Code-Switching to English in Daily Conversations in Jordan: Factors and Attitudes

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Abstract

In this paper, an attempt is made to investigate certain aspects of the phenomenon of code-switching to English in daily conversations among Jordanians whose native language is Arabic. Data gathered will be used to determine the factors influencing the frequency of occurrence of code-switches among interlocutors. It will be shown that the factors of region (city-dweller vs. village-dweller), education (well-educated vs. less well-educated), sex (female vs. male), and age (young vs. old) play a significant role in the frequency of code-switches. Sociolinguistic reasons (e.g. need and prestige) will also be shown to be behind many code-switching techniques in the speech of Jordanians who have a knowledge of or proficiency in English as a second language. At another level, the paper presents the results of a questionnaire distributed to 145 students at Yarmouk University (Irbid, Jordan) and designed to seek opinions on and elicit attitudes towards this code-switching behavior. It will be shown that most students disapprove of this behavior and consider code-switching harmful to the purity of Arabic speech, national pride and social identity.

1. Introduction

One of the most noticeable outcomes of language contact, besides straightforward lexical and grammatical and morphological (Appel and Muysken 1987) borrowing, is mixed discourse, usually referred to in the literature as code-switching or code-mixing (see Weinreich 1968). Views on the similarities or differences between borrowing and code-switching differ. Some researchers (e.g. Lafont 1990 and Hoffmann 1991) consider the two processes as similar or overlapping phenomena. Lafont (Op. Cit.: 76), for example, classifies lexical borrowing as "in fact a very particular case of

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code-switching" (my own translation from French). Hoffmann (Op. Cit.: 115) maintains that "There is no clear dividing line between borrowing and switching." Others (e.g. Grosjean 1982 and Scotton 1990) prefer to treat them as two separate things. Grosjean (quoted in Hoffmann 1991: 111) claims that borrowing involves morphological adoption, while code-switching does not. Scotton (Op. Cit.: 104) indicates that "borrowings can be distinguished from switching based on frequency counts." This would mean that a foreign word/phrase used frequently in a host language would be a case of borrowing, whereas one used only occasionally in certain types of discourse would be a case of switching. Pandharipande (1990:20) calls the latter kind "spontaneous or non-adapted vocabulary" which is marked by her as [+foreign]. Scotton (Op. Cit.) finally maintains that borrowing is structurally distinguished from code-switching. In sum, they seem to be two different, although largely overlapping, processes.

The most studied form of mixed discourse is code-switching or code-mixing. Whereas some scholars differentiate between the two activities, others consider them similar or identical processes. Pandit (1990:55), for instance, calls "intrasentential mixing of two or more languages" either code-switching or also code-mixing. She adds that the terms "appear to be used as free variants in the literature on the subject." (Ibid.) For her part, Scotton (1990) considers code-mixing as a variety of code-switching, stipulating that code-switching is "the use of two or more linguistic varieties in the same conversation" (p. 85) while code-mixing refers only to intrasentential switching. Hoffmann (1991: 96) considers mixing and switching along with interference and borrowing the most obvious features of bilingual speech and deems it difficult to distinguish between and find clear-cut and separate definitions for the first two terms since such definitions would always overlap. She adds that "the task of separating, for example, discussions of mixing from those of switching is not as easy as one would like it to be. Each definition offered expresses the researcher's views on and approaches to a particular issue." (Ibid.) For the purposes of this study, the term code-switching will be used to mean both mixing and switching.

Code-switching has been deemed inevitable among bilinguals (Abu-Haidar 1988; Hoffmann 1991). The latter author considers it as "potentially the most creative aspect of bilingual speech." (p. 109) According to Kaplan et al. (1990), the concept of code-switching has been developed to "account for a wide range of sociolinguistic phenomena." (p. 141) They go on to say that this phenomenon best illustrates
language interaction and difference and is a function of both the community and the individual. It implies "not only a variety of grammars and semantics, but also a functional specialization determined by social and cultural factors." (Ibid.) They add that it is a routine matter for speakers to "alter their speech to fit a variety of special settings and situations." (Ibid.) Not only are code-switches governed by syntactic and socioeconomic factors (see Poplack 1981; Sankoff and Poplack 1981; Bentahila and Davies 1983; Bokamba 1986) but also other variables, namely, age and sex, "have been added to evaluate the bilingual data more effectively." (Jacobson 1990: 125)

