.3SG.M.win   with-‹‹like››   one-F

'.... he (the student who invented a device to examine the level of sugar in blood) has not received the attention he deserves, nor does he win a single «like»'

In (6.35) the writer was criticizing the US senate approval regarding the war on Gaza. To attract the attention of the readership, he added a dramatic effect to the event through the use of *Gaza Holocaust*. Reference to this historical catastrophe was a kind of dramatizing the event to the readership. To put it simpler, the term 'holocaust' was re-conceptualized to deliver a metaphorical meaning. In the same way, the writer in (6.36) was talking about a student who invented a device to test the level of sugar in blood, and this invention did not get attention from any local authority. There was a dramatic effect in the use of 'like' in the metaphorical expression 'winning a like'. The metaphorical use of the word stems from the fact that the term is originally a technical term that is associated with the domain of computer (Facebook) and is re-conceptualized by the writer to attract the attention of the readership to the ignorance of the government towards the invention.

Nonetheless, metaphor is not the only figurative function served by loanwords. Other figurative functions delivered by the use of loanwords are irony and sarcasm. The functions served by irony and sarcasm in discourse have to do with mocking and insulting (Kreuz et al 1991:161). In this respect, the insertion of foreign elements for the

purpose of expressing irony/sarcasm is a documented bilingual practice (e.g., Stroud 2013/1998; McClure 2001; Heath 1989; Heller 1992; Callahan 2004; Onysko 2007).

The sarcastic tone of the writers range from using loanwords that expresses their reservation or denial, to loanwords that act as indirect insults. The data show that the more politics is involved, the more sarcastic the loanword is. In the following extract, the symbolic use of 'G3 Excellency' referring to ministers in Jordan is a clear mockery to hint that they were detached from the real social situation in Jordan:

Excerpt 6.37: Mocking at ministers in Jordan

<div dir="rtl">معالي   جي 3</div>

maʕāli	*dʒī 3*
Excellency	G3

 'Third generation (**G3**) Excellency'

Other insertions for ironic/ sarcastic purposes were, nevertheless, more insulting. They may reach the point of direct insult. The loanwords 'deluxe' and 'size' are good examples:

Excerpt 6.38: How the Palestinian authority could prevent the Arab Spring in Palestine

<div dir="rtl">و حولت   الاحتلال   الى احتلال   ديلوكس</div>

wa	*ḥawwala-t*	*ʾal-ʾiḥtilāl*	*ʾila*	*ʾiḥtilāl*	*diluks*
and	PERF.turn-F	DEF-occupation	to	occupation	deluxe

 'And [the Palestinian authority] turned the occupation to a **deluxe** occupation'

Excerpt 6.39: Criticizing the political consultations and discussions to choose the prime minister of the government in Jordan

<div dir="rtl">

الجانبية   والأثر   المطلوب   والسايز   السياسية   الميزانية   نعرف   صرنا

القادم   للرئيس   المطلوبة   والنكهة

</div>

ṣirna	naʕrif	'al-mīzaniyyah	'as-siyāsiyy-ah	wa	'as-**sāyẓ**
PERF.become.1PL	PRES.1PL.know	DEF-budget.F	DEF-political-F	and	DEF-size

'al-maṭlūb	wa	'al-'āθār	'al-ʤānibiyy-ah	wa	'an-nakh-ah
DEF-required	and	DEF- effect.PL	DEF-side-F	and	DEF-flavour-F

'al-moḥabbab-ah	li-'ar-raʕīs	'al-qādim
DEF-favorite-F	for-DEF-president	DEF-next

'We turned to know the political budget, the required **size**, the side effects, and the favourite flavour of the next president'

In (6.38) the writer was counting precautions that the Palestinian authority had taken to prevent the Palestinian Arab Spring. In an insulting tone, he was mocking how the Palestinian authority turned the occupation into a 'deluxe' one (it works for the interests of Israel). The word 'deluxe' symbolizes a high quality object. Its employment in such an ironic expression aimed at getting the readership involved in the sarcastic message of the writer. In (6.39), the writer's intended message was to mock the political discussions and negotiations that have taken place to choose the next prime minister in Jordan. The writer sought to indicate that such a political activity was already cooked, and that all the concerned discussions and negotiations were folkloric. To achieve such an end, the writer embedded the English word 'size', that symbolizes measurement, and exploited it in a sarcastic way (size of the president) to presuppose that there were certain standards and qualities that had been already set for the selection of the new president.

In the figurative usages of loanwords, metaphor and irony were extensively used by JA writers. Interestingly, Rampton (1998:305-06) considers irony and metaphor as subtypes of what he terms *figurative CS*. In consequence, the choice of English words in metaphorical and ironic expressions in the above excerpts contributes to the interpretation of the authors' idiosyncratic messages. These authors made use of the symbolic value of English to attract the attention of their readership to their intended message.

6.5.2.2 Display of author's proficiency

This section discusses loanwords that are motivated by the writers' intention to display their linguistic ability in English. It is concerned with the loanwords found in specialized (scientific) articles, i.e., those that are directed to a highly educated readership not to a lay readership. Migga and Leglise (2013:279) indicate that insertions might be associated with displaying proper behaviour such as learning. Certain points about the use of these loanwords in newspapers can be raised. First, most of these loanwords are spontaneous insertions that require a good level of English language competence. Second, a remarkable common feature of all these loanwords attested in newspapers is that they were all inserted in their original (English) spelling. Third, these loanwords are vague to the lay readership, while their Arabic equivalents are relatively clearer and more frequent. A common discourse strategy of displaying proficiency and competence by the Jordanian writers is reiteration. In some usages, reiteration hints at strengthening the denotative meaning delivered by making reference to the authentic source. The loanwords are specialized terms given as references to the default Arabic terms, as shown in (6.40), and (6.41):

Excerpt 6.40: Tuberculosis disease

العصوية *Mycobacterium Tuberculosis* الدرن بكتيريا جرثومة تنتقل

الشكل أو من شخص لاخر

tantaqil	*dʒurθūma-t*	*biktīrya ʕaddaran*	*Mycobacterium*	*Tuberculosis*
PRES. transmit	virus-F	**Mycobacterium Tuberculosis**	**Mycobacterium**	**Tuberculosis**

ʼal-ʕuṣwiyy-ah	*ʼaš-šakil*	*b-ʼal-hawwāʕ*	*ʼaw*	*min*	*šaxṣ*	*li-ʼāxar*
DEF-bacillus-F	DEF-shape	in-DEF-air	or	from	person	to-another

'The virus of the bacteria <u>mycobacterium tuberculosis</u> (reiterated in English with its original script) is transmitted either through air or through personal contact'

Excerpt 6.41: Cosmic Microwave Background

و هي عبارة عن موجات راديوية نشأت بفعل

Big Bang « الانفجار العظيم»

.. wa	*hiya*	*ʕibārah*	*ʕan*	*mawdʒ-āt*	*rādyawiyy-ah*	*naša'a-t*	*bifiʕl*
… and	PRON	AUX	about	wave-PL	Radiative-F	PERF.emerge-F	by

«ʼal-ʼinfidʒār	*ʼal-ʕaẓīm »*	*Big Bang*
« DEF-bang	DEF-big »	Big Bang

'These are radiative waves emerged by the **<u>Big Bang</u>** (reiterated in English in its original script) '

In (6.40), the writer was talking about a dangerous disease which is caused by '**mycobacterium tuberculosis**'. It was given in Arabic first, and then reiterated in English. The insertion of 'mycobacterium tuberculosis' aimed at providing a scientific reference to the concept, though it is of Latin origin and is not expected to be understood by many readers. By the same token, in (6.41) the insertion of 'Big Bang' is considered a scientific reference to the original theory of the universe origination.

Other loanwords displaying writers' proficiency can also reflect the intentional linguistic behaviour of writers to add validity, authenticity, and reliability to the message being addressed. Such an authentication helps emphasize the denotative meaning intended and add a sense of reliability to it. Consider the extracts (6.42) and (6.43) for illustration:

Excerpt 6.42: The type of education in the developing countries

quantity النوعية وليس على *size and quantity* و الحجم على الكم يعتمد

yaʕtamid	*ʕala*	*'al-kam*	*wa*	*'al-haʤm*	*size and quantity*
PRES.rely	on	DEF- quantity	and	DEF-size	**size and quantity**

wa	*laysa*	*ʕala*	*'al-nawʕiyy-ah*	*quality*
and	NEG	on	DEF-quality-F	**quality**

'It [education in the developing countries] relies on quantity and size, **quantity and size**, and not on quality, **quality**'

Excerpt 6.43: Statistical studies regarding the registration process for the parliament election in Jordan

المملكة انحاء مختلف من *(بلوك)* سكاني تجمع مئة اختيار

'ixtiyār	*mi'at*	*taʤammuʕ*	*sukkāni*	**(bluk)**	*min*
selection	hundred	group	population	(block)	from

moxtalaf	*'anḥā'*	*'al-mamlakah*
different	part.PL	DEF-kingdom.F

'a hundred population block (**block**) from different parts of the Kingdom was selected'

The reiteration of 'size and quantity', and of 'quality' immediately after their Arabic equivalents terms could make the writer's point sound more reliable and accredited, especially if we know that unlike the English loanwords here, the Arabic equivalents for

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these terms are much known even to the uneducated readership**.** The extract (6.43) was about a statistical study that aimed at evaluating the parliament registration process. The writer mentioned that the method was based on a selection of a hundred blocks from different regions throughout the kingdom. After he mentioned the Arabic expression *mi'at taʤammuʕ sukkāni* (lit., 'hundred population assembly'), the writer repeated the same term by inserting the technical word used to denote such an idea to add an authentic value to the expression. Although the insertion might not be familiar to monolingual or low bilingual readership, its purpose is not to explain or clarify the point (since the meaning of the Arabic expression preceding the loanword is clear), but rather to contribute to the reliability of the message conveyed, so as to sound more scientific.

The most prominent way of displaying authors' proficiency in English was shown through the insertion of English terminology without any Arabic explanation. Writers seem to hint that they are more aware and proficient in the source technical vocabulary. These loanwords in the original Arabic text act as 'flavour' (the term is used by Lepski 1982; cited in Callahan 2004:84) that draws the attention of the readership to both the scientific dimension of the message and the writer's linguistic ability. An example is given from an article that was entitled as 'biological clock':

Excerpt 6.44: Biological clock

ايقاعها   وتنظم   حياتنا   تحكم   ***Biological Clock***

Biological	***Clock***	*taḥkum*	*ḥayāta-na*	*wa*	*tunaẓẓim*	*'īqāʕa-ha*
biological	clock	PRES.govern	life-3SP.Poss	and	PERF.organize	rhythm-F.Poss

 'The **biological clock** governs our life and organizes its rhythm'

Entitling an article with a scientific insertion like 'biological clock' without any kind of Arabic gloss or explanation can attract the attention of the readership to how scientific

the article is, as well as how competent (linguistically and scientifically) the writer is. Interestingly, in the body of the article, the writer did not refer to the expression 'biological clock' in English, but rather to its Arabic equivalent *'as-sāʕah 'al-biyolōʤiyyah*. Later in the same article, the writer mentioned the term 'jet lag' in English orthography for the first time without a direct explanation of its meaning, and then for later usages, he stuck to its Arabic orthography accompanied by the original English spelling.

In another scientific article about obesity, the writer provided the term 'saturated fat' with no Arabic explanation as a way of attracting the attention to his/ her scientific and linguistic competence. This can create desire and confidence in the scientific material provided, as shown in (6.45):

Excerpt 6.45: Children obesity

<div dir="rtl">

saturated fat   غنية ب   السريعة   الوجبات   تعتبر

</div>

tuʕtabar	*'al-waʤb-āt*	*'as-sarīʕ-ah*	*ġaniyy-ah*	*bi*	***saturated fat***
PERF. regard	DEF-meal-PL	DEF-fast-F.	rich-F	with	saturated fat

'Fast food is regarded rich with **saturated fat**'

As noted above, these loanwords are inserted without clues, so their aim is to attract the attention of the readership. Their content meaning is shown through context[8]. Some loanwords appear to be very technical to the extent that they require high level of proficiency and knowledge. In spite of that, they are given without any explanation. A good example is in the extract about the assassination of King Abdulla:

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[8] In another occurrence, the expression 'saturated fat' in (6.45) was followed by an Arabic translation given in brackets.

Excerpt 6.46: The assassination of the late King Abdullah

يكون   حيث   *FALSE- FLAG- OPERATION*   انه   ما   تبين   ... ضمن

اصبع   الزناد   عربيا   والمخطط   الأكبر   اسرائيليا

... ẓimna   ma   tabayyan   ‘anna-ha   FALSE- FLAG- OPERATION
... within   what   PERF. show   that-F   FALSE- FLAG –OPERATION

hayθu   yakūn   ‘isbaʕ   ‘az-zinād   ʕarabiyyan   wa   ‘al-muxatat
where   PRES.COP   finger   DEF-trigger   Arabian   and   DEF-planner

‘al-‘akbar   ‘isrā‘īliyyan
DEF-biggest   Israeli

‘… in what turned out to be a **FALSE-FLAG-OPERATION**, <u>where the trigger finger is Arabic, and the master planner is the Israeli</u>’

The term ‘false flag operation’ is a political term that requires a high level of English proficiency as well as knowledge in politics. It stands for covert military operations shown as executed by a certain group, entity, or government, other than the real ones. The lay reader and presumably the educated one may not be able to figure out the real meaning of this insertion. It is an outstanding way of displaying competence, where meaning appears not to be a *priori* and given subtly through the underlined context (where the trigger finger is Arabian, and the master planner is the Israeli).

6.6 Summary

English elements in the written text of Jordanian newspapers are found to vary in their degree of status and in the functionality they are inserted to serve. They were introduced to the Arabic written text either after being orthographically integrated or in their source language orthography (English spelling). In both cases, some loanwords are found to be accompanied by typographical markings and others were not. In like manner, some were provided with a gloss to explain them to the readership and others were not. All in

all, the way of introducing these elements into the written discourse reflects, in most of its parts, the status of the loanword and the degree of its 'markedness'. As for the pragmatic functions of these words, loanwords are found to be either audience-oriented or author-oriented. The former are discussed in the light of the *specificity hypothesis* introduced by Backus (2001), in which loanwords target the specificity of the meaning conveyed. In contrast, author-oriented loanwords aim at attracting the attention of the readership to the point of view or to the intentionality of the writer through the use of loanwords figuratively. They were also used to reflect writers' linguistic and scientific ability.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEXICAL CHOICE IN SYNCHRONOUS FACEBOOK INTERACTIONS

Chapters 5 and 6 investigate loanwords in the written (standard) and spoken (colloquial) varieties of JA. The current chapter investigates lexical choice in a CMC context. It specifically deals with loanwords in the online written informal variety of JA. The chapter examines this phenomenon in one-to-one Facebook chat conversations. As per the data of the study, three aspects are of great significance in this particular medium of CMC: the insertion of loanwords (content words) and expressions, the use of discourse markers, and script-switching. The chapter begins with a theoretical introduction to CMC, language choice and script choice in different CMC modes.

7.1 Computer-mediated communication

The extensive reliance on internet applications and services as a means of communication has made computer-mediated communication (CMC) a rich field of study for many scholars. This field of interest is relatively a new one. CMC is defined as any form of communication that takes place between human beings via computers (December 1996). CMC takes a variety of text-based forms, such as chat-rooms, newsgroups, forums, and emails. There are two types of CMC: synchronous and asynchronous. The former requires users to be simultaneously online and react immediately in order to exchange messages instantaneously in real-time (e.g., chat rooms) in that participants take part in an ongoing interaction reading and sending messages that appear promptly after being composed. On the other hand, the asynchronous communication mode does not require constant reply and participants can

reply at a later time (e.g., emails), i.e., it is characterized by the ability to delay posts and replies.

CMC offers features that are exclusive to the internet. Basically, CMC can be classified as a hybrid of speech and writing because it shares features from both. It is an unregulated and informal written form that violates the 'tyranny of orthographic standardization' (Sebba 2002:66). Thus, the language of CMC is characterized by its enormous and 'systematic deviation from the orthographic norm' (Yvon 2009:133). Examples of such deviations take the form of phonetic transcription, consonantal or vowel deletion, substitution of characters and numerals for their phonetic value, and abbreviation. This is accompanied by certain typographic changes as well, such as simplification or omission of punctuation, capitalization, and the omission of grammatical elements. By the same token, in CMC, participants make use of innovative procedures to express their feelings, mood, thoughts and emotions by 'code-centred contextualization cuing', such as written laughter and signals representing emotions (emoticons), to compensate for the limitations resulting from the lack of visual channels (Georgakopoulou 1997:158).

Recently, much attention has been devoted to the issue of the bilingual language use in online modes. This has led to the existence of what has been referred to as 'the multilingual internet' (e.g., Danet & Herring 2007), where multilingual writers resort to their linguistic codes whenever a communication need arises. In multilingual online contexts, areas like the representation of writing systems in online environments, and the language choice in diaspora communities have been given considerable attention.

In relation to the representation of writing systems, research studies investigate the use of the English and Roman alphabets to represent many languages and language varieties

in multilingual online contexts. Based on multilingual corpora, Crystal (2008) asserts that due to its status on the electronic media as a lingua franca, English orthography is used by most languages in CMC (p.124). In the same vein, Bianchi (2012:484) indicates that the Romanization of non-Romanized scripts is the most common form of CMC writing. As far as Arabic is concerned, the representation of Arabic vernaculars in Romanized versions has also been examined. With respect to language choice in multilingual contexts, the issues of the dominance of English language use, and CS in diaspora communities have been constantly tackled.

7.2 Romanized Arabic

When the internet came into existence, text transmission was based on the ASCII (American Standard Code for Information Interchange) character set. Initially, this set only contained Roman characters. After the popularization of internet and the massive increase of the number of other languages used on it, a modified protocol called UNICODE was developed, allowing the use of scripts of non-Latin alphabets. Despite the development of UNICODE, the use of ASCII characters to represent non-Roman writing systems is still widely exhibited in the Romanized transliteration of many languages in CMC (Al-Othman 2012:184). Androutsopoulos (2000, 2001) notes that the Greek users in CMC tend to favour the use of Romanized transliteration to represent Greek online. Androutsopoulos refers to such a kind of variety as 'Greeklish'.

