Code-Switching to English amongst Arabic-speaking Jordanians in Canada

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Abstract

Language contact leads to a number of linguistic phenomena, most noticeably code-switching, which refers to bilinguals’ utilization of two languages in the same conversation and even within a single utterance. This study investigates Arabic-English code-switching among Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba, Canada and presents a qualitative analysis of the socio-pragmatic functions this linguistic behavior serves. The participants were 11 (3 females and 8 males) Jordanian immigrants living in Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba. Two instruments were employed to elicit the data necessary for this study: audio recordings and semi-structured interviews. The code-switching occurrences were categorized into different socio-pragmatic functions based on the analysis of the content of almost 18 hours of recorded conversations. The analysis of the content of the audio-recordings besides the semi-structured interviews showed that Jordanian immigrants resort to code-switching to achieve a number of socio-pragmatic functions: filling lexical needs, integrating into the Canadian culture and lifestyle, qualifying a message, mitigating embarrassment and negative connotations, quoting the exact words of somebody, and creating humorous or ironic effect.

Keywords: Code-Switching; Socio-Pragmatic Functions; Canada; Arabic; English.

1. Introduction

Code-switching is a key characteristic of bilinguals’ everyday interactions, especially when they live in a language contact setting. Most researchers view code-switching as a matter of alternation between two or more languages by the same bilingual speaker in the same conversation, often within the same utterance, and usually with no change of the addressee or subject (see, e.g., Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982; Myers-Scotton 1993; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Thomason 2001; Brown and Attardo 2005; Bullock and Toribio 2009).

The phenomenon of code-switching has been approached syntactically (Pfaff 1976 and 1979; Poplack 1980; Sankoff and Poplack 1980), sociolinguistically (Blom and Gumperz 1972; MacNamara et al. 1975; Gumperz 1976 and 1982; Kanakri and Ionescu 2010; Chughtai and Khan 2016) and psycholinguistically (e.g., Sridhar and Sridhar 1980; Grosjean 1995; Dussias 2001; Karousou-Fokas and Garman 2001).
More importantly, code-switching is regarded as a conversational strategy that can serve a number of social and pragmatic functions. For example, facilitating communication, overcoming language barriers, avoiding hesitation, compensating a deficiency or lack of competence in one of the two languages and interacting more effectively are considered primary functions of code-switching (see, e.g., Gumperz 1976; Grosjean 1982; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Myers-Scotton 2005). Showing social class and prestige, expressing linguistic ability and avoiding mistakes are other social functions that code-switching can serve (Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1989; Myers-Scotton 1993; Edwards 1994; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Bhatia and Ritchie 2004; Lavric 2007). Showing the speaker’s ethnic identity or solidarity with another ethnic group is another social function of code-switching. This function has been documented in the work of many linguists such as Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1972) who claim that Mexican-Americans resort to code-switching in order to highlight their ethnic identity and to express solidarity or confidentiality.

The present study explores the phenomenon of code-switching amongst Arabic-speaking Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba, Canada and provides an overview of the socio-pragmatic functions this linguistic behavior serves.

Most Arab researchers have concentrated on the syntactic constraints of Arabic-English code-switching (e.g., Hussein and Shorrab 1993; Alenezi 2001; Al-Qudhai’een 2003; Al-Sharif 2015; Turjoman 2016; Alhazmi 2016), the diglossic situation (i.e., switching between Modern Standard Arabic and other Colloquial dialects) (e.g., Eid 1988; Albirini 2011). Though a few studies have tackled Arabic-English code-switching sociolinguistically, most these studies have been conducted in a non-immigration setting (mostly in a classroom setting) and have focused on the society’s attitudes towards this linguistic phenomenon as represented by college/university students (see e.g., Bader 1995; Hussein 1999; Jdetawy 2011; Alkhresheh 2015; Alenezi 2016; Alrabah et al. 2016), paying little attention to its socio-pragmatic functions.

The significance of this study stems from the fact that it is the first that tackles Arabic-English code-switching amongst Jordanians in the Canadian setting. The paucity of research in this regard is indeed the major motive for conducting this study. Accordingly, the findings of this study form a substantial addition to the bilingualism and code-switching literature, providing researchers with better insights into the nature and motivations of this linguistic phenomenon.

2. Research Methodology

2.1 Research Objectives

The aim of the study is to examine the phenomenon of code-switching in the natural speech of Arabic-English bilingual Jordanians living in Manitoba, Canada. Particularly, the study determines the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching in the participants’ informal conversations. The participants’ own interpretations for their switches are also elicited and discussed in order to validate the proposed analysis. Particularly, this research purports to answer the following questions:
1. What are the socio-pragmatic functions of Arabic-English code-switching amongst Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba?

2. What are the speakers’ motivations for resorting to this conversational strategy?

2.2 Participants

The participants of this study are 11 (8 males and 3 females) adult Jordanian immigrants living in Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba/Canada. All of them are native speakers of Jordanian Arabic; they are also fluent in English. However, their fluency in English varies according to their level of education, occupation and length of stay in Canada. Table 1 below profiles the participants in terms of their gender, age, level of education, occupation and length of stay in Canada. These details were elicited directly from the participants during a semi-structured interview (Appendix A).