The literature on code-switching abounds. A mere look at the bibliography in a book like *Codeswitching as a Worldwide Phenomenon* (1990), edited by Rodolfo Jacobson, reveals scores of works on this topic. While studies on code-switching cover many regions of the world, mainly the Indian Peninsula (see Kachru 1978; Sridhar 1978; Pandit 1986; Pandharipande 1990, among many others) and the English-Spanish situation in the Americas (see Poplack 1980; Timm 1975; Reyes 1974, to cite just a few), the Arab area seems to have been neglected. Among dozens of works on the topic the author has come across, only two (Bentahila and Davies 1983; Abu-Haidar 1988) address the issue of code-switching in the Arab World. The former work studies the case of the syntax of Arabic-French code-switching in a North-African and French context.

For her part, Abu-Haidar (1988) tackles both Arabic-English borrowing and code-switching in Iraqi Arabic. Concerning code-switching, the author examines the types of and constraints on this kind of behavior in the speech of 22 Iraqi bilinguals in both Baghdad and London. Of these, 5 are Arabic-dominant, 6 English-dominant, and 11 balanced bilinguals. She distinguishes four types of switching, namely, contextual, situational, functional, and prestigious. Her data seem to confirm Poplack's (1978 and 1980) constraints on code-switching, i.e. "the free morpheme" and "the equivalence" conditions. While, according to Abu-Haidar (1988: 51), the former constraint maintains that "code-switching cannot occur within a bound morpheme, ... the latter claims that for code-switching to take place the grammatical rule of one language must be shared by the other language." The author, however, does not discuss the influence of such factors as education, social background, age and sex\(^1\) on code-switching in an Arab country. Nor does she restrict her analysis to one category of bilinguals, e.g. Arabic-dominant speakers residing in an Arab country.

\(^1\)
The purpose of the present paper is, in general, to investigate the phenomenon of code-switching in the Jordanian society, focussing on Jordanians, whose native language is Arabic, with a knowledge of or proficiency in English as a second/foreign language. In order to avoid overlap with Abu-Haidar (1988), the paper will not analyze the types of code-switching or the linguistic constraints on it. Instead, it will investigate the influence of such factors as region, education, age and sex on the code-switching behavior. In addition, it will present the results of a questionnaire distributed to a sample of Jordanian university students to elicit opinions on and attitudes towards the phenomenon of code-switching to English in Jordanian speech. In the course of discussion, the reasons why Jordanians code-switch to English will also be examined.

Before we take up the issue of code-switching among Jordanians, it might be useful to point out that Jordanians began to be exposed to English towards the end of World War I, with the arrival of the British "Mandate". Since that time, English has constantly gained in importance through formal instruction and second language learning. At the university level, for example, English departments are among the biggest ones in all Arab universities (Abu-Hamdia 1984: 21), despite, sometimes, negative attitudes towards English, considered a legacy of colonialism and imperialism (Fellman 1973).

Three main factors, one "integrative" and the others "instrumental" (Kachru 1986; Abdel Hafez 1994), seem to be motivating the learning of English in Jordan. First, for some people, it is a matter of social status and prestige, since knowledge of English is associated with a certain degree of prestige (see Stanlaw 1987 for a similar situation in Japan). The second factor is educational, as many (especially scientific) fields of knowledge in Jordanian and many other Arab and non-Arab universities are still taught in English. The third factor is related to the job market; many remunerative jobs inside Jordan and in the oil-rich Arab countries of the Gulf require proficiency and, sometimes, fluency in English.

2. Code-switching

Conversations among Jordanians are generally conducted in the colloquial Arabic variety, normally referred to as Jordanian Arabic (JA). Occasionally, however, these informal talks are punctuated by English words/ phrases (a strategy of code-switching) and, less often, by phrases/idioms literally translated from English (loan translations). The frequency of occurrence of these words/phrases/idioms varies from
one speaker to another and from one category of speakers to another. It also varies according to changes in the speech situations like interlocutors, topic, purpose, mood, etc. (Weinreich 1968; Abu-Haidar 1988; Hoffmann 1991).

