

## **Prototypes of Code-switching in the Speech of Romanian/Arabic Bilinguals in Jordan**

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### **Abstract**

This study offers a new look at some linguistic constraints aiming at illustrating the sociolinguistic circumstances of the native Romanian community living in Jordan (ca. 1500 mixed families), the process of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing between spoken Romanian and Arabic. It is based on a conversational analytical approach among four Romanian-Arabic bilingual females currently living in Irbid, a city in Northern Jordan. They have a friendly relationship despite the differences in their socio-economic background. The current paper is rather unique in that it is the first study, as far as we know, on shifting between Arabic and Romanian. It is an attempt to elicit information on bilingual communicative norms, language choice patterns, syntactic and semantic prerogatives. It also attempts to trigger effect and attitudes towards the languages in contact. It is also taken into consideration the inexorable field between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects.

**Keywords:** Code-switching, Arabic, Romanian, Constraints, Conversational analytical approach, Bilingual

### **Introduction:**

Code-switching has been so common in the world for a long time. However, a serious study of this phenomenon probably started with the seminal studies of Scotton (1972) and Bloom and Gumperz (1972). Switching among languages within the same speech community has been observed in most countries of the world, such as the United States, Malaysia, Indonesia, India, and Romania. Speakers of these languages make choice of the appropriate language based on some conditions and constraints. This sort of switching comes as a natural consequence of living in a foreign country due to migration, intermarriage and other reasons. One case of study is switching between Arabic and Romanian in the Romanian speech community of Jordan.

Romanian-Arabic and/or Arabic-Romanian code-switching has not been the object of any substantial or minor studies, probably because the community was so limited, but now we have more and more members of this community. The purpose of this paper is to initiate a more focused type of research involving the contact between Arabic and Romanian in various groups within the Romanian community in Jordan, a country inhabited by approximately 1500 mixed families (native born Romanian women together with their Jordanian husbands and their Jordanian-Romanian children and in many cases their grandchildren).

This paper looks at the code-switching prototypes in the discourse of four Romanian Arabic bilingual females, X, Y, W and Z presently living in Irbid, a city in Northern Jordan. They have a pleasant relationship; they visit each other regularly and call each other almost daily. However their socio-economic background is dissimilar: Y is a well educated urban professional, whereas X is a hairdresser, and comes from a small village in Southern Romania. W has been living for four months in the Jordanian society and Z is a housekeeper. The paper observes the forms of psycholinguistically-conditioned and speech connected switches and tries to look at different types of switching. It is found that X code-switches freely, without self-censorship, demonstrating her successful understanding of Jordanian life. By contrast, Y constantly attempts to fix her code-switching, displaying a tendency to pass up mixing languages although she is also very well adjusted to Jordanian life. On the other hand, Y and Z tend to give up her self-censorship method when code-switching for discourse-related reasons while W's attitude is more reticent due to her weak knowledge of Arabic. The compiled data of the paper point to both sociolinguistically and psycholinguistically conditioned code switches, where the latter seems to be dominant.

Following these considerations, the two questions that this paper attempts to address and give reasonable answers to are:

1. How do the Romanian/Arabic bilinguals fit into the general types identified for code-switching ?
2. Is it possible to identify two different profiles of "code-switchers" on the basis of the existing data?

An aspect that needs clarification is the classification of code-switching. Auer (1988,187) identifies two main categories of code switches, namely speaker-related (i.e. determined by the interlocutor's competence or preference) and discourse –related. McArthur (1991) distinguishes between sociolinguistically and psychologically code-switching and also between code-switching and code mixing.

Code-mixing and code-switching are common terms in language and linguistics and closely relevant to verbal communication. These terms illustrate different degrees of

competence of different languages, as when a Romanian/Arabic bilingual says. (Please note that A, R and E stand for Arabic, Romanian and English, respectively)

Te-am sunat el yowm si mi-a zis bentik ca esti fe souq.

(R) (Te-am sunat-Tasalt fik-I called you

(A) el yowm= (R)azi= (E) today,

(R) si mi-a zis (A) wa qal ley= (E) and told me,

(A) bentik= (A) fiica ta= (E) your daughter,

(R) ca esti= (A) an takoni= (E) that you are,

(A) fe ssouq= (R) in oras= (E) in downtown).

It could be seen that in one single sentence the switching happens three times; it starts by Romanian followed by Arabic then again Romanian followed by Arabic and ends with the same R/A pattern.