Romanization of Arabic scripts has been an old demand. It dates back to the 18th century when there were calls for Romanizing Arabic manuscripts to be accessible for foreigners (Al-Othman 2012:186). The most authoritative conventions are those developed by the *Library of Congress* and by the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Palfreyman and Al-Khalil 2007: 6). Arabic has relatively consistent conventions to represent Arabic words in Roman scripts. Beesley (1998) claims that these Romanized conventions

represent Arabic sounds, rather than transliteration of Arabic orthography. For him, they are more transcriptions than transliteration, since transcription represents pronunciation, while transliteration refers to the use of symbols to represent orthography.

Like most languages in CMC, Arabic vernaculars in CMC are represented through a Romanized transliteration system. Warschauer, El Said, and Zohry (2002) report such findings in investigating language choice in online Egyptian emails and IRC channels. Palfreyman and Al-Kalil (2007) studied the use of the Roman alphabet and other ASCII symbols to represent UAE colloquial dialect. Informants are found to largely follow Romanization conventions used in Dubai commercial signs. Palfreyman and Al-Kalil report that ASCII-ized Arabic is habitually used for online everyday interactions, enabling the appearance of a vernacular with local prestige. Representations of consonants, numerals in place of Arabic sounds, and vowels follow established transliteration norms, in which some sounds are represented in ASCII-ized Arabic, based on their pronunciation in English.

As in Greeklish, the Romanized Arabic system is innovatively referred to as *3arabizi*[9] (Bianchi 2012:484). *3arabizi* refers to distinctive online varieties of Arabic used in CMC employing a written representation of regional vernaculars using the Roman script. The Romanization of Arabic consonants that have English counterparts is a phonemic one-to-one mapping between the Arabic phonemes and the Roman characters' pronounciation in English (Al-Othman 2012). Studies carried out on Arabic varieties in CMC contexts (e.g., Palfreyman & Al-Khalil 2007; Mostari 2009; Al-Khatib & Sabbah 2008; Haggan 2007) reveal that numeric substitution of Arabic sounds in CMC is very common for sounds that do not have counterparts in English, based on the similarities between the shape of the Arabic sounds and the numerals that represent

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[9] *3arabizi* is a blend of Arabic plus English. The first part *3arab* refers to Arabic, and the other part *–izi* refers to the last part of 'inglīzi (English)

them. For instance, the sounds ء ('), ع (ʕ), ح (ḥ) are substituted by the numerals <2>, <3>, and <7> respectively.

The representation of JA online shows some features that resemble other CMC languages, such as capitalization for emphasis, replication of vowels for expressiveness and emphasis, and English-based abbreviations. In addition, JA consonants are represented by Roman characters, based on the representation of these Roman characters in English, as the table below shows:

Table 7.1 The Romanization of JA sounds that have English counterparts

IPA	Arabic letter	CMC phonemic representation
b	< ب >	b
t	< ت >	t
θ	< ث >	th
dʒ	< ج >	j
d	< د >	d
ð	< ذ >	th
r	< ر >	r
z	< ز >	z
s	< س >	s
ʃ	< ش >	sh
f	< ف >	f
k	< ك >	k
l	< ل >	l
m	< م >	m
n	< ن >	n
h	< ه >	h

g		g
tʃ		ch
w	< و >	w
y	< ي >	y

Numeric substitution of Arabic sounds is a unique transliteration feature of Romanized JA, resembling largely other Romanized Arabic vernaculars. The numerals in the Roman representations of Arabic represent single sounds and are mostly chosen because of the visual resemblance of the numeral and the letter in the Arabic script. Table 7.2 shows the Romanization of Arabic consonants that do not have counterparts in English:

Table 7.2 The Romanizations of Arabic consonants that do not have counterparts in English

IPA	Arabic letter	CMC orthographic representation
ʔ	< ء >	2
tˤ	< ط >	6
ðˤ	< ظ >	6'
sˤ	< ص >	9
dˤ	< ض >	9' /d/ dh
ʕ	< ع >	3
ɣ	< غ >	'3 / 3'
ħ	< ح >	7
x	< خ >	5
q	< ق >	8

Vowel deletion is revealed as a significant feature as well. This kind of deletion might be for the sake of abbreviation, or as a procedure of modelling on Arabic script

orthography, where short vowels are not represented in writing. The phenomenon is dominant to the extent that some words appeared with no vowels at all. The words *bs* for *bas* 'only' , *n6l3* for *ni6la3* 'we go out', *3rft* for *3rifit* 'I know', *mn* for *min* 'from', *rj3t* for *rij3at* 'she came back', *2bl* for *2abil* 'before' , *jd* for *jad* 'serious' are few examples from a long list.

Another CMC feature of JA has to do with multiple graphemes. The multiple graphemes represent lengthening or emphasis as it would occur in spoken language. This feature is more apparent in vowel sounds, rather than consonants. The replicated vowels in *akeeeeed* 'sure', *zamaaaaaan* 'past time', *saaaaaaade2* 'you are right', *sade888aaa* 'a female friend', *fiii* 'there is', *7arakaaaaaat* 'movements', and *sa3333b* 'difficult' are some examples.

The transliteration of English loanwords attested in online JA followed the same trend in terms of abbreviation, vowel deletion, numeric substitution, and replication of vowels. As for abbreviation and vowel deletion , the words *lsn* 'listen', *sry* 'sorry', *gd* 'good', *btw* 'by the way', *mob* 'mobile', *bro* 'brother', *tmw* 'tomorrow', *nthn* 'nothing', *TC* 'take care', *gtg* 'got to go', and *plz* 'please', are some instances. Numeric substitution in loanwords found in online JA represents syllables. Numerals in English expressions are chosen because of the phonological identity between the numeral and the syllable it replaces. The words *2day* 'today', *4ever* 'forever', *4 now* 'for now', *gr8* 'great', and *2 b* 'to be' are some examples. Lengthening of vowels was also identified in words like *nooooo, hiiiii, loooool, cooool, baaaaaye, waaaaaall, maaaan*, and others.

7.3 Language choice in CMC contexts

Studies examining CS in CMC have largely focused on language choice in diaspora communities (Paolillo 1996, Georgakopoulou 1997, Androutsopoulos 2007). An early

attempt to explore language choice in diasporic communities was carried out by Paolillo (1996) who investigated CS in the Usenet newsgroup soc.culture.Punjab. His findings show that the use of English is four times more frequent than the use of Punjabi, revealing that the use of Punjabi was limited to loanwords inserted into the English discourse to represent Punjab local practices, religion and people. These insertions are either fixed formulaic usages or creative usages representing an insult, appeal, and humor. The peripheral functional role of Punjabi is attributed to the prestigious colour of English, and the cultural ambivalence of Punjabi diaspora speakers. A year later, Georgakopoulou (1997) investigates the functions of CS in the email messages of Greek diaspora speakers. Georgakopoulou shows that switching signifies informality and intimacy between addressers and addressees and serves as a strategy of face maintenance in dispreferred acts such as requests and apology.

Devoting much of his work to the analysis of CS and language choice in CMC, Androutsopoulos (2006, 2007) distinguishes between two approaches to explore multilingual practices in CMC, both of which are drawn from the sociolinguistic study of code-alternation. The first approach is the sequential approach of CS (Auer 1995; 1998), whereas the second approach deals with language choice from a broader macro-level perspective according to factors such as participants, topic, and setting (Auer, 1998; Fishman, 1972; Li, 2000, Gumperz 1982). The first approach focuses on 'the use of more than one language in a communicative episode', while the second approach focuses on the dominance of English in multilingual settings. Androutsopoulos suggests that combining the two approaches is more fruitful to understanding multilingual practices in CMC. Relying on both approaches, Androutsopoulos (2006, 2007) investigates language choice and CS in German-Based Diasporic Forums and websites. The findings of the two studies have much in common. In the first study (2006), websites of different ethnic groups were examined (Persian, Greek, Indian, Moroccan,

Turkish, Asian and Russian). The findings show that most of the switches to the home language of the participants are lexical insertions. Some insertions are shown to represent formulaic words for greeting, wishes, thanks, and closings. They also serve as identity representation contextualizing topic change. Other insertions signal playful usages. Switching from the home language to German is for the purpose of providing a 'comment and critique'. Shortly after, Androutsopoulos (2007) examined three discussion forums for the Persian, Greek, and Indian ethnicities. Though German is the dominant language in these forums, home languages reclaim dominance in certain roles and are sometimes represented in Romanized transliterations. Participants stick to their home language as a symbol of competence and ethnic identity. In Persian forums, topics associated with home country favour the home language while those associated with the host society favour German. In Greek forums, switching serves different functions such as formulaic insertions, addressee specification, playfulness and participant-related usages. Marley (2011) investigates language choice in Moroccan diaspora communities living in France and UK. Marely studies two internet sites: 'Yabiladi' and 'Moroccanstar'. The former represents members of the Moroccan diaspora in France and the latter is for Moroccan diaspora in the UK. The study shows that French was the dominant choice for users of 'Yabiladi', and English for the users of 'Moroccanstar'. In both diasporas, switching to Moroccan Arabic were mostly to insert loanwords that represented cultural references (traditional sayings and expressions), religious identity, local identity, formulaic expressions (e.g., greetings).

In the same manner, many of the case studies of diaspora communities in CMC conclude that the use of English, as being the lingua franca of the internet, is dominant among users. A Romanized written form of the home languages of the speakers is also common in these diaspora communities. Durham (2007) studied language choice in a Swiss context, where four national languages are used (French, German, Swiss, and

Romansch). The study examined language choice in a mailing list of Swiss medical organization members. Though it is a non-native language for the members, English, as the findings reveal, is the main favoured language among members because it is the most understood language by them. In an early attempt to examine language choice in an Arabic CMC context, Warschauer et al. (2007) examined language choice online among 43 'young professionals' in Cairo quantitatively (survey, interview, and emails). Their data were examined in terms of language, dialect and script of use. Two significant findings were reported: (1) the dominance of English language use online among young professionals; and (2) an extensive use of a written form of Romanized Egyptian Arabic in informal communication. Classical Arabic, in contrast, was reported as the least frequently used language among participants.

At the functional level of CS, Paolillo (2011) indicates that interactional CS is more frequent and better represented in synchronous than asynchronous modes of CMC. In spite of the fact that basic mechanisms of naturally-occurring conversations are ruled out in CMC; namely turn-taking in synchronous CMC, and the gap between contributions in asynchronous CMC, Androutsopoulos (2013:667-760) stresses that the conversation-analytic approach is still applicable when it comes to CMC interactional situations. Whether dyadic or multi-participant synchronous exchanges, the conversational thread in 'interactive written discourse' resembles the 'conversational episode' in spoken discourse and can determine the base language of the interaction.

In respect to the Facebook context, studies that explore language choice and/or CS in this particular CMC medium focus on the asynchronous mode (status, posts, profiles, etc.). Parveen and Aslam (2013) study the function of CS in Urdu-English bilingual Facebook profiles and find that the switching to Urdu serves different communicative functions such as lack of facility, lack of registeral competence, habitual expressions,

emphasis, identity, and audience specification. Maros & Halim (2014) investigated the functions served by CS in five Malay-English bilingual speakers in their Facebook profile statuses. Their findings consist of lexical insertions and alternations that communicate a wide range of functions; quotation, reiteration, qualification, clarification, emphasis, checking, emotion, and availability.

7.4 Loanwords in synchronous Facebook chat conversations

Loanwords in CMC serve the same functions as those attested in the spoken domain and, with a lesser degree, in the written domain. Besides, they reflect some other functions that are unique to CMC.

7.4.1 Functions of loanwords in CMC and other genres

Discourse-related strategies of spontaneous insertions that are familiar in the spoken and written realms, such as emphasis, qualification, quotation, clarification, and filling a gap are also attested in CMC. As not to repeat previously discussed functions, this section only sheds light on two prominent functions that have not been discussed in details in previous chapters.

7.4.1.1 Formulaic words and expressions

English routine chunks that express greetings, goodbyes, good wishes, agreements, and idioms are among the most frequent English lexical items found in the data of this study. Androutsopoulos (2013) suggests that these kinds of usages require 'minimal bilingualism' and are inserted as an index of a group lifestyle (p.678-79). In my data, a typical pattern of initiating a conversation is by the use of 'hi'. Likewise, the farewell word 'bye' is routinely used to finish a conversation. Other English insertions used as a formulaic device are the words 'yes/ no' for marking an acceptance or a refusal, and the word 'okay' for agreement. Though these words may signal intimacy and group

identity, they are habitually used to the extent that no single example of the use of the

Arabic equivalent of the word 'no' is attested in the study. A typical chat conversation

in this study most likely includes the formulaic words 'hi', 'ok', 'yes', 'no', and 'bye'.

A good example of the use of these words is shown in the Romanized Arabic script

conversation below, in which two females were talking about a facial cream (segments

4-10).

Excerpt 7.1

→　1　F1　***Hiii***…
　　　　　　hi

→　2　F2　*7ayat-ii*　　　***hii***
　　　　　　life-1SG.POSS　　hi

　　3　F1　*keef-k　??*　　*any news?!*
　　　　　　how-2SG.F　　　any news?!
　　　　　.
　　　　　.
　　　　　.
　　4　F1　*wallah*　　　*mo　kteer*　　　*'3ali*
　　　　　　swear　　　　NEG　much　　　expensive

→　5　F2　***No22a***
　　　　　　No

　　6　F1　*msh*　　　*moshkl-h*　*r7　ajeb-oh*　　　*mitakd-eh*
　　　　　　NEG　　　problem-F　AUX　PRES.1SG.bring-M　sure-F

　　　　　　mn　　　*l-2sm*
　　　　　　from　　　DEF-name

→　7　F2　***yes***
　　　　　　yes

　　8　F1　*lkan*　　　*bokra*　　　*3nd　GS*
　　　　　　so　　　　tomorrow　　　beside　GS

→　9　F2　***ok***
　　　　　　ok

→　10　F1　***bbye***
　　　　　　bye

<u>Translation</u>

→   1   F1   **Hi**

→   2   F2   **Hi**, my love

     3   F1   How are you? Any news?

               .

               .

               .

     4   F1   It is not very expensive, I swear

→   5   F2   **No**

     6   F1   No problem, I will get it, are you sure about its name?

→   7   F2   **Yes**

     8   F1   So we will meet tomorrow near GS (a restaurant)

→   9   F2   **Ok**

→   10   F1   **Bye**

The use of *'hi'*, *'no'*, *'yes'*, and *'ok'* above has no pragmatic function other than a habitual linguistic procedure. The lengthening of the vowel in the use of 'hi' is something common, as noted earlier, that marks intimacy among participants, and informality of the interaction. The use of the word 'bye' to end a conversation takes the form *bbye* in many cases found in the study, probably shortened from 'bye bye'. However, not all usages of the word 'ok' are given as agreement, as shown above. In some examples, the word serves as a request strategy. In some other cases the use of the word 'ok' is found to serve as a discourse device.

Words denoting good wishes are also listed by Androutsopoulos as formulaic. These words are also very frequent in the data of this study, including words denoting wishes at the end of a conversation, congratulations and compliments. They are found in both scripts (Arabic and Romanized). Just like most formulaic usages, they may signal kind

of group identity. The words 'good' and 'happy' were commonly used for such a function, as shown below:

Excerpt 7.2

→	1	***Happy***	*eid*	*w*	*kul*	*3am*		*w*		*enti*
		happy	Eid	and	all	year		and		2SG.F.PRON

		b-2lf		*5eir*
		in-thousand		good

	2	*7ayat-i*		*w*	*enti*	*b-2lf*		*5eir*	*ya*	*rab* ☺
		life-1SG.POSS		and	2SG.F.PRON	in-thousand		good	VOC	god ☺

Translation

> → 1 **Happy** Eid, thousands of wishes in the occasion of Eid

> 2 Sweet heart, and thousand of wishes to you, too ☺

More importantly, idioms and slogans are mentioned by Androutsopoulos as formulaic chunks that bear no pragmatic function. This is not the case when it comes to the CMC data for this study, where the use of idiomatic expressions seems to be driven by pragmatic motivations. These chunks are inserted as a discourse strategy for functions like restating, emphasizing, qualifying, clarifying, and resolving ambiguity. The use of 'ups and downs' in (7.3) is an example:

Excerpt 7.3

	1	M1	*sho*	*feeh*	*7as-k*	*mahmoom*			
			what	there	1SG.feel-2SG	worried			

→	2	M2	*abdan*	*ya* *sheikh*	*3ady ...*	*hek*	*l-dinya*	***ups and downs***
			never	VOC Sheikh	normal ...	like	DEF-life	ups and downs

	3	M1	*bas*	*mn* *fatrah*	*kber-h*	*enta*	***down***
			but	from period.F	big-F	2SG.M.PRON	down

Translation

> 1 M1 What is wrong with you? I feel that you are worried

> → 2 M2 No, Sheikh (the word Sheikh denotes a religious man, and is said for

intimacy), normal ... life is like this, **ups and downs**

3   M1   But you have been looking **down** for a considerable period

M1 was asking about why his friend looks sad or down. The friend (M2) wanted to state that life is not always good and not always bad. In the beginning he said *3ady* (normal) meaning it is the normal course of life. Then he said '*hek edinya*' (life is like this) and finally to illustrate and clarify his point he inserted the formulaic expression 'ups and downs' in its English spelling. The insertion of 'ups and downs' conveys a pragmatic function in this extract. It aims at qualifying a message that has been stated in Arabic.

The use of the idiomatic expression 'business is business' in (7.4) below is another example of the pragmatic functions that these expressions serve in chat conversations. In this extract, a male and a female were talking about a job opportunity that the female was offered. The female was hinting that such an opportunity would also mean many marriage proposals:

Excerpt 7.4

1	M	*sho*	*ele*	*3ajb-k*	*.. l-jam3ah*	*wla*	*fkret*
		what	that	like-2SG.F	.. DEF.-university.F	or	idea.F

          l-zawaj
          DEF-marriage

→	2	F	*bsara7ah*	*l-tnen*	*... bamza7*	***business is business***
			honestly-F	DEF-both	... PRES.1SG.joke	business is business

Translation

1   M   What do you like about the idea, working in a university or getting married?

→   2   F   Both... I am kidding, for me **business is business**

The idiom 'business is business' is inserted in its English spelling, just like all the idioms identified in the data of the study. This could be a sign of its 'marked' choice. In

the extract above M1 was wondering whether his female friend is happy to teach at a university, or to get married to a university lecturer. The female said both, and then she continued by claiming that she was joking and that she did not mix things together. To do so, she inserted the idiom 'business is business', which functioned here as a clarification device.

