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Readings in the Jordanian Arabic dialectology

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Abstract. This research paper discusses Jordanian Arabic dialectology from a sociolinguistic perspective. It limits itself to 'traditional Arabic dialectology' (TAD) which deals with the geographical variation of the Arabic dialects. It also aims to uncover the dialectal boundaries of variation of the dialects in the Jordanian Arabic through investigating their geographical distribution in order to reveal any phenomena that are not attested. The findings of the current research paper concluded that due to several influential factors; including social stratification and geographical factors, today the original Jordanian dialects struggle to survive. In addition, the Jordanian chain of dialects witness a case of dialect continuum. The geographical range is marked by extreme dialectal differences between the main dialects in Jordan which results in some breaks in intelligibility between the geographically adjacent Jordanian dialects along the continuum. It was also found that the Jordanian Arabic is characterized by a certain type of diglossia -beyond the standard taxonomy of diglossia- which is called the 'diglossic code-switching'. In the revealed diglossic situation, different 'high' and 'low' Jordanian local colloquial varieties (without broaching the Classical Arabic) are used by the Jordanians under different conditions for different functions. Additionally, the original Jordanian local colloquial varieties, i.e., urban, rural, and bedouin dialects and registers are in an ongoing process of daily contact. This contact has increased dramatically in the Jordanian community due to urbanization and the Palestinians' migration to Jordan. As a result, a dominant urban dialect was emerged and started to be spoken in the Jordanian urban areas nowadays. This newly emerging urban dialect (also called 'Hybrid variety' or 'Modern Jordanian') consists of a mixture of the original Jordanian urban dialect and the Palestinian urban dialect that is originally descended from Palestine, has started to have considerable influence over the original Jordanian localized dialects in the past few decades in a sense that it has started to have a wider socio-spatial currency and thus became more widely adopted in most of the Jordanian urban areas at the expense of the original Jordanian local colloquial varieties which eventually led to force Jordanians to codeswitch between their native dialectal mother tongues and this dominant urban dialect for social motivated purposes. Such practice of adapting a variety of speech is called 'style shifting' and such influence was caused by the process of regional dialect levelling.

Keywords. Dialectology, Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Accent, Dialect, Register, Levelling, Urbanization, Diglossia

Introduction

Language, which is defined as structured system of communication, refers to either a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms. Norms are any dialects comprised under the general name 'language' as a result of divergence or convergence. The term language and dialects are cyclically applicable, with 'language' as the superordinate and the 'dialect' as the

subordinate. However, the notion of language can be used without referring to dialect/s, but at the same time, the notion 'dialect' is considered meaningless unless it implies its belongingness to a language (Haugen, 1966).

Every language has its own linguistic varieties and these varieties, whether phonological, syntactic, semantic, etc., do not occur randomly on independently of one another. In fact, linguistic variants should fall into definable patterns of correlation with each other (Ferguson, 1959; Labov, 1965; Gumperz, 1967).

Further, the linguistic varieties are mainly created by the existence of several social aspects. The descriptive area of the social aspects of language, i.e., sociolinguistics, is intended to identify the effect of the aspects of society on the way language is used, as well as the social variables such as ethnicity, religion, age, gender, social class, and educational level that are responsible for separating the members of any speech community in terms of their language varieties' choice/s. It also studies the language use and the language change and how these processes are governed by certain social motivations and several social aspects such as the cultural norms, expectations, and the context (Gumperz & Gumperz, 2008).

A subfield of this scientific area is dialectology; which is concerned with linguistic dialects, their variation –in addition to other linguistic varieties-, and their syntactical, lexical and phonological associated features that correspond to the determined geographic distribution of these dialects on certain regional areas. In fact, the linguistic diversity in any speech community does not only exist with respect to different distinct languages but also in terms of the variation within particular languages which can be in the form of dialects and registers. The variation according to the use is called register; whereas the variation according to the user is called dialect. Further, such variation differs from a place to another, from a social class to another, from a conversational situation to another, etc. (Budiarsa, 2015). On the same line, Ammour (2012) confirmed that the study of languages' sociolinguistic variation, which has emerged since the 1960's, focuses on the study of the relationship between social structure and linguistic structure. The social variables such as the speaker's age, gender, ethnicity and the social class, and the linguistic variables namely phonological, morphological and lexical are analyzed and interpreted through quantitative and qualitative methods.

Dialectology dates from the mid-19c when philologists using data preserved in texts began to work out the historical or diachronic development of the Indo-European languages (a large language family native to western Eurasia). Their interest was etymological and systematic. Scientific phonetics and the principle that sound change was not erratic but followed discoverable rules or laws, were a basic part of the growth of dialectology. Living dialects were seen to furnish a huge treasury of living data on phonology, lexicology, and other features of language that written texts could not furnish. The linguist's task was to gather, analyze, and interpret this living body of language (Goebl, 1984; encyclopedia, 2020; Petyt, 1980)

From a linguistic perspective, Arabic dialectology is closely connected with a number of other disciplines of Arabic linguistics such as historical linguistics and sociolinguistics (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2013).

The classification of Arabic dialects is a work in process. Yet, there is a significant lack of language-based approaches to examine Arabic dialects. Hence, this paper aims to shed a light on recent trends in Arabic dialectology in general as a key contribution to the understanding of Arabic linguistics, Arabic dialectology, and the dialectological situation in the Jordanian Arabic in particular.

In order to understand the nature of the linguistic variation in Jordan, the present research work seeks to analyze the sociolinguistic dialectal situation in Jordan. Particularly, it aims at studying the structured nature of the regional dialects in the Jordanian context in correlation with social

factors and geographical distribution. Special emphasis *was put on* the geographical distribution of the Jordanian dialects as languages and dialects manifest in geographic space, and geographic factors are, among others, major explanatory variables in the formation of language areas (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998).

Problem Statement

Since language is considered as the reflection of the dialogic or social phenomenon that sets us apart from animals and defines who we are, hence the study of language and the linguistic structure of its dialectal diversity should not be ignored as this will impair our ability to relate to one another and to capture how we perceive the world around us. Actually, the study of language reflects in almost everything we do.

Dialectology has until recently been a vastly ignored area in linguistics. In addition, Arabic dialectal variation in the realm of dialectology has for a considerable time been a neglected topic in sociolinguistics as the focus has mainly been on standard Arabic.

Furthermore, despite the fact that a lot of dialectal variation has been documented globally, however the properties of the existed dialects that have been investigated were limited to the syntax, phonology and morphology domains only. On the other hand, many researches proved that other domains are pervasive and real. Among the worth mentioning domains is the domain of the geographic distribution of the lexical variables (Barbiers, 2005).

Similarly, Jeszenszky & Weibel (2016) argued that although linguists have thoroughly studied the formation of language areas for given dialectal phenomena, little quantitative research has been conducted on how these areas relate to each other, and how the transition between these dominance areas of dialectal variants can be modelled.

Arabic has many spoken dialects in addition to Modern Standard Arabic, its written variety. Differences and similarities between dialects create confusion regarding speakers' origin (Rosenhouse, 2017). Arabic dialectology is closely connected with a number of other disciplines of Arabic linguistics such as historical linguistics and sociolinguistics, including urban linguistics (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2013). However, in recent years, more nuanced studies of inter- and intra-speaker variation have seen the light of day. In some respects, Arabic sociolinguistics is still lagging behind the field compared to variationist studies in English and other Western languages (Horesh and Cotter, 2016).

Significance of the study

This paper hopes to contribute to development in the field of Arabic dialectological research in particular and to make a significant progress in the study of language as a whole through attempting to fill the theoretical and empirical gaps that still exist in the Arabic language dialectology in general and in the Jordanian Arabic dialectology in particular.

Besides, it is very significant to establish and uncover the dialectal boundaries of variation of any dialects in order to reveal phenomena that are not attested in the standard language and to uncover its regularities. Hence, it is hoped that investigating Jordanian Arabic dialectal variations and their geographical distribution would help to get a clearer picture of the variations that exist.

Finally, it is hoped that the findings of the current study will raise the level of awareness and expand the knowledge base of the Arab sociolinguists on the dialectological situation in the Jordanian Arabic which will furnish the complexity and the accumulation of data of the major dialectal phenomena which are reflected on the existence of dialectal variations in a multitude of geographic locations in Jordan.

Dialectology

Dialectology is defined as a sub-field of sociolinguistics that aims to study linguistic dialects. Particularly, it studies the variations of a language and its associated features and properties which are based primarily on the synchronic variation, including syntax, lexicon, phonology and morphology domains of the existed dialects that are associated with this language (Kolbe, 2012; Goebl, 1984; Petyt, 1980), i.e., the divergence of local dialects from the same language (e.g. the Arab Peninsula dialects and Levantine dialects derived both from Arabic) or from a common ancestor (e.g. Spanish and Italian dialects derived from the common ancestor Latin).