Table 1: Distribution of the sample in terms of gender, age, occupation and length of stay in Canada.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Length of Stay in Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Truck driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>Technician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Bank accountant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>M.Sc.</td>
<td>Instructor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Doctor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Certificate</td>
<td>Restaurant owner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>TA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>Government Employee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Research Instruments

The study is based on the analysis of almost 18 hours of natural, spontaneous interactions that were recorded by the participants in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. The data necessary for this study were collected through two instruments: audio-recordings and semi-structured interviews (Appendix A). The former consisted of almost 18 hours of natural, spontaneous interactions and the latter of questions related to personal issues and language use. The interviews were conducted by the researcher.

The participants recorded some informal conversations in various natural settings such as dinnertime, watching TV, and hanging out. The recorded conversations varied in length and content. Some conversations included episodes of the participants’ lives, memories and adventures at schools, casinos, bars, restaurants and workplace. Other conversations, though informal, sounded more serious and involved group discussions of different academic, administrative, economic, political, social, cultural, and religious issues. It is worth noting that the participants were not asked to assign any specific topic for the conversations to be recorded. This helped to collect instances of code-switching in various domains and explore the participants' linguistic behavior from a broader perspective.

The audio-recorded conversations were reviewed and the salient portions of the interactions where English switches occurred were identified, transcribed and translated. The occurrences of English
switches, which are indicated by bold type throughout the discussion, were then categorized according to the functions they serve in the given interactions. After that, semi-structured interviews were conducted (Appendix A). Each participant was interviewed for almost 20 minutes. The purpose of these interviews was two-fold. First, they sought demographic information such as the participants’ age, gender, place of birth, level of education, occupation and length of stay in Canada. Second, they were employed to elicit information pertaining to language use such as motivations for code-switching to English. Each participant was asked about their own explanations for particular instances quoted from their recorded conversations.

3. Results and Discussion

Analyzing the audio-recorded conversations revealed that switching to English takes place in the conversations of Jordanian immigrants for specific communicative purposes. Due to the limited sample, only education and length of stay in Canada were taken into consideration as variables.

Table 2 below summarizes each participant’s number and percentage of switches, number and percentage of turns, and the frequency of switches in their conversational turns.

Table 2: Frequencies and percentages of participants’ switches and turns in conversational interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Length of Stay in Canada</th>
<th>Number of switches</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Number of turns</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Frequency of switches in turns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Diploma</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>13.93%</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>45.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Diploma</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>16.41%</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>45.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 B.A.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>4.42%</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>30.48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 M.Sc.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>5.98%</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>49.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 B.A.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>3.22%</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
<td>25.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Ph.D.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>8.42%</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>52.54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Undergraduate</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>9.46%</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>39.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Certificate</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>6.40%</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>38.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 B.A.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>13.96%</td>
<td>766</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td>46.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Ph.D.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>8.65%</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>57.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 B.A.</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>9.15%</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
<td>53.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2578</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>5798</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 above shows a trend among the participants with higher education to code-switch in their conversational turns with higher rates than those with lower education. This might be attributed to the high linguistic competence graduate students usually develop as a result of their exposure to various lexical items and structures in the textbooks and journal articles. Also, though the highest frequency of code-switching was achieved by participant 10 who has a relatively short stay in Canada compared to other participants, all the participants who have long stays in Canada exhibited a tendency to code-switch in a quite fair amount in their conversational turns. This indicates that length of stay in an English-speaking environment can have an effect on participants’ code-switching behavior.

The data analysis has also identified six socio-pragmatic functions for code-switching to English in the daily speech of Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba. These functions are: lexical needs, integrating into the Canadian culture and lifestyle, qualifying a message, mitigating embarrassment and negative
connotations, quoting the exact words of somebody, and creating humorous or ironic effect. Table 3 below shows the frequencies and percentages of the socio-pragmatic functions served by the English switches as well as the frequency of occurrence for each function as a percentage of the total number of English switches identified.

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of the socio-pragmatic functions served by the English switches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Socio-Pragmatic Function</th>
<th>Number of Occurrences</th>
<th>Frequency/Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical needs</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>23.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrating into the Canadian culture and lifestyle</td>
<td>1655</td>
<td>64.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualifying a message</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>6.13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitigating embarrassment and negative connotations</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quoting the exact words of somebody</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2.79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating humorous or ironic effect</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2.05%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2578</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1 Lexical needs

Lexical needs in one of the two languages are one of the most important motivations for code-switching (Gumperz 1976 and 1982; Grosjean 1982; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Myers-Scotton 2005). Analyzing the audio-recordings revealed that such lexical needs might emerge from two categories of lexical items: technical terms (which encompass 96.7% of the switches identified under this function) and culture-specific terms (3.3% of the lexical items classified under the current function). Such lexical needs were found to be the result of the participants’ lack of knowledge of the equivalent terms or appropriate translations in their first language, the absence of the equivalent terms or appropriate translations from their first language itself, or the immediate availability of the English terms at the moment of speaking.

The first category (technical terms) includes terms or jargons associated with academic, technological, legal and administrative issues. The following are some of these examples: “data plan, SIM card, deactivation fees, incoming calls, call display, voicemail, admission, stipend, fellowship, nutrition, human ecology, nutrigenomics, gene expression, synthesis, lab, teaching assistant, security clearance, WhatsApp, Viber, Wi-Fi outage, wireless, sponsorship, financial statement, bankruptcy, property tax, down payment, insurance, luggage, lounge, lay over.”

The following is an excerpt taken from a conversation that involved some technical terms.

Example (1)

A: ئّيىنى ʃuu-l mawd'uuʃ ئّيىلى ʃam t-iʃtayli ʃale-ih bizzat؟
‘What is the topic you are working on exactly?’

B: وّانا ʃaylih ʃala ٌil-nutrigenomics
‘I am working on nutrigenomics.’