The basic hypothesis, based on the author's first-hand observation, in the Jordanian situation is that this frequency is determined by four factors: 1) region (urban, rural); 2) education (well-educated, less well-educated); 3) sex (female, male); 4) age (young, old). It is further hypothesized that conversations marked by the factors [urban], [well-educated], [female], and [young] are likely to be the most affected by English influence. Conversely, informal talks characterized by the factors [rural], [less well-educated], [male], and [old] tend to undergo the least influence. In other words, conversations characterized by the first set of factors will be highest on the scale of frequency of occurrence of English expressions, and conversations characterized by the second set of factors will tend to be the lowest on the scale, with other conversations marked by a mixture of factors from the first and second sets intervening in the middle on that same scale. For easy reference, the first set of factors will be called the "strong" factors and the second set the "weak" factors.

Before we proceed any further, a definition of some of the terms used here is peremptory. [Urban] refers to any concentration of people working in professions, trade, and business in North Jordan and Amman, the capital of Jordan; [rural] defines any concentration of population in North Jordan whose main occupation is farming and animal-raising. [Well-educated] describes people who have studied English up to the senior year of the Secondary School (8 years at least); [less well-educated] denotes people without a solid basis in English. [Young] means below 45 years of age, and [old] refers to people above this age. As for the word 'conversation', it is used throughout the paper in the sense of "that kind of talk which resides at the informal end of a speech continuum" (Wilson 1987: 110). In other words, 'conversation' here is synonymous with everyday talk or informal speech event.

To test the above hypothesis, scores of conversations of various lengths (usually 3 to 10 minute-long) among different people in Jordan were monitored, and English words/ expressions and loan translations occurring in these talks were recorded. Interlocutors included well-educated/ less well-educated, female/male, young/old people coming from urban/rural environments. They were university professors, physicians, engineers, school teachers, college and pre-college students, soldiers, taxi-drivers, janitors/janitresses, farmers, housewives, and unemployed people. In
order to have the talks take the most natural course possible, speakers were not informed that their conversations were monitored for the sake of research. In addition, a questionnaire was distributed to 145 students at Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan, to seek opinions and elicit attitudes regarding the cod-switching behavior.

Analysis of the data gathered revealed the frequent occurrence of English words/expressions in the speech of many Jordanians communicating with each other in JA. They included, among many others, the following words/expressions: hi, hello, OK, all right, how are you?, fine, is that right?, What do you mean?, I don't think so, no, yes, ya, no way, impossible, not at all, thanks, thank you, nothing new under the sun, I mean, no way, class, registration, so, and so on and so forth, it doesn't matter, I mean no, in the paper, bye, bye-bye.

Here is an excerpt from a conversation that took place in a university department hallway between a female (A) and a male (B) speakers: (2)

A: Hello.
B: Hello, marhaba. keef haalik? (hello, hello. How are you?)
A: Fine, thamulillah. What is new? (fine, thank God.)
B: maati laal. Nothing new (it is going i.e. it is OK.)

........................
A: Where did you hear about that?
B: qara? tuh fil paper (I read it in the paper)

The female speaker (A) initiated the conversation in English, but the male speaker (B), who first answered in English, switched right away to Arabic only to be met by A's insistence on using English. A used only one Arabic expression (ihamdulillah) in the whole excerpt compared with four English words/sentences (One may actually wonder if the speaker was not actually speaking English and occasionally switching to Arabic!) while B used mostly Arabic words/expressions. One may talk here of a "situational" or "contextual" kind of switching (Appel and Muysken 1987).

Here is another excerpt from a conversation that went on in a photo shop between two female customers:

A: U [shop owner's first name initial] miš mijawwiz? (U is not married?)
B: Iaa, bas 9induh girlfriend (no, but he has a girlfriend)
A: Oh, 9induh girlfriend? mumtaaz, excellent (oh, he has a girlfriend? excellent, excellent)
In this short excerpt, only two English words were used. The word *girlfriend* was probably used because it has connotations that any other Arabic word does not have (see below). The word *excellent*, used after its Arabic equivalent *mumtaaz*, reveals a kind of switching that seems quite common in the Arabic-English situation; that is, it is a case of straightforward translation of the Arabic word into English, perhaps for emphasis or reinforcement (remark by an *Abuath Al-Yarmouk* reviewer).