7.4.1.2 Institutional terminology

English words that are related to computer activities and procedures have been regularly used in chat interactions. This is for the association of English as a lingua franca with institutional procedures. As a consequence, their usage is deemed appropriate regardless of the setting in which the interaction has taken place. In the following example, a university student (S) was chatting with his school teacher. The teacher (T) wanted his student to get a book for his son (junior university student). Though the conversation was totally in Arabic script, the student switched scripts to insert some institutional terms. As pointed earlier, Arabic script reads from right to left. Also, in all Arabic script conversations, insertions given in English script are underlined.

<u>Excerpt 7.5</u>

→ 1 S   معك   احكي   احسن   سكايب   اشبك   بلخبط   **الشات**
         اكاونت   عندك   صورة   و   صوت

*el-**šāt***	*bilaxbiṭ*	*'ušbuk*	*skyb*	*'aḥsan*	*'aḥki*
DEF-chat	misleading	connect	skype	better	PRES.1SG.talk

maʕ-ak	*ṣōt*	*w*	*ṣūrah*	*ʕind-ak*	***'akāwnt***
with-2SG.M	voice	and	picture.F	have-2SG.M	account

2 T   استخدمه   بعرف   ما   بس   جديد   حساب   عملت   ماشي
       الاقيك؟   عشان   اكبس   شو

māši	*ʕmilt*	*ḥsāb*	*ǧadīd*	*bas*	*ma*	*bʕrif*
okay	PERF.1SG. make	account	new	but	NEG	PRES.1SG.know

'astaxdim-oh	*šu*	*'akbis*	*ʕašān*	*'alāqī-k*
PRES.1SG.use-M	what	PRES.1SG.press	to	PRES.1SG.find-2SG.M

→ 3 S شو **el-<u>nick name</u>** تاعك يا استاذي؟

šu	el-**<u>nickname</u>**	tāʕ-ak	ya	'ustāð-i
what	DEF-nickname	POSS.PRON-2SG.M	VOC	teacher-1SG.POSS

4 T Ahmad1986
Ahmad1986

5 S وديت **<u>request</u>**

→

waddēt	**<u>request</u>**
1SG.send	request

6 T وين؟ ما في بريد

wēn	ma	fī	barīd
where	NEG	there	post (inbox)

.
.
.

T هسا بكتبه على صفحتك

hassa	baktub-oh	ʕala	ṣafḥit-ak
now	PRES.1SG.write-M	on	page-2SG.POSS

→ 7 S مش بعرف كيف عال **<u>wall</u>** خليه يرسله ب**مسج** هو

miš	ʕ-al	**<u>wall</u>**	xalī-h	yirsil-oh
NEG	on-DEF	wall	let-3SG.M	PRES.3SG.send-M

b-**masidʒ**	hū	biʕrif	kēf
in-message	3SG.M.PRON	PRES.3SG.M.know	how

8 T و انا بعرف كيف كمان

w	'ana	baʕrif	kīf	kamān
and	1SG.PRON	PRES.1SG.know	how	too

→ 9 S على سلامتك ..... انا بحاول ابعثه **<u>Soft copy</u>**

ʕala	salāmt-ak	.....	'ana	baḥāwil
on	safety-2SG.M	.....	1SG.PRON	PRES.1SG.try

'abʕaθ-oh	**<u>soft copy</u>**
PRES.1SG.send-M	soft copy

Translation

→ 1 S Communicating through **chat** conversations is confusing, go skype, it is better, so I can communicate with you through voice and cam, do you have a skype **account**

2 T It is okay, I have newly created an account, but I do not know how to use it, how can I find you on skype?

→ 3 S What's your **<u>nickname</u>**, my teacher?

4 T Ahmad1986

→ 5 S I sent you an invitation **<u>request</u>**, accept it

6 T Where can I find it, there is no inbox ….. I will now write it on your wall

→ 7 S Not on my **<u>wall</u>**, ask him (the teacher's son) to send it through a Facebook **message**, he knows how

8 T I know how, too

→ 9 S I know that you do... I will try to send it (the book) as a **<u>soft copy</u>**

In the above extract, the student was trying to help his school teacher find him on skype to talk freely about the issue being discussed (the book). The student was referring to the procedures and activities that the teacher had to follow in order to find him on skype. Doing so, the student inserted all the terms related to such institutional activities such as 'chat', 'nick name', 'request', 'wall', 'message', and 'soft copy'. All these loanwords are terms of a technical nature that are associated with institutional activities and instructions related to computer use and that have become more regular, available, and appropriate to use. The terms 'nickname', 'request', 'wall', and 'soft copy' were inserted in their original orthography; the student switched to the Romanized Arabic script to insert them. As for 'chat', 'account', and 'message', they were inserted in Arabic script (orthographically integrated). In turn, the teacher seemed unfamiliar with

such a kind of regularity, instant availability and appropriateness when dealing with online activities. He avoided (deliberately or non-deliberately) reference to English terms, (though he is a teacher of English). The use of the Arabic *barīd* 'inbox' in segment 6 is a striking example. The word is never used in such a context even if it is a literal translation of the English term.

With reference to institutional terminologies representing computer-related procedures, and activities, it seems that these words are more integrated, and thus closer to borrowing end point on the borrowing-CS continuum. Script choice and spread through less fluent English speaking participants are primary indications.

Furthermore, although insertion of words labelling institutional activities related to computer and internet was dominant, the same linguistic practice is found at work when relating to academic activities and procedures, especially for interactions in which university students were involved. JA bilingual students tend to insert English words designating academic procedures, practices, or activities, due to the dominance and appropriateness of the English academic terms among students. An illustration is given in a conversation between two students, a male and a female. The female was talking about her presentation. The exchange was in Arabic script and switching to Romanized Arabic script was merely to insert institutional words related to the academic environment; except for the word 'chapter', which was inserted in Arabic script:

Excerpt 7.6

		هاد	بحث	ولا	ملخص	1 M
			baḥθ	*walla*	*mulaxxaṣ*	*hād*
			research	or	summary	this

→ 2 F ***presentation*** اعمل وبدي بكتاب **تشابتر** هاد

handouts راح اكتبها وفي اشياء

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hād	**_tšābtar_**	*b-ktāb*	*w*	*baddi*	*'aʕmal*
this	chapter	in-book	and	need.1SG	PRES.1SG.make

presentation	*w*	*fi*	*'ašyā'*	*rāḥ*
presentation	and	there	thing.PL	AUX

'aktub-ha	**_handouts_**
PRES.1SG.write-F	handouts

3   M   *ok*
           ok

→ 4   F   **_second_** ال و **_first_** بال لانه كتير خايفة
            *el-***_final_** هو **_el-presentation_** هاد و زبطت ما

xāyf-ih	*ktīr*	*la'innoh*	*b-el-***_first_**	*mā*
frightened-F	much	because	In-DEF-first	NEG

*w-el-***_second_**	*mā*	*zabbaṭit*	*w*	*hād*
and-DEF-second	NEG	PERF.1SG do well	and	this

*el-***_presentation_**	*hū*	*el-***_final_**
DEF-presentation	M.PRON	DEF-final

→ 5   M   ؟ *el-***_presentation_** مدة كم

kam	*muddit*	*el-***_presentation_***?*
how	time	DEF-presentation

Translation

1   M   Is it a research or a summary?

→ 2   F   It is a book **chapter** that I want to make a **_presentation_** for, and there are some examples that I will introduce as **_handouts_**

3   M   Ok

→ 4   F   I am frightened because I did not do well in the **First** and the **Second** (exams) and this presentation is in place of the **Final** exam

→ 5   M   How long does the **_presentation_** last?

All the academic procedures mentioned above were expressed in English. As both were

university students, they were familiar with the academic institutional terms 'chapter',

'presentation', and 'hand-outs' relating to school and university activities. Note that with the terms 'first', 'second', and 'final', the word 'exam' was not mentioned. In other words, when using any of them in such an institutional activity, it is already known by participants belonging to the academic institution that they refer restrictedly to exams (a case of semantic narrowing).

English insertions for institutional procedures are also revealed as a common linguistic behaviour when discussing business related activities, processes, entities, and documentary procedures. Although these institutional terms have common Arabic equivalents (in comparison to terms related to computer and academic institutions), they have become more accessible lately when referring to work and business institutional practices. A reason might be the internationalization of business companies through media and local branches in most of the Arab world. This has made the use of these English loanwords more appropriate and accessible to the extent that in a chat conversation covering administrative work and business, very few Arabic terms are found to express activities, processes, actions, and procedures related to this institution. In (7.7), the chat is between two participants working in an international company branch in Amman. The company provides IT and Professional software solutions. The male is a software engineer and the female works in HR. The exchange was entirely in Romanized Arabic script:

<u>Excerpt 7.7</u>

1	M	*y3ni*	*3amer*	*msafer*		
		mean	Amer	PERF.travel		
→ 2	F	*mo*	*m66awwel*	*3mlen*	***meeting***	*l-**marketing***
		NEG	PERF.long	3PL.do	**meeting**	for-**marketing**
		b-l-Riyadh	*...*			
		in-DEF-Riyadh				
	.					
	.					

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	.					
3	M	*sho*	*fee*	*25bar*	*?*	
		what	there	news	?	

→	4	F	*ma3joog-ah*	*el-**leave***	***balance***	*taba3*	***team***
			busy-F	Def-**leave**	**balance**	for	**team**

		Amer	*ta5beeeeees*	*eza rasha*	*el-**balance***	*b-el-**positive**...*
		Amer	chaotic	if Rasha	DEF-**balance**	in-DEF-**positive**...

→	5	M	*kam*	*el-**sick***	***leaves***	*elha ?*
			how	DEF-sick	leaves	for.F?

6	F	***More than 40 days***
		More than 40 days

7	M	*waaaw*
		wow

Translation

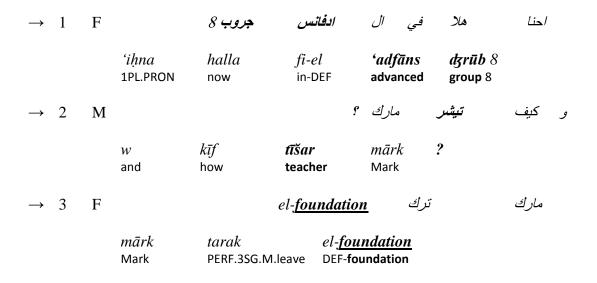|	1	M	So Amer is abroad?
→	2	F	He is in a short trip, they have a **meeting** for **marketing** in Riyadh
	3	M	Any news?
→	4	F	I am so busy, the **leave balances** of Amer's **team** are chaotic, can you imagine that Rasha's **balance** is in the **positive** ...
→	5	M	What's the number of her **sick leaves**?
	6	F	**More than 40 days**
	7	M	Wow !

When the male asked the HR whether Amer (the manager) was abroad, she replied that he would attend a meeting in Riyadh and come back. She referred to the activity of 'meeting' in English. She did the same to talk about the process of 'marketing'. Later, when M asked about latest news, she mentioned, in a complaining tone, how messy were the 'leave balances' of Amer's 'team' members like Rasha, referring to such a documentary procedure (leave balance), and entity (team) in English. When the male wanted to know more about Rasha's case, he used the English 'sick leave' to enquire

about such an institutional procedure as well. Even more interesting is that segment 6 was entirely in English, which presumably is inserted by the HR to make the complaint sound more like a professional observation.

There are two issues related to institutional terminology to raise here. The first one has to do with the referential uniqueness of some institutional terms, while the second has to do with the use of institutional terms (especially computer related) in an extended, metaphorical meaning. As for the first issue, Matras (2012) indicates that some institutional terminologies may gain the status of unique referents for the image they retrieve whenever they are used. The use of the institutional terms 'advanced', 'teacher', and 'group' in the following extract may be an example. In the short conversation below, a female student is talking to her male friend about the foundation year. They were communicating in Arabic script and switching to Romanized script was for the insertion of 'foundation':

Excerpt 7.8

→ 1	F	احنا	هلا	في	ال	*ادفانس*	*جروب 8*
		'iḥna	*halla*	*fi-el*		***'adfāns***	***dʒrūb** 8*
		1PL.PRON	now	in-DEF		**advanced**	**group** 8

→ 2	M	و	كيف	تيشر	مارك ؟	
		w	*kīf*	***tīšar***	*mārk*	*?*
		and	how	**teacher**	Mark	

→ 3	F	مارك	ترك	*el-**foundation***	
		mārk	*tarak*	*el-**foundation***	
		Mark	PERF.3SG.M.leave	DEF-**foundation**	

Translation

→ 1 F We are now in the advanced level, **group** 8

→ 2 M And how is **Teacher** Mark?

→ 3 F Mark left the **<u>Foundation</u>** (program)

The above exchange occurred between students who were studying in a private university, where students are supposed to pass three levels of English (elementary, intermediate, and advanced) before pursuing their technical studies. This year is called 'the foundation year'. In many cases, native speakers of English are extensively hired for this foundation year. The insertion of 'advanced', 'group', 'teacher', and 'foundation', when handling an academic practice, creates the image of English-speaking teaching environment, where native speakers are taking the role of teaching English to non-English speakers. This can also be said about the use of 'first', 'second', and 'final' in extract (7.6) above.

The second issue to mention is that some bilingual Jordanian speakers made use of institutional procedures and processes related to the computer, in an extended, metaphorical way to convey a pragmatic meaning. The essence of such a usage is based on projecting the institutional procedure on personal matters. In one of the conversations, a male is asking his female friend about her boyfriend. She replies saying that she did 'rename' their relationship because she did not consider him a love any more. The word 'rename' is an activity related to computer file handling. By analogy, the use of 'rename' to express a personal affair was taken to deliver a pragmatic meaning; that X is no longer her boyfriend. The same linguistic procedure is found in the use of the word 'delete' by a male to mean 'forget about a proposal'. Another example is given in (7.9), which was in Arabic script, except for the insertion:

Excerpt 7.9

1   M1   خطبت ... ولا بعدك؟

    ... xaṭabt   *walla*   *baʕd-ak*
    ...get engaged.2SG   or   after.2SG.M ?

→   2   M2   ***under processing***   لسا   لا

    lā lissa   ***under processing***
    NEG yet   under processing

3   M1   كويس ***processing*** اعملها لكان ايه

    'ēh   *lakān*   *'iʕmal-il-ha*   ***processing***   *kwayyis*
    ok   so   make-to-F   processing   good

Translation

1   M1   ... have you got engaged, or not yet?

→   2   M2   Not yet, **under processing**

3   M3   Ok, but do the **processing** in a good way

The short extract is taken from a long chat conversation between two friends. When M1 asked his friend whether he got married or not, his friend answered back saying 'under processing'. M2 wanted to say that the idea of marriage was under consideration and not yet finished. To deliver such a pragmatic meaning, he made use of an institutional terminology denoting a computer and/or an administrative procedure. M1, in his turn, replicated the same linguistic procedure and advised him to 'process' the idea in a good way.

7.4.2 CMC-specific insertions

The findings conclude that one-to-one Facebook interactions contain plenty of loanwords that are CMC-specific. This include insertions related to interpersonal relationship between the participants involved, i.e., intimacy, solidarity, affection, politeness, and euphemism, insertions of discourse markers, and the relationship between the script and the insertion (script-switching).

7.4.2.1 Insertions for solidarity and affection

Establishing solidarity is a common function of CS, especially studies that examine solidarity as a construction of ethnic identity (e.g., Martin-Jones 1995; Myers-Scotton 1993; Auer 1998; Li Wei 1998; Callahan 2004; McClure 2001). For Auer (2005), insertions may also act as indications of an extra-linguistic social identity that marks in-group membership. The analysis shows that solidarity was expressed via two means; informal words that term social closeness, and words of affection and intimate feelings. In both cases, participants use certain intimate insertions as affirmation of the 'we code' while attempting to legitimize sharing experience and private concerns.

The English word 'man' is extensively used to express such solidarity. It is the only loanword of solidarity that was inserted in Arabic script (orthography). In many cases, it appears in conjunction with the Arabic vocative, marking it as a term of address, which is a sign of integration. Its use reflects the intimacy and informality of the interaction. Intimate participants tend to initiate their conversations by the use of 'man', setting off the informality and their social involvement from the very beginning. It is also noticed that participants address each other using the word 'man' whenever interpersonal concerns are negotiated. In most of these usages, the use of 'man' is the gate to asking or talking about personal plans or information that participants consider as socially legitimate to be shared or known, as part of the same interpersonal social group. In the following extract, note how M1 addressed M2 by the use of 'man' twice to establish and confirm a social group belonging, which enabled him to go further and ask about personal matters (M2's girlfriend). Both the exchange and the insertion of 'man' were in Arabic script:

Excerpt 7.10

→ 1 M1 شو يا **مان** كيف الحال ؟

šu   *ya*   ***mān***   *kīf*   *el-ḥāl*   *?*
what   VOC   **man**   how   DEF-state   ?

2 M2 هلا بالغالي شلونك

hala   *b-el-ġāli*   *šlōn-ak*
welcome   in-DEF-dear   how-2SG.M

→ 3 M1 شو صار معك مع الخسة يا **مان**

šu   *ṣār*   *maʕ-ak*   *maʕ*   *el-xass-ih*   *ya*   ***mān***
what   happen   with.2SG.M   with   DEF-lettuce.F   VOC   man

4 M2 تمام بكرة بنحكي

tamām   *bokrah*   *b-niḥki*
perfect   tomorrow   AUX. PRES.1PL.talk

Translation

→ 1   M1   **Man**, how is it going?

2   M2   Hi dear, how are you?

→ 3   M1   What happened between you and your lettuce (girlfriend), **man**?