Tom McArthur refers to *code* as “a language or a variety or style of a language”. McArthur’s point of view is that the term *code-mixing* highlights hybridization, and the term *code-switching* stresses the movement from one language to another. At the same time, McArthur (1991,113) maintains that “mixing and switching probably occur in the speech of all bilinguals. He believes that a person who is capable of using two languages, A and B, has three systems available for use: A, B, and C (a range of hybrid forms that can be used with comparable bilinguals but not with monolingual speakers of A or B)”. According to McArthur (1991) there are four major types of switching: tag-switching, intra-sentential, inter-sentential, and intra-word switching. Mesthrie et al. (2009) maintain that in bilingual communities it is possible to identify certain broad regularities or patterns of language use. This does not mean, however, that individual speakers simply reflect these patterns. Insofar as a language becomes associated with certain groups of speakers and contexts of use, it will acquire important social meanings. Speakers may use the language to convey information about their own identity and about the relationship that obtains between themselves and others (or that they would like to obtain between themselves and others).

In this paper we have adopted Holmes' view of preferring the term "switching" to "mixing" as the latter suggests that "the speaker is mixing up codes indiscriminately or perhaps because of incompetence, whereas the switches are very well motivated in relation to the symbolic or social meaning of the two codes" (Holmes, 1992,50). (See also Saville-Troike (2003,48), for more precise definitions of related terms, such as, code-switching, style-shifting, and code-alternatives).

Some points should be taken into consideration when looking at the phenomenon of switching among Romanian/Arabic bilinguals in Jordan. Mixing and switching often supply

such imperative purposes as observing some ethnic and group “restrictions”. Among minorities, the home language (*the ‘we’ code*) is brought into play to show in-group, casual, and personalized behaviour, while the other language (*the ‘they’ code*) is used to indicate out-group, more formal and general experiences. Frequently, speakers use a modification of language to show their attitude to what is being said. In the following example, Romanian marks the in-group and Arabic the out-group among the Romanian community living in Jordan: La noi copiii nu beau cafea, (A) hona shey ade. (R) La noi copiii nu beau cafea = (A) Andena el awlad la eshrabon el qahwa = (E) Our children don’t drink coffee, (A) hona shey ade= (R) aici e ceva normal = (E) here it’s a normal thing ). The switch seems to accentuate the limits between “them” and “us” or “there” and “here”.

Other explanations for switching include the reputation of knowing the out-group or main language. It is not always the case that borrowing or switching occurs because speakers do not know the words in one or the other language. Widespread code-switching often points to greater or lesser shift towards the more dominant of the two languages (Ellis 1994, 694). Code-switching investigations imply that language use is not a mirror image of social meanings, connected with particular contexts of use, but helps to expose, or sometimes face or “renegotiate social relations, and recreate or redefine particular contexts”.(Mesthrie et al. 2009 ,170)

## Data Collection

Most of the data considered in this study are from annotations taken during dialogues among four Romanian/Arabic bilinguals in Jordan and also natural chat that took place in a comfortable environment. Three of the speakers have native fluency in Romanian and native-like fluency in Arabic, which is their second language, except for Z who came recently to Jordan.

The speakers, X , Y and W, are Romanian-born females in their forties who have lived in Jordan for two decades. Y is an educated medical doctor who works in a private clinic in Irbid. She has a middle class and urban Romanian background. X is a hairdresser who works in a private beauty center. She comes from a peasant background in South Romania. Z is a housekeeper as well as W. Z and W are relatives and come from a poor family from Eastern Romanian. The notes were taken at Y’s home, where X, Z and W are regular visitors. We chose five dialogues on three different subjects.

1. a journey to Aqaba, a city in South Jordan at the Red Sea
2. preparing “hariseh”, Arabic dessert
3. plans for buying a present
4. comments on a wedding they attended

## 5. conversation about their children and homes

The topics selected for study were parts of a longer conversation that included more than ten topics but we considered the three selected topics more significant as they were strongly related to the Jordanian context, a fact that tends to ease the phenomenon of code-switching. The conversation was spontaneous and unsophisticated as the speakers moved from one topic to another in an easy manner regarding their excitement of chatting, their zeal to touch on more than one issue and the short time available for that.

One of the authors of this paper, as a member of the Romanian speech community, asserts that such kind of speech is very common among the bilinguals of R/A.