The American linguist of Austrian origin, Hans Kurath and the American linguist William Labov (known as the father of sociolinguistics and the founder of the discipline of variationist sociolinguistics) are among the most prominent researchers and pioneers in the field of dialectology (Modesto, 2005; *Petyt, 1980; Goebl, ed., 1984). More precisely, it was William Labov who opened the door to the study of language variation.*

According to Aquilldriver (2020), the influence and interface of dialectology on various linguistic disciplines can be seen on how the dialectological methods have most commonly been utilized in: 1) historical linguistics, 2) sociolinguistics, and 3) language endangerment/documentation.

In dialectology, linguists do not define different varieties of a language as right or wrong, instead some linguists try to define different accents and dialects through phonetic, syntactic and lexical features as some accents and dialects are very much obvious and well known and others are harder to place geographically. Besides, some linguists attempt to consider why some accents and dialects are widely recognized whilst others are not.

As for the task of dialectology, Bailey (1980) and Alinei (1980) stated that the basic task of dialectology is to determine the correlation between a group of linguistic variables such as how dialects of a single language differ from each other in terms of words (vocabulary) as well as sentence structure (grammar). Similarly, Peng (1991) added that dialectology aims to investigate the various dialects of a given language and to draw atlases to show the distributions of the dialects in respect to certain linguistic elements. In the former, the dialects investigated can be scattered over a geographic area as wide as a country or a region within a country with two dialects; in the latter, the linguistic elements include pronunciations, lexical items, grammatical variations, and meaning differences of the language in those dialects. The scientific interest of dialectology lies in the fact that dialects are a valuable source of information about cultures. In fact, studying dialect can present a broad perspective on the "main" language (so the language to which the dialects belong). Further, dialectology helps to make the language active and fosters its effective usage and prevents any language and its associated dialects from going into extinction. The study of dialects helps in reflecting the history of a language and the ethnic, cultural, and even political history of the people who speak this language. Finally, dialectology provides educational systems that tend to teach the standard language to students with a practical guidance and the sufficient knowledge of dialectal facts. And because dialects greatly outnumber standard languages, they provide a much greater variety of phenomena than the languages themselves, and thus have become the main source of information about the types of phenomena possible in linguistic systems (ibid).

According to encyclopedia (2020), the study of dialects, that is, of variant features within a language, their history, differences of form and meaning, interrelationships, distribution, and, more broadly, their spoken as distinct from their literary forms. The discipline recognizes all variations within the bounds of any given language; it classifies and interprets them according to historical origins, principles of development, characteristic features, areal distribution, and social correlates.

Types of Dialectology

Within each of these disciplines, the adoption of methods from dialectology has allowed for the systematic study of language across geographic and social space, as well as across time. About the types of dialectology, there are the following (Aquilldriver, 2020):

1. Traditional dialectology: Traditional dialectology is defined as a sub-field of dialectology that studies the variations in language based primarily on the geographical distribution of its dialects and their associated features. In other words, traditional dialectology is ultimately concerned with the dialectal features of certain dialects that are corresponded to certain regional areas. Traditional studies in dialectology are generally aimed at producing dialect maps, whereby imaginary lines are drawn over a map to indicate different dialect areas. Traditional Dialectology came into existence in the 19th Century. It is also known as Geographical Socio-linguistics. Geographically, the linguistic focus of traditional dialectology is on regional variation of:

   a. Accent (it refers to distinct pronunciation of words, associated with social or regional groups.)
   b. Lexicon (vocabulary of the dialect/ person speaking the dialect- it refers to distinct varieties of a language in which syntax and lexis are different from other varieties. Again, these are associated with social or regional groups).

The subject matter of traditional dialectology is the collection of linguistic features in a given geographic area and the study of these features with regard to their distribution in this area in order to establish dialectal borders lines, transitional areas, core areas, and dialectal continua (Behnstedt and Woidich, 2005). All this can be best made visible as a linguistic landscape by reproducing these features on maps.

According to encyclopedia (2020), in *traditional dialectology* the collection of data is the primary requirement. This entails fieldwork, the more detailed and massive the better, within the limits of practicability, and its presentation in the form of dictionaries, grammars, atlases, and monographs. This method Francis calls 'item-centered', emphasizing the individual datum and paying little attention to underlying system.

2. Modern dialectology (also referred to as Sociological Sociolinguistics): Modern dialectology aims to represent the actual speech used in particular areas, and it consequently reveals a more representative picture of actual language that also takes into account further linguistic areas, in particular grammar, as well as external factors, such as speakers' gender and social background (Kolbe, 2012).

Further, modern dialectology researches the thing dialectology is not interested in, like dialects that are caused by social factors, which can be regional but also related to social class, gender and rural vs urban conflict as well. Simply said, its more about Politics or Sociology than its about linguistics.

Modern dialectology has been in existence since 1960's. It focuses on linguistic variation in urban areas. Therefore, it is also called 'urban dialectology'. In fact, the focus of modern dialectology lies on studying the speech of a specific group of informants: non-mobile old rural male speakers. Modern dialectology employs modern statistical methods for the analysis of linguistic data. In addition, it is concerned with regional variation with respect to accent and vocabulary features.

"Modern dialectology recognizes that geographic distributions may involve continua". This implies that while dialect areas cannot be crisply delimited, also for single phenomena gradual transitions ought to be expected between areas of dominance of variants (Wieling & Nerbonne, 2015: 243 –264).

3**.** Social dialectology: Social dialectology focuses on the subjective evaluation of linguistic features and the degree of an individual's linguistic security, phenomena that have considerable influence on linguistic change. Linguistic scientists, in studying the mechanism of such change, have found that it seems to proceed gradually from one social group to another, always attaining greater frequency among the young. Social dialectology also has great relevance for a society as a whole, in that the data it furnishes will help deal with the extremely complex problems connected with the speech of the socially underprivileged, especially of minority groups (Bailey, 1980; Alinei, 1980). Furthermore, another basic task of social dialectology is to examine certain extra-linguistic variables, such as education, social status, age, and race. For example, social dialectology examines how speakers of one of the social dialects of a city normally possess at least some awareness of the other dialects. In this way, speech characteristics also become subjectively integrated into the system of signs indicating social status. And, in seeking to enhance their social status, poorer and less educated speakers may try to acquire the dialect of the socially prestigious. Certain groups—e.g., the working class—however, will, under certain conditions, show a consciousness of solidarity and a tendency to reject members who imitate either the speech or other types of behaviour of models outside their own social group (ibid). it is worth emphasizing that in sociolinguistics, prestige is defined as the level of regard, correctness, and superiority accorded a specific language or dialect within a speech community, relative to other languages or dialects. Prestige could take the standard form of a language or the covert prestige of a non-standard dialect that is considered highly valued. In addition, prestige could be applied to other smaller linguistic features, such as the pronunciation as the pronunciation is sometimes changed to constitute a separate dialect (*Angle & Hesse-Biber, 1981; Abu-Haidar, 1989).*

4. Structural dialectology: A new approach to dialect study. Researchers in this paradigm, led by Uriel Weinreich, introduced into dialectology elements of linguistic analysis borrowed from structuralist theory (Boberg, Nerbonne & Watt, 2018). In structural dialectology, the investigator seeks to find both the structure or system by which a dialect holds together or achieves synchronic identity and how it is changed by the introduction of any new feature. Since any change in the system affects every feature of it, it becomes in effect a different system, whose parts are, however, diachronically connected (Encyclopedia, 2020).

Ever since Weinreich (1954: 273 in Davis, 1973) called for structural dialectology, many linguists have sought a way to reconcile the fact that language is a structured system with the tremendous diversity among and within dialects. Weinreich himself made a start in this area, suggesting that dialects differ in two important ways: in the inventory of phonemes and in the distribution of phonemes; in the former case, one dialect may have eight vowel phonemes and another may have seven or nine. The case of the distribution of phonemes can be illustrated by the case where a sound (a) may belong to /a/ in one dialect and /o/ in another. Weinreich called such a system a 'diasystem' (Davis, 1973).

This research paper limits itself to traditional dialectology (TD) in general and to traditional Arabic dialectology (TAD) in particular which deals predominantly with the geographical variation of the Arabic dialects.

The differences between language and dialect

A language is a structured system of communication. The word 'structure' refers to the set of structural rules governing the composition of clauses, phrases and words in a natural language. Language, in a broader sense, is the method of communication that involves the use of – particularly human–languages. Oxford Online Dictionary defines language as the system of

communication in speech and writing that is used by people of a particular country or area (*Oxford Online Dictionary*, 2020).