A: ʃuu, ʃuu haad?
‘What? What is this?’
The previous exchange shows that speaker B is not familiar with the Arabic equivalents for both “nutrigenomics” and “gene expression” at all. This can be captured easily through her hesitation while trying to translate them to the other interlocutor. What further asserts her unfamiliarity with the Arabic equivalents for these specialized terms is her failure to provide appropriate translations for them, and alternatively resorting to explanatory translations. When interviewed and asked about her hesitation, she explained that she has never been asked about the Arabic meanings of these words, nor has she ever come across them during her academic or professional life. However, she remarked on the fact that going back to specialized dictionaries might solve the problem of exactly translating these technical terms. It is clear that what caused the problem in this conversation is that the other interlocutor was not specialist in the field.

When asked about the other switches (i.e., “effect, diet, cells, tissues, repair, and synthesis”), she remarked that she knows the Arabic equivalents for all of them. However, she attributed her switching to English for these terms to the fact that she has learned them in English, not Arabic, for the first time in her academic career. She elaborated by saying that although she knows the Arabic translations for a few technical terms, the English terms come to her mind faster than their Arabic counterparts. This indicates that certain lexical items can be more available in one language than another and, therefore, trigger off switching to one of the two languages. Gumperz (1976, 30) states that “switching occurs not because the
speaker does not know the right word but because the word that comes out is more readily available at the time of production.”

The second category of lexical needs (culture-specific terms) encompasses words that are particularly related to the North American lifestyle and are absent from the Arabic culture due to social nuances. Examples of such terms found in the data are “social drinker, sugar daddy, ice fishing, motor home, boxing week, child tax benefit, Daycare, condo, bungalow, town house.” The following is an illustrative example.

Example (2)

A: dagiga dagiga, miin hai ?iili kana-t maʕ-ak ?ilyuum ?id-d-ul ḥur?
   ‘One minute, one minute! Who is she that was with you today noon?’

B: ?ilyuum, miin kaan maʕ-i, wala hada
   ‘Today, who was with me, nobody.’

   ‘A young and beautiful girl, it is better for you if you tell the truth.’

B: ya zalamih hai zbuunih
   ‘She is a customer, man!’

C: ?aʔ zbuunih, wu ?ana Kamaan fuft-ak maʕ wahd-ih
   ‘Which customer, and I too saw you with one-she
   ?iʔ-usbuuʕ? ?iʔ-maʔʔ, juu ʕəyir sugar Daddy
   the-week the-last, what became sugar daddy
   baʕd ma fatah-t ?iʔ-maʕʕam
   after when opened-you the-restaurant

   ‘Which customer are you talking about? I also saw you with another girl last week. It seems that you became a sugar daddy since you started the restaurant’

B: Sugar juu?
   Sugar what?
   ‘Sugar what?’

C: Sugar daddy

B: juu yaʕni sugar daddy?
   ‘What means sugar daddy?’

A: ma b-tisʕrif ?juu yaʕni sugar daddy?
   ‘You don’t know what sugar daddy means?’

B: la wallahi ma b-aʕrif, ?juu yaʕni?
   ‘No by God not I-know, what means?’

   ‘No, I swear by God that I do not know, what does it mean?’

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C: **Sugar daddy** yaʕni wahad yani maʕ-ah maʕari kūbir wu b-yisʕrif Sugar daddy means one rich has-he money much and he-spends

Sala-l banaat
on-the girls

‘Sugar daddy means someone who is rich and has a lot of money and spends it on girls.’

In this example, the switch “sugar daddy” is directly borrowed from English and inserted into the Arabic discourse because it is clearly invoked by cultural nuances. David (2003) contends that an alien concept usually motivates the bilingual to switch to the language in which this concept was originated. The absence of appropriate word pertaining to the topic under discussion is the real motivation for code-switching in the previous example. The linguistic repertoire of participant C lacks a suitable lexeme to express his idea, hence resorting to the English switch. This became even clearer when participant B directly asked him about the meaning of this expression and, consequently, resorted to explaining it instead of providing a literal translation. According to Grosjean (1982), the absence of a corresponding or at least the appropriate lexical item, set phrase, or sentence from the bilingual’s first language is a real motivation for code-switching.

### 3.2 Integrating into the Canadian culture and lifestyle

The data analysis has also revealed that Jordanian immigrants switch to English in order to integrate into some socio-cultural aspects of the Canadian lifestyle that are embodied in the language itself. This integrativeness crystallizes in the participants’ extensive adoption of many English words and expressions used in the different Canadian socio-cultural occasions and festivities. They exhibited a great tendency to switch to English when greeting, farewelling or seeing off, welcoming, thanking, apologizing, wishing, swearing, and expressing anger or satisfaction. The English words and expressions used in such settings can be considered characteristics of the speech of Canadians. Such terms include what Gumperz (1982, 77) calls “sentence fillers.” Examples of such sentence fillers from the data include “okey-dokey, it’s ok, I see, right/alright, no worries, yup/yep, nope, perfect, awesome, already, dude/man/buddy, honey/sweetheart/darling/dear, fucking/hellish, nice and dandy, oh my gosh/goodness, Je/Jesus.” Parenthetical expressions (such as “I was like/kind of, I mean, well, anyway, you know”), interjections (such as “oops, ouch, yuk, oh yeah, wow, oh, aha, damn”), as well as some euphemistic swearing expressions (such as “what the heck?, shut the f up”) are also among such terms.