The language used in the conversation is a combination of formal Arabic and informal Jordanian Arabic. Regarding Romanian, they utilize the formal language because the speakers come from diverse Romanian regions where the accent and even some words vary.

### Data Analysis

The compiled data allow for four types of switching: tag-switching, inter-sentential switching, intra-sentential switching and intra-word switching.

**(1) Tag-switching** is a sort of switching where tags and certain set of phrases in one language are inserted into an utterance otherwise in another, as when a Romanian/Arabic bilingual says: *Azi e frumos, sah ?* (*Azi e frumos- el yowm jamil-Today is nice, sah- leisa kazalik-nu e asa-isn't it ?*).

Tag code-switching, labeled as switching at the level of tags, envelops at least two kinds of tags. The tags implicated in Romanian-Arabic tag code-switching can be single words ( for example, high occurrence and culture-definite vocabulary, such as Arabic "madhbot"=(E) correct, "(A) anjad" =(E) (serious/serious), "(A) habibti"= (R) iubită mea = (E) my dear), "(A) ya'ani"= (R) adică= (E) I mean), or short sentential practice ( for instance, (A) hal temzah?= (R) tu glumesti?= (E) Are you kidding?, (A) hal fehmt?= (R) ai inteles?= (E) Did you understand?, (A) hal ant ta'araf?= (R) tu stii?= (E) Do you know?).

#### Examples:

W: kef voi nu va plictisiti? Ne mai vizitam madhbot -----dar----

(A) Kef= (R) Cum= (E) How, (A) madhbot= (E) correct

(E) How didn't you get bored? We visit each other---- it's correct but---

Z: (R) Ati auzit ca sunt excursii in Aqaba foarte ieftine -----50 de dinari trei (A) ayyam

(A) ayam= (R) zile = (E) days

(E) Did you hear that there are journeys to Aqaba at a very cheap rate---  
50 dinars for three days?

W: (A) anja?= (R) Serios= (E) serious?

Z: (R) stii (A) habibti cand am auzit asta mi-a placut idea.

(A) habibti= (R) iubita mea= (E) my dear

'(E) You know, my dear, when I heard that I like the idea.'

Y: Hal ?anti ta'arafi?, din cand in cand trebuie sa mai facem o auza ya'ni.

(A) ha anti ta'rafi= (R) stii=(E) you know, (A) ya'ni= (R)adica= (E) I mean

'(E) You know ? From time to time we should have a break--- I mean'

Z: Noi megem el khamis

(A) El-khamis= (R) joi= (E) Thursday

'(E) We are going to go on Thursday.'

W: Temzahi ante?

(A) temzahi ante?= (R)glumesti tu?= (E) are you kidding?

X: V-ati decis sa plecati in Aqaba kef?

(A) kef= (R) Cum= (E) How

'(E) How did you decide to go to Aqaba?'

Y: M-am plictisit hek, Khalas! Ne trebuia o excursie---fehmta? Mergi cu noi?

(A) hek= (R)asa=(E) like this, (A) Khalas= (R) gata=(E) it is over, (A) hehmta=  
(R) intelegi= (E) understand, (R)mergi cu noi= (A) teji ma'ana= (E) do you  
like to come with us?

'(E) I got bored like this. It is over! We need a journey--- Do you

understand? Do you like to come with us?

Occasionally, tag code-switching can take the form of intra-sentential switching where clear resemblance is present between the two languages involved fitting entirely in both Arabic and Romanian syntax.

Example:

X: Eu cred ca si noi lazem na'amal nefs el shey.

(R) A.

(R) Eu cred= (E) I think

(A) lazem na'amal nefs el shey =(R) trebuie sa facem acelasi lucru =(E) we must do the same thing

'(E) *I think that we must do the same thing.*'

The (v+ pronoun+ v+ adjective) pattern in the above Arabic underlined clause matches the same syntax in the Romanian translation.

**(2) Inter-sentential switching**, in which a change of language occurs at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language or the other, as when a Romanian/Arabic bilingual says: *Nu cred ca raho 'ala-l-hafla* (*Nu cred ca-La osadeq ano-I don't believe that, raho 'ala-l-hafla-au mers la petrecere-they went to the party*). This last example may also occur as speakers take turns. Inter-sentential code-switching is the easiest to recognize because it occurs at the sentence level, where syntactic boundaries are clearly not interfering. It has become a consecrated assumption that this type of code-switching is encountered most often in the speech of less fluent bilinguals, as it involves the least syntactic difficulty.