The English word 'language' is derived ultimately from Middle English *langage*, *language*, from Old French *language*, from Vulgar Latin **linguāticum*, from Latin *lingua* (tongue, speech, language), from Old Latin *dingua* (tongue), and from Proto-Indo-European **dn̥ǵʰwéh₂s* (tongue, speech, language) (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 1992)*. According to *Tomasz (2016),* estimates of the number of human languages in the world vary between 5,000 and 7,000. However, any precise estimate depends on the arbitrary distinction (dichotomy) between languages and dialect. In addition, all languages evolve and diversify over time. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the scientific study of language is called linguistics.

Tomasello (1996) asserted that all human languages rely on the process of semiosis to relate signs to particular meanings, in other words, a sign is anything that communicates a meaning. The term '*semiosis*' was introduced by Charles Sanders Peirce (1839–1914) to refer to the process that involves signs, including the production of meaning. Oral, manual and tactile languages contain a phonological system that governs how symbols are used to form sequences known as words or morphemes, and a syntactic system that governs how words and morphemes are combined to form phrases and utterances (Tomasz, 2016).

A particular variety of a *language* that is regarded as the most correct way of writing or speaking the *language is called a* 'standard language'. According to *Croft & Schmidt (2010) and Edward (2007),* a standard language is defined as a language variety that has undergone substantial codification of grammar and usage (linguistically speaking, the process of codification includes selecting, developing, prescribing and laying down a model for standard language usage). A standard language is employed by a population for public communications. According to *KAPOVIĆ (2011),* the standard language is the language that includes a standardized form as one of its varieties. In other words, it refers to the entirety of the language. *Williams (1983) stated that* the standard language is inherently superior or considered as the linguistic baseline by which to judge other varieties of language. Typically, a standard language includes a relatively fixed orthography codified in grammars and normative dictionaries. Further, the standard language's variety acquires social prestige and greater functional importance than nonstandard dialects (*Ammon, 2004; Trudgill, 2006). Finally,* the standardization process, which is a continual process, includes efforts to stabilize the spelling of the prestige dialect, to codify usages and particular (denotative) meanings through formal grammars and dictionaries, and to encourage public acceptance of the codifications as intrinsically correct (*Carter, 1999).*

On the other hand, dialect is defined as the form of a language that is spoken in one area with grammar, words and pronunciation that may be different from other forms of the same language (oxford learners' dictionaries, 2020). The word '*dialect'* comes from the Ancient Greek *diálektos* "discourse, conversation, the language of a country or a place or a nation, the local idiom which derives from a dominant language", which is derived from *dialégomai* "to discourse, talk, I participate in a dialogue" (Williams, 1983; Crystal, 2008).

Dialects may show variation in properties that are also part of the standard language that they are related to. At the same time, dialects may show phenomena that are not part of the standard language (Barbiers, 2005).

Windfuhr (1995) indicated that the terms dialect and language overlap. In general, language refers to the more or less unified system of the phonology, grammar, and lexicon that is shared by the speakers of a country, or geographic region, or a socially defined group, whereas dialect focuses on varieties of a language. In that sense, any dialect can be considered a language, and vice versa. In popular usage, dialect also refers to a speaker's accent, i.e., peculiarities in his pronunciation, including stress and pitch

More commonly, dialect refers to groups that are noticeably different grammatically, phonologically, and lexically. They may be either closely related varieties of the same language (such as Khorasani vs. Tehrani Persian), or of more distantly related languages (such as Kurdish vs. Persian). However, it is not always possible to distinguish whether a dialect is a variety of one language or of two closely related languages. Mutual intelligibility is one criterion. In addition, social identity often overrides linguistically defined dialectal relationships. Speakers of socially lower status tend to identify themselves with those of higher status (ibid).

Dialectology is essentially comparative. It has the objective of identifying linguistic relationships in geographic, historical, and social space. The comparative objective involves the study of the two main forces of dialectical divergence and convergence; that is, on the one hand, the retention, loss, and innovation of linguistic features, and their diffusion both internally throughout the lexicon, phonology, and grammar and externally, i.e., diffusion by social and geographic contact. On the other hand, it involves the study of groupings, mostly in terms of geography and history, by the identification of bundling of isoglosses, i.e., overlapping patterns of lines of shared differentiation, either innovative or conservative (ibid).

In the same line, Chambers & Trudgill (1998) mentioned that a dialect is a substandard, low-status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other groups lacking in prestige. Dialect is also a term which is often applied to forms of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form. And dialects are also often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from a norm – as aberrations of a correct or standard form of language.

Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

The modern standardized version of the Arabic language is called Modern Standard Arabic (also known by its acronym MSA). The term (MSA), according to Kamusella (2017), is used mostly by Western linguists. MSA (Fuṣḥā Al-ʿAṣr: فُصْحَىٰ ألعَصر; also called Al-ʾArabiyya Al-Fushā, Arabic: اَلعَرَبِيَّة ٱلْفُصْحَىٰ, English: Literary Arabic), which was that developed in the Arab world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is based on Classical Arabic (CA: Al-Lughah Al-ʿArabīyah Al-Fuṣḥā Al-Turāthīyah: اللغة العربية الفصحى التراثية) which is the standardized literary form of the Arabic language of the holy Qur'an and the language used in the early Islamic literature (most notably, in the 7th to 9th centuries; in literary texts, such as poetry, elevated prose, and oratory) (Bin-Muqbil, 2006; Holes, 2004). As a direct descendant of Classical Arabic, MSA is used by the Arab world today in formal speaking, writing and other formal contexts including: academia, formal speeches, news broadcasts, universities, schools, law and legislation, audiovisual and written media, though it is generally not spoken as a mother tongue (Bin-Muqbil, 2006; Kamusella, 2017). In MSA, the word 'modern' servers to distinguish the present-day variety of Arabic from Classical Arabic, and the word 'standard' is assigned to a relatively uniform variety of Arabic which is functionally restricted all over the Arab World in the sense that it is mainly written but also spoken to a lesser degree, as contrasted with the colloquial dialects which vary strikingly from one region to another and are mainly spoken but rarely written (Sa'id, 1964).

Despite the stylistic and lexical differences between CA and MSA, however their syntax and morphology are still the same (Versteegh, 2001). In fact, little distinction is made between CA and MSA. Heath (1998) pointed out MSA and CA are considered two forms or two registers of one language and hence they are both called (Al-Fushā, ٱلْفُصْحَىٰ) which means 'the most elegant' or 'the purest' (Versteegh, 2001; Heath, 1998). On the other hand, Heath added that MSA differs from CA in that it either synthesizes words from Arabic roots or adapts words from European languages to describe industrial and post-industrial life (Heath, 1998).

Generally speaking, Arabic language, which is named after the Arabs, is a Semitic language (languages' family originating in the Middle East, also known as Syro-Arabian languages) within the Afro-asiatic family (a large language family of about 300 languages that are spoken predominantly in West Asia, North Africa, the Horn of Africa and parts of the Sahel) originating in the Arabian Peninsula. It emerged in the 1st to 4th centuries CE. Arabic and Arabic varieties are the linguistic systems that Arabic speakers speak natively. In fact, Arabic is considered by many linguists as the lingua franca, i.e., the bridge language or common language, of the Arab world. Arabic, in its standard form, is the official language of (22) states (Arab countries which are the members of the Arab League) stretching from Mauritania in the west to Iraq in the east and it is one of six official languages of the United Nations. Around 250 million speakers speak Arabic today. Besides, it is the liturgical language of Islam and 1.8 billion Muslims, since the Quran and Hadith were written in Arabic (Al-Wer, 2018; Watson, 2011; Kamusella, 2017; Bhabani. 1981; Simons & Charles, 2018).

Zaidan & Callison-Burch (2012: 1) said that "MSA is the only variety that is standardized, regulated, and taught in schools, necessitated by its use in written communication and formal venues. The regional dialects, used primarily for day-to-day dealings and spoken communication, remain somewhat absent from written communication compared to MSA. That said, it is certainly possible to produce dialectal Arabic text, by using the same letters used in MSA and the same (mostly phonetic) spelling rules of MSA. One domain of written communication in which both MSA and dialectal Arabic are commonly used is the online domain: dialectal Arabic has a strong presence in blogs, forums, chatrooms, and user/reader commentary".

Arabic Dialects

MSA differs significantly from many vernacular varieties of Arabic (A vernacular, also called vernacular dialect and non-standard dialect, is speech variety used in everyday life and everyday speaking situations by the general population in a geographical or social territory. The vernacular is contrasted with higher-prestige forms of language. In the context of language standardization, the vernacular language is seen as a language that has not developed a standard variety, undergone codification, or established a literary tradition (Bex, 1999; Fodde, 2002). Moreover, the vernacular is usually native, normally spoken informally rather than written, and seen as of lower status than more codified forms. Vernacular can be a regional dialect or even a distinct stylistic register (Bex, 1999)).

