

Gender Differences in Using Expressions of Agreement in Jordanian Spoken Arabic

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Abstract—This research explores the different ways Jordanian male and female university students use expressions of agreement in correlation with the contextual situation in which a different addressee is involved. The sample of students consisted of 233 males and 380 females from different Jordanian universities. To collect the required data, a questionnaire was developed and given to the respondents. The questionnaire contained three different situations, each asking the respondents about the agreement expression that they would use with three different addressees. Jordanians males and females mostly use /t'ayeb/ طيب, /ma:fi/ ماشي, /tama.m/ تمام, and /əv 'kei/ اوك to show agreement when they are asked to do something by somebody. The study shows that these expressions are synonymous but vary according to the gender of both the speaker and the addressee. Females tend to use the variant /tama.m/ تمام in most formal contextual situations, i.e., with a university professor, whereas males are more apathetic regarding the formality of this situation, using the more casual variant /əv 'kei/ اوك. Furthermore, both males and females tend to be polite with their parents and avoid using borrowed foreign expressions, using the most polite variant, /t'ayeb/ طيب. In another contextual situation, i.e., a close friend, males tend mostly to use /ma:fi/ ماشي within their closed networks, showing that they are more strict in using the vernacular in such situations, whereas even with their close friends, females tend to use the borrowed variant /əv 'kei/ اوك to seem more casual and cool.

Index Terms—sociolinguistics, gender, men's and women's language, agreement expressions, contextual situation

I. INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguists seek to explain why people speak differently in different social contexts and give reasons for that. Moreover, they are also interested in investigating the effects of social factors such as social distance, social status, age, gender, class, and the like on language varieties whether they are dialects, registers, or genres. Furthermore, sociologists attempt to identify the social meanings that language conveys in different social situations (Holmes, 2006). Indeed, the belief that men and women speak differently has been the subject of many sociolinguistic studies in the world, including within the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. Coates (1998) points out that “the way men speak is held in high esteem, while women's ways of talking are compared unfavorably with men's” (p. 2). She uses the term “folk linguistics” to refer to this belief.

In addition, the study of speech style has been the concern of many sociolinguists. Eckert and Rickford (2001) define style as a set of linguistic variants or linguistic practices with specific social meanings. In this regard, William Labov is interested in the concept of “attention paid to speech”, and he proposes that the style a speaker uses is dependent on how much attention the speaker is paying to their own speech. This, in turn, is dependent on the formality of the situation (Labov, 1972). However, with the accommodation theory, Giles (2016) proposes that style-shifting occurs in two ways. First, it changes through convergence where the speaker shifts his speech in order to get social approval. The second way it changes is through divergence where the speaker shifts his speech to show social disapproval or to distance himself from others (Giles, 2016). Nevertheless, in both Labov's and Giles's theories, all of these factors lead to what is called “stylistic variation”, which means that an individual speaker's speech varies across contexts and situations. Consequently, differences in the choice of vocabulary, grammatical patterns, and lexical expression depend on the context and its content, and according to these contexts, men and women have been found to use language differently.

Lakoff (1975) proposed theories on the existence of women's language in her book *Language and Woman's Place*, which have served as the basis for countless studies on the subject. In her book, she mentions ten features of women's language:

1. Lexical hedges or fillers (“you know”, “sort of”, “well”, “you see”)
2. Tag questions (“She's very nice, *isn't she?*”)
3. Rising intonation on declaratives (“It's really good!”)
4. “Empty” adjectives (“divine”, “charming”, “cute”)
5. Precise color terms (“magenta,” “aquamarine”)
6. Intensifiers such as “just” and “so” (“I like him so much!”)

7. “Hypercorrect” grammar (consistent use of standard verb forms)
8. “Super-polite” forms (indirect requests, euphemism)
9. Avoidance of strong swear words (“fudge”, “my goodness”)
10. Emphatic stress (It was a *BRILLIANT* performance!) (Lakoff, 1975, pp. 53-55).

In addition, the level of politeness a speaker uses toward an addressee is one factor that makes speakers modify their speech. This level is affected by the social distance between the speaker and the addressee. In terms of gender differences in politeness, Lakoff (1975) asserts that women are more linguistically polite than their male counterparts. Also, Brown and Levinson (1987) argue that “women operate more positive politeness strategies to a higher degree because they operate dense social networks” (p. 31). This is in accord with Labov’s (2006) conclusion that women use more prestigious dialect variables than men do.