We have observed that inter-sentential code-switching is less common than tag code-switching, as some sentences can be reflex tags whose production can be independent from one's linguistic proficiency. For instance: *tayeb/bine/OK, Khalas /Gata/Stop it!*, but probably more frequent than intra-sentential code-switching. Here are some examples:

(1) X: (R) Trebuia sa-l intrebi pe agentul de transport.

(D) You should have asked the travel agent.

Y: (A) Fakkart fi el mawdoa'a.

(E) I thought a lot about the subject.

(2) X: (R) Sa nu pui zahar mult in compozitie.

(E) Don't put too much sugar in the mixture.

Y: (A) 'anjad ? Leish?

(E) Really? Why?

X: (R) Pentru ca zaharul se pune la sfarsit.

(E) Because the sugar should be put at the end.

Y: (R) De unde stii ?

(E) How do you know ?

X: (A) Ba'araf min jarti.

(E) I know from my neighbour.

To this point, in the present records, inter-sentential code-switching appears to be in a close link with intra-sentential code-switching and more recurrent than code-changing. Sooner or later, future studies on larger groups of subjects will be taken to confirm or reject the plausibility of high frequency of inter-sentential code-switching among Romanian-Arabic bilinguals.

From a sociolinguistic position, it should be noticed that the current data were accumulated in a dialogue between close friends. The familiarity and friendship relation between the speakers might have been, therefore, the reason why there was a higher incidence of a type of code-switching. It is possible that the degree of intimacy and the social context in which bilinguals find themselves are clear factors that influence the type and frequency of code-switching.

**(3) Intra-sentential switching**, in which switches occur within a clause or sentence limit, as when a Romanian/Arabic bilingual says : Cand plecati bokra? ( Cand plecati-Meta msaferin-When are you going to leave, bokra-maine-tomorrow? ). This group includes code-switching, or entire shifts to another language system at main component boundaries, such as:

X: Cred ca *hada ahsan tariq.* ( I think *this is the best way.* )

R                    A

Y: Sunam *wa na'araf kolshey.* ( We'll call *and we'll know everything.* )

R                    A

X: Sa-ti spun drept *ana bakhtar al camera.* ( To tell you the truth *I'll*

R                    A

*choose the camera.* )

In the examples above, no evident predilection is displayed for a certain language. The code-switching in the examples above do not break the syntactic rules of either language and where the surface structures of two languages map onto each other. In this sense, it is notably to say that the Romanian and Arabic syntax regarding the occurrence of adjectives relative to nouns do coincide. In both languages, the adjective usually follows the noun it modifies.

**E.g.** (R) Asta e o idee buna.

(A) Hada fikra jeida.

(E) This is a good idea.

(R) idee= (A) fikra= (E)idea

(R) buna= (A) jeida= (E)good

While inter-sentential and tag code-switching were sometimes preferred for rhetorical purposes, the same cannot be said about intra-sentential code-switches, which appear to have no special sociolinguistic motivation. To a certain extent, the synchronized activation of both languages seems to make intra-sentential code-switches possible.

**(4) Intra-word switching**, in which a change occurs within a word boundary, such as in *mahal-uri* (Arabic *mahal* with the Romanian plural ending *-uri*) or *sa aghsil* (Arabic *aghsil*-*(R)sa spal-(E) to wash* with the Romanian particle *sa*, meaning 'to'). All code-switches are speech borrowings to a certain level.

In other cases, code-switching may occur at the level of a bound morpheme as in the following example:

**Example:**

Mahal-ul e foarte aproape. (E) The shop is very close to here.

(A) al-mahal= (R) magazinul= (E) the shop

Definite article---- (R) ul= (A) al= (E) the

In the sentence '-ul' is the Romanian definite article which the speaker uses for an Arabic word instead of the Arabic article 'al'. This example is regularly recognized in the literature 'word internal' (Peterson, 1988, 479-493), Bader, and Minnis 2000, 384-404). In the case of Romanian/Arabic bilingual speakers, we agree with Bader (2000) who mentioned the same strategy in the speech of Arabic/English bilingual children in using definite and indefinite articles with Arabic nouns and the English plural '-s' with Arabic nouns. He states that 'these techniques seem to violate the 'Free Morpheme Constraint' stipulated by Poplack.' (See Bader and Minnis 2000). The same strategy was noticed when the Romanian plural marker was frequently used with the Arabic nouns instead of Arabic plural. In addition, the speakers change the plural not according to gender.