The abundance of such words and expressions, bearing in mind their linguistic and socio-cultural connotations, in the speech of Jordanian immigrants can be considered an indication of their attempt to integrate into the Canadian culture, to associate themselves with this society or at least to adapt with its lifestyle. Let’s consider the following excerpt.

Example (3)

A: **juu man, wein** ‘I’ (C’s first name initial)?

What man, where ‘I’?

‘Come on man, where is ‘I’?’

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B: hakei-t maʕ-u wu ?al rah y-kuun huun in five minutes

Spoke-I with-him and said will he-be here in five minutes

‘I called him and he said that he will be here in five minutes.’

A: ʕad-t-u ma bi-ʕayyir-ha, ʔiðaʔiða min huun la saʕa bidd-i

Habit-his never-he not he-change-it, if came from now to hour want-I

ʔaʕʔiʔi-k ʔilli bidd-ak-ʔiyyah
give-you which want-you-it

‘He’ll never change his habits, I’ll bet you if he shows up in an hour, I’ll give you whatever you want’

B: hahaha, haiy-u ʔiða

haha, here-he came

‘Haha, here he is, he’s just arrived.’

A: bakkir ya muhtar-am, ʔiłu na ʔakħar min saʕa b-nistanna

Early VOC.PART respectful, have-been more than hour we-waiting

‘It’s too early (sarcastically)! We’ve been waiting for more than an hour.’

B: t-ruddi-j ʕalei-h, yaduub ʔil-na fifteen minutes

You-believe-not on-him, barely have-we-been fifteen minutes

‘Don’t believe him, we’ve only been here for fifteen minutes.’

C: What’s up guys?

B: Not much! How’s it going?

A: Good good, leiʃ t-ʔaxar-t man, ʃu u saʕa b-is-sayyarah?

Good good, why late-you man, what happened with-you in-the-car?

‘Good good! Why are you late man? What happened with you regarding the car?’

C: tiʔrif, wallahi jahl-i bidd-I ʔabiʕ-ha wu ʔaxlasʕ min-ha

You-know, by.God I want-I sell-it and dispose from-it

‘You know what? I swear (i.e, actually) it seems that I will sell it and get rid of it.’

B: tʔawil bal-ak, ʃawil bal-ak f-wai, you can manage it man

prolong patience-your, prolong patience-your a bit, you can manage it man

‘Hold on, hold on a little bit, you can manage it man.’

C: wallahi ʔini ʃrifit ya ‘W’ (B’s first name initial)

By.God I frustrated VOC.PART ‘W’

‘I swear (i.e., actually) I got frustrated ‘W’!’

A: leiʃ ya zalamiḥ, tʔawil bal-ak f-wai, t-aʕal t-aʕal

Why VOC.PART man, prolong patience-your a bit, you-come you-come

xalli-na n-iḥki

let-us we-talk
‘Why man? Hold on a minute, come here to talk about it.’

C: tˁayyib xall-in-i ʔadʒiib-il-ku gahwih

Ok let me bring-for-you coffee

‘OK! Let me buy you some coffee.’

A: No no no, thanks, wallahi ʔana halla? faarib

No no no, thanks, by.God I now drank

‘No, thanks, I swear (i.e. actually) I just had one.’

C: tˁayyib ‘W’ (B’s first name initial)?

OK ‘W’?

‘What about you ‘W’?’

B: Me too, I’m good wallah, thank you habiib-i

Me too, I’m good by.God, thank you dear-

‘Me too, I’m good, I swear (i.e. actually) thank you.’

C: Are you sure ğabaab?

Are you sure guys?

‘Are you guys sure?’

A: we are positive, bas ʔinta t-aʕal ʔugʕud…..

We are positive, just you you-come sit-down

‘We are positive, come here and have a seat.’

Numerous occurrences of code-switching to English can be noticed in the speech of the three interlocutors in the preceding exchange. For example, speaker A parenthetically used the word “man” twice. Similarly, speaker B switched to English twice when referring to time (i.e., “in five minutes” and “fifteen minutes”), and once while trying to encourage speaker C saying “you can manage it man.” When speaker C arrived, he initiated his speech by the English greeting expression “what’s up guys,” and both speakers replied to this greeting in English. Finally, both speakers A and B thanked speaker C for his offer to bring them coffee using English. The various occurrences of English switches in the speech of these three friends can be viewed as an indication of their desire to integrate into the Canadian culture, especially that they could have expressed themselves easily in Arabic due to the availability of Arabic counterparts for the English switches.

It is worth noting that speaker B has also shown heavy code-switching during the interview. When asked about this linguistic behavior, he indicated that he sometimes considers certain English words more appropriate relating to his presence in Canada and to the fact that he is a Canadian permanent resident. He also used the interjections “wow” and “oh yeah” during the interview. When asked about his reason for using “wow,” he unequivocally explained that “all Canadians express their astonishment using this word,” a clear indication that he is mimicking their linguistic behavior. Although this interviewee revealed unfamiliarity with the grammatical category of such items and referred to them as “lexical words” (rather than interjections), he revealed familiarity with the effect using such interjections may have, i.e., being viewed as a Canadian or at least as a native-like speaker.
Interestingly, other interviewees, when accounting for their numerous English switches, asserted that they are different from other non-immigrant Jordanians in the sense that they have hybrid identities, and switching to English in daily interactions is part of this mixed identity. For example, one of the participants, though sarcastically, stated that he is neither a true Jordanian nor a true Canadian, and instead identified himself as a “Jordo-Canadian,” hence using both Arabic and English together all the time. This clearly shows that this participant is trying to simulate the native speakers’ linguistic behavior and/or integrate into the Canadian lifestyle. In a nutshell, the simultaneous use of English and Arabic in the same conversation is a mode of speech that characterizes the speakers’ mixed identity.