4   M2   Good, we will talk about it tomorrow

Another common loanword that is used to express group identity is the word 'boss'. This word is shown to be used by intimate Jordanian male participants when addressing each other. Although the word serves the same function as 'man', it not only represents a degree of familiarity and intimacy as 'man', but also reflects a sort of respect and power among the participants belonging to the same social group, as shown in the following short extract, which was in Arabic script, except for the insertions 'boss' and 'happy Eid':

Excerpt 7.11

→ 1 M1   ***happy eid***   ***boss***   يا ازيك

       'zayy-ak   *ya*   ***boss***   ***happy eid***
       how-2SG.M   VOC   **boss**   **happy eid**

   2   *M2*   هلا ازيك يا باشا و انت بالف خير وينك بالبلد ؟

       halla   *'zayy-ak*   *ya*   *bāša*   *w*   *'inta*   *b-'alf*
       welcome   how-2SG.M   VOC   Pasha   and   2SG.M.PRON   in-thousand

       xēr   *wēn-ak*   *b-el-balad*   *?*
       good   Where-2SG.M   in-DEF-country ?

Translation

→ 1 M1 How are you **boss**? **Happy Eid**

   2   M2   Hi, how are you pasha, same to you, where are you? Are you in the country?

Confirming solidarity through means of informal address terms is also found in the use of other insertions. In some examples the use of the personal pronoun 'u' (you) is found to serve such a function. This pronoun in particular is used when participants address each other friendly and intimately. Another example is the use of the word 'hey' for addressing intimate friends. All of these are found to index the social solidarity among chatters.

Another interesting instance of insertions that expresses solidarity is the use of the word 'brother'. Unlike the previous loanwords that reflect social identity, the use of 'brother' represents a relatively broader sense of identity. That is, it signifies religious (Islamic) identity expressing solidarity among participants belonging to a broader social group, which is the Islamic brotherhood group that unites members of the society. The use of the word does not reflect the same degree of informality as opposed to other loanwords

because it seeks solidarity among a larger social group that goes beyond the interpersonal group of intimate friends. An example is given in the two-turn Arabic script-based exchange below in which a participant was thanking his friend for a favour. The word 'bro.' was inserted in Romanized script. Unlike the use of 'man' and 'boss', the word 'brother' does not appear in conjunction with the Arabic vocative:

Excerpt 7.12

| | | | | | ممنونك | ابو | سامر |

1   M1

mamnūn-ak   *'abu*   *sāmir*
grateful-2SG.M   father   Samer

→ 2   M2   ☺   بخدمتك   انا   **_bro._**   هيك   تحكي   لا

lā   *tiḥki*   *hek*   **_bro._**   *'ana*   *b-xidimt-ak*   ☺
NEG   PRES.2SG.talk   this   brother   1SG.PRON   in-service-2SG.M ☺

Translation

1   M1   I am grateful, father of Samer

→ 2   M2   Do not mention it **brother**, I am at your service ☺

Among bilingual Jordanians, solidarity in chat mode is also established through expressions of affection. In principle, Jordanians seem to favour expressing affection indirectly. This is attained through employing English words of feelings. Throughout the chat conversations, affection words inserted by bilingual Jordanians take the form of:

- Declaration of intimate feelings,

- Admiration,

- Expression of shared feelings towards something, and

- Intimate wishes.

The analysis reveals that loanwords of endearment such as 'love', 'darling', and 'sweet heart' is a direct way of expressing intimate feelings. Direct expression of intimate feelings through the use of these words is also a linguistic act of building and/or confirming solidarity among the participants involved. The following chat exchange is between a male and his girlfriend. They were sorting out a problem that happened between them. The exchange was in Romanized Arabic script:

Excerpt 7.13

1	M	*... w*	*hay*	*msh*	*2wal*	*marh ...*
		... and	this	NEG	first	time.F.
2	F	*bs*	*enta*	*kont*	*s2eel*	*kman*
		But	2SG.M.PRON	PERF.2SG.M.COP	heavy	also
3	M	*sho*	*bd-k*	*23ml*	*2bos*	*ras-k ?*
		what	need-2SG.F	PRES.do.1SG	PRES.1SG.kiss	head-2SG.F.POSS
→ 4	F	***darling***	*5al9 ...*			
		darling	enough ...			
5	M	*mashy*	*sho*	*fe*	*a5bar*	
		ok	what	there	news.PL	

Translation

1   M   ... and this is not the first time ...

2   F   But you were tough too

3   M   What do you want me to do? Shall I kiss your head?

4   F   **Darling**, it is enough ...

5   M   It is okay, any news?

As shown in the use of 'darling' above, affirming solidarity through the declaration of intimate feelings could achieve the speech act of apology successfully. In fact, establishing or confirming solidarity through insertions of intimate feelings could act as a strategic device that creates a linguistic leeway to accomplish a number of verbal actions. In other words, it is shown to be a key mechanism of sorting out problematic

personal issues due to the effect these words have on establishing a social identity. The use of the word 'baby' in the Romanized Arabic exchange below is given as another example:

Excerpt 7.14

1	M	*... ma*	*7ada*	*7aka*	*'3er*	*X*
		... NEG	one	PERF.3SG.M.say	except	X
→ 2	F	***baby***	*7ram*	*L2*	*mo*	*X*
		baby	wrongful	NEG	NEG	X
3	M	*6b*	*2nti*	*b-t3rf-i*	*men*	*?*
		DM	2SG.F.PRON	AUX-PRES.2SG.F.know	who	?

Translation

1   M   ... no one would say it, but X

→ 2   F   **Baby**, no, it was not X

3   M   Do you know who said it?

The male was accusing X of uncovering something that he said. The F seemed to know that X was not the one who did so. As she wanted to persuade M about such a fact, she introduced the word 'baby' declaring or confirming her intimate feelings. This procedure affirms the sense of solidarity that existed between them, and enabled her to clearly state that he was accusing the wrong person. Let us imagine that the word 'baby' was not there, F's utterance, then, could be interpreted by M as a direct face threatening act.

In the above extracts, solidarity took the form of direct declaration of intimate feelings between a male and his, presumably, girlfriend, and was exploited by female participants. The use of 'to miss' is also widely used to achieve solidarity. The Romanized Arabic script-based extract in (7.15) is an illustration:

Excerpt 7.15

1	F1	*Hiiii*			
		Hi			

2	F2	*hiiii*			
		hi			

3	F1	*keef-k?*			
		how-2SG.F ?			

4	F2	***Am gd***,	***u*** *?*		
		Am good,	**you**?		

→ 5	F1	*ana*	*mnee7-ah*	*wallah*	***missin' u***
		1SG.PRON	good-F	swear	missing you

6	F2	b3rf	w	ana	kman
		PRES.1SG.Know	and	1SG.PRON	too

Translation

1   F1   Hi

2   F2   Hi

3   F1   How are you?

4   F2   I **am good** and **you**?

→ 5   F1   I am good too, **missing you**, I swear

6   F2   I know, me too

The two females above were initiating the conversation. They were greeting each other by different means. When F2 asked about how F1 was doing, F1 replied by declaring her intimate feeling towards her to index their solidarity as being intimate friends belonging to the same social group. Noticeably, F1 used the swear word 'wallah' (I swear by Allah) before the English word of affection 'missing'. In order to confirm such an intimate feeling that reflects solidarity, F2 replied by stating that she knew that F1 missed her and that she had the same feeling.

Interestingly, some novel language mixing in chat conversations represents the ease of expressing interpersonal affection towards each other, in a way that reflects the degree of social closeness of participants. In the following example, F1 chose to end the conversation with M1 in an intimate way. Instead of using the routine discourse terms for farewell, she made use of a more friendly term (take care) that expresses caring and affection. The pattern in which the term was delivered signifies a high degree of solidarity:

Excerpt 7.16

1	F	*fe*	*nas*	*b-5el2e-t-eeee*	***chat later***
		there	people	in-face-F-1SG.POSS	chat later
2	M	*ok*			
		ok			
→ 3	F	***U take care***	*ya*	*enta*	
		You take care	VOC	2SG.M.PRON	

Translation

1	F	There are people around me , **chat later**
2	M	Ok
→ 3	F	**You take care**, hey you

When the female wanted to say a friendly farewell in the short extract above, she inserted the term 'take care' in a very intimate way '*U take care ya enta*' . Notice that F used the pronoun 'you' twice; the first was in English and the second in Arabic '*enta*', accompanied with the vocative particle '*ya*'. The use of the vocative '*ya*' with Arabic pronouns of address is more poetic for the purpose of courtesy, i.e., it seeks to add a sense of social closeness between the participants (Khadhim 2014). It is never used as such in the spoken domain, where in a similar situation, the vocative is dropped. Mostly, if bilinguals want to resort to this English expression for farewell they use the conventionalised formula 'take care' without further additions. The pattern 'u take care'

is considered a lovely expression that signals maximum intimate care. Such an expression of affection was also duplicated by the use Arabic 'ya enta' which serves exactly the same function.

7.4.2.2 Insertions for politeness and euphemism

Insertions can act as a politeness strategy that is employed by bilingual speakers. Gardner-Chloros & Finnis (2003) find that CS in general may act as a softening device that minimizes the effect of direct comments. JA speakers tend to insert English words of politeness to perform different speech acts, such as apology, marking dispreference, rejecting an offer, and avoiding a taboo word. A possible explanation for resorting to English words by bilingual JA speakers when intending to be polite is that politeness in English is more straightforward than Arabic. Arabic seems to favour lengthy, elaborated and indirect linguistic techniques to express positive or negative politeness. In addition, the use of English words bears the same softening tone when it comes to taboo words in JA. Jordanian speakers are shown to prefer the insertion of the English word over the use of the Arabic one that has exactly the same meaning. For socio-cultural reasons, the use of the English word is less taboo than the use of the Arabic equivalent (as shown in 7.20, 7.21, and 7.22 below).

The use of the English word 'please' is the most noteworthy insertion to express politeness. This word is preferred over its Arabic equivalent presumably because it acts as a face saving strategy. The word is used by JA chatters to attain different request forms politely, i.e., to end a discussion, to change a topic, to accept an offer. In cases where the interlocutor appears to understand the comment as negatively polite, the insertion of 'please' acts as a device that lessens a face threat. The use of 'please' in certain contexts is, in fact, itself a face-threatening act. Needless to say, the use of 'please' for polite requests is a discourse cue of social solidarity as well.

The extract (7.17) is taken from a conversation between two male friends. M2 was trying hard to convince M1 to fix a problem that happened between M1 and M3 (a friend of theirs):

Excerpt 7.17

	1	M1	*badna*	*n5la9*	*min*	*el-9isa*	*bokrah*	*baji*
			want.1PL	1PL.finish	from	DEF-story	tomorrow	1SG.come

			ana	*w*	*X*	*la-3ind-ak*	
			1SG.M.PRON	and	X	to- place-2SG.M.POSS	

→	2	M2	*2w3a*	*e7raj*		***please***	*Ahmad*	***pleeeeease***
			be careful	embarrassment		please	Ahmad	please

	3	M1	*ok*	*zay*	*ma*	*baddak*
			ok	as	PAR	want.2SG.M

Translation

	1	M1	We want to sort the problem out , I and X will come to see you in your place tomorrow
→	2	M2	Don't , you will embarrass me then, **please** Ahmad, **please**
	3	M1	Ok , as you like

M1 in the above extract was not willing to settle down the problem between him and his friend, while M2 was insisting on sorting it out between them. When M2 expressed his intention to get X visit M2 to sort out the problem, M2 replied that such a thing would be embarrassing for him as shown in segment 2. At this stage, M1 inserted the word 'please' to politely stop M2 from going on with his proposal. He replicated the same loanword in the same turn by addressing his friend with his first name and inserting the word please with a multiple vowel. The insertion of 'please' twice can be interpreted as a sign of topic change or even an end of discussion. At the same time, emphasizing the proposal rejection by replicating the insertion with a multiple grapheme can also be

interpreted as a face threatening act, which eventually made M1 withdraw from the proposal.

Insertion of English elements for politeness is also found at work whenever a Jordanian wants to reject an offer or mark dispreference. The relationship between preference/dispreference marking, politeness, and switching to another language has been pinpointed by Li Wei (1994) and Li Wei and Milory (1995). Li Wei (1994) noticed that the younger generation of the Chinese community in Britain mark their dispreferred answers by switching to English as a response to a question delivered in Chinese. Direct dispreference marking and straightforward rejection are regarded extremely impolite among Jordanians, and probably in the Arabic culture as a whole. Keeping in mind that English, the prestigious language among Jordanians, offers more direct, economic, and polite techniques to do so, resorting to its elements is a good way to lessen the negative impact of rejection or dispreference. The example in (7.18) is given as an illustration. Two friends from Irbid (a city in the north of Jordan) are talking about a job interview that M1 had in the capital city of Amman for a position in Saudi Arabia. M1 wanted his friend to give him a ride on his way to Amman:

Excerpt 7.18

	1	M1	*... ya3ni*	*i7sib*	*7sab-ak*	*2ro7*	*ma3-ak*
			... mean	consider	account-2SG.M	1SG.go	with-2SG.M
			bokra	*esobo7*	☺		
			tomorrow	morning	☺		
→	2	M2	**no car bro**. ☹	*l-sayarah*	*ma3*	*el-7ajji*	*raye7*
			no car brother	DEF-car.F	with	DEF-father	go.1SG
			b-l-bas				
			in-DEF-bus				

1   M1   ... I mean, I will be going with you tomorrow morning ☺

→   2   M2   **No car brother** ☹ My father is taking my car, I will be going by bus

In the two turn exchange above, after M1 and M2 talked about the job interview (deleted messages), M1 delivered a straightforward request, asking his friend to give him a ride to Amman, where M2 commutes daily. M1 inserted an emoticon as a face saving strategy to reduce the embarrassing impact of the direct request. M2 provided a dispreferred answer as he was not traveling by his car the other day. He switched to English and inserted the expression 'no car bro.' to lessen the embarrassing impact of dispreference. Note that M2 made use of both the word *brother* (bro.) that, as noted earlier, symbolizes identity and solidarity, and the emoticon ☹, to convey maximal politeness in his dispreference.

In the same line, the use of English whenever the participant is willing to change a topic or even end a discussion is considered a soft polite way among intimate friends. Jordanians tend to avoid straightforward declaration of lack of interest in certain personal topics, and therefore, they switch to English to do so. In the following exchange between a male and a female, the female was telling her friend that one of her friend list on Facebook is giving her a tough time. When the male tried to uncover certain personal information about the annoying contact member and her, she switched to English to end the discussion:

Excerpt 7.19

1	M	*momkin*	*so2al*	*?*
		possible	question	?

2	F	*es2al*
		IMPR.ask.M.2SG

3	M	*law*	*3an-jad*	*ma*	*bhm-ik*	*2amr-o*
		if	with-seriousness	NEG	care-2SG.F	concern-3SG.M.POSS

		leish	*ba3d-oh*	*3-l-contact*
		why	still-3SG.M	on-DEF-contact

4	F	*3aaadi*
		normal

5	M	*3adi?*	*kef 3adi*	*sha59*	*miday2-ah*	*min-o*
		normal	how normal	person	PERF.bother-F	from-3SG.M

		leish	*t5alee-h*	*b-l-contact*
		why	leave-3SG.M	on-DEF-contact

→
6	F	***got 2 go***	*bokrah*	*yom*	*6aweel*
		got 2 go	tomorrow	day	long

		good	*night ☺*
		good	night ☺

7	M	*bye*
		bye

Translation

1   M   Can I ask you a question?

2   F   Go on

3   M   If you really do not care about him, why is he on your contact list?

4   F   Normal

5   M   Normal? How normal? Why do you keep someone that you do not like on your contact list?

→   6   F   **Got to go**, I have a long working day tomorrow, good night ☺

7   M   Bye

It seems that the female in the above extract was not willing to talk about private things related to the relationship between her and the person who was annoying her. When the

male questioned the fact that she did not delete him from her contact list, though he was bothering her, she replied neutrally saying that it was normal to keep him on her list. The male seemed unsatisfied with such an answer hinting that what she said was obscure. The female seemed unwilling to continue with such a kind of talk so she ended the discussion politely. Politeness was displayed in three stages: first, she inserted 'got 2 go' to soften her talk withdrawal; second, she provided justification for her behaviour in Arabic (the long working day), and finally, she inserted the emotive wish 'goodnight' followed by an emoticon as a sign of minimizing hard feelings and confirming solidarity.

Insertions for politeness are also shown through English words that serve a euphemistic function. Insertions for euphemism have been cited by many studies in the field (e.g., Thomason 2001; Callahan 2004; Onysko 2007). Jordanians tend to refer to English to avoid taboo words even if the inserted word is itself a taboo word in English. The data show that English words used for euphemistic motivations are accepted to a considerable extent and not considered as stigma. These insertions are found to mainly cover three areas: sexual activities, women's behaviour, and body-related biological parts and actions. In the example below, F1 was telling F2 why her marriage proposal with her boyfriend had not succeeded. The exchange was in Arabic script, except for the insertion:

Excerpt 7.20

1 F1   ... ما بده اولاد

       mā   badd-oh   'awlād ...
       NEG   want.3SG.M   child.PL ...

2 F2   ؟ هيك حدا في غريب

       ġarīb   fī   ḥada   hēk   ?
       strange   there   person   similar   ?

3	F1	اولاد	عنده	بحكي	وسخ

		wisix	*biḥki*	*ʕind-oh*	*'awlād*
		dirty	PRES.3SG.M.say	have-3SG.M	child.PL

→ 4 F2 زوجة مو ***sex machine*** بده وسخ عنجد

		ʕandʒad	*wisix*	*baddoh*	***sex machine***	*mū*	*zawdʒ-ah*
		seriously	dirty	want.3SG.M	sex machine	NEG	wife.F

5 F1 شفتـي

šuft-i
see-2SG.F

Translation

1   F1   He does not want kids ...

2   F2   Strange, is there someone like this

3   F1   Dirty man, he told me that he does not want kids because he already has kids (from a previous marriage)

4   F2   He is seriously dirty, he just wants you to be a **sex machine**, not a wife

5   F1   You see

According to extract above, when F1 told F2 that her marriage proposal did not work out because her boyfriend was not in favour of having kids, F2 considered such a reason strange. A fact that made F1 describe him as dirty. F2 confirmed the insult and clarified to her friend that the man wanted to get married to her just for sex. As sex-related words are highly stigmatized in the Jordanian culture, F2 expressed her idea by inserting the English expression 'sex machine' to sound polite and soften the effect of the taboo word. Interestingly, Onysko (2007:294) cited a similar English example in German for the same effect which is 'sex machine for all the chicks'. In my data, words denoting sexual activities such as 'sexy' and 'fuck' were also shown to be preferred over their Arabic taboo counterparts.