**Example:**

X: (R) ti-ai inscris copii la scoala?

(E) Did you register your children at school?

Z: Inca nu. Min bokra man due sa vad care 'madras-uri' sunt mai

R            A                    R                                    A            R

Aproape de casa

R

'(E) Not yet. Starting tomorrow I am going to see which schools are closer to our house.'

Z" (R) Tu? (E) you?



(Note that the proper name Raniutza is the Romanian diminutive for the Arabic proper name Rania.)

X: Eu ii cunosc pe amandoi. Jamilutz il stiu min howa o'mro sanih

R

A

'(E) I know them both. I know Jamilutz since he was one year old.'

In the above conversation it is remarkable to point at using the diminutives of proper names. The speakers introduced the Romanian diminutives for all the names (Romanian and Arabic) even when they switched to Arabic. The suffixes '-utz' for male name (e.g. Jamil-utz for the Arabic male name Jamil) or '-utza' for the female name (Rodic-utza for Romanian name or Raniutza for the Arabic name Rania) are common to form the diminutives in Romanian. They come from the adjective 'micutz' for masculine nouns or 'micutza' for feminine nouns which mean 'very small'. In Romanian as well as in Arabic the adjectives change according to gender. In the current conversation, the Romanian diminutives for common Arabic nouns change following the same pattern as for example:

(A) Bayt saghir= (A) batt-utz= (E) a small house

(A) Ward saghir= (A) ward-utz= (E) a small rose

(A) Seyyara saghira= (A) seyyr-utza= (E) a small car

Also in the verbal communication of Romanian/Arabic bilinguals one could detect elements of speech borrowing. The examples below are considered illustrations of speech borrowings. Participants seem to borrow an Arabic word which is a constant borrowing within the community. The reason is an attempt to create a balance between a lack of linguistic knowledge and the deficit of satisfactory equality between notions in the two languages. Arabic verb 'salem-ensalem' in the example and 'niftar-iftar' in the second do not have a strict correspondence in Romanian or there are more than one short word for them.

### Examples

-Ensalem a'aleihom cand ne intoarcem. ( We will greet/call/visit them when

A

R

we come back.)

(A) ensalem=(R)salutam/vizitam=(E) greet/call/visit

-Plecam dupa ce niftar. ( We are going to leave after we have breakfast)

R

A

(A) niftar=(R)luam micul dejun/dejunam=((E)We have breakfast)

## Conclusions:

The present study of Romanian/Arabic bilinguals' code-switching analyzed above fits very well in the four well-known frames of code-switching identified by linguists.

During the dialogues, it is interesting to notice Y's self-correcting mechanism: as soon as she realizes that she has switched to Arabic, she returns to Romanian by providing a translation of the start of her new utterance. It could be "the result of "linguistic consciousness" and a manner of intentional challenge to pass up language transfer. The speaker is indeed aware that she is dealing with two distinctive speech systems that she shifts over to the other language for a sentence or word-group rather than to transfer individual word-forms and mix the two systems"(Clyne, 1967,87)

One could observe that in X's or Z's cases, code-switching is more common and without any restriction or "linguistic consciousness". Under a closer inspection, the incident of code-switching restraint seems to have a psycholinguistic elucidation. A good example could be a verbal fighting. In this case the bilingual speakers usually express the insults in their native language (Romanian) as the words are more effective. Flirting and romantic dialogues follow the same thought while for the greetings it was observed that the speakers insist on Arabic greeting expressions.

In terms of discourse-related code-switching, there are divergences among X, Z,W and Y. Y appears to be predominantly conscious of the calculated result of code-switching at certain essential points during her speech. In such occasions, she no longer wishes to accept to "cut" her switches. On the contrary, she sounds reasonably comfortable because the need to mark her discourse overrides her apprehension against switching codes. These could be exemplified by the following discourse extract:

Y: ...pretul hmm/*al sa'ar e aproape 850-1000 de dinari, am vazut in... jaride*

R A R A

(R) pretul=(A) al sa'ar=(E) the price (R) e aproape 850-1000, am vazut in.. =(A)taqriban 850-1000 dinar, shoft fe...=(E) it is close to 850-1000 dinars I saw it in ...

(A)jaride=(R)ziar=(E)the newspaper

E: ( ... the price hmmm it is close to 850-1000 dinars, I saw it in ... the newspaper.)