### 3.3 Qualifying a message

Another function for code alternation is message qualification, which is typically achieved through reiterating a specific lexical item, phrase, expression or even a whole idea in two different languages (see, e.g., Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1989; Edwards 1994; David 2003; Bhatia and Ritchie 2004). Analyzing the audio-recordings revealed that this function is utilized in message clarification. This phenomenon is quite frequent when a speaker tries to clarify a particular term, deliberately providing a synonymous translation in the alternate language for that term, without being invoked by the addressee to do so (see example (4) below). Repeating a particular idea, lexical item, phrase or expression in another language can serve to disambiguate a particular uncommon lexical item or expression. According to Gumperz (1982, 78), this repetition can take the form of either “a literal translation or a modified version”.

**Example (4)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:</th>
<th>Halla? fii marad' t'ališ dぢdiid wu huwwih miš kžir mažruuf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Now</td>
<td>there disease emerging newly and it not much common</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wu źadatan byins'ab-u fii-h źil-banaat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>usually infected-they by-it the-girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘There is a newly emerging disease nowadays which is not common. This disease usually affects women.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B:</th>
<th>źalhamdu-lil-lah, yaźni ma fii daši źaxaf źana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Praise-to-God,</td>
<td>means not there need worry I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Thank God, so there is no need for me to worry.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:</th>
<th>La la, mumkin źintu źil-male tins'ab-u fii-h bas źaliil kžir, yaźni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No no, possible you the-male affected-you by-it but little too, means</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źin-nisbih wahad male la kul źajra female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the-percentage one male for every ten female</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘No no, it is possible for men to be affected by it but rarely, the average is one man per ten women become affected by it.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B: | źuu źism-u hada-l marad’? |
Wow, what name-its this-the disease?

‘wow! What is the name of this disease?’

A: ‘îism-u **Anorexia Nervosa.** ṭābšān hai kilmih latińiyiyih mašna-ha

Name-its Anorexia Nervosa, of-course this word Latin meaning-its…

**Anorexia** yašni fuqdaan kulli laf-ʃahiyyiyih **complete loss of the appetite**

Anorexia means loss complete for-the-appetite complete loss of the appetite

wu **Nervosa** yašni min ḥalih ʃas'abiyiyih

and Nervosa means from case neural

‘Its name is Anorexia Nervosa, of course this is a Latin word which means, Anorexia means a complete loss of appetite, complete loss of the appetite, and Nervosa means, it is derived from a neural case.’

B: ṭayyib ʃuu sabab-u wu lejʃ yašni minaʃʃir bein ʔil-banaat

ʔakdar?

Ok what cause-its and why means frequent between the-girls more?

‘Well! What causes it and why it is more common among women?’

A: ḥalla? ʔasbab-u nafṣiyyih, **mainly psychological.** maθalan lamma

Now reasons-its psychological, mainly psychological, for-example when

ʔil-female **gets obsessed by a model** ʔaw **Miss Universe** maθalan

the-female gets obsessed by a model or Miss Universe for-example

bi-ʃmal himyih kdiir qasyih ʔilli hiyyiyh ʔihna binsammi-ha

she-makes diet much tough which it we call-it

**crash diet** fa bis'iiʃ ʃind-ha **amenorrhea** wu ʔada ʔawal

**symptom**

crash diet then appears with-her amenorrhea and this first symptom

la ʔada-l maraʃṭ for this-the disease

‘Now its reasons are psychological, mainly psychological, for example, when a woman gets obsessed by a model or Miss Universe for example, she starts a very tough diet, which we call a crash diet, as a result, she gets amenorrhea which is the first symptom of this disease.’

B: Wallahi hai ʔawal marrah ba-ʃmaʃ ʃan heik halih

By.God this first time I-hear about such case

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‘I swear (i.e., actually) this is the first time I hear about such a case.’

A: ʕabdan ʔil-amenorrhea hiyyih tawaqf ʔil-menstrual cycle Of-course
the-amenorrhea it pause the-menstrual

cycle

ʔaw ʔil-period, lejf laʔinnu bsʔiir ʔind-ha xalal
or the-period, why because appears with-her deficiency

bi-lmukawwinat ʔil-ʔasasiyyih, ʔil-ingredients ʔid-dʔaruuriyyih la-l in-the
ingredients the-basic, the-ingredients the-necessary for-the

ʔibad’a ʔilli hiyyih ʔil-ovation miʔil? il-iron wu ʔil-folic acid…

Ovulation which it the-ovation like the-iron and the-folic acid

‘Of course the amenorrhea is a pause in the menstrual cycle or the period, which results from a deficiency in the basic vitamins, the necessary ingredients, for ovulation, such as iron and folic acid…’

Excessive code-switching to English can be noticed in this conversation. As for the name of the disease “Anorexia Nervosa” and its first symptom “amenorrhea,” it can be claimed that speaker A switched to English due to the lack of appropriate equivalents for them in Arabic, and due to the fact they are specialized technical terms. What supports this standpoint is speaker A’s resorting to explanatory, rather than literal, translations when interpreting them to speaker B. Regarding the other English switches (i.e., “male, female, symptom, menstrual cycle, period, folic acid, and iron”), they can be attributed to the immediate availability of such terms at the moment of speaking (see Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982; Poplack 1988) especially that all these terms have well-known Arabic equivalents.