Usage of Arabic words denoting body-related biological parts, actions, or processes was also avoided in the Jordanian chats. Similar to words referring to sexual activities, though with a lesser degree, these words in JA are considered low, tabooed, and uncivilized. For this, English words were chosen to lessen the effect of such usages. The use of words such as 'shit', 'fart', 'pee', and 'ass' by JA participants was euphemistically driven. Generally, referring to sex-related terms in general was avoided by JA speakers, even if they represent basic notions that do not have to do with women's body features or sexual behaviour. The use of the word 'potency' in the following extract gives an illustration.

Excerpt 7.21

1	F	*...qader*	*tzawwaj ?*	*wallah*	*nety*	*safy-eh*
		… able	PRES.3SG.M.get married ?	swear	intention.1SG.F.POSS	clear-F

2	M	*8a9d-ik*	*malyyan*	*2www????*
		mean-2SG.F	financially	or ????

→ 3	F	*aywa*	*had*	*8a9dy*	*ana*	*ma*
		yes	this	mean.1SG	1SG.PRON	NEG
		bas2al		*3an*	*el-**potency***	
		PRES.1SG.ask		about	DEF-potency	

4	M	*2akeed*
		sure

Translation

1   F   Do you have the ability to get married? I do not mean anything

2   M   You mean financial ability, or?

→ 3   F   Yeah, I mean financially, I am not talking about **potency**

4   M   Sure

When the female asked the male whether he had the ability to get married, the male acted as if he did not exactly know what she meant by ability, wondering if it was financial or any other kind of ability. Though the male avoided overt reference to the

other kind of ability (sexual), it was understood by the female. She then clarified that what she meant was the financial rather than the sexual ability. As reference to sex-related terms is embarrassing, especially for a female speaker, she inserted the word 'potency' to lessen the effect of referring to such a taboo word in Arabic.

Moreover, descriptions that are related to sexual labelling of women are also taboo in Arabic, and their use is linked to a low class, uneducated, and uncivilized behaviour. In this case, the English word 'prostitute' is preferred over the Arabic equivalent. A pejorative tone is far softened when words related to sexual behaviour of women are expressed using taboo English words instead. An illustration is given below in a chat conversation between a male and his student girlfriend. They were talking about the behaviour of a female student (X) that they both know:

Excerpt 7.22

1	M	*tarkat* PERF.leave.3SG.F	*X* X	*w* and	*halla* now	*ma3* with	*shabb* guy	*tany* another
		had this	*ra8am* number	*4* 4	*la-halla* until-now			
2	F	*momken* possible	*heye* 3SG.F.PRON	*97* right	☺ ☺	*el-7ob* DEF-love	*waja3* pain	*ras* head
3	M	*ana* 1SG.PRON	*waja3* pain	*ras* head	☹ ☹			
4	F	*3an-jad* with-seriousness	*ely* who	*mtl-a* like-3SG.F	*dyman* always	*m7zoz-en* lucky-PL		
→ 5	M	*elly* who	*metl-ha* like-3SG.F	**slut** slut				
→ 6	F	**slut** *????????* slut ????????						
→ 7	M	*ya3ny* mean	**horn** *...* horn …	**prostitute** prostitute				
8	F	*allah* God	*yustur* PRES.cover	*3-3ibad-oh* on-worshipper-3SG.M				

Translation

1	M	She left X (her boyfriend) and she is now dating another person, he is number 4
2	F	She is right, love is headache
3	M	Am I a headache? ☹
4	F	Seriously speaking, such a kind of women are lucky
→ 5	M	Such a kind of women are **slut**
→ 6	F	**Slut**?????????
→ 7	M	I mean, she is **horn** ... **prostitute**
8	F	May Allah cover the sins of his worshippers (said whenever immoral behaviour of someone is uncovered)

M1 was telling his girlfriend that X left her boyfriend and was dating another guy adding that the new guy was the fourth guy to date. His girlfriend, who seemed to be teasing him, replied that X was right because love (being with only one person) is a headache. Humorously, the male replied with a sad emoticon for hinting that he was a headache. The female continued that women like X were always lucky (unlike those who are serious like her). In segment 5, the male turned serious and corrected her, indicating that women like X are 'slut'. As the Arabic word for 'slut' is totally impolite and taboo, the male inserted the English word 'slut', which is also a slang word in English, nonetheless, its use is euphemistic in this context and far softer than the Arabic equivalent. Interestingly, the female did not understand the meaning of the slang word 'slut'. To explain its meaning, the male inserted two more English words; 'horn' and 'prostitute'. Note that the male did not employ any Arabic word to illustrate the meaning of 'slut' since the Arabic words are stigmatized and unpleasant to use as opposed to their English counterparts. The female got the meaning and replied by a

sentence that means she did not want to uncover her female friend's behaviour even with her boyfriend (for religious reasons).

7.4.3 Insertion of discourse markers

For Schiffrin (1987:328), discourse markers refer to elements that are syntactically detachable from a sentence, occur initially in an utterance, have prosodic forms and have a vague meaning or no meaning. In bilingual interactions, scholars cite different motivations for the insertion of discourse markers from another language. Poplack (1980) indicates that these markers are motivated by their ease of integration as they do not require a high level of proficiency. Poplack refers to the use of these markers as 'emblematic switching'. In the numerous studies that she devotes to the use of discourse markers in bilingual conversations, Maschler (1994, 1997) claims that discourse markers convey communicative meaning and mark boundaries in interaction. Matras (1998, 2000) argues that switching at discourse markers is cognitively motivated. He claims that due to cognitive pressure, there is a non-separation state of language systems at the level of discourse markers. Matras refers to this kind of non-separation as 'fusion'. In this state, bilingual speakers try to reduce the mental effort of monitoring and directing their hearers in interaction through the use of discourse markers from the 'pragmatically dominant' bilingual system.

English discourse markers were communicatively used by bilingual Jordanians to convey a pragmatic function. Their use resembles the way they are used in spoken interactions. From the list attested in the study, I will be focusing on particularly the use of 'well', 'I mean', 'you know', 'by the way', and 'so'. Among the functions that these discourse markers were exploited to serve, three functions will be highlighted in this section: topic change, summary or rephrasing, and offer refusal.

7.4.3.1 Topic change

In the literature of discourse analysis, the use of some discourse markers such as 'you know', 'or', and, but' may serve as a sign of topic change (Shuy 2001: 829). Jordanians tend to avoid expressing their desire to change a topic in a direct way, so resorting to English elements seemed to provide them with a good way out. This attitude relates also to the discussion about politeness. In the following extract, M1 and M2 were talking about a university scholarship that M1 would get. When M1 wanted to change the topic, he inserted the discourse marker 'you know what' to accomplish such a thing:

Excerpt 7.23

1	M1	*2a9lan*	*el-3meed*	*7aka*	*momken*	*2a6la3*
		always	DEF-dean	PERF.3SG.M.say	possible	PRES.1SG.leave
		2y	*w8t*			
		any	time			

2	M2	*enta*	*m3-k*	*qobool*	*w*	*Toefl* *?????*
		2SG.M.PRON	with-2SG.M	acceptance	and	TOEFL ??????

→ 3   M1   **you know what**   *jay*   *b-bali*   *2roo7*   *el-5aleej*
            you know what   come   in- mind-3SG.POSS   PRES.1SG.go   DEF-gulf

            w   *2ansa*   *mawdoo3*   *el-deraseh*
            and   PRES.1SG. forget   subject   DEF-study.F

4	M2	*sho*	*2jak*	*offer*	*7ilo*	*;)*
		what	PERF.get.2SG.M	offer	nice	;)

Translation

    1   M1   The dean said that I can leave for study any time

    2   M2   Do you have a study offer or TOEFl?

→   3   M1   **You know what**, I sometimes think of going to the Gulf area (for a job)

    4   M2   It seems that you got a good offer (in the Gulf area)

The use of 'you know what' as an introduction to the new topic in the above extract could soften the effect of moving from one topic to another. Apart from being a sign of

topic change in the above example, it can be considered a mark of intimacy as well. The use of 'you know'- which takes the form of 'y know' in some other examples- to mark intimacy and solidarity, has been attested in number of chat conversations. JA bilingual speakers also made use of 'by the way' when opting to change the topic of their discussion. In most, if not all, of its usages, the short abbreviated form 'btw' was used. In the following example, two female students were talking about study and exams. When F1 wanted to change the topic, she introduced her topic shift by the insertion of 'by the way' (btw):

<u>Excerpt 7.24</u>

1	F1	*3m* AUX	*bdros* PRES.1SG.study	*3-madit* on-subject.F	*wajeeh* Wajeeh	
2	F2	*kef* how	*93b-eh* difficult-F. ?	*?*		
→ 3	F1	*y3ny* sort of	**btw** by the way	*3rft* PERF.1SG.know	*sodfah* chance.F	*"sister A"* sister A
		rj3-t PERF.return.3SG.F	*3-l- ordon* to-DEF-Jordan			
4	F2	*ana* 1SG.PRON	*b3rf* PRES.1SG.know	*mn* from	*zaman* past	

<u>Translation</u>

     1   F1   I am studying on Wajeeh's course (the lecturer)

     2   F2   Is it difficult?

→   3   F3   Sort of, **by the way**, I came to know by coincidence that "sister A" (the teacher) returned to Jordan

     4   F2   I know this from before

The exchange was in the beginning about the course that F1 was studying. F2 asked F1 about the course (whether easy or difficult to study). F1 seemed keen to change the

topic and talk about the news about her school teacher (A), so she answered F2's question about the course and then inserted 'btw' as an introduction of a new topic.

7.4.3.2 Summarizing and rephrasing

In the course of interaction, after participants state their point of interest, they may summarize or rephrase a previously raised point to make it as clear as possible. In this category two discourse markers are found of interest: 'so' and 'I mean'. Principally, a primary function of 'so' and 'I mean' in the literature of discourse markers is to summarize and reformulate a point, respectively (Fung and Carter 2007). In the following chat conversations, M1 was talking to M2 about a personal problem that happened between M2 and a third friend. M2 was defending himself claiming that he was only reacting to what the third person was saying:

Excerpt 7.25

→	1	M1	... 3eib	t'3la6-o	3-ba3d	ento	mo	z'3ar !
			... disgrace	PRES.curse-2PL	on-each other	2SP.PRON	NEG	kid.PL !

	2	M2	ho	ele	bada	2na	kont
			3SG.M.PRON	who	PERF.start.3SG.M	1SG.PRON	PERF.3SG.M.COP
			2a7ki	b-shakel	3am	mo	3an-oh
			1SG.talk	in-way	general	NEG	about-3SG.M

	3	M1	enta	7aky-l-oh	'wisi5'
			2SG.M.PRON	PERF.say-for-3SG.M	dirty

	4	M2	sa7	bas	ba3d	sho?	ho	bada
			right	only	after	what ?	3SG.M.PRON	PERF.start.3SG.M
			b-tajree7	enta	law	7ada	Jara7-ak
			in-insult	2SG.M.PRON	if	person	insult-2SG.M
			b-trda	????
			AUX-accept	????

	5	M1	ya3ny	l-'3al6	el-7al?
			DM	DEF-cursing	DEF-solution

→	6	M2	2wal	marrah	7aka	ana	3awam
			first	time.F	PERF.say.3SG.M	1SG.PRON.M	lay

w-ba3den	*silly*	*7aket*	*enta*	*wisi5*
and-after	silly	PERF.say.1SG	2SG.M.PRON	dirty

so	*ya*	*man*	*ana*	*kont*	*b-7alet*
so	VOC	man	1SG.M.PRON	PERF.COP.1SG	in-state

rad	*f3l*
reply	act

Translation

1   M1   ... it is shame to curse each other, you are mature (not kids)

2   M2   He was the one who started the conflict, I was talking in general, not about him

3   M1   You cursed him as 'dirty'

4   M2   Right, but after what? He insulted me, would you keep silent if someone insults you?

5   M1   Do you mean cursing is the solution then?

→   6   M2   First, he said that I am a lay person, then he cursed me as silly, I replied by saying that he was a dirty person, **so**, **man**, I was reacting to his insults

M2 in the above extract tried to defend himself so many times claiming that he was not the one who complicated the situation, repeating that the third person was the one who initiated the conflict as shown in segments 2, 4, and 6. In segment 6, M2 wanted to summarize by clarifying that he was just reacting to the insult of the third person, so he inserted the discourse marker 'so' as an introduction to his summary.

In other examples, the insertion of the discourse marker was, more or less, a kind of rephrase. The use of the discourse marker 'I mean' is an example. In the following extract a female was asking her male friend whether 'Z' had added him on Facebook or not:

Excerpt 7.26

1	F	*lsn* listen	*'Z'* 'Z'	*3imla-t-l-ak* make-3SG.F-for-2SG.M	*add* add	*3-l-face?* on-DEF-face

2	M	*ya* yes	

3	F	*bas* but	*2na* 1SG.PRON	*l2* NEG	*leh* Why	*m6anshih* PERF.neglect-3SG.F	*????* ????

4	M	*ya* VOC	*7abeeb-y* love-1SG.POSS	*b-tshok-y* AUX-suspect-F	*b-9a7bt-ik* about-friend-POSS.F	*?????* ?????

→ 5	F	*lak* VOC	*l2* NEG	**I mean** **I mean**	*mista'3rb-ih* PERF.surprise-F	*bas* only

Translation

1   F   Listen, did 'Z' add you on Facebook?

2   M   Yeah

3   F   But she did not do it with me, why is she neglecting me?

4   M   Oh, love, you suspect your friend?

→   5   F   No, **I mean**, I am only surprised

In the above extract, F was wondering why Z (a female friend) added M as a Facebook contact, and ignored her. M thought that F was suspicious about the intention of her female friend, so questioned this point. F denied such a suspicion and rephrased her point by clarifying that she was only surprised and confused. She inserted the discourse marker 'I mean' to rephrase such a point.

7.4.3.3 Offer refusal

This category is reserved for the use of the discourse marker 'well' for the purpose of refusing an offer or being uncertain of what to say. In social interactions, 'well' can function as a dispreferred response or an offer rejection (Pomerantz 1984; Owen 1983; Schiffrin 1987). This seems the case in some of the bilingual usages of 'well' in the chat

data. In the following short extract, M was planning to go to a nice café with his friends. He invited F to join them:

Excerpt 7.27

1	M	*… el-makan*	*bejanen*		*sho*	*ra2y-ek ?*
		… DEF-place	wonderful		what	opinion-2SG.F

2	F	*I can't*	*2na*	*already*	*mfals-eh*
		I can't	1SG.PRON	already	penniless-F

3	M	*finjan*	*el-2hweh*	*free* ☺	*bokra*	*@ 12*	*deal*
		cup	DEF-cofee.F	free ☺	tomorrow	@ 12	deal

→ 4	F	**well**	**ma**	**ba3rif**	**5ala9**	**'3er**	**marrah**
		well	NEG	PRES.1SG.know	enough	another	time.F

5	M	☹
		☹

6	F	*wallah*	*3ndi*	*zarf*
		swear	have-1SG	condition

Translation

1   M   … Join us, it is a wonderful place, what do you think?

2   F   I can't, I am already penniless

3   M   Your cup of coffee is free ☺ tomorrow at 12, deal

→ 4   F   **Well**, I do not know, some other time

5   M   ☹

6   F   I swear I am busy

After M offered F to join them in the café, F seemed not to be welcoming the idea, but she refused it in an indirect way. She introduced the discourse marker 'well' to reduce the effect of such a refusal. Notice that F inserted the Arabic swear word 'wallah', which functions as a discourse marker in such a context to further lessen the effect of the refusal.

7.4.4 Insertions and script-switching

The investigation of Facebook chat conversations shows a substantial switching of script from the right-to-left Arabic script to the left-to-right Romanized script. In the absence of technical constraints, the use of the script bears social and pragmatic motivations. Some conversations are characterized by mixture of scripts between or within conversational segments. Here we have to differentiate between script switching of the insertion and script switching of the code of conversation, and whether the latter has an impact on the use of insertion.

The analysis shows that there is a correlation between the script of the conversation and the type of insertion. Some insertions are more apparent in Romanized Arabic scripts. In this respect, insertions for solidarity, affection, euphemism, and politeness are scarcely attested in Arabic script, and widely represented in Romanized scripts, as shown in the sections 7.4.2.1 and 7.4.2.2. Even in cases of conversations carried out in Arabic script, participants tend to switch script to insert the English word representing interpersonal relations, in its original spelling. At the segmental level, script-switching from Arabic script to Romanized Arabic script seems preferable since it, presumably, facilitates insertions.

7.4.4.1 Script-switching for participant-related insertions

Insertions that are a reflection of the participants' proficiency in English seem to be best displayed in Romanized scripts. As bilingual speakers code-switch to adjust their languages according to their proficiencies (Auer 1995), participants who are competent in English prefer keeping the exchange in Romanized script throughout, or switching script to facilitate insertion. In the following extract, two males were talking about a position offered for M2 in his company. Participants initiated their conversation in

Arabic script. At the point of discussing work affairs, they switch to Romanized Arabic

script (segment 3):

Extract 7.28

	1	M1				؟	منصب	اي	...

...ʿayy   *manṣib*
...which   position   ?

	2	M2			...	قسم	رئيس

raʾīs   *qisim ...*
head   department   ...

3   M1   *... enta*   *wa7sh*
          ... 2SG.M.PRON   monster

4   M2   *wa7sh*   *?*
          monster   ?

→ 5   M1   *hhhhhhh*   **I mean**   **professional**   *b-l-edarah*
          laugh   **I mean**   Professional   In-DEF.-administration

→ 6   M2   ***So what?***
          So what?

→ 7   M1   ***Good experience***   *ya*   ***man***
          Good experience   VOC   **man**

→ 8   M2   ***el-offer***   ***temporal***   *bas*   *l-trja3*   *2amany*
          DEF. offer   temporal   but   until-PRES.3SG.come back   Amany

          wkamn   *momkin*   *2sta8eel*   *w*   *2safer*
          and also   possible   PRES.1SG.resign   and   PRES.1SG. travel

9   M1   *wen*   *?*
          where   ?

→ 10   M2   *sa33333b*   **surprise**   *l-jamee3*
          difficult   surprise   for-all

→ 11   M1   b-sharaf-ak   la   ti3mal   **speculation**   e7ky
          with-honor-2SG.M   NEG   PRES.2SG.do   speculation   IMPR.say

Translation

1   M1   ... which position ? [Arabic script]

2   M2   Head of department   [Arabic script]

3   M1   You are a monster [switching to Romanized Arabic script]

4   M2   Monster? [switching to Romanized Arabic script]

→   5   M1   Laugh , **I mean**, you are **professional** in administration

→   6   M2   **So what**?