It is worth emphasizing that *a differentiation should be made between* the terms 'register' and 'vernacular'. Register, in sociolinguistics, refers to a linguistic system or a variety of language defined according to the purpose/context of its use (a language variation defined by use not user). In other words, it is a variety of a language used for a particular purpose or in a particular social setting, in a particular communicative situation, and/or a way of speaking or writing including vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation chosen by individuals to express themselves depending on the circumstances they speak: high register (formal occasions like parliamentary speech, official documents, celebrations), low register (informal occasions, conversations among family or friends' group). An example on register is when speaking officially or in a public setting, some English speakers tend to be formal. Thus, they pronounce words ending in -*ing* with a velar nasal instead of an alveolar nasal (e.g. '*walking*', not '*walkin*'). They also tend to refrain from using words considered nonstandard, such as '*ain't*' as well as they choose words that are considered more "formal" (such as *father* vs. *dad*, or *child* vs. *kid*). Further, there are also many in-between registers and specialized occasions like religious services, sport events, and so on (Crystal & Davy, 1969; *Agha, 2008;* Gregory, 1967). On the other hand, the

vernacular (i.e., vernacular language), generally refers to a speech variety of a language that is a characteristic of a particular group of the language's speakers. It is also defined as a linguistic system defined according to the individuals who use it. Vernacular is used in everyday life by the general population in a geographical or social territory *(Yule, 2016)*. Vernacular, which can the form of a distinct stylistic register, and a regional dialect, is usually native, normally spoken informally rather than written, and seen as of lower status than more codified forms. A vernacular is a non-standard dialect, i.e., it has not developed a standard variety, undergone codification, or established a literary tradition *(Van Keulen, et al, 1998; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998)*. Despite the discrepancies in the use of the terms 'register' and 'vernacular', however it can be said that 'register' is included in the 'vernacular'; as the way, the phrases, the polite conventions, the formal speak or informal slang are all belong and probably characterize the dialect. To sum up, *Budiarsa (2015) pointed out that the language variation can be in the form of dialects and register. language variation according to the use is called register; whereas language variation according to the user is called dialect. Firstly, the dialect of a language correlates with such social factors such as socio-economic status, age, occupation of the speakers. Dialect is a variety of a particular language which is used by a particular group of speakers that is signaled by systematic markers such as syntactical, phonological, grammatical markers. Dialects which are normally found in the speech community may be in the forms of regional dialect and social dialect. Secondly, the register is the variation of language according to the use. It means that where the language is used as a means of communication for certain purposes. It depends entirely on the domain of language used. It is also a function of all the other components of speech situation. A formal setting may condition a formal register, characterized by particular lexical items. The informal setting may be reflected in casual register that indicates less formal vocabulary, more non-standard features, greater instances of stigmatized variables, and so on.*

The diverging vernacular varieties of Arabic are commonly spoken as mother tongues in several geographical areas. However, the vernacular varieties of Arabic are only partially mutually intelligible with both MSA and with each other depending on their proximity in the Arabic dialect continuum. A dialect continuum (also called a dialect chain), according to Bloomfield (1935), is a spread of language varieties spoken across some geographical area including neighboring language varieties which slightly differ among each other. In other words, a dialect continuum is a network of dialects in which geographically adjacent dialects are mutually comprehensible, but with comprehensibility steadily decreasing as distance between the dialects increases. Böcü (2013) pointed out that geographical dialect continua are caused by the geographical distances between linguistic communities. However, over distance, the widely separated language varieties may not be mutually intelligible, i.e., there are considerable variations in terms of the Arabic varieties from region to region, with degrees of mutual intelligibility and some are mutually unintelligible; e.g., varieties of Arabic across north Africa and southwest Asia). On the same line, *Jenkins (2000) added that* the colloquial or dialectal Arabic is the collective term for the spoken dialects of Arabic. Colloquial Arabic has many regional variants; geographically distant varieties usually differ enough to be mutually unintelligible, and some linguists consider them distinct languages. The varieties are typically unwritten. Further, they are often used in informal spoken media, such as soap operas and talk shows.

Similarly, MEA (2020) stated that the spoken Arabic (also called "Colloquial Arabic", or simply "Arabic Dialects") differs from Modern Standard Arabic in the following: 1) the grammatical structure is simpler, 2) some letters are pronounced differently, and pronunciation also differs between dialects, 3) some words and expressions are more or less unique to their

respective dialects, 4) spoken Arabic only occurs in written form when a humorist or popular touch is desired, and 5) the vocabulary and style are more casual. Slang words and expressions are used that don't have equivalents in Modern Standard Arabic.

"Unlike MSA, a regional dialect does not have an explicit written set of grammar rules regulated by an authoritative organization, but there is certainly a concept of grammatical and ungrammatical. Furthermore, even though they are 'spoken' varieties, it is certainly possible to produce dialectal Arabic text, by spelling out words using the same spelling rules used in MSA, which are mostly phonetic" (Zaidan & Callison-Burch, 2012: p. 2).

According to Watson (2011), the degree of synchronic (having reference to the facts of a linguistic system as it exists at one point in time without reference to its history) and diachronic (relating to the changes in a linguistic system between successive points in time; historical) variation attested in the Arabic dialects makes Arabic the most important Semitic language today.

Scholars distinguish about fifty Arabic varieties grouped in six conventional clusters, namely, Maghrebi, Egyptian, Sudanese, Peninsular (that is, of the Arab Peninsula), Levantine, and Mesopotamian (Behnstedt and Woidich 2005). In addition, according to MEA (2020), the spoken Arabic can be broadly categorized into the following, main dialect groups: 1) North African Arabic (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya), 2) Hassaniya Arabic (Mauritania), 3) Egyptian Arabic, 4) Levantine Arabic (Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine), 5) Iraqi Arabic, 6) Gulf Arabic (Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, the U.A.E. and Oman), 7) Hejazi Arabic (Western Saudi Arabia), 8) Najdi Arabic (Central Saudi Arabia), and 9) Yemeni Arabic (Yemen & southwestern Saudi Arabia).

A more comprehensive briefing of the Arabic dialects was presented by (Eberhard, et al 2020; Al-Jallad, 2011; Ferguson, 1959; *Holes, 2001;* Hoberman, 2007; Lipinski, 1997; Watson, 2002; Rydin, 2005; Clive, 2004; Nizar, 2010; Raymond & Gordon, 2005), who stated that the Arabic dialects include: 1) Egyptian Arabic dialect, which is one of the most understood varieties of Arabic, due in large part to the widespread distribution of Egyptian films and television shows throughout the Arabic-speaking world; 2) Levantine Arabic dialects, which are spoken by people in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Particularly, they consist of: a) The Jordanian Arabic dialect which is a continuum of mutually intelligible varieties of Levantine Arabic spoken by the population of the Kingdom of Jordan, b) The Lebanese Arabic dialect which is a variety of Levantine Arabic spoken primarily in Lebanon, c) The Syrian Arabic dialect which is a variety of Levantine Arabic spoken primarily in Syria, and d) The Palestinian Arabic dialect is a name of several dialects of the subgroup of Levantine Arabic spoken by the Palestinians in Palestine, by Arab citizens of Israel and in most Palestinian populations around the world; 3) Maghrebi Arabic (also called *Darija* or Western Arabic), which is spoken by people in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Libya. Maghrebi Arabic is very hard to understand for Arabic speakers from other Arab countries and including those in the Mesopotamia (the historical region of Western Asia situated within the Tigris–Euphrates river system). The most comprehensible dialect among these is the Libyan Arabic and the most difficult one is the Moroccan Arabic and Algerian Arabic. Particularly, the Darija dialect includes: a) Libyan Arabic dialect spoken in Libya and neighboring countries, b) Tunisian Arabic dialect spoken in Tunisia and North-eastern Algeria, c) Algerian Arabic dialect spoken in Algeria, d) Moroccan Arabic dialect spoken in Morocco, and e) Hassaniya Arabic dialect spoken by 3 million speakers in Mauritania, Western Sahara, some parts of the Azawad in northern Mali, southern Morocco and south-western Algeria; 4) Mesopotamian Arabic dialect, which is spoken by people in Iraq, eastern Syria, southwestern Iran (Khuzestan), and in the Iranian province of Khorasan; 5) Sudanese Arabic dialect, which is spoken by people in Sudan and some parts of southern Egypt. Sudanese Arabic dialect is