However, all these examples are beyond the scope of the current category, i.e., message clarification. What concerns me here is speaker A’s tendency to mention some technical terms in two different languages consecutively and deliberately. For example, she volunteered to provide the synonymous translations “complete loss of the appetite, psychological, crash diet, ingredients, and ovulation” for fuqdaan kulli laf-fahiyyih, nafsiyyih, himyyih kθiir qasyiyih, mukawwinat, and ʔibad’a respectively. This can be understood as an attempt on part of speaker A to clarify particular terms and to mitigate the probability of having any misunderstanding. It should be mentioned here that this linguistic or communicative strategy has been reported by many scholars (e.g., Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982; Hamers and Blanc 2000; David 2003). Hamers and Blanc (2000, 35) refer to this strategy as “spontaneous translation” or “lexical reduplication”.

3.4 Mitigating embarrassment and negative connotations

All cultures impose restrictions on their members in terms of discussing particular topics in certain settings (Al-Khatib 1995). Bilinguals usually discuss taboo, offensive, fearful, stressful or unpleasant topics in a language other than their first language as they might think that the equivalent words in their first language carry stronger or heavier connotations. This indicates that avoiding, or at least mitigating,
embarrassment is another function that code-switching can serve (see, e.g., Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1989; Myers-Scotton 1993; Edwards 1994; Milroy and Muysken 1995; Bhatia and Ritchie 2004; Lavric 2007).

The data analysis revealed a number of English switches that serve euphemistic purposes in the sense that they were employed to avoid or mitigate embarrassment. Such switches usually belong to certain body parts, body or biological functions, serious diseases, and love or sexual expressions. Examples of such words are “underwear, vagina, menstrual cycle, period, diarrhea, washroom, toilet, bitch, pimp, cancer, tumor, syphilis.”

An illustrative instance of this function might be speaker A’s resorting to English when explaining the meaning of “amenorrhea” in example (4) above. Reviewing example (4) reveals that speaker A exhibited the tendency of mentioning some technical terms in both Arabic and English consecutively with the aim of clarifying certain concepts and preventing any possible vagueness. However, she violated this tendency when it came to the meaning of “amenorrhea” providing two synonymous translations in English. Speaker A’s avoidance of the Arabic counterpart of “menstrual cycle” and using the English synonym “period” instead can be ascribed to the strong connotation the Arabic version carries. The English words “menstrual cycle” and “period” would sound more polite and academic in the sense that they carry lighter connotations than their Arabic counterparts. The use of English in such cases sounds less embarrassing especially if it was taken into account that speaker A is an Arab conservative girl. What further supports this analysis is speaker A’s answer when asked about this particular example in the interview, saying “honestly I felt shy to utter this word in front of a Jordanian man.” It can be said that code-switching to English in this particular case serves euphemistic purposes. Lanly (1962, 95; as cited in Beardsmore 1986, 48) contends that the residual feeling of sensitivity to vulgarity can be masked by borrowing an offensive term from another language; therefore, “obscenities and vulgar expressions easily lend themselves to transfer.”

Example (5) below provides further evidence for the fact that code-switching to English can be triggered off by the desire to avoid uttering Arabic words that can carry negative connotations or that would be socially tabooed, or at least embarrassing.

Example (5)

A: wein-ak ʔɪmbarīh ma ʔadʒī-t māʕ ʔiʃ-ʃaabaʔ? Where-you yesterday not came-you with the-guys?
‘Where were you yesterday? Why did not you come with the guys?’
B: ʔɪmbarīh wallahi kaan maʕ-i ʕadam-l muʔa xaðīh diarrhea wu, haha,
Yesterday by.God was with-me not-the censure diarrhea and, haha
b-tiʃraʃ ɡaðiʃ-ɪt-ha bi-t toilet
you-know spent-time in-the toilet

‘Yesterday I swear (i.e., actually) I had, I beg your pardon, diarrhea and, haha, as you know, I spent a lot of the time in the toilet.’
A: **good for you** ya galb-i, haha

Good for you VOC.PART heart-my, haha

‘Good for you my dear, haha.’

The preceding excerpt involves three English switches. The first two require further explanation, whereas the third switch “good for you” will be discussed later. Actually, both “diarrhea” and “toilet” can be expressed in Arabic easily. Nevertheless, it seems that speaker B intentionally avoided using them in Arabic to avoid or mitigate embarrassment. This can be further asserted through the participant’s use of the Arabic phrase ʕadam-l muʔuʔaʔadh, which might be interpreted as “I beg your pardon” or “excuse me.” Using this phrase, besides the speaker’s laughter, show the participant’s feeling of embarrassment when talking about this issue. Code-switching to English while discussing this issue, as well as the use of the Arabic euphemistic phrase and resorting to laughter, contributed to downplaying the potential embarrassment that might result from this situation. It seems that Jordanians perceive English as more appropriate than Arabic when talking about such topics, hence code-switching to English in these two examples.

3.5 *Quoting the exact words of somebody*

Another function of code-switching is quoting the exact words of a particular speaker for precision and accuracy considerations (see Gumperz 1976; Gumperz 1982; Grosjean 1982; David 2003; Bhatia and Ritchie 2004). The data analysis revealed that Jordanian immigrants might code-switch to English not only to accurately quote the words of another English speaker, but also to quote themselves. The following are illustrative examples.

Example (6)

A: fas'āl-it xat'te'-ak willa lissa?
Disconnected-you cell.line-your or yet

‘Did you disconnect your cell phone or not yet?’