→   7   M1   **Good experience**, **man**

→   8   M2   **The offer** (position) is **temporal**, until Amany comes back. Also, I
                cannot be a head of section (the position offered), I may resign and
                travel

         9   M1   Where to?

→   10   M2   I cannot tell, it is a **surprise** for all

→   11   M1   Please, do not let me make **speculation**, say it

The exchange above was about a temporal job position that M2 was offered in his company. Before discussing the offer, M1 and M2 were communicating in Arabic script (segments 1& 2 are part of it). The moment they turned to talk about the offer, M1 switched to Romanized Arabic script, and so did M2. Both of them maintained the Romanized script while discussing the offer. Throughout the Romanized-script exchange, M1 and M2 displayed their competence of English as exemplified in the extensive reference to English loanwords almost in all segments. Such a linguistic behaviour is not attested in any Arabic script conversation. Script-switching was therefore purposeful and could facilitate insertions of English terms.

Another impact of script switching is the occurrence of preference-related insertions in which one participant accommodates his/ her language choice to the preferred language of the other participant. Preference-related insertions comprise cases of 'language negotiation' in which a participant aligns with another participant's language choice. An example is given in 7.29, where M2 was stating that he would rent a car to spend the

summer vacation in Amman, and M1 was not in favour of that idea. M2 was writing in

English consistently:

<u>Extract 7.29</u>

1	M1		مصيبة	بالاردن	سيارة	... بدون
			... bidūn	*sayyar-ah*	*bel-'ordon*	*moṣībih*
			... without	car.F	in-DEF-Jordan	disaster.F

2 M2 *... I will be <u>renting</u> one*

→	3	M1	**renting**	*bl-2ordon*	*ya3ny*	*7a2*	*sayyar-ah*
			renting	in-Jordan	mean	price	car-F

4 M2 *I have no other <u>option</u>*

→	5	M1	*feeh*	***option***	*eshtary*	*sayyarah*	*w*
			there	option	buy	car.F	and
			be3-ha	*lamma*	*tsafer*		
			sell-F	when	PRES.travel.2SG		

6 M2 *I will be facing <u>major</u> problems then*

→	7	M1			؟ شو متل	**ميجر**
			mīdʒar	*mitl*	*šu ?*	
			major	what	like ?	

<u>Translation</u>

1 M1 It is a disaster to be without a car in Jordan

2 M2 I will be <u>renting</u> one [switching to Romanized Arabic script]

→ 3 M1 **Renting** a car in Jordan (for the summer vacation) equals the price of

buying one

4 M2 I have no other <u>option</u>

→ 5 M1 There is an **option**, buy a car and sell it before you travel

6 M2   I will be facing <u>major</u> problems then

→ 7 M1 **Major** like what? [switching back to Arabic script]

In the above exchange, M1 was using the Arabic script. When M2 initiated the discussion about the car rent, M1 switched to the Romanized Arabic script, as shown in segments 3 and 5. M1 was also adjusting his lexical choice to the favoured language of M2 (English). This is clearly shown in the use of 'renting' and 'option'. In segment 6, M1 switched back to the Arabic script, but he maintained alignment with M1's lexical choice and inserted the word 'major' which was inserted in Arabic script (orthographically integrated).

7.4.4.2 Script-switching for insertions of intimacy

Intimacy, as said earlier, can be expressed through insertions of affection. In Arabic script-based conversations, participants tend to switch to the Romanized Arabic script in order to express affection. An example is taken from a conversation between two female friends who work in the same company. F1 was writing to F2, the secretary, about the reason for a meeting called for by the manager. The exchange was in Arabic script (except in segment 2, where F1 switched script to insert a technical word). When F2 sought to express her admiration of the daughter's picture of F1 (segment 5), she switched to the Romanized Arabic script to do so:

Excerpt 7.30

1   F1   لشو   الاجتماع   ؟؟
    la-šu   el-ʾidʒtimāʕ
    for-what   DEF-meeting   ??

2   F2   el- HMM   لكل
    la-kol   el-HMM
    for-all   DEF-HMM

3   F1   بهدله   او   شو   ؟
    bahdalih   ʾaw   šu   ?
    insult.F   or   what   ?

4   F2   ما   بعرف   .....
    mā   baʕrif .....
    NEG   PRES.1SG.know .....

→	5	F2	*lsn*	*amal*	***looks wow* !**		
			listen	Amal	**looks wow** !		

6	F1		حياتي	يسلمو	عيونك	

ḥayāt-i   *yislamu*   *ʕyūn-ik*
life-1SG.POSS   PRES.keep-PL   eye.PL-2SG.F

Translation

1	F1	What is the meeting for?
2	F2	For all the HMM
3	F1	Is it a meeting for scolding us?
4	F2	I do not know ...
→ 5	F1	Listen, Amal **looks wow**! (Amal's photo) [script-switching]
6	F2	My dear, thank you

In another example, a participant switched to the Romanized Arabic script to insert a taboo expression, which is a sign of intimacy as well. In the following exchange, M1 was asking his friend about the job interview for the position he applied to in M2's company. M1 was writing in Arabic script, but he switched to the Romanized script when he inserted a taboo word, as shown in (7.31) below:

Excerpt 7.31

1	M1		معي	حكى	حدا	ما ...

ma   *ḥada*   *ḥaka*   *maʕi* ...
NEG   one   talk   with-1SG ...

2	M2	*b-at5ayyal*	*bed-ha*	*shahar*	*aw*	*shahr-ain*
		PRES.1SG-think	need-F	month	or	month-DUAL

→	3	M1	***Fuck the luck***	*enta*	*busy*
			Fuck the luck	2SG.M.PRON	busy

4	M2	*ya3ny*
		DM

5 M1   شوي   تمر   بتقدر

      btiqdar   *tmurr*   *šwayy*
      AUX.2SG.M   come   little

<u>Translation</u>

1   M1   … no one talked to me (from the company)

2   M2   I think it will take a month or two months

→ 3   M1   **Fuck the luck**, are you busy? [script-switching]

4   M2   Sort of

5   M1   Can you come for a while [switching back to Arabic script]

The script-switching in (7.30) and (7.31) can be a sign of topic shift. In (7.30), it was a shift from formal to personal affairs, and in (7.31) it was from the topic of the interview to the topic of whether M2 can come for a short visit in.

7.4.4.3 Script-switching for insertions of attention

Insertions for attention-getting in CMC are identified in many conversations. The most salient technique of getting attention is capitalization. Other means of getting attention include the use of words like 'look' and 'listen'. Since applying some attention-getting techniques, such as capitalization, is not possible in Arabic script, Jordanian bilingual speakers tend to switch to Romanized English script to do so. In extract (7.30), when F2 wanted to express her admiration of the daughter's photo, she switched script and introduced her insertion of affection by the use of *lsn* 'listen', to attract the attention of F1 to her compliment. In fact, in Facebook chat conversations, getting attention is correlated with script switching. In the following chat exchange, M was telling his friend how the new building that they transferred to in their college is not as good as the old one:

Excerpt 7.32

1 M   الاغراض   فوق   بعض

         el-ʾaġrād   *fōq*   *baʕḍ*
         DEF-stuff.PL   top   each other

2 F   ييييييي   الترحيل   مقرف

         yīīīīī   *et-tarḥīl*   *muqrif*
         INTERJ   DEF-move   disgusting

3 M   ...   مريح   مو   المبنى   و

         w   *el-mabna*   *mo*   *murīḥ* ...
         and   DEF-building   NEG   comfortable ...

4 F   باجي   @ 12   اشرب   فنجان   قهوة   و   نحكي ...

         bāʤi   @ 12   *ʾašrab*   *funʤān*   *qahwah*   *w-niḥki*
         PRES.1SG.come   at 12   PRES.1SG.drink   cup   coffee   and-PRES.1SP.talk

→ 5 M   ***NOOOOOOOO***   ***NO OFFICE ANYMORE***   *sho*   *min*
           NOOOOOOOOO   NO OFFICE ANYMORE   what   from

         sa3ah   *ba7ki*
         hour.F   PRES.1SG.talk

6 F   ...   طيب   طيب

         ṭayyib   *ṭayyib*   ...
         ok   ok

Translation

1 M1   … the stuff is on top of each other

2 F   Ohhhh, the process of moving to another place is disgusting

3 M   And the new building is not comfortable

4 F   I will pass by to drink a cup of coffee at 12, and then we continue our talk

→ 5 M   **NOOOOO**, I have **NO OFFICE ANYMORE**, I have been telling you this for an hour [switching to Romanized Arabic script]

    F   ok, ok

When F expressed her desire to come for a cup of coffee, M switched to the Romanized Arabic script to attract her attention to the fact that he had no office anymore. Getting the attentiojn of F to this fact is achieved through the prolonged 'no', Capitalization, and insertion of the expression *no office anymore*.

7.5 Summary

The findings of the functions served by English words match, to some extent, with what was shown in the written and spoken discourse in the previous chapters (e.g., sections 5.5.2, 5.3.1, 5.3.4, 6.5.1.1, 6.5.1.2, 6.5.2.1, 7.4.1, 7.4.1.2, and 7.4.3.2). The findings also reveal that some CMC unique aspects have been investigated. The first has to do with the correlation between the Romanized script and the functions served (script-switching), and the second concerns the number of insertions that flag interpersonal relations. As well, the noticeable use of discourse markers to convey a number of pragmatic functions such as topic change, conclusion, rephrasing, and offer refusal (Schiffrin 1987) is another unique aspect of data from CMC.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATION

The current study examines English loanwords in the written and spoken varieties of JA from structural and pragmatic perspectives. Data were gathered from spontaneous audio-recorded conversations and TV/ radio programs representing the spoken resource, three public newspapers representing the written resource, and chat conversations representing the spoken-written resource. The current chapter offers a summary of the main findings of this study. The summary makes a direct link between the questions raised in the study and their answers as shown in the analysis. It also offers a theoretical reflection on the study of loanwords. The chapter ends with suggestions for future studies.

8.1 Summary

The current study adopts the notion of 'continuum' (Matras 2009) for handling loanwords in JA, across which the status of loanwords range from spontaneous bilingual insertions to well-conventionalized loanwords. In terms of the distribution of loanwords in JA, the findings contribute to the relatedness and the direction of change, i.e., from spontaneous to established loanwords (see section 8.2). A large number of loanwords designate cultural concepts and entities that are mostly absorbed by the semantic fields 'Technology and communication', 'Modern World', 'Art and fashion', and 'Material and substance'. Spontaneous loanwords (insertions) from the semantic fields 'Emotions and qualities', 'Knowledge and perception', and 'Function words' are also among the most borrowable loanwords. As cultural entities are expressed by nouns, loan nouns in the corpus show a high percentage (72.5%) in comparison to other parts of speech. Along with to the morphological constraints of verb integration, the effective employment of word formation templates to generate verbs primarily from loan nouns,

and in a few cases, from loan adjectives and prepositions, contributes to the low borrowability of loan verbs in the corpus. Driven by their semantic descriptive characteristics, ease of integration, and pragmatic forces, loan adjectives and phrases (mostly spontaneous) are the second borrowable categories after loan nouns. Compared to loan verbs and loan manner adverbs, function words show a high borrowing rate, probably due to the effect of CMC. On the other hand, the frequency of loanwords in JA correlates with the status of these words. This is why established loanwords show the top highest number of occurrences as opposed to spontaneous loanwords, especially terms denoting technology and communication.

When inserted into Arabic, these loanwords are found to consistently abide by the phonological and morphological rules of JA. The analysis shows that, in most cases, the more a word is entrenched in JA, the more dramatic changes it shows at the level of phonology and morphology. Established loanwords are more likely to show intense integrations, which have, sometimes, led to a word that is distant from its original form, such as in the pluralized loanword *sagayer* 'cigarettes'. The Phonological integration patterns seek to preserve the Arabic phonological inventory in relation to consonants and vowels change. They also seek to preserve the Arabic syllable structure in cases of epenthesis of syllables and vowels, and consonant deletion. Substitution of consonants by their emphatic counterparts seeks to add an Arabic color to loanwords. Morphological integration is clearly represented through the productive use of word-formation templates to integrate loanwords. Loanwords are treated as word-stems (most of them as quadrilateral roots) from which further verbal and nominal forms are derived by mapping the root onto Arabic nominal and verbal word-formation templates. JA employs the template (CaCCaC) and the light verb strategy to integrate loan verbs, especially spontaneous loan verbs. It also employs its inflectional rules for gender, number, and possessive assignment. The gender of the Arabic equivalent is the most

influencial determinant of the gender of the loanword. Likewise, loanwords inflect to show duality and plurality in JA by the addition of markers (suffixes). Most loanwords show inflection for the feminine sound plural by attaching the plural marker /-ā/ to them, which in turn is shown to be a default procedure for integrating spontaneous loanwords. Other morphological processes such as the nominal suffixation of loanwords and clipping of compounds generally apply to established loanwords, except in preservative circumstances, i.e., the bilingual use of affixes in playful contexts, and the clipping of technical (institutional) terms. Finally, semantic integration of loanwords in JA is a clue of diachronic change, in which semantic narrowing and widening are the most prominent changes. In agreement with Matras (2009) and Myers-Scotton (1993b), the patterns of integrating loanwords in JA support the suggestion that the integration of loanwords should be handled on a continuum, which, inevitably, correlates with the status of loanwords in the RL.

In terms of the communicative functions of loanwords, the findings reveal that the functionality of loanwords in the spoken domain match, to some extent, functions presented in the written domain, although there is no unified approach or theory that is devoted to the role of insertions in the written discourse- as opposed to the spoken domain. Jordanians who have a good level of proficiency in English resort to discourse-related strategies to assure the clarity, specificity, and comprehension of their messages. Although these strategies have been claimed to be reserved to conversational means, they are also employed in the written discourse to convey number of pragmatic meanings. Message reiteration, message qualification, quotation, gap filling, displaying proficiency, formulaic usages, and technical and cultural association are the most represented functions. Reiteration is, by far, the most frequent discourse strategy that is employed by Jordanians who have a good level of English language proficiency, whether in the spoken or written domain.

Applying *The Sequential Approach* of Peter Auer (1984, 1998), three discourse strategies are carefully examined in the spoken data, based on their representativeness: reiteration, message qualification, and humor. Specificity (Backus 2001) of the message conveyed is the ultimate goal of the most communicative functions served by reiteration (e.g., eliciting a response, confirming comprehension, and a repair) and functions served by message qualification (e.g., qualification for authenticity). With relation to humor, it is achieved by the contrast between the expected context-selection and non-expected insertions. Some of these functions (e.g., emphasis, clarification, specificity (authentication), paraphrasing, and playfulness) are identified in the written and CMC domains.

In the analysis of loanwords in the written text (newspapers), loanwords were shown as being pragmatically-motivated, either for specificity or persuasion. In the absence of a turn-by turn analysis, the study concludes that the status and the markedness of these words might be represented by the way of incorporating these elements into the written discourse, which was attained through different means:

A. The availability of typographical remarks such as parenthesis

B. The availability of a gloss or any form of clarification (e.g., reiteration)

C. The orthography of the inserted element

Similar to the use of loanwords in the spoken domain, the findings reveal that the discourse strategy of reiteration was heavily used by the authors to specify the idea conveyed. A large number of loanwords in newspapers address the audience comprehension of the message conveyed. Loanwords that fill lexical gaps mostly signify cultural objects and concepts that lack a specific equivalent in JA. Also, the corpus identifies various loanwords that refer to specific institutional practices and names of unique institutions or entities. The use of these loanwords is associated with

certain topics, domains (technical/institutional), and settings. On the whole, the incorporation of loanwords for the above-mentioned considerations contributes to the specificity of the meaning that authors seek to convey. On the other hand, some other loanwords were symbolically (figuratively) used by the authors to attract the attention of the readership to their idiosyncratic meaning. They were employed as persuasive devices, making advantage of the high symbolic value of English words in JA. In fact, the use of a loanword in metaphorical and ironic expressions to pinpoint an idea sought by an author also contributes to the specificity of the message. The same holds true for loanwords used in the written text to display the authors scientific and linguistic proficiencies in specialized topics.

The findings in a CMC medium of interaction, specifically Facebook synchronous chat conversations support Paolillo's (2011) claim that CS is more interactional in synchronous CMC. This hybrid form of written and spoken features is a written language that is interactive. In other words, in CMC, the 'monologue of writing' has turned to a 'dialogue' (Baron 2002:410). Applying *The Sequential Approach* to Facebook interactions, the study reveals that one-to-one Facebook synchronous interactions reflect findings that go in parallel with what is presented in the spoken and written domains. They also reflect communicative features that are unique to CMC, or clearly represented in CMC, such as the use of loanwords to represent interpersonal affairs (solidarity, affection, and politeness), use of English function words, and the communicative value of script usage, which supports Georgakopoulou's (1997) claim that CS in CMC is governed by social, pragmatic as well as technological features. The availability of Romanized JA as a form of a text-based CMC could facilitate the insertion of loanwords. The heavy reliance on insertions in Facebook conversations might be attributed to the lack of cues available in the spoken domain such as gestures and voice tone. Because of this, English words are mostly preferred to express

interpersonal issues. Loanwords act as a face saving strategy when it comes to speech acts like apology and request. Avoiding directness when expressing empathy, feelings, euphemism, disagreement, apology, etc., is manifested through resorting to English words. The data also shows that in CMC interactions, formulaic usages of greetings, farewells, and wishes have become the norm, whether in the Arabic script or in the Romanized Arabic script, replacing the Arabic words gradually. Insertions denoting institutional procedures have also turned out to be the norm in CMC to an enormous extent, not only for computer related procedures, but also for academic and business related ones. The insertion of longer formulaic constituents such as idioms for qualifying, emphasizing, and clarifying a message is clearly revealed in the findings as well. Another unique finding related to Facebook interactions is the perceptible use of discourse markers to avoid directness whenever a pragmatic function is intended by the participants. Moreover, since the choice of Romanized Arabic script minimizes boundaries between Arabic and English (Al-Othman 2012) and facilitates insertion of loanwords, scrip-switching stand as a communicative interactional behaviour specific to the CMC environments.