quite distinct from the dialect of its neighbor to the north; rather, the Sudanese have a dialect similar to the Hejazi dialect. Sudanese Arabic includes also the Juba Arabic dialect which is spoken in South Sudan and southern Sudan; 6) Gulf Arabic dialect, which is predominantly spoken in Eastern Arabia around the coasts of the Arabian Gulf in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar (Although Gulf Arabic dialect is spoken in Qatar, most Qatari citizens speak Najdi Arabic dialect (also called *Badawi or Bedouin*), some parts of the United Arab Emirates (UAE), eastern Province in Saudi Arabia, Basra and Muthanna Governorates in southern Iraq, northern Oman and by Iranian Arabs in the city of Ahvaz in the southwest of Iran and in the Iranian provinces of Bushehr, Hormozgan, Khuzestan, and Khorasan; 7) Najdi Arabic dialect, which is mainly spoken in Najd, central and northern Saudi Arabia; 8) Hejazi Arabic dialect, which is spoken in Hejaz, western Saudi Arabia; 9) Hadhrami Arabic dialect, which is predominantly spoken in Hadhramaut region in South Arabia and in parts of the Arabian Peninsula, South and Southeast Asia, and East Africa by Hadhrami descendants; 10) Yemeni Arabic dialect, which is spoken in Yemen, and southern Saudi Arabia; 11) Saharan Arabic dialect, which is spoken in some parts of Algeria, Niger and Mali; 12) Bahrani Arabic dialect, which is primarily spoken by Bahrani Shi'ah in the Shi'ah villages and some parts of Manama in the Kingdom of Bahrain and in the governorate of Qatif in Eastern Province, Saudi Arabia. he dialect exhibits many big differences from Gulf Arabic. Bahrani Arabic dialect is also spoken to a lesser extent in Oman; 13) Chadian Arabic dialect, which is spoken in Chad, Sudan, and in some parts of South Sudan, Central African Republic, Niger, Nigeria, and Cameroon.
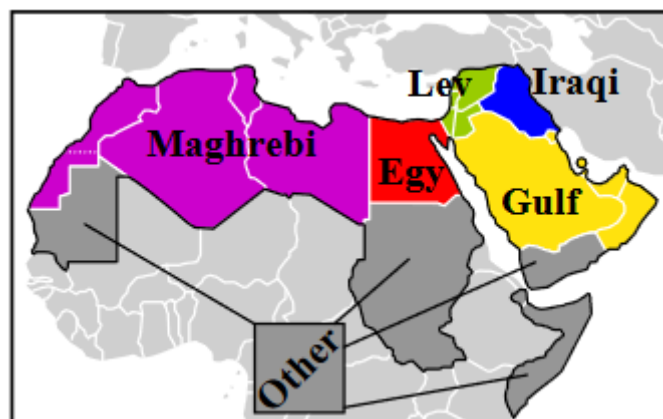

Figure 1: *One possible breakdown of spoken Arabic into dialect groups: Maghrebi, Egyptian, Levantine, Gulf, and Iraqi. (Habash, 2010 and Versteegh, 2001 in Zaidan & Callison-Burch, 2012: p. 3) give a breakdown along mostly the same lines. Note that this is a relatively coarse breakdown, and further division of the dialect groups is possible, especially in large regions such as the Maghreb.*

Historically, according to Watson (2011), Arabic dialects have developed and diverged as a partial result of two types of movement: a gradual and at times spontaneous sociological movement in terms of lifestyle, resulting in an historical shift from tribal/semi-nomadic society to a settled society with, in many areas, ethnic plurality (Eksell 1995); and small- and large-scale population movements both within and without the Peninsula, effectively since the beginning of time. People from different tribes and sub-tribes were, and continue to be, brought together by religious pilgrimages, trade caravans, the need for new pastures, weekly markets, alliances and, until today, migratory work. This movement has also brought Arabic speakers into linguistic contact with many other languages. With few, if any, exceptions, Arabic dialects, therefore, have never been in a state of total isolation.

It is worth mentioning that Arabic usually occurs, in its natural environment, in a situation of diglossia (derived from Greek *diglōssos* 'bilingual'. Diglossia, according to Lexico (2020), is defined as a situation in which two languages (or two varieties of the same language) are used under different conditions within a single language community, often by the same speakers. In other words, diglossia involves the use of two varieties of the same language by the same society for different functions. The term diglossia is usually applied to languages with distinct 'high' and 'low' colloquial varieties, such as Arabic. The original concept of diglossia goes back to Charles Ferguson (1959). The original description of diglossia according to Ferguson (1959: 435) is: "Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation." (In Wei 2000: 75). *Ferguson (1959) added that in the context of* diglossia, there is firstly a vernacular language variety (labeled "L" or "low" variety) which is used in the community's everyday conversations and secondly there is a highly codified variety (labeled "H" or "high") which is used in certain situations such as literature, formal education, or other specific settings, but not used normally for ordinary conversation. In most cases, the H variety has no native speakers but various degrees of fluency of the community in which the two languages exist). Finally, according to Myers-Scotton (1993a) and Saeed (1997), High and Low varieties of the same language may be used by the same speaker within a single interaction, especially in situations of conflict, emotion or persuasion.

Sayahi (2014) stated that an example of diglossia is the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) alongside other varieties of Arabic. Arabic language native speakers often learn and use two linguistic forms/varieties substantially different from each other, the Modern Standard Arabic as the official language and a local colloquial variety, in different aspects of their lives. The two linguistic forms/varieties are always divergent and hence they are not mutually intelligible although sometimes they may be closely related. The low prestigious Arabic varieties are the original mother tongue in the Arab countries. They are used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation. Their spheres of use involve informal, interpersonal communication, i.e., conversation in the home, among friends, in marketplaces, etc. On the other hand, the high prestigious Arabic varieties are highly codified and grammatically complicated superposed varieties which are learned largely by formal education and are used for most written and formal spoken purposes. Socially, each of the two Arabic linguistic varieties has certain spheres of social interaction assigned to it and in the assigned spheres, it is the only socially acceptable variety 'or dialect'. In other words, there is always a "socially constructed hierarchy, indexed from low to high (*Ricento, 2012). Sayahi (2014)* added that the differences between the two varieties in the diglossic situation may involve pronunciation, lexicon, and syntax. Furthermore, the Arabic high variant (H) is usually the written language whereas the Arabic low variant (L) is the spoken language. In formal situations, (H) is used; in informal situations, (L) is used (ibid).

Finally, Ricento (2012) argued that the diglossic societies are characterized by extreme inequality of social classes. A social class according to Ash (2002: 402) is seen as a central concept in sociolinguistic research. Social class is determined based on quantifiable independent variables and hence individuals are placed in a social hierarchy. In other words, social classes are the outcome of social stratification in which individuals are grouped into a set of hierarchical social categories, which include the upper, middle and lower classes, based on

socioeconomic factors like property and wealth, income, race, education, ethnicity, gender, occupation, social status, or derived power whether social or political Saunders, 1990; Grusky, 2014).

Ricento added that in the diglossic societies, most people are not proficient in speaking the high dialect, and if the high dialect is grammatically different enough, as in the case of Arabic diglossia, these uneducated classes cannot understand most of the public speeches that they might hear on television and radio. The high prestige dialect (or language) tends to be the more formalized, and its forms and vocabulary often 'filter down' into the vernacular though often in a changed form (2002).

The Jordanian Arabic Dialects and their geographical distribution
The Country Profile: Jordan
Jordan (officially the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan), took its name from the Jordan River, is an Arab country (the capital, Amman) bordered by Saudi Arabia to the south and the east, Iraq to the north-east, Syria to the north and Palestine to the west (*McColl, 2014; Teller, 2006: 2009).* Jordan, which is a founding member of the Arab League and the Organisation of Islamic Co-operation, became an independent state in 1946. With an area of 89,342 km^2 and a population numbering 10 million, Jordan is considered as the 11th-most populous Arab country (Abu Nowar, 1997; *Al-Bihairi, 1991; Al-Dhahir, 2005)*

As for Jordan's religious demography, Sunni Islam is the official and dominant religion of the country which is practiced by around 97.2 % of the population. Islam coexists with an indigenous Christian minority (Jordan contains some of the oldest Christian communities in the world that make up about 2.2% of the population (State.gov, 2018*).* In addition, other smaller religious minorities constituting less than 1% of the population exist in Jordan such as: 1) Druze, who live in the eastern town of Azraq, the city of Zarqa, and in some villages on the Syrian border; 2) Bahá'ís, who live in the village of Adassiyeh; 3) Mandaeans, who came from Iraq after the 2003 invasion and currently live in the capital Amman; and 4) Shia who also came from Iraq after the 2003 invasion and currently live in the capital Amman (*Castellino, 2013;* State.gov, 2018; The World Factbook, 2020*).*

As for Jordan's administrative divisions, the country is divided into 12 subdivisions, which are officially called governorates (Arabic: *muhafazah*). These governorates are informally grouped into three regions: northern, central, southern. These are subdivided into a total of 52 districts (Arabic: *Liwaa*), which are further subdivided into sub-districts (Arabic: *Qda*) which represent neighborhoods in urban areas and towns in rural areas. Above all, each administrative unit is controlled by and administrative center (Arabic: *Nahia*) (Al-Jaber, 2010; The world bank, 2005; Al-Bihairi, 1991; Al-Dhahir, 2005).