B: wallahi ḥakei-t maʕ-l customor services wu ḥak-u-l-i, …
By.God spoke-I with-the customer service and told-they-for-me, …

ti-ʕraf ʔin-hum kōiir muhtaram-i-in, hatta radd-at ʕala-i wahdih,
you-know that-they much respectful-they, even answered-she on-me

female,

ah, wala ʔifī, ḥakei-t-il-ha “I wanna disconnect my line for a month because I’m
yes, no thing, told-I-to-her “I wanna disconnect my line for a month because I’m

leaving the country temporarily,” fa saʔl-at-ni iða bidd-I ʔaʕmal roaming
leaving the country temporarily,” then asked-she-me if want-I make roaming
'I swear (i.e., actually), I talked to customer service and they told me that, ... do you know that they are too nice, and a woman answered me, oh yes, nothing, I told her that “I wanna disconnect my cell for a month because I’m leaving the country temporarily,” then she asked me whether I want to activate the roaming service or not, so I said…’

A: wallahi fikrah, Ɂi-ʕmal roaming
By.God idea, you-make roaming
‘You know what? It is a good idea, activate the roaming service!’
B: la man, ʃuu bidd-i fi-h, baʃdein marat-i ʃind-ha xat6 bi-l ʔurduŋ, ah,ʃuu
No man, what want-I in-it, then wife-my has-she line in-the Jordan, ye
what
kunn-a ni-hki, ah fa haka-t-l-i “it’s ok, I can do it for you over
were-we we-talking, yes then said-she-for-me “it’s ok, I can do it for you over

phone, but you will be charged 12 dollars as deactivation fees”…
phone but you will be charged 12 dollars as deactivation fees”…

‘No man, why do I need it for, then my wife has a line in Jordan, yes, what were we talking about? Then she said “it’s ok, I can do it for you over phone, but you will be charged 12 dollars as deactivation fees”…’

Examining the above conversation shows that, besides “customer service” and “roaming,” speaker B switched to English twice: once to quote his own exact words in the phone call he is talking about, and once to quote the exact words of the telecommunication company’s representative. Switching to English in this example can be ascribed to the participant’s desire to accurately tell his addressee the exact words that were uttered in the interactions or situations being described. David (2003, 15) suggests that reporting the speech of someone is “more effective if cited in the language originally used”. In brief, switching to English in the above examples serves as quotation marks and encloses the exact words of the quoted person.

3.6 Creating a comic, humorous or ironic effect

Creating a comic, humorous or ironic effect is another function that code-switching can serve (Appel and Muysken 1987; Edwards 1994). The words and expressions of a foreign language might sometimes be more appropriate for joking and humorous anecdotes. An interesting instance of this function is speaker A’s switching to English in the last line of example (5) above. In this example, speaker B was talking about a bad and embarrassing experience he had gone through the day before, explaining his not
showing up. However, speaker A produced an unexpected comment saying “good for you,” which is definitely inappropriate in this context. The inappropriateness of this comment together with the effect of switching to English contributed to turning the rigid atmosphere into a sarcastic one as appears in the interlocutors’ laughter. It seems that changing the language of the interaction led to a change in the stressful and embarrassing tone of the conversation, which resulted in a comic effect. The following is another illustrative example.

Example (7)

VOC.PART man I wish-my I-know when you you-work, never-I

ma ʃuf-t-ak ?illa sʔaaf-I truck ʃind ?it-Tim Hortons wu bti-frab gahwih
not saw-I-you except parking-the truck by the-Tim Hortons and you-drinking coffee

‘Hey man! I wish I know when you work, I never see you except when parking the truck at Tim Hortons and drinking coffee.’

B: haha, wal ʕalei-k ma ʔakðab-ak, haha, walak ma ?ana ɣayyar-t
Haha, damn on-you how liar-you, haha, buddy that I changed-I,

ʔil-musamma ʔil-waʔiifi taʃi, baʃtʔal-it truck driver xalasʕ
the-title the-job mine stopped-I truck driver that.is.it

‘Haha, damn you, what a liar! Haha, hey buddy, do not you know that I have changed my job title, I am no longer truck driver, that’s it.’

A: ʃuu raqq-u-k la ʕayyar yaʃni?
What promoted-they-you to pilot means
‘What, have you been promoted to a pilot?’

A: la wallah sʔur-it truck parker, haha
No by.God became-I truck parker, haha
‘No actually I became a truck parker, haha.’

B: haha, ma ʔabrad widʒh-ak
haha, how cold face-you
‘Haha, how cold your face is! (i.e., an expression means that “you are a jerk/bull shitter” or “you are full of it”).

C: ʔaw coffee drinker, haha
Or coffee drinker, haha
‘Or he is a coffee drinker, haha.’
Actually you colder than-him too
‘Actually you are more of a jerk than he is.’

It is clear that the three friends involved in the above excerpt are indirectly criticizing, mocking and teasing each other. Speaker A started criticizing speaker B’s various visits to Tim Hortons and spending a lot of time with the guys drinking coffee, albeit he is supposedly a hard-working truck driver. It is possible that speaker B did not like speaker A’s criticism, but concealed his indignation through turning this stressful situation into a sarcastic one. He achieved that through switching to English and playing with the words coming up with a pun. He claimed that his new job title is “truck parker,” a hypothetical job title opposed to the real job title “truck driver.” Similarly, speaker C contributed to downplaying this stressful situation analogically providing another hypothetical and humorous job title, i.e., “coffee drinker.” It can be said that both speakers B and C deliberately resorted to English to reduce stress and create a comic effect through providing such hypothetical job titles (as appears in their laughter).