8.2 Implications

The findings of this study can have theoretical implications for the study of the synchronic and diachronic approaches in language contact. They also draw implications for the use of loanwords in spoken, written, and spoken-written domains. In addition, they shed new light on the relationship between spontaneous insertions in bilingual speech, and established borrowing, and the pathway from one to another, i.e., the relation between conscious use of the full bilingual repertoire (insertions that are conscious and for special effect, or conscious integration), and the routine perpetuation of loans as default choices. This study opens insights for the role of online new technologies (CMC) on the development path of loanwords, as well.

Regarding the pragmatics of loanwords in the written, interactional, and CMC mediums, various aspects of loanwords' usages in the spoken domain appear in the written text. This goes in line with the findings of the studies that reflect the same conclusion (e.g., McClure 2001). As a matter of fact, this implies that it is not the absence of well-defined theories and hypotheses of the use of CS (and thus insertions) in the written text or the reliance on approaches devoted for the phenomenon in the spoken domain (e.g., Sebba 2012), which leads to such a harmony. Rather, the common pragmatic functions in the two domains are attributed to the real similarities between the uses and motivations of the phenomenon in the spoken and written domains. The spontaneous insertions are used as contextualization cues in both mediums with differences in interpreting such a pragmatic meaning: a turn by turn analysis in spoken interactions, while a contextual, typographical and orthographical-based analysis in the written domain.

Similarly, a significant implication has to do with the bilingual behaviour in relation to the insertion of loanwords in the different genres. The first implication concerns the role of the author or the writer in the written discourse. The author of the text seems to act as a source or a mediator (facilitator) of an insertion, which makes the insertion a deliberate choice. Thus, the insertion is not conveyed in the same spontaneous way that characterizes the oral switch. For this difference in spontaneity, insertions in the oral domain seem to include wider range of pragmatic functions. In CMC, the conversational behaviour, which is usually typical of the spoken discourse, is replicated in the chat. Presumably, the use of discourse markers, which is a distinctive feature of spoken interactions, is one of the striking examples. This implies that the reflective act of writing in social media consciously copies the mode of conversation of spoken discourse.

The bilingual behaviour is also proved to override linguistic constraints, as shown in the playful usage of spontaneous insertions. Such a usage seems to have no expectations and limitations. It can simply violate any linguistic norms and rules. Poplack (1980) has introduced the *Free Morpheme Constraint* which suggests that no switching is likely to occur between a free morpheme and a bound morpheme. Nonetheless, the insertion of -*less* in *šaraf-less* (lit., honour-less) in section (5.4.5) violates *The Free Morpheme Constraint* proposed by Poplack (1980). This supports Thomason and Kaufman (1988) claim that social factors, primarily level of bilingualism can override linguistic factors and lead to para-lexical incidents of borrowing.

The findings also have theoretical reflections on the relationship between established and spontaneous loanwords. The strict division between established and spontaneous loans (e.g., Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988) is proved to be unsuccessful and irrational for many reasons. First, established loanwords and spontaneous insertions behave similarly in JA in terms of morphosyntactic integration. For instance, spontaneous and established loan adjectives were inserted into JA in the same trend, copying the way native adjectives are inserted to the structure of Arabic. That is, the integration of spontaneous insertions and established loans does not yield different mechanisms or postulations. In the same way, the word-formation processes are applied to both of them, with slight differences related to the level of entrenchment in JA. Likewise, gender and number assignment are applied to loanwords and insertions in the same manner, just like Arabic words. Second, some English lexical items in JA function as both an established loanword and spontaneous insertions. The loanword 'professor' which is an established loanword in MSA is used to create a stylistic meaning in all its usages. Unlike its Arabic equivalent, the word is found to be used when referring to a non-Arabic context. The same holds true for loanwords that I term partially-established (section 4.1.1). They are customarily used by some speakers as unmarked choices,

while considered 'marked' choices to users who are not involved in their contexts of use (e.g., the loanword 'presentation'). Such a fact implies that there are levels of entrenchment of a loanword, and that making a final strict decision about the status of a foreign word misguides. Third, under the notion of continuum, established content words and spontaneous non-content insertions are discussed in a single analytical approach. Fourth, the motivation of synchronic insertions match those of established loanwords in many cases, which makes established loanwords sound as the long term effect of spontaneous insertions. For these reasons, it sounds unfruitful to have the concepts 'established loanwords', 'insertional CS', and 'nonce loans' for labelling the same phenomenon. The slight differences between the three concepts are the level of entrenchment in Arabic, which may determine the level of integration and the degree of usage. After all, the level of entrenchment, itself, is hypothetical and not always easy to evaluate (see Backus 2015).

Furthermore, the relationship between the bilingual spontaneous insertions and the monolingual use of established loanwords, in terms of motivations and distribution across semantic domains can contribute to the mechanisms and directions of language change in JA. In principle, bilingual Jordanians insert English words in the spoken and written discourse in a spontaneous fashion to create a stylistic effect. So these spontaneous insertions are introduced as *innovations* (Matras 2012) that contribute to the meaning of the message intended, particularly in the semantic fields of Information Technology, fashion, western culture, social relations, and technical fields in general. A number of these innovations have become habitual insertions. That is, they are repeated by other speakers in certain environments, or they have become associated with certain contexts. As a result, they are no longer a momentary use that acts as innovations. Some of them, in fact, have become established loanwords after repeated usage, which is a case of language change. In fact, this is what Backus (2001:130) hints by suggesting

that the distribution of loanwords across semantic fields can inform us about the direction of change and the synchronic-diachronic interrelatedness of contact situations.

A good starting point of contact-induced change in JA is the investigation of cultural loanwords. Authors in newspapers, for instance, tend to disseminate English words (through idiosyncratic usages that are either fashionable usages (to impress their readership), or semantically obligatory as being difficult to avoid for being tied to a certain topic, setting, or domain. They are introduced in newspapers in a way that flags their foreignness (e.g., parenthesis, spelling, gloss, etc,). The future of these usages is uncertain. While some insertions have remained as idiosyncratic usages, such as the loanword 'valet' in section (6.5.1.1), others have gained different degrees of frequency and acceptance, and no longer appear with typographical markings. In agreement with Varga et al. (2012), the influence of the frequent incorporation of loanwords in newspapers may go beyond the journalistic discourse inasmuch as it raises the level of the English language influence on the standard language. Given this, a number of loanwords have become established by means of Arabicization (adoption in MSA) such as the loanword 'scenography' (section 6.4). On the other hand, newspapers appear as the perfect means to display cultural loanwords that are frequent in the spoken JA and that can be good candidates for gaining the status of Arabicized (codified) loanwords, for semantic considerations (e.g., specificity). Let us consider the cultural loanword 'break dance' that entered JA as an innovation for a type of dance not known in Jordan. This loan has become very frequent in the colloquial variety. In fact, it has even been truncated as *brikk*. For semantic reasons, this word stands as a good candidate for entering the standard language by means of direct borrowing or semantic translation. Under the influence of mass media, especially newspapers, the loanwords 'dealer', 'business', and others (see section 6.5.2.2) have lately been gradually replacing their

Arabic equivalents in newspapers, moving from being idiosyncratic to repeated usages, and functioning as good candidates to enter MSA, as well.

It is usually the norm that words of new concepts have the higher possibility to be standardized, though it is not necessary. The acceptance of a loanword in the standard language is a complicated issue in which linguistic, social, and attitudinal factors interplay. Loanwords enter JA through the colloquial variety far before they join the standard variety, especially with the countless flow of terms related to CMC. According to the above discussion, we can argue that language change, in terms of loanwords' diffusion and acceptance in JA, can be illustrated as follows:

Figure 8.1 Loanwords' diffusion in JA

As per the figure, the loanword is introduced as an idiosyncratic innovation by various agents (e.g., bilingual speakers, mass media, CMC). For semantic, pragmatic, and socio-cultural considerations, the loanword may recur in the speech of other speakers, and gain popularity over time in the colloquial variety. It is further possible that language planners accept the term in the formal language by adopting its sound-meaning shape or applying native resources based on translational techniques. The above figure tells us

much about the pathway of loanwords in JA, from spontaneous insertions in bilingual speech to established loanwords, which leads to a language change. It also draws a picture of the relationship between the semantic domains and communicative functions of spontaneous insertions, and the motivations behind the (diachronic) process of borrowing.

The findings of this study can also tell us about the role of CMC in the development path of loanwords. In JA, the rise of CMC has a tremendous effect on the diffusion of loanwords. English technical terms especially those related to IT and internet are used in all contexts of CMC, nearly with no competition from their Arabic counterparts. That is, they are, more or less, turning to be unmarked choices. Formulaic words include insertions that have become conventionalized in the colloquial variety of JA through CMC. The use of formulaic words and fixed expressions such as greetings and farewells (e.g., hi, hello, bye) expressions of speech acts (e.g., sorry, thanks), discourse markers (e.g., ok, by the way), and agreement (e.g., yes, no) has, in fact turned to what Auer (1999) calls 'fused lects' (see section 2.31), where their usage is, in one way or another, a case of fossilization, to the extent that no single Arabic word for 'no', 'man', or 'baby' has been identified in CMC. As Auer proposes, this entails the direction from CS to code-mixing (recurrency), and finally to fused lects (fossilization). The impact of CMC on the development path of loanwords goes beyond the CMC contexts to affect MSA and the colloquial varieties. As a sign of the CMC role in the diffusion of loanwords, computer institutional terms are not only used by JA speakers in their literal sense but also in extended figurative (metaphorical) usages as illustrated in section (7.4.1.2). This CMC practice is also replicated in the written and spoken communications. In naturally-occurring conversations, the use of 'delete' in the expression *'iʕmallo delete* (lit., make a deletion for him) to mean forget someone, and *mkansil ʕawātfo* (lit., he cancelled his emotions) to mean he is emotionless, are some examples (see Daoudi 2011). The use of

'like' in section (6.5.2.1) is also an example of the use of such extended meaning in the written text. This implies that CMC has taken the contact situation between Arabic and English a step further, i.e., from casual to slightly more intense contact (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988:75). The strong influx of CMC-related loanwords to Arabic can also clearly show the linguistic changes that MSA and the colloquial varieties have undergone through CMC.

As a result, we can presume that a study of language change, and the investigation of loanwords, in a certain sociolinguistic context, is best examined in an integrated framework taking into account the synchronic and diachronic approaches of language contact. The roots of a language change are in the conversational and communicative behaviour of bilingual speakers who attempt to 'make use of their full repertoire for maximum expressiveness' (Matras 2009:40). The separation between the synchrony and diachrony of loanwords in the study of language contact, based on whether a foreign word is a code-switch or an established loanword is misleading. The need to have an integrated approach that combines the synchronic and diachronic dimensions in the study of loanwords is also pinpointed by Backus (2014) and Matras (2012). Backus (2014) asserts that the idea of isolating code-switches and established loanwords misguides because the two processes do not exclude each other.

As far as language change is concerned, the study offers a theoretical reflection on the type of MSA used in the Arab world. The Arabicization process suggests two possibilities: borrowing a foreign term, and creating an Arabic term for a foreign concept. Bearing in mind that the Language Academies in the Arab world no longer work in collaboration, the acceptance of loanwords in MSA is done at a local level. This holds true for terms created for foreign concepts. The loanword 'computer' for instance, has been Arabicized differently by different Arabic language academies. In addition,

language academies may adopt different procedures for adopting the same concept. As such, what is adopted by the *Language Academy* of Jordan is not necessarily adopted by other language academies. As a consequence, the claim that MSA is the type of language that is used in the Arab world is not accurate. Indeed, it is true that there is one MSA variety used in the Arab world, but with local differences at the lexical level.

From a language planning perspective, the findings of the current study also draw implications for the strategies used in the Academy of Arabic Language in Jordan to cope with the influx of new foreign concepts, which include strategies like Arabicization, semantic extension, and creation of a new term. The academy sets *criteria of acceptability* in which the semantics and the usage (popularity) of the terms coined or Arabicized are two basic dimensions. Unfortunately, these processes and strategies (including the Arabicizing process) turn out to be a big failure in most cases as the terms coined do not gain popularity and remain very classical in use. The findings, more or less, prove such a conclusion, where JA speakers resort to an English term that has an Arabicized equivalent or in cases where they refer to spoken insertions in the written discourse, though the equivalents for these insertions exist. Some coined terms lack the opportunity to succeed because they are long, classical, and semantically broad, such as the words for 'scanner' (6.5.1.2), 'etiquette' and 'brochure' (section 6.5.1.1). In fact, some coined terms are hardly used or known to the public speakers, such as the Arabicized terms for 'scanner', 'presentation', 'automatic', 'soft copy', 'intonation', and others. Also, the current study sites instances of English words that are in their way to gain the status of loanwords and after all, they are neither adopted in MSA nor have a precise equivalent, as in the case of the word 'take away', which is expressed in JA in a paraphrase, rather than a precise word. This discussion implies that the *Criteria of Acceptability* that the language academy sets for the creating words for

the new concepts, in which the usage (popularity) of the term is a basic parameter, have to be either properly applied or revised (see Al-Abed Al-Hag 1998).

8.3 Suggestions for future studies

The findings of the current study cannot gain the status of macro-level representation due to certain limitations. The data gathered represent usage in a limited time period. Probably, if the data are gathered over a longer time (years), the findings would be more reliable and representative. Moreover, the study restricts its resources to newspapers representing MSA, synchronous Facebook conversations representing CMC, audio recordings of conversations and TV/radio programs representing spoken JA. Investigating loanwords in different modes and resources might result in a more stable picture of the status, the functions of these words, and the correlation between them. Finally, certain innovative areas have to be given thorough exploration with a wider range of data resources. Accordingly, some suggestions are raised here for future studies:

(1) Investigating the phenomenon of loanwords in new data sources representing the spoken and written domains and comparing the findings with those of the current study

(2) Replicating the data and methodology of the current study with another case study in another Arab country and comparing its findings to those of the current study.

(3) Conducting a quantitative study that takes into consideration loanwords in relation to socio-demographic factors.

(4) Investigating lexical choice in Internet Relay Chatrooms (IRC) and comparing findings to one-to-one CMC interactions, face-to-face conversations, and written interactions.

(5) Conducting a study that sheds more light on areas that are not deeply investigated in this study such as advertisements in newspapers and discourse markers in verbal interactions.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Loanwords in audio-recorded conversations

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs	Grammatical/ Formulaic Words	phrases
Net	Save	Automatic	Seriously	Bye	What's up?
Gas	Cut-out	Final		Less	Black and white
Kilo	Scan/scanning	Full		Over	Day before traveling
Sandwich	charge	Spare		Please	Day after travelling
Pancreas	Hallucinate	Double-faced		Oh	Quality not quantity
Motor	Cancel	Online		I mean	Dry air
Shampoo	Sharing	double		Hi	Double gear
Surf	Finish	Part-time		Off	Back axle
Bluetooth	Delete	Nervous		Okay	Hand break
Copy	Stop	Manual		You know	Blood transfusion
Zoom	Relax	Second		Very	Language centre
Accessories	Twist	Wireless		Well	Fried chicken
I pad	Underline	First		For example	Special tools
Computer	Block	Full automatic		-ation	Air frame
Facebook	Hide	False		Forty	Sheet metal
Twitter	Hug	Doctoral		Excuse me	Gear land break
Mobile	Add	Classic		Why	Trade supervisor
Camera	Stick	Euro		Four	On job training
Silver	Take off	Offside		Yes	Meaning in context
Mayonnaise	Take care	Full-time		No	Cover page
Technology	Edit	X large		Finally	Dirty dance
Ketchup	Pass	Tubeless		Always	Wipe spirit
Mid-term	Create	Normal		Multi	Under supervision
Message	Open	Special		Whatever	Outside courses
Tick	Go	Tight		So	No smoking
Master	Confirm	doubtful		Perhaps	Spending money
Bachelor	Download	Sick		Because	Cover photo
Bus	postpone	Beautiful		Why not	Main store
Bureaucracy	Forget	Applied		Forward	Repair man
Tank		Spoken		Nop (no)	Five dinar
Remote		Sharp		Anti	Option website
Freezer		small		Plus	Women and changes
Balcony		Little		Sometimes	Quite good
Cigarette		Great			Sweet home

Petrol		Nice			Safe side
Flash		Mid			Cognitive tools
Democracy		Micro			Have fun
Scenario		Black			Board of shame
Checks		Modern			Turn to right
Meter		Left-handed			Turn to left
Chemicals		Organized			Out flow valve
Hanger		Dirty			Receive valve
Potash		Financial			The same price
Phosphate		Traditional			Next time
Laptop		Summative			Time over
Battery		Formative			Important person
Diesel		Diagnostic			Scheme of work
Filter		Large			To be aware
Accent		Extra			Vocabulary building
Self		Celsius			Top shelf magazine
Gene		Free			Data show
Doctor		Paperless			Good luck
Break		Absent			Other networks
Benzene		Essential			Online code
Clutch		Confused			Consent form
Carton		Five-star			Ethical approval
Sensor		Digital			Special course
Hot dog		Electric			New folder
Hamburger		Professional			Not stable
Filet		Jobless			Landing gear
Catalogue		Martial			English course
Mark		General			American Language course
internet		Pink			Oh my god
Electronics		Depressed			Photo editor
Coffee shop		Lost			
report		Miserable			
Card		Positive			
Chat		Negative			
Face		Stinky			
DJ		Same			
Profile		Unless			
Intercom		Face-to face			
Don					

Secretary					
Television					
Chemistry					
MA					
PhD					
Prestige					
Workshop					
Gram					
Centimetre					
Millimetre					
Tractor					
Potato					
Pick up					
Mall					
Post					
Wall					
Like					
Comment					
Cover					
Mechanics					
Jack					
Sick leave					
NBA					
Overhaul					
Dynamo					
Trompa					
Fuse					
Taxi					
Packet					
Bikini					
Punctuation					
Britain					
Group					
Cinema					
Flash					
DVD					
Saloon					
Block					
Password					
Drama					