As for the country's Demographics, the 2015 census, according to Ghazal (2016) and Abu-Ain (2016), showed Jordan's population to be 9,531,712 (Female: 47%; Males: 53%). Around 2.9 million (30%) were non-citizens, a figure including refugees, and illegal immigrants. Arabs make up about 98% of the population. The remaining 2% consists of: 1) The Circassians (also known as Adyghe): A Northwest Caucasian Muslim ethnic group native to Circassia. They live in the vicinity of the capital Amman and in its surrounding villages; 2) Armenians: An ethnic group native to Anatolia and Cilicia. They are the descendants of Armenians that sought refuge in the Levant during 1915. The majority of the Armenians lives in the capital Amman, with a few families in Irbid, Aqaba, Madaba and Zarqa; 3) Chechens: A Northeast Caucasian ethnic group of the Nakh peoples (also called Nokhchiy) originating in the North Caucasus region primarily in Eastern Europe, particularly, from the valleys of the Caucasus Mountains of southern Russia between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea. Chechens live in in the area of

Azraq, an oasis in the western desert of Jordan (110 kilometers far from Amman); 4) *Nawar* (also known as *Middle Eastern Gypsies* and *Dom people*): An Indo-Aryan ethnic group with origins in the Northern Indian subcontinent. This ethnic group is associated with itinerant ethnic group called the Rom/Roma/Romani people of the same origin, however the Rom group is the largest among the two groups. Yet, both groups are called Nawar in Jordan. Nawar community live in an itinerant, semi-nomadic lifestyle on the edge of neighborhoods in the Jordanian capital; Amman; 5) The Druze: An Arabic-speaking esoteric ethnoreligious group originating in Western Asia. They live mainly in the Azraq Oasis. They also live in the rural, mountainous areas north and west of the capital, Amman and in other areas such as Zarqa, Russiefa, Umm Al-Quttein, Aqaba and Mafraq; and 6) other smaller minority groups in Jordan, about 84.1% of the population live in urban areas (Nahhas, 2015; Abu-Ain, 2016; Berland & Rao, 2004; Law, 2014; The World Factbook, 2020; *Salibi, 1998; Robins, 2004; Teller, 2009; Abu Nowar, 1997).* Since 1948, Jordan has accepted refugees from several neighboring countries in conflict. The refugees are: 1) an approximate number of 2.1 million to 2,175,491 million Palestinian refugees who arrived during the 1948 Arab–Israeli War (most of them were later granted Jordanian citizenship) and those who arrived after The Six-Day War (also known as the June War, 1967 Arab–Israeli War) and the Gulf War in 1990. Nowadays, around 370,000 Palestinian refugees still live in ten refugee camps in Jordan; 2) around 1 million Iraqis who arrived during and after the Iraq War in 2003 (the majority of them returned to Iraq and 130,911 –including 150,000 of Iraqi Assyrian and Chaldean Christians and 30,000 Kurds, - are still in Jordan); 3) over 1.4 million Syrian refugees are present in Jordan as of a 2015 census. Most of the refugees fled to Jordan to escape from the violence in Syria. The majority of them live in the Jordanian cities and some of them are still living in camps. Furthermore, Jordan *has witnessed* successive *waves* of mass *immigration including the immigration of: 1)* 15,000 Lebanese who arrived to Jordan following the 2006 Lebanon War; and 2) thousands of Libyans, Yemenis and Sudanese have also sought asylum in Jordan to escape instability and violence in their respective countries. At the present time, 1,265,000 Syrians, 636,270 Egyptians, 634,182 Palestinians, 130,911 Iraqis, 31,163 Yemenis, 22,700 Libyans and 197,385 from other nationalities residing in the country. Besides, there are around 1.2 million illegal and 500,000 legal migrant workers in the kingdom *(Vela, 2015; Ghazal, 2016; Abu-Toameh, 2009; Pattison, 2010; Hourani,2006; Salibi, 1998; Robins, 2004; Teller, 2009; Ireland, 2007; Al-Khatib & Al-Ali, 2010; Malkawi, 2015:2016).*

Jordan's Liguistic Profile
The official language spoken by the population of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is the Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), however, the majority of Jordanians, around 6 million people, natively speak one of the Jordanian Arabic non-standard dialects. Jordanian Arabic is classified as a South Levantine Arabic. In addition, the Jordanian Arabic consists of several Semitic varieties, i.e., dialects. which are understood throughout the Levant (a large area in the Eastern Mediterranean region of Western Asia that includes Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine), and in other Arabic-speaking regions (Racoma, 2015; Linguaphile, 2016; Shoup, 2007; Abu-Ain, 2016; Abu-Abbas, 2003; Abd-Eljawad, 1986b).

In fact, Arabic Jordanian dialects are vernacular spoken varieties that were originally descended from Classical Arabic(CA) which is no longer spoken natively nowadays in Jordan. Yet, the modernized version of CA, i.e., Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is written and taught in schools and universities and used in formal communications. It is also used in formal environments and academic institutions like in education, cultural talks, official institutions, courts, parliament, etc., and delivered in official and academic media programs (Abu-Shihab, 2015; Alotaibi & Muhammad, 2010; Al-Sughayer, 1990; Omari & Herk, 2016).

Along with Jordanian Arabic, other non-Arabic languages and dialects are spoken by Chechen, Circassian, and Armenian minorities who live in Jordan. Furthermore, English, according to **Ammon, *et al*. (2006)** is widely spoken throughout the country, although it does not have an official status, and it is to some extent considered as the de facto language (*de facto* is a description of the case in which a certain practice exists in reality, even though it is not officially recognized by laws or government) of commerce, business, banking, media, and scientific studies, as well as a co-official status in the educational sector in Jordan, along with Standard Arabic. In similar context, Drbseh (2013) indicated that English was the first and the prior foreign language to be taught, alongside Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), in Jordan, during the occupation of Great Britain which lasted from 1916 until the independence in 1946. After the independence, English became a mandatory subject at an early stage in schools and in higher educational institutions. And since a good proficiency of English is necessary to compete in the job market in Jordan, this has given the English language a unique position in the country. Linguaphile (2016) asserted that English language has recently started to compete with Arabic in Jordan and in many other Arab countries, especially in the past ten years, and this is due to the massive number of Arabic-speaking individuals who use the Internet. In fact, 40% of Arabic speakers are online these days and their exposure is mainly to English language since only 1% of the Internet's entire content is in Arabic and the 99% is in English.

It is worth emphasizing that the Jordanian Arabic includes many borrowed words which have foreign origins such as (Abu-Shihab, 2016: 285): 1) Words borrowed from English language, e.g., /radjo/ radio;/panʃar/puncture ;/televizjon/ television ;/filim/film, etc.; 2) Words borrowed from Turkish language, e.g., /kundara/ shoes; /darabzin/ banister; /xazuq/ pole; /boza/ ice-cream, etc. In the same line, Al-Btoush (2014) and Hammarström, Forkel, & Haspelmath (2017) mentioned that there are many loanwords that are integrated into the colloquial Jordanian Arabic from various languages such as English French, Turkish, and Persian.