4. Conclusion

This study examined the socio-pragmatic functions of code-switching to English in the daily conversations of Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba/Canada. It was mainly based on the qualitative analysis of almost 18 hours of 11 (8 males and 3 females) participants’ audio-recorded speech and interviews. The data analysis revealed a sizeable number of English switches in the Jordanian immigrants’ daily interactions. It was found that switching to English takes place for specific linguistic, communicative and socio-pragmatic purposes. The following six socio-pragmatic functions for code-switching to English were identified in the daily speech of Jordanian immigrants in Manitoba: filling lexical needs, integrating into the Canadian culture and lifestyle, qualifying a message, mitigating embarrassment and negative connotations, quoting the exact words of somebody, and creating humorous or ironic effect.

The present study might have been the first to tackle Arabic-English code-switching among Jordanians in the Canadian context, thus it forms a substantial addition to the bilingualism and code-switching literature. The findings provide researchers and readers with better insights into this linguistic phenomenon, its nature and motivations. They may also inspire other scholars to further investigate the same topic in other immigration contexts. It is recommended that further research be conducted on language contact-induced phenomena in general, and on code-switching to English amongst other Arab nationals in Canada and other English-speaking contexts. It is also recommended that the present study be replicated in other immigration contexts in order to further validate its results and to figure out if code-switching among Jordanian immigrants can serve additional communicative functions other than those identified in the present study. Finally, Arabic Language Academies throughout the Arab World are invited to cooperate more seriously to bridge the sizeable number of lexical gaps in Arabic especially in the fields of science and technology.
Code-switching to English amongst Arabic-speaking Jordanians in Canada

أثر التبديل بين اللغات العربية والإنجليزية لدى المهاجرين الأردنيين في كندا

زياد يوسف الأزهر
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدابها، جامعة البلقاء التطبيقية، الأردن

الملخص

يؤدي الاتصال اللغوي إلى عدد من الظواهر اللغوية، ومن أبرز هذه الظواهر التبديل بين اللغات الذي يشير إلى استخدام ثنائي للغتين في المحادثة نفسها، بل ضمن الجملة الواحدة. وتهدف هذه الدراسة إلى بحث التبديل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية لدى المهاجرين الأردنيين في مانيتوبا، كندا، وتحليل الوظائف الاجتماعية البراغماتية الناجمة عن هذا السلوك اللغوي تحليلاً نويعياً. وقد شارك في هذه الدراسة 11 مهاجراً أردنياً مقيماً في وينيبيغ، عاصمة مانيتوبا. توزعوا من حيث الجنس كما يأتى: ثمانية ذكور، وثلاث إيراث. وتم استخدام أدوات لجمع البيانات اللازمة لهذه الدراسة. وهما: التسجيلات الصوتية والمقابلات شبه المنظمة. وتم تصنيف حالات التبديل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية إلى وظائف اجتماعية براغماتية مختلفة بناءً على تحليل محتوى 18 ساعة من المحادثات المسجلة. وأظهر تحليل كل من محتوى التسجيلات الصوتية والمقابلات شبه المنظمة أن المهاجرين الأردنيين يلجأون إلى التبديل بين اللغتين العربية والإنجليزية لتحقيق مجموعة من الوظائف الاجتماعية البراغماتية مثل: سد الاحتياجات linguisti-cal، الاندماج في الثقافة الكندية، وأسلوب الحياة الكندي، وتوضيح المعنى، وتخفيض الحرج والدلائل السلبية لبعض الكلمات، واقتراح كلام شخص ما بدقة، وخلق أثر فكاهي أو ساخر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التبديل بين اللغات، الوظائف الاجتماعية البراغماتية، كندا؛ اللغة العربية، اللغة الإنجليزية.

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**Appendix A**

**Semi-structured interview**

**Demographics**

1. Tell me about yourself:
   a. What is your name?
   b. How old are you?
   c. Where were you born?
   d. Were where your parents born?
   e. What are your academic qualifications?
   f. What is your occupation?
Code-switching to English amongst Arabic-speaking Jordanians in Canada

g. How many years of school did you get in Canada?

h. How long have you been living in Canada?

Language use

2. What is your first language?

3. Evaluate your English proficiency on a scale out of 10.

4. What language(s) do you speak at home: Arabic, English or both? Who do you speak it/them with?

5. When do you code-switch to English? What are the topics in which you code-switch to English? Give some examples please

6. What were your reasons/motivations/intentions when you code-switched to English in (an example from his/her audio-recording)?

Appendix B

Phonetic symbols used in transcribing Arabic utterances

1. Consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Phonetic Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>Voiceless glottal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>Voiced glottal stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>Voiceless interdental fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ð/</td>
<td>Voiced interdental fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dʒ/</td>
<td>Voiced post-alveolar affricate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>Voiceless pharyngeal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>Voiceless velar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>Voiceless alveo-palatal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sˁ/</td>
<td>Voiceless velarised alveolar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ðˁ/</td>
<td>Voiced velarised dento-alveolar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>Voiceless velarised dento-alveolar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>Voiced velarised interdental fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʁ/</td>
<td>Voiced pharyngeal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>Voiceless uvular fricative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Phonetic Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>Front short close vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>Front short open vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>Back short close vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. All other symbols which are not mentioned in the above tables are standard IPA symbols.

4. CC: geminate consonant

5. VV: long vowel