Tweet					
Man					
Admin.					
English					
Overtime					
Blouse					
Chocolate					
LCD					
Humbug					
Slush					
Jerry-can					
BMW					
Gear					
Agenda					
Power					
Account					
Slide					
Romance					
Bank statement					
Steering					
PDF					
Sugar					
Archive					
server					
IT					
Game					
ISI					
Chapter					
Bio					
Cafeteria					
Radio					
Lord					
Etiquette					
Limit					
Control					
Machine					
Scrap					
Medium					
Sport					
turbo					

Academy				
Boots				
Mile				
Diploma				
Oxygen				
Bar				
word				
Software				
Modem				
Cable				
Sex				
Webmail				
Mega				
Parachute				
Physics				
Calculus				
Course				
Kiosk				
vitrine				
Tactics				
Antique				
Fantasy				
Chimpanzee				
Madam				
Million				
Europe				
Goal				
Hand tool				
Cocktail				
Millionaire				
Lab				
Comedy				
Database				
Body				
Tennis				
Plastic				
Video clip				
Veranda				
Sign language				
Puncture				

Cake					
Cream					
Ice-cream					
Transit					
Page					
Cooler					
Pound					
Megabyte					
Link					
USB					
Bytes					
Offside					
Pass					
Scooter					
Chips					
Girlfriend					
Microphone					
Quiz					
Chocolate					
Jacket					
Hamburger					
Strategy					
Discount					
Tin can					
Hangar					
Meter					
Helicopters					
Brake					
Headphone					
CDs					
Coiffeur					
Video					
Vitamin					
doughnut					
sandals					
Sun white					
Telephone					
Pancreas					
Option					
DXN					

I phone					
Gallery					
Bank					
Anthropology					
Prof.					
Pizza					
Dollar					
Condition					
Carburettor					
Model					
Separator					
Axle					
Service					
Email					
Problem					
Sabbatical					
Pee					
Line					
Coat					
Presentation					
Cheese					
Elephant					
End					
Program					
Load					
Comma					
Abstract					
Conclusion					
Outline					
JAC					
NDI					
OJT					
Maintenance					
Cargo					
NDT					
Shift					
Device					
Cleaner					
Switch					
Urea					

Spider					
Screen					
Bottle					
Approval					
Balance					
Dead sea					
Rules					
Printout					
Beautiful					
Intimacy					
GP					
Business					
Dictionary					
Variety					
Dialect					
Transliteration					
Project					
Frame					
Syntax					
Fund					
Seminar					
Scholarship					
Expert					
Paraphrase					
Syntactician					
Website					
Coordinator					
Boat					
Component					
Store					
Rag					
Bitch					
Slut					
Skill					
CV					
QA					
Quality					
Flight					
Document					
Process					

Input					
Output					
Accreditation					
Address					
Name					
Players					
Afternoon					
Timer					
Smile					
Security					
Supervisor					
Marker					
Family					
Sacrifice					
Love					
Heart					
Bone					
Socio					
Discourse					
Pragmatics					
Elegancy					
Psycholinguistics					
Interference					
Crisis					
Minimum					
Loan					
Receptionist					
Click					
GSE					
Aviation					
Supply					
JALCO					
Power plant					
Structure					
Fighter					
Training					
Dictionary					
Average					
Group work					
Money					

Donkey					
Car					
Door					
Eggs					
Water					
Four-wheel drive					
Disaster					
Earthquake					
Human resources					
Foundation					
Lecturing					
Facilitator					
Semantics					
Grammar					
Staff					
Assessment					
Taxonomy					
Methods					
Cycles					
Tool					
Educationalist					
Knowledge					
Evaluation					
Nightclub					
Return					
Parking					
Racing					
Target					
System					
Four-by-four					
Audio					
Lecture					
Sticker					
Wire					
Landing					
BSI					
Point					
Emergency					

Pitch				
Motorcycle				
Eyeliner				
Eyeshadow				
Flight control				
Vocabulary				
Team				
Education				
Linguistics				
Master				
Letter				
Sound				
Christmas				
Easter				
Grandma				
Clash				
Souvenir				
Museum				
Shops				
Red-light district				
Prostitution				
Rib				
Standard				
Rebuilding				
Religion				
Logic				
3G				
Calculation				
References				
Introductions				
Conclusion				
College				
HR				
Captain				
Navigation				
Co- pilot				
Acknowledgement				
Ethical				

approval				
Egyptians				
Native				
Junk food				
Engine				
CV				
Cleaner				
Pictures				
Photo				
Prostitute				
Regulations				
Tower				
Hotel				
Adapter				
Shopping				
Coffee				
Open book				
Pm				
Shoes				
Technicians				
Friend				
Spacing				
Maximum				
Fighting				
Depression				
Comprehension				
Composition				
Scarf				

Appendix B: Loanwords in TV/ radio

Noun	Verb	Adjectives	Adverb	Grammatical/ Formulaic Words	Phrase
Electronics	Look	Handmade	Visually	Okay	Justice online
Television	Move	Flexible	Immediately	Bravo	Door sign
Cyber		Free		Hello	Chocolate set
Culture		Unlimited		Sorry	Step by step
Consul		Creative		Already	Target group
Net		Original		Thank you	Fan page
Technology		Main		Whatever	End user
Projector		Dramatic		Out	Chief fighter
Pentagon		Good		Back	Non- profit organization
Hackers		Classical		Please	Ladies first
Crackers		Live			Silent show
Internet		Final			Stand-up comedy
Bus		Mixed			High standard
Cigarette		Turkish			By product
Balcony		Full			Texting language
Cash		Visual			Sketch show
Sandwich		Full-time			Star academy
Counter		Reversal			Keep in touch
Telephone		Nomadic			One man show
Benzene		Political			No comment
Pick up		Identical			Lap top bags
Million		Typical			I Pad sleeves
Dozen		Material			Graphic support
Lamp		Straight			Flower cake
Break					Cereal box
Computer					
Saloon					
Customer					
Supply chain					
SMS					
English					
Saxophone					
Note					
Accessories					

Order					
Baby					
Design					
Camera					
Chamois					
Social media					
Bazaar					
Admin					
Link					
Foam					
Sponge					
Bronze					
Moda					
Medal					
Fan					
Singles					
CD					
Album					
Clip					
Video clip					
Hit					
Video					
Youtube					
Studio					
Archive					
Media					
Audio					
Title					
Channel					
copyrights					
Views					
Server					
Giga					
Bank					
Democracy					
Parliament					
Gas					
Kerosene					
Doctor					
Strategy					

Microphone					
Academy					
Caricature					
Satellite					
Crochet					
Design					
Folklore					
Bureaucracy					
Sponsorship					
Sponsor					
Image					
Cafe					
Coffee shop					
Graphics					
Posters					
Multimedia					
Guitar					
Piano					
Quiz					
Team					
Graphic design					
Facebook					
Mechanics					
Décor					
Aluminium					
Podium					
Yes					
Recycling					
Frames					
Self-defence					
Tapes					
Silicon					
Box					
Cover					
Side					
Carton					
Background					
Jump-cut					
Comedian					
Script					

Cameraman					
Mall					
Comment					
Style					
Mood					
Skate					
Target					
Animation					
Comedy					
Brand					
Feedback					
Scenario					
Tactics					
Potash					
Phosphate					
Interpol					
Casino					
Gallery					
T-shirt					
Napkins					
Suppliers					
Graphic designer					
Line					
Stickers					
Formula					
Business					
Workshop					
Hospitality					
Twitter					
Trend					
Blouse					
Wax					
Serial number					
Menu					
Pass					
Cocktail					
DJ					
Trio					
Scoop					
Stress					

Kg2					
Drama					
Music					
Cords					
Solo					
Jordan					
Manager					
Routine					
Demo					
Guide					
Focus					
Machine					
Bullying					
Launch					
Yacht					
Bicycle					
Marketing					
Group					
Like					
Application					
Audition					
Vitamin					
Hip hop					
Rap					
Backstage					
Control					
Decor					
Landscape					
Tour					
Project					
Seminars					
Ideas					
Logistics					
Diesel					
Top					
Policy					
Percentage					
Package					
Record					
Account					

Gender					

Appendix C: Loanwords in newspapers

Nouns	Verb	adjective	adverb	Grammatical/ Formulaic Words	phrase
Gas	Fabricate	General		Hello	Main spine
Democracy	Break down	Euro		Bye	False flag operation
Internet	Shut down	Static		Geo-	Kick boxing
Parliament		Plus			Sky life
Chemistry		Total			Jordan Award
Film		Lymphatic			Super deluxe
Million		Mondial			Data show
Dollar		Automatic			
Doctor		Full			
Strategy		Roast (roasted)			
Technology		Smart			
Scenario		Limited			
Ton					
Logistics					
Phosphate					
Photoshop					
Parameter					
Brochure					
Demography					
Geography					
Bank					
Acid					
Secretary					
Polonium					
Barrel					
Solar					
Bromine					
Haemophilia					
Thalassemia					
Federation					
Gene					
Meter					
Mechanics					
Quota					
Gasoline					

Benzene					
Diesel					
Biology					
Tactics					
Militia					
Dictatorship					
Liberalism					
Machine					
Academy					
Totalitarian					
Policy					
Bond					
Gram					
Palladium					
Hydraulics					
Taxi					
Workshop					
Master					
Congress					
Cigarette					
Tobacco					
Petrol					
Electronics					
potash					
Confederation					
Olympics					
Cent					
Cement					
Mall					
Kilo					
Watt					
Fuel					
Oil					
Physics					
Mechatronics					
Geology					
Baccalaureus					
Diplomacy					
Kilometre					
Album					

Ideology					
Calcium					
Carbohydrate					
Vitamin					
Hormone					
Rap					
Techno-rap					
Cadre					
Television					
Comedy					
Romanticism					
Garage					
Terrace					
Aluminium					
Décor					
Roof					
Filter					
Knesset					
Cinema					
Polonium					
Carnival					
Imperialism					
Clip					
Drama					
Action					
Radio					
Operetta					
Chiffon					
Music					
Model					
Make up					
Typography					
Autostrada					
Millimetre					
Judo					
Medal					
December					
Taekwondo					
Karate					
Paralympics					

Lord					
Control					
Anthropology					
Fascism					
Nazism					
Philosophy					
diploma					
Ceramic					
Empire					
Protein					
Enzyme					
Bus					
Slide					
KG1					
G3					
Stainless steel					
Boiler					
Piano					
Satin					
Pyjamas					
Rob					
Powder					
Dynamo					
Bronze					
Centimetre					
Kung fu					
Prime league					
Old Trafford					
Derby					
Tango					
Veto					
Sandwich					
Taboo					
Don Quixote					
psychology					
Manifesto					
Net					
Laptop					
Carbon					
Dioxide					

Video					
Virus					
Computer					
Duet					
Studio					
April					
Captain					
Orthodox					
Europe					
Agenda					
Camera					
Doctorate					
Patriarch					
Protocol					
Casino					
Gallery					
kilogram					
Fax					
Litre					
Cholesterol					
Carton					
Cafeteria					
Cruise					
October					
August					
November					
Octane					
Caricature					
Canvas					
Caravan					
Lobby					
Archive					
pragmatics					
Cathedral					
Bureaucracy					
Asphalt					
Checking					
Villa					
Chassis					
Bacteria					

Pick-up					
Jacket					
Harmony					
Crepe					
Kangaroo					
February					
Dracula					
Countess					
Beijing					
Endorphin					
D3					
Montage					
Business					
Dealer					
CD2					
Christmas					
Oestrogens					
Stadium					
Rally					
Marathon					
Block					
Caoutchouc					
English					
Royal					
Haemophilia					
Chloride					
Potassium					
Phosphor					
Fluoride					
Hybrid					
Visa					
Baroness					
UNRWA					
Catalogue					
Routine					
Métropolite					
September					
OPEC					
Cartel					
UNESCO					

Trillion					
Giga					
Capital					
Professor					
Photography					
Radar					
Ballistics					
Graphite					
Domino					
Pentagon					
Dynamics					
Pancreas					
Patriot					
Group					
Veto					
Propaganda					
Etiquette					
Senator					
Coptic					
Deluxe					
Coupon					
Graphics					
Balcony					
Duplex					
Veranda					
Satellite					
Air conditioner					
Hydraulics					
Fibre					
Oriental					
Double					
Ice					
Glass					
Telefax					
Gear					
Option					
Silver					
Elegance					
Email					
Megabyte					

Gigabyte					
Kilobyte					
Supermarket					
Steering					
Tableau					
Radiator					
Body					
Exhaust					
Aerobics					
Ice cream					
Snack					
Cylinder					
Cabin					
Xenon					
Jacuzzi					
Microbes					
Super					
Cash					
Central park					
Online					
Lamp					
Quality					
Quantity					
Prostate					
Cream					
Sardine					
Monologist					
Folklore					
Technique					
Single					
Mythology					
Posters					
Eczema					
SMS					
France Press					
Butane					
Colonel					
Service					
Motor					
Formula					

Sergeant					
Katyusha					
ABS					
Yen					
Euro first					
Energy					
Cable					
Volt					
Battery					
Polo					
Panorama					
Guitar					
Breakdance					
Stand-up comedy					
Down town					
Flashback					
Scenography					
Accessories					
Morphine					
Holocaust					
Cocktail					
Microsoft					
Windows					
Explorer					
Pop					
Rock					
Sound					
Chat					
Mobile					
I pad					
Transit					
Platinum					
ESCKWA					
Occasion					
Cafeteria					
Take away					
Delivery					
Plasma					
Crystal					
England					

Sterling					
Petrochemicals					
Baltic					
UNISCO					
Francophone					
Archaeology					
Acrylics					
Bundesliga					
Libero					
Rock and Roll					
Electromechanical					
Code					
Amazon					
Classics					
Maillot					
Aspirin					
Milligram					
Chocolate					
Chloride					
AIDS					
Malaria					
Rheumatism					
Cassette					
Marshal					
Commonwealth					
Kalashnikov					
Cocaine					
Nitrogen					
UNICEF					
Plastic					
Pope					
Scanner					
News					
Congress					
Gallon					
Influenza					
Marxism					
Uranium					
Monopoly					
Catholicism					

Commandos					
Like					
Protestantism					
Charisma					
Telephone					
Sodium					
Infralimbic cortex					
Direct Access					
Enterprise					
Biological clock					
Saturated fat					
brochure					
Big bang					
Quality					
Casual					
Search box					
Disk Management					
Start					
Pentagon					
PC					
Senator					

Appendix D: Loanwords in chat conversations

Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs	Grammatical/ Formulaic Words	Phrases
Condition	Listen	Full		Bye	In dead sea
Share	Save	Homesick		Forever	On Saturday
Admin	Delete	Online		Whatever	Four seasons
Model	Check	Cool		Hi	Next week
Option	Take care	Good		How come	Leave balance
Body	Miss	Positive		Yes	Business is business
Polish	Missing	Same		By the way	No office anymore
Cash	Accept	Part time		No	At work
Skype	Search	Done		Sorry	By air
Nickname	Rename	Professional		Lol	So far so good
Cigarette	Right-click	Major		Hello	Happy birthday
Superglue	Download	Temporary		Okay	Under processing
Prostitute	Search	Pure		Bravo	Fuck the luck
Version	Open	Old-fashioned		Over	Split site
Copy	Bluff	Sexy		Goodnight	No problem
Discourse	Promote	Frank		Nighty	Missed call
Presentation	Connect	Soft		Thank you	Last resort
Phonology	Rethink	handicapped		So what	Short answers
Bachelor		High		You know what?	Sex machine
Telepathy		Classics		Please	Feel free
Light		Sure		Off	Voice call
Parliament		Face-to-face		On	Got to go
Spelling		Modern		See you	Looks wow
Switch		Offline		Non	Ultra marine
Master		Casual		But	No news good news
Analysis		Spare		By	No car brother
Handout		Spoiled		Well	Ups and downs
Email		Live		I do not know	Field work
Chapter		Final		I mean	
Slide		Tight		Wow	
Machine		Creative		Me	
Bus		Advanced		You know	
Service		Busy		So	

Taxi				
Control				
USB				
Meeting				
Marketing				
Training				
Team				
Balance				
Leaves				
Sick leaves				
Hotel				
Room				
Lovebirds				
Yacht				
Return back				
Slut				
Captain				
ICU				
Single				
Relation				
Phobia				
Career				
Mineral water				
Benzene				
Brother				
Load				
News				
Good idea				
Card				
Garage				
Gear				
Toilet				
Tiny can				
Filter				
Net				
Champaign				
Film				
Mechanics				
Four-wheel drive				

Crane				
Petrol				
Scrap				
Carton				
Telephone				
Kilo				
Philosophy				
LCD				
Television				
KG1				
Laptop				
Doctor				
Experience				
Dictator				
Man				
Rent				
Suspense				
Steering				
Face				
Surprise				
Message				
Hysteria				
Hamburger				
Burger				
Trigger				
Brother				
Virus				
Shift				
Understanding				
Relation				
Attachment				
Break				
Diploma				
Teacher				
Foundation				
Music				
Doctorate				
Wall				
Academy				
Chat				

Business					
Romance					
Scenario					
Centimetre					
Group					
Jacket					
Mall					
Pound					
Coffee shop					
Reuter					
Mood					
Username					
Soft copy					
Hard copy					
Million					
Sex					
Computer					
Camera					
Video					
Technology					
Prof.					
Bank statement					
Bank					
Request					
Contact					
Inbox					
Internet					
Proposal					
Speculation					
Pyjamas					
Battery					
Despair					
Darling					
Routine					
Code					
Bacteria					
Mouthwash					
Category					
Baby					
Cruise					

Packet				
Pdf				
New look				
Geography				
Prestige				
Secretary				
Sleeplessness				
Psycho				
Link				
PhD				
MA				
Block				
Account				
Mobile				
Management				
Photophobia				
Chief				
Potency				
Intonation				
Statement				
Function				
Intimacy				
Horn				
Paste				
Linguist				
Slang				
Action				
Reply				
Post				
Jeans				
Page				
Make-up				
Bonus				
Developers				
Graphic art				
Sub-contractor				
Antique				
Café				
VIP				
Network				

Club					
English					
Sister					
Love					
Number					
Like					
Professor					
Brand					
Interview					
Dynamo					
Bar					
boss					
Lock					
Message					