According to Hammarström, Forkel, and Haspelmath (2017), there is a common Jordanian dialect that is mutually understood by most Jordanians, however there is a regional variation in terms of the daily spoken language, i.e., the Jordanian Arabic varieties, throughout the country which is reflected on the vocabulary and pronunciation of these dialectal varieties. Hammarström, *et al* added that there are five varieties of the Jordanian Arabic, namely: 1) Hybrid variety (Modern Jordanian): this variety is mainly spoken in the capital Amman. The emergence of this variety was caused by the merger of the varieties of the populations who moved to Amman from northern and southern regions of the country and later from the merger of the Palestinian variety after the Palestinian refugees came to Jordan. As a result, features of the varieties spoken by these populations were mixed with the original Jordanian Arabic and created this hybrid variety; 2) Northern varieties: which is mostly spoken in the far north of the country, particularly in the area from Amman to Irbid. There are several Northern local varieties which are all part of the southern dialect of the Levantine Arabic language; 3) Southern variety (also called Moab; named after the ancient Moab kingdom that was located in southern Jordan): this variety is spoken in south cities of the country such as the city of Karak, Tafilah, Shoubak, and Ma'an, as well as in the countryside of these cities. The Southern variety varies from a city to another and even from a village to another. Finally, this variety belongs to the outer southern dialect of the Levantine Arabic language; 4) The Bedouin variety (Also called the Northwest Arabian Arabic): this variety belongs to the Badawi Arabic. It is spoken by Bedouins (*also called Badw; according to Dostal (1967), Bedouins or Badw are the population of nomadic Arabs who have historically inhabited the desert regions in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Upper Mesopotamia and the Levant*) mostly in the desert east of the Jordanian high plateau and mountains, as well as in some of the towns and villages in the Badia, i.e., desert,

region in the east of the country; 5) Aqaba variety: which is spoken in the Gulf of Aqaba. The natives of the Gulf of Aqaba area are originally Bedouins who have their own dialect. In addition, there are also many people from other parts of Jordan who came to live and work in Aqaba and they have their own dialectal varieties. However, the Aqaba variety nowadays has become similar to either the Palestinian and Egyptian dialects due to the geographical proximity of these dialects across the Red Sea (ibid).

On the other hand, Abd-Eljawad (1987) pointed out that the linguistic environment of Arabic language in Jordan consists of the local varieties spoken in Jordan which are divided into three main types: 1) the urban dialect, which is mainly spoken by city dwellers who came to Jordan from neighboring urban centers including Palestinians, Lebanese, and Syrians. Speakers of this dialect reside mainly in Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid. The urban dialect has more than one variety; 2) the rural dialect, which spreads in the villages and suburbs of the main cities in Jordan. The rural dialect has more than one variety; and 3) the Bedouin dialect, which is spoken by members of different Jordanian tribes who live in nomadic lifestyle in northeastern, eastern, and southern deserts in Jordan. The Bedouin dialect has more than one variety (Abd-Eljawad, 1987). Further, Abd-Eljawad asserted that the urban dialect is prestigious relative to both the rural and Bedouin dialects which are labeled as stigmatized and talks of covert prestige (ibid). it is worth mentioning that the three previous mentioned dialects were classified based on many criteria including the social and economic diversities in the kingdom and the geographical boundaries. Jordanian Arabic, like in the rest of all Arab countries, is characterized by diglossia or what is called by Ferguson (1968) as 'the classical-colloquial diglossia'; in a sense that Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the official language used in most written documents, poetry and historical phrases, media, literature, official speeches, and any other formal contexts, while daily conversation is conducted using the Jordanian local colloquial varieties. In other words, the linguistic environment in the Jordanian cities is considered diglossic through which both the rural and urban dialects spoken in these cities are in daily contact (Alrabab'ah, 2018).

The term diglossia was used by Ferguson to refer to those situations in which two or more language varieties are used differently by the same speakers under different conditions and within a single geographical area. It was initially used in connection with a society that recognized two or more languages for internal (intra-societal) communication. The use of separate codes within a single society depends on each code's serving a function distinct from those considered distinct for the others. This separation was most often along the lines of high (H) and low (L) languages (Fishman, 1965).

Alrabab'ah added that the dialect contact between the Jordanian rural and urban Arabic dialects has increased dramatically in the Jordanian community due to urbanization (ibid), which is one of the main factors that normally leads to dialect contact (Britain, 2010). Urbanization is defined as the process in which more and more people start to live and work in towns and cities rather than in the country (Oxford Learners Dictionaries, 2020). Cecilia, McGranahan, and Satterthwaite (2015) mentioned that the phenomenon of urbanization refers to the population shift from rural to urban areas. It also refers to the process by which the proportion of people living in rural areas is decreased, and how societies adapt to this linguistic change. Similarly, Britain (2010) asserted that urbanization encourages rural inhabitants in the villages to move to the city to study at the newly-built universities, to work in governmental and private sector jobs, and to live in modernized cities where the main infrastructure facilities are provided and are easily accessible.

As a result of the dialect contact that is caused by urbanization, the local Jordanian Arabic dialects *were dramatically influenced*. Abd-Eljawad (1987) argued that the urban dialect

spoken in Jordan is considered the most prestigious dialect by Jordanians. This allowed this dialect to have considerable influence over the localized rural and bedioun dialects.

In fact, this influence is caused by a process called a regional dialect levelling (also known as supralocalization) to take place. Supralocalization or levelling is defined as the process by which, as a result of mobility and dialect contact, linguistic variants with a wider socio-spatial currency (also known as supralocal regional dialect), which is the urban variety in this case, become more widely adopted at the expense of more locally specific forms, which are the rural and bedioun dialects (Britain, 2010). In other words, through supralocalization, one variant emerges victorious from the mixing of many different dialect variants of the same variable, as well as local regional words or phrases are replaced with those having a wider currency, i.e., general acceptance or recognition.

For example, the Jordanian Rural Arabic dialects spoken in the adjacent suburbs and villages of the city of Irbid are considered different from the urban dialect spoken in the city although both the rural and urban dialects of Irbid and its suburbs are in a geographically close contact. Abd-Eljawad (1987) claimed that the urban variety in Irbid is considered the most prestigious and it is widely used by the majority of Jordanians due to its highly prestigious position. On the same line, Abu-Shihab (2015) argued that due to the close contact between the urban and rural dialects in Irbid which is mainly caused by urbanization, a dialectal shift and change has taken place and leveling was initiated among the residents of the city. Similarly, Al-wer (2000) said that the urban and rural dialects in Jordan have two different phonetic and phonological systems; therefore, it is expected that the variants of one dialect or both will be exposed to dialect change or leveling because of dialect contact between them. Thus, it is expected that some linguistic features of the rural localized dialects will be converged or leveled under the effect of the more prestigious urban dialect (Alrabab'ah, 2018). Hence, various impacts of the urban dialect, such as the phonological impact, will affect the localized rural variety. An example on this phenomenon is the ascendance of a non-standard, geographically and socially widespread supralocal variant of /k/ in the urban Arabic dialect spoken in Irbid city at the expense of the much more localized variant /tʃ/ in the rural Arabic dialects spoken in Irbid and its suburbs and villages.

From a broader perspective, the Jordanian Arabic dialect has witnessed an extensive demographic change in the past few decades due to the Palestinians' migration to Jordan which resulted in a dialect contact situation between the Jordanian Arabic urban dialect and the Palestinian Arabic urban dialect (Shbaikat, 2006). As a result of this contact, features of the varieties spoken by these populations were mixed with the original Jordanian Arabic and created a dominant urban dialect that is spoken in the Jordanian urban areas nowadays. This newly emerging dominant dialect (also called '*Hybrid variety*' or '*Modern Jordanian*' according to Hammarström, Forkel, and Haspelmath, 2017), consists of a mixture of the original Jordanian urban dialect and the Palestinian urban dialect that is originally descended from Palestine that eventually came in contact (Al-Masaeed, 2012).

Conclusion

The findings of the current research paper conclude that due to several influential factors; including social stratification and geographical factors, today the original Jordanian dialects struggle to survive. In addition, the Jordanian chain of dialects witness a case of dialect continuum. The geographical range is marked by extreme dialectal differences between the main dialects in Jordan in all fields of phonology, morphology and lexicon, but without grammatical differences. Hence, to some extent, some breaks in intelligibility, i.e., mutual understanding, between geographically adjacent Jordanian dialects along the continuum can be

found. So, notwithstanding that the Jordanian Arabic is composed of three linguistic varieties, i.e., the urban, rural, and bedouin dialects, however, due to the wide divergence between these varieties, they could only satisfy the minimum criterion of mutual intelligibility, which is eventually reflected on impairing the ability of any Jordanian, no matter of his/her dialectal background, to fully interact with members of other linguistic groups in the larger speech community of Jordan.

Furthermore, despite the fact that Arabic is a diglossic language in its nature in a sense that it involves the coexistence of a high variety (i.e., Standard Arabic, which is the standardized literary form of the Arabic language that is associated with more formal situations), and Low variety (i.e., Arabic dialects or vernaculars, which are usually the mother tongues of their speakers and which are associated with informal situations and always used for everyday conversation), and despite the other fact that the Jordanian Arabic is also characterized by diglossia in a sense that Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the official language used in the country while daily conversation is conducted using the Jordanian local colloquial varieties, i.e., urban, rural, and bedouin dialects, nonetheless, in the Jordanian Arabic context, the study found that diglossia has another form beyond the standard taxonomy of diglossia suggested by Charles Ferguson (1959), who argued that the H-variety and the L-variety have to be two divergent forms of the same language which are above the level of a standard-with-dialects distinction, but which stay below the level of two separate (related or unrelated) languages. Similarly, the taxonomy of diglossia suggested by Ferguson (1959) differs from the new diglossic situation found in the Jordanian Arabic. Ferguson (1959: 336) said that: "diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation".