The following is a short conversation that went on between a male (A) and a female (B) college students:

A: marhaba (hello), I [B's first name initial]
B: hi. keefak? (how are you?)
A: maaši. šu 9indik? (Ok. What are you up to?)
B: 9indi registration 1-yoom. (I have registration today)'

Here we notice that the female student switched to English when she used *hi* in response to Arabic *marhaba*. Then she used the word *registration* even though the male student used Arabic only during the whole conversation. One may claim that the use of *registration* here instead of the Arabic equivalent *tasjil* is motivated by the fact that the English word is more readily available to the student than the Arabic word (see definition of the word *need* below).

Here is an excerpt from a conversation that went on in a clinic between a male physician (A) and a sick child's educated mother (B):

A: šu maalu, B [child's first name initial]? (What's wrong with him, B?)
B: 9induh yimkin flu (he may have the flu)
A: rašahi? (flu/cold?) It is everywhere.
B: He is suffering k6iir, xaasstān at night (he is suffering a lot especially at night)
A: maa9aleṣ; it is Ok, raah ?a9tīih good medicine. (it does not matter; it is Ok; I'll give him some good medicine).

The following is an excerpt from a conversation that went on between a female physician (A) and a sick child's educated father (B):

A: What's wrong with Y [the child's first name initial]?
B: 9induh hāaraah (he has a fever)
A: oh, fever. murtaf9ah ktiir? (is it very high?)
B: laa, šwayy (no, a little)
A: last time kann 9induh vomiting (last time he had vomiting)
B: limraaja9ah xilsat. halla il-fever muskileh. (the vomiting has ended. Now the fever is the problem)
A: It is OK. raah ?a9tiih suppositories. (it is OK; I'll give him suppositories)

An analysis of the preceding clinical conversations reveals some interesting facts. First, physicians tend to use English terms to name diseases, symptoms and medicines (flu, fever, vomiting, suppositories). This is probably due to the fact that they were educated in English or a non-Arabic language and to the widespread belief in Jordan that the language of medicine is English (medical reports and prescriptions are still written in English). Second, we notice that the female physician in the second excerpt used much more code-switches than the male physician in the first excerpt. Furthermore, the mother in the first dialogue code-switched to English more often than the father in the second excerpt and even more than the physician himself who was talking to her, although all three of them had the same level of education. This fact is indicative of females' tendency to code-switch more often than males for the sake of prestige (see details below).

Data analysis also revealed the occurrence of a number of loan translations in the speech of highly educated people (mainly university professors and physicians). These included in the first place madrasah sayyfiyyah 'summer school', bitruh lilmadrasah fi Amman 'she goes to school in Amman', mafiis šii körü ni9maluh fissayf 'there isn't much to do in summer', ?issaff bijami9 yom? issabt 'the class meets on saturday', 9indi saff halla 'I have a class now'.

Further analysis of the data basically confirmed the hypotheses stated above. As predicted, talks characterized by the strong factors had the most occurrences of English expressions and, in the case of highly educated people (e.g. US and Great Britain-educated university professors and physicians), of loan translations. In a short conversation between two university professors, one male and the other female, for instance, about 30% of the words used were English code-switches, with the female's own part of the conversation being punctuated by an even higher percentage of English words and loan translations (see the first excerpt above). Conversely, as also expected, talks marked by the weak factors showed the least occurrences of English expressions. However, it seems that within the category [rural] and [less well-educated], the factors of age and sex proved insignificant, as little or no English influence was noticed in the speeches of males and females, whether young or old. In a conversation that took place in a rural town among two males (one old and the
other young) and two females (also one old and another young), for example, no English influence or code-switching was observed.