X: Sigur? *Temzahi?* E: ( Sure? Are you kidding?)

R A

(R)sigur= (A)akid= (E)sure

(A)temzahi=(R)glumesti=(E)Are you kidding?

Y: ...iubita mea/ habibt! *Akher moasafat.* E: ( My dear! It's up to date standards.)

R A A

(R) iubita mea= (A) habibti= (E) my dear

(A) akher moasafat=(R) ultimele dotari= (E) up to date standards

X: *Moasafat momtazeh!* E: ( Excellent options!)

A

(A) moasafat momtazeh= (R) dotari excelente = (E) excellent options

There is a probable correlation between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic aspects. When Y switches to Arabic for discourse related reasons, she frequently follows her dialogue partner. When X or Z switches to Arabic she enjoys displaying her confidence in Arabic, which among Romanian-born friends is a sign of successful accommodation to the Arabic/Jordanian way of life. As a result, when a conversational partner, mostly one who is more erudite than she is, switches to Arabic, she is eager to demonstrate that she can change codes without difficulty. Y, who comes from an urban, educated Romanian background is more conscious and self-critical of her code-switching while both X and Z emerge as those who are freely hanging registers without self-censorship, a fact motivated in part by their perception of code-switching into Arabic as an indicator of successful adjustment. On the other hand, if their interlocutor switches to Arabic, X and Z are happy to sustain the switch, a fact that might be interpreted as another opportunity for them to display their Arabic skills.

So far the present paper has looked at the most constant prototypes of code-switching in the bilinguals' speech (X-Y Z-Y, X-Z dialogues) and according to that, it aimed to reveal two particular classes of code-switching, within the limitation of the data. Such profiles could be used within the agenda of a superior, comprehensively investigative research on code-switching patterns, which function within the Romanian/Arabic bilinguals in Jordan and based on a dialogue systematic method. Several pieces of evidence from social and discursive psychology advocate that the "same individual may express different, or even conflicting views about social phenomena on different occasions". (Mesthrie 2009, 182).

The W's reticence in code-switching should be looked at as her non-proficiency in Arabic due to the fact that she is one of the new members of the Jordanian society. W's timid attempts to code-switching should be considered as a benefit in her endeavor to learn the new language, Arabic. With reference to the children who were born in Jordan and lived and studied here we noticed that code-switching in the speech of their parents should be reflected on as an improvement of learning another language (in this case Romanian) by natural acquisition but this topic will be the matter of comprehensive analyses in an upcoming research.

I could also be suggested that social and psychological factors have major effects on the speech of Romanian/Arabic bilingual. In most cases, code-switching could be a matter of habit, could depend on the mood of the speaker or could be simply a matter of enjoyment.

The shortage of plenty sources certifying occurrences of Romanian/Arabic and Arabic/Romanian code-switching has been an obstacle in the completion of this study. We can only hope that more studies will come forward in the near future. For now, the present paper remains a pilot study whose opportunity we hope to expand in the future through addition of a larger number of subjects and cases of code-switching. Accordingly, a more meticulous study will assist the provisional conclusions offered at this time.

## نماذج من تناوب اللغتين الرومانية والعربية في حديث الناطقين بهما في الأردن

محمود كناكري و فيوليت إينيسكو

### ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى إعطاء وجهة نظر جديدة لبعض القيود اللغوية المفروضة على الحوار اللغوي مبيّنة الظروف الاجتماعية واللغوية التي يعيشها ألف وخمسمائة متحدث باللغة العربية والرومانية في الأردن، حيث تُستعمل كلتا اللغتين أو تمزجان في الحديث اليومي. وتستند هذه الدراسة إلى طريقة تحليلية للحديث بين أربعة أشخاص من المتكلمين باللغتين العربية والرومانية ويقطنون في مدينة اربد في شمال الأردن. وتميز أفراد هذه العينة بعلاقة اجتماعية ودية رغم ظروفهم الاجتماعية والاقتصادية. وتعتبر الدراسة بالنسبة للغة العربية والرومانية من أوائل الدراسات في الأردن لاستعمال اللغتين في الحديث اليومي، وتحاول التوصل إلى القيم التي تحكم عملية استعمال اللغتين واختيارهما والخواص النحوية والمتعلقة بالمعنى وموقف الناس من استعمال هاتين اللغتين معاً آخذين بالاعتبار حقل اللغويات الاجتماعية والنفسية.

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