In fact, the new diglossic situation in the Jordanian Arabic, revealed by the current study, is called the '*diglossic code-switching*'. The process of code-switching (also called code-mixing and style-shifting) in the diglossia context is defined by Nordquist (2019) as the practice of moving back and forth between two languages (more often in conversation than in writing) or between two dialects or registers of the same language in a single conversation and at one time. Besides, in code-switching, which is a natural product of the bilinguals' interaction in two or more languages and/or language's varieties in multilingual and multicultural communities, speakers may switch from one code to another either to show solidarity with a social group, to distinguish oneself, to participate in social encounters, to discuss a certain topic, to express feelings and affections, or to impress and persuade the audience. Although code-switching tends to occur between Classical Arabic (SA) and the Jordanian Arabic colloquial varieties in different formal speech situations such as education, political speech, and religious discourse, yet, in a different fashion, code-switching can also occur between two Jordanian colloquial varieties alone, rather than the code-switching between Classical Arabic and Jordanian colloquial varieties. The revealed distinct diglossic code-switching situation in the Jordanian Arabic can be seen in the different uses of 'high' and 'low' Jordanian local colloquial varieties (without broaching the Classical Arabic) by the Jordanians under different conditions for different functions. This goes in line with Myers-Scotton's (1995) argument in which she stated that code-switching, which is socially motivated, can occur in two cases; the switching between two distinctly different languages (described as 'classic code-switching') and the switching between two or more closely related varieties, i.e., linguistic codes (described as 'composite

code-switching'). Myers-Scotton's (1995) stated that the code-switching in the Arabic-speaking countries may take the form of 'composite code-switching'.

In light on the previous mentioned diglossic situation in the Jordanian Arabic and in spite of the case of dialect continuum witnessed by the Jordanian chain of dialects and the breaks in intelligibility between the geographically adjacent Jordanian dialects along the continuum, however the various dialects and registers spoken in the Jordanian cities are in an ongoing process of daily contact. This contact has increased dramatically in the Jordanian community due to urbanization which is one of the main factors that normally leads to dialect contact. In fact, the population of many rural cities in Jordan have shifted to urban areas and thus the urban societies had to adapt to this linguistic change. The contact has also increased due to the Palestinians' migration to Jordan which resulted in a daily contact between the Jordanian Arabic dialect and the Palestinian Arabic dialect. The Jordanian Arabic dialects *were dramatically influenced and hence they* have witnessed an extensive demographic change due to the previous mentioned factors. Accordingly, a dominant urban dialect was emerged and started to be spoken in the Jordanian urban areas nowadays. This newly emerging intermediate variation in the diglossic repertoires of the Jordanian Arabic (also called '*Hybrid variety*' or '*Modern Jordanian*' according to Hammarström, Forkel, and Haspelmath, 2017), consists of a mixture of the original Jordanian urban dialect and the Palestinian urban dialect that is originally descended from Palestine which both had eventually come in contact. In fact, the emerged dominant urban dialect has started to have considerable influence over the original Jordanian localized urban, rural, and bedioun dialects in the past few decades. Such influence was caused by the process of regional dialect levelling through which the newly emerging dominant urban dialect that has started to have a wider socio-spatial currency and thus became more widely adopted in most of the Jordanian urban areas at the expense of the original Jordanian local colloquial varieties.

As described earlier by the current research paper, the configurations found in the Jordanian Arabic diglossic switching are due to the existence of the three dialectal varieties originally spoken by the Jordanians in several areas, i.e., rural, and bedioun dialects and the existence of the new dominant urban dialect that was emerged and started to be spoken in the Jordanian urban areas nowadays. Admittedly, this dominant dialect has started to have considerable influence over the original Jordanian localized urban, rural, and bedioun dialects, especially the rural and bedioun dialects, which force Jordanians to codeswitch between their native dialectal mother tongues and this dominant urban dialect for social motivated purposes. Such practice of adapting a variety of speech is called 'style shifting' (Labov, 1965), which involves identifying phonological and lexical features (typically a standard and vernacular form) that are routinely produced differently according to the formality of the context. The extent to which the speaker pays attention to his/her speech determines how much he/she moves away from the ordinary or 'natural' way of speaking, and this generally requires moving to a more prestigious or higher status form. Labov added that the speakers' capacity to change something about their way of speaking was related to social parameters and to situations where these parameters mattered. Our linguistic styles are, in other words, bound up with social trends and with our competent use of those linguistic features that have come to be valued by the trends (1965).

This is supported by Gumperz's (1966) argument in which he broadened the concept of diglossia to include variations in dialects and registers, and thus Gumperz came to a conclusion that almost all societies possess diglossia to some extent. Gumperz stated that diglossia exists not only in multilingual societies, but also in societies which recognize several dialects, registers, or functionally differentiated language varieties. Hence, one linguistic variety such as dialect is used for some social functions, while a distinctly different linguistic variety may be

employed for the remaining social functions (Fishman, 1965). Similarly, Auer (1995; 1998; 1999) classified five macro-types of dialect/standard constellations which represent all diglossic situations. Among the five micro-types is the 'spoken diglossia' which can be applied on the Jordanian dialectal diglossic situation. Spoken diglossia is defined as repertoires in which the spoken standard is strictly separated, both structurally and functionally, from the local dialects. Each of these dialectal varieties has specific pragmatic functions, which force speakers to code-switch between them depending on the conversational situation. Additionally, Auer confirmed that another case of diglossia that can be applied on the Jordanian dialectal diglossic situation is called 'the diglossic repertoire' (the word 'repertoire' refers to the totality of linguistic varieties, including all the linguistic varieties such as registers, dialects, styles, accents, etc., used in different social contexts by a particular community of speakers) (Trudgill, 2004). This diglossic case is marked by the subtler shifts carried out by the speaker from a more dialectal variant to a more standard dialect. Such subtler shifts have been accounted for in relation to the attention a speaker devotes to his or her speech (Labov 1972b: 208) and in light of several situational parameters, such as the language use of, the speech partners, and the conversational topic (Bell, 1984; Giles & Powesland 1975). The speaker often carries out a style-shift to construct social meaning and to act out identities which may for instance not be symbolized through the base dialect (Auer 2005).

Jordanians codeswitch between their native dialectal mother tongues and this dominant urban dialect for social motivated purposes. Such practice of adapting a variety of speech is called 'style shifting' (Labov, 1965), which involves identifying phonological and lexical features (typically a standard and vernacular form) that are routinely produced differently according to the formality of the context. Due to social stratification, the extent to which the speaker pays attention to his/her speech determines how much the speaker move away from his/her ordinary or 'natural' way of speaking, and this generally meant moving to a more prestigious or higher status form. Labov added that the speakers' capacity to change something about their way of speaking was related to social parameters and to situations where these parameters mattered. Our linguistic styles are, in other words, bound up with social trends and with our competent use of those linguistic features that have come to be valued by the trends (1965).

In fact, language itself is not uniform or constant. Rather, it is varied and inconsistent for both the individual user and within and among groups of speakers who use the same language. People adjust the way they talk to their social situation. The way of talking also depends not only on the occasion and relationship between the participants, but also on the participants' region, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, age, gender, and most importantly on social class. According to Trudgill (1974), social class, which is a central concept in sociolinguistic research and uniformly included as a variable in sociolinguistic studies, is the ideas and intuitive most members of our society have. It is also defined as the ad hoc way in studies of linguistic variation and change.

In the Jordanian context, the social hierarchy, which is characterized by extreme inequality of social classes as individuals are placed in a social hierarchy, i.e., people are classified into various groups and the status of these groups within the society are decided (Ricento, 2012), resulted in making most Jordanian, especially those from uneducated classes and those living in the rural and bedioun areas, not proficient in speaking the previous mentioned dominant dialect which tends to be of a higher prestige and more formalized. In fact, speakers of low social prestige gradually adapt to high social status forms, although they are seen to have a 'natural' way of speaking, but for the sake of adapting to higher social status conditions. They move from their 'unstyled' speech to a 'styled' version of it. In other words, in a situation where high social prestige matters, people will often change to the prestigious form. Furthermore, the

differences between the two main varieties, i.e., 1) the rural and bedioun dialects which are classified as 'low' Jordanian local colloquial varieties that have their own spheres of social interaction assigned to them and 2) the Jordanian dominant urban dialect, which is classified as 'high' Jordanian local colloquial variety that have its own spheres of social interaction assigned to it, in the diglossic situation mainly involve pronunciation and lexicon, without grammatical differences.

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