In specific, city-dwellers used more code-switching techniques than village-dwellers. However, two sub-categories of city-dwellers were distinguished: 1) those coming from rich or prosperous areas; 2) those coming from less privileged areas. The first group were more prolific in the use of English expressions than the second group, perhaps because better economic and social conditions lead to higher education. Moreover, well-educated people made more use of English code-switches and loan translation than less well-educated ones. It is worth specifying here that US and Great Britain-educated people conversing informally with each other made more code-switches than, say, a western-educated person speaking to another who was not educated in the same place. This is in agreement with Hoffmann's (1991: 113) statement that with people who "have a shared educational, ethnic and socioeconomic background, code-switching can occur quite frequently." At a different level, females in general tended to use this strategy of code-switching more often than males. This finding seems to contradict Abu-Haidar's (1988: 47) observation that "a speaker's sex did not influence his/her code-switching behavior." However, it is in full agreement with Poplack (1980) and Berk-Seligson (1986) who found that women code-switched more often than men. If we assume that prestige is the main reason motivating this strategy, then we can say that this fact about females is in agreement with Ibrahim (1986) and Abd-el-Jawad (1987) who have tried to show that women are more eager than men to use socially prestigious styles of speech. Concerning the factor of age, finally, it was found that young people were more prone to the influence of English in their speech than older persons. It is generally true that young people are more educated than older people and the factors of age and education here may be interrelated. But this issue was not fully investigated in the present study and may need further research. It is also generally true that younger people need more than older persons to affirm their social status, a fact which may help explain the frequent occurrence of code-switches in the speech of the former group.

These findings were largely confirmed by the answers obtained from the questionnaire referred to above and distributed to 145 students at Yarmouk University. 141 persons (97.2%) said that city-dwellers used more English expressions in their daily talks than village-dwellers, while 4 people only (2.8%) expressed the opposite opinion. In addition, 139 people (95.9%) confirmed that persons coming from rich/prosperous parts of cities used these expressions more
often than people coming from less privileged areas; 6 students only (4.1%) contradicted this view. Furthermore, 130 persons (89.7%) stated that well-educated individuals used more code-switches than less well-educated ones; 15 people (10.3%) said the opposite was true. With regard to the factor of sex, 109 persons (75.2%) maintained that females used the strategy of code-switching more often than males, while 35 persons (24.1%) said the opposite; 1 person (0.7%) was not sure about the answer. Finally, 142 people (97.9%) affirmed that young people code-switched more frequently than old persons; 3 students only (2.1%) contradicted this view. The results of this part of the questionnaire are summarized in Table 1 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English expressions are used more often by</th>
<th>Answers in favor</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) city-dwellers</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>97.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village-dwellers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) people living in rich areas in cities</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>95.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people living in less privileged areas in cities</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) well-educated people</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less well-educated people</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) females</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>75.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no answer provided)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) young people</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old people</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At this point, one may wonder why Jordanians use English expressions in their daily conversations. In other words, what motivates this strategy of code-switching? One might claim that it is an inevitable consequence of two languages being in contact. Andre' Martinet, introducing for Weinreich (1968: VIII), states: "contact breeds imitation and imitation breeds linguistic convergence." Hoffmann (1991) lists a number of reasons for code-switching, some of which are of a contextual, situational and personal kind. She writes: "Talking about a particular topic may cause a switch, either because of lack of facility in the relevant register or because certain items trigger off various connotations which are linked to experiences in a particular language." For example, speakers in the conversation taking place in a photo shop given above preferred to use the word *girlfriend* because it has particular
connotations that the Arabic nearest equivalents *sadīqah* 'friend' and *saḥībah* 'compagnon' do not have. People also code-switch, according to Hoffmann (Op. cit.), to quote someone else, to be emphatic, and to express group identity or social status.

In the Jordanian situation, all these factors seem to play a role in code-switching to English. If we look carefully at these factors, we can reduce them to two main categories: need and prestige. Need, in the meaning of necessity (remark by an *Abhath Al-Yarmouk* reviewer), is rarely a factor because JA has words/expressions that exactly match most of the code-switched English terms/phrases and in active daily use by a large number of speakers. Additionally, these words/expressions of JA are able to convey the various denotative and connotative meanings of most English correspondents. However, we may speak of need in its broad meaning as the inability of the speaker to remember on the spot the Arabic word/expression or the speaker's lack of familiarity with it; therefore, he/she resorts to the English equivalent (remark by an *Abhath Al-Yarmouk* reviewer). We may also speak of need as "a complex psychological drive that is informed by the concept of motivation" (remark by another *Abhath Al-Yarmouk* reviewer). In these broad meanings, need must be regarded as a strong factor in triggering off code-switching. At another level in the Jordanian situation, social value and prestige are strong factors motivating this unidirectional transfer of English expressions to JA. Since native speakers of English have been considered economically and culturally dominant (Stanlaw 1987), their language is endowed with prestige. As a result, the foreign learner of English is likely to transfer words/phrases from it to his native tongue as "a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes." (Weinreich 1968: 60)

As part of the questionnaire referred to above, students at Yarmouk University were asked about the reasons Jordanian speakers used English expressions in their conversations. 137 students (94.5%) said that prestige was the only reason; 7 persons only (4.8%) said it was need; 1 person (0.7%) was not sure.

Hoffmann (1991: 113) maintains that people's (including bilinguals') attitudes towards their own and other people's code-switching differ. Whereas some have, according to her, "a relaxed disposition towards it," others consider it a sign of laziness and may lead to "linguistic impurity". Our students were asked about their attitudes towards code-switching in the Jordanian society and its effects on speakers and the Arabic language. In answer to one question, 70 students (48.3%) disapproved and 22 only (15.2%) approved the use of English expressions, while 53 persons (36.5%) were undecided. On the other hand, 102 students (70.3%) suggested stopping.
this habit, and 38 (26.2%) did not mind seeing it continue; 5 people (3.5%) failed to give a definite answer. Moreover, 89 persons (61.4%) said that the use of English expressions was an offense to the Arabic language and could deform it, while 56 (38.6%) suggested it did not affect Arabic.

Finally, 93 people (64.1%) maintained that the use of such expressions made the local society lose its identity and was harmful to national pride, while 47 (32.4%) said that it did not affect society or national pride; 5 persons (3.5%) were not sure about what to say. These findings contradict Abu-Haidar (1988: 48) who, apparently impressionistically, claims that code-switched items are not stigmatized in Iraqi Arabic because they "are seen as proof of speaker's bilingual ability." The results of this part of the questionnaire are given in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answers in favor</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) The reason English expressions are used</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is mainly:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) prestige</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) need</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no answer provided)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Using these expressions is good:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) approve</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) disapprove</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) neither approve nor disapprove</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) You suggest:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) stopping this habit</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>70.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) letting it continue</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no answer provided)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) The use of these expressions:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) is an offense to the Arabic language and may deform it</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>61.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) does not affect Arabic</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) The use of these expressions:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) makes our society lose its identity and harms national pride</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>64.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) does not affect society or national pride</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(no answer provided)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt was made to investigate some aspects of the phenomenon of code-switching to English in the daily conversations of many Jordanians communicating with each other in JA. The paper did not discuss the types of and constraints on code-switching as Abu-Haidar (1988) already dealt with these issues in relation to Iraqi Arabic. Instead, it looked into the factors influencing the frequency of occurrence of code-switches in the speech of Jordanians. It found out that the factors of region, education, sex and age played a significant role in code-switching. Thus, it was shown that well-educated, female, young city-dwellers used this strategy the most, while less well-educated, male, old village-dwellers used it the least. The results of a questionnaire given to 145 Yarmouk University students confirmed to a large extent the findings of the study.

Of the four factors influencing the frequency of occurrence of code-switches, it seemed quite clear that education was most instrumental in triggering off code-switching. Indeed, well-educated people were profuse in the use of code-switches compared with less well-educated or uneducated persons, who seldom, if ever, resorted to this strategy. Region was the next most instrumental factor triggering off code-switching. It was clear that urbanites in general code-switched more often than small town dwellers, but the gap between the two categories of speakers here was not as wide as that between well-educated and less well-educated persons. Sex followed region as the third most instrumental factor in code-switching, as females obviously code-switched to English more often than males. However, the gap between females and males (of the same education and region, of course) was less wide than that between city-dwellers and villagers. The factor of age, finally, was the least instrumental in triggering off code-switching, as the gap between young and old people (of the same sex, region, and education) was the least wide.

At another level, the paper also demonstrated that people in Jordan code-switched to English for a variety of reasons; most prominent among them are need in its broad meaning and prestige and social status, a result largely confirmed by the answers to the questionnaire discussed above.

Contrary to Abu-Haidar’s (1988) observation that, unlike borrowings, code-switches were not stigmatized in Iraqi Arabic, this study showed that most Yarmouk University students questioned demonstrated negative attitudes towards code-switching to English in JA and suggested stopping this kind of behavior. Most of
them also maintained that code-switches were an offense to the Arabic language and could deform it, harmed national pride and made the society lose its identity.

Although a lot has been written on code-switching elsewhere, much is yet to be done on the level of Jordan and the rest of the Arab World. One interesting field of research could be code-switches to Arabic, English, or French in classrooms at universities and community colleges. Another topic for future research would be code-switching to Arabic in the speech of non-native speakers of Arabic residing in Jordan or another Arab country. Finally, the kind of functions code-switching fulfills in the speech of Jordanians and other Arabs still needs to be investigated.
Appendix

Here are some additional, self-explanatory recorded conversations that contain code-switches:

1) An excerpt from a conversation between two female (young) university faculty members:

A: maasî (OK). Say hello to S [B's husband's first name initial]
B: OK. sallmi 9ala T (say hello to T [A's husband's first name initial])
A: Thanks. su 9aamlîin hal weekend (what are you doing this weekend?)
B: rayhiin 'ila 9amman (we are going to Amman)
A: How nice!

2) An excerpt from a conversation between two male (old) university professors:

A: keefak? (how are you?)
B: Ihamdulillah. Fine. winta? (thanks to God, i.e. OK. Fine. And you?)
A: maasî lhaal. keef ? ittadris? (it is going. How is teaching?)
B: maasî lhaal. kul šii tamaam (it is going. Everything is OK)

3) An excerpt from a conversation between a male, young, well-educated village-dweller (A) and a male, young, well-educated city-dweller (B):

A: marhaba (hello)
B: marhaba, ?ahleen (hello, welcome). How are you?
A: bxeer. hal min jadiid? (fine. Anything new?)
B: no. laa jadiid (nothing new)

4) An excerpt from a conversation between a female, old, less well-educated city-dweller (A) and a female, young, well-educated village-dweller (B):

A: marhaba ya habiibti (hello, dear)
B: ?ahleen xaalti. keefik? (hello, welcome, Aunt. How are you?)
A: Ihamdulillah ya bnayti (thanks to God, Daughter)
B: ?allah yxalliiki. Thanks (may God keep/protect you. Thanks)

5) An excerpt from a conversation between a male (A) and a female (B) village-dwelling school teachers (both young):

A: marhaba, A [B's first name initial]
B: marhaba, hi. How are you? (hello, hi...)
A: mumtaaz. winti keef haalik (excellent. And how are you?)
B: ?ana mniilhah. kul ši OK (I'm fine. Everything is OK)
A: Iḥamdu,lillah (thanks to God). Good.

6) An excerpt from a conversation between a male, young university professor (A) and a female, university student, village dweller (B):
   A: keef ?ahwaalku bilqaryeh? (how are things in the village?)
   B: kul ši tamaam. Nothing new (everything is OK. Nothing...)
   A: kaan fii rain ?imbaarīh (was there rain yesterday?)
   B: aah, kaan šwayy, baas maa fii bard (yes, there was a little, but it was not cold)

A: Iḥamdu,lillah, maaši lḥal. Good. sallmi 9al jamii9 (Thanks to God, it is OK. Good. Say hello to everybody).
Notes

(1) Abu-Haidar (1988) does mention, although just in passing, that a person's sex does not affect his/her code-switching behavior.

(2) In transcriptions of Arabic forms, the following special reading conventions are used:

? glottal stop
q voiceless, uvular plosive
θ voiceless, dental fricative
§ voiceless, dento-alveolar, emphatic fricative
$ voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative
h voiceless, pharyngeal fricative
g voiced, pharyngeal fricative
j voiced, palato-alveolar affricate
vv long vowel
References