The richness of spoken Arabic makes it a valuable domain for investigation due to the unlimited number of social and linguistic terms that it includes. However, only a handful of these terms and expressions have been researched, and of the expressions that still need further investigation are those used to express agreement. For linguists, agreement is considered a sign of cooperation and solidarity between interlocutors, and in each language, there are a range of expressions used for the purpose of showing collaborative agreement. Furthermore, expressions of agreement can be investigated in light of politeness. Regarding the function of agreement expressions, Brown and Levinson (1987) point out that the speaker demonstrates “common ground” with the hearer by using agreement expressions since agreement is considered a positive face strategy. As for Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA), a range of expressions are used to indicate agreement between interlocutors. Speakers of JSA alternate in the use of these expressions, though they have the same meaning. Therefore, these expressions have captured the attention of this paper’s researchers due to their high frequency of use in JSA.

The present study will take these concepts into account while discussing how Jordanian males and females use agreement expressions in correlation with contextual situations in which different addressees are involved. The main hypothesis of this study says that males and females use different lexical choices to agree in conversations when taking into account the addressee. In addition, females use more formal ways to agree in situations where there is more social distance between the interlocutors.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA) is one of the Levantine Spoken Arabic dialects of the Greater Syria, or “Levant”, region, comprised today of Jordan, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon. In Jordan, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is the language of newspapers, courts, education, and other formal situations. However, in terms of dialects, there are three that are recognized in Jordan and which vary according to regional and socio-economic factors.

The first, and perhaps most well-known, of these dialects is the urban dialect, which is mostly used in Jordan’s bigger cities (Suleiman, 1985). Al-Harshsh (2014) maintains that “fascinatingly, this dialect has been used by young Jordanian females, whatever their regions are, because they consider this dialect to be the most prestigious and favorable in society; they use it to show off” (p. 874). The second dialect is the rural variety and is mostly spoken by farmers and others living in agricultural communities in northern Jordan. Finally, there is the Bedouin dialect that Al-Harshsh (2014) points out “is spoken by people who are living in the eastern and southern regions of the Kingdom” (p. 874).

Moreover, the study of stylistic variation in JSA seems to be of little interest to researchers. Indeed, in terms of gender, there are a number of studies that have investigated the differences in Jordanian Spoken Arabic between men and women. However, these studies are restricted to the syntactic and phonological conversational aspects of the vernacular. Nonetheless, there have been some studies that have investigated the different styles of Jordanian Spoken Arabic used by men and women in a variety of domains.

For instance, Abudaljuh (2011) studied the effects of gender on how emphasis is produced in Jordanian Arabic through the manifestation of pharyngealized consonants, a feature of Semitic languages. After measuring some acoustic parameters in the speech of both males and females in the study, the researcher found that emphasis was more acoustically evident in the speech of males than in the speech of females.

Malkawi (2011) investigated the different ways men and women talk in Jordanian society on occasions of happiness, consolation, thankfulness after a banquet, and farewell. The study showed that females tend to avoid the use of old and archaic words, preferring to use more contemporary vocabulary. For example, females tend to use the borrowed English word “bye” instead of the Arabic *mah assallameh* when saying goodbye.

Al-Omari and Abu-Melhim (2013) investigated the various types of promising used by speakers of Jordanian Arabic and the gender differences in using such ways when promising. It shows that males tend to use more direct promising words and phrases than females do.

Al-Harshsh (2014) studied male and female conversational styles and phonological variations. The study shows that Jordanian women and men have different linguistic styles that distinguish their gender in conversation. The study found that women tend to be more linguistically conservative than men, concluding that “women tend to avoid direct disagreement, and they tend to maintain the social rapport with the other interlocutor” (p. 881). Also, women have tendencies toward avoidance to produce more facilitative strategies, so they are more cooperative than men.

Recently, Al-Sallal and O. Ahmad (2020) conducted a study to investigate the different ways Jordanian males and females use to apologize. The study shows that “little or no difference was found between females’ and males’ use of

apology strategies (p. 61). However, it shows that females prefer certain strategies over others. For instance, “females used polite strategies like expressions of gratefulness, congratulations, and consolation”, whereas males “preferred to use convincing strategies like praising the name of God” (Al-Sallal & O. Ahmad, 2020, p. 61).

Finally, it is evident that the previous studies on gender differences in Jordanian Spoken Arabic have tackled many language issues. However, because it concentrates on gender differences in using different expressions for agreement, the present study is distinguished in terms of its purpose. It is also the first study that, to the best of the researchers’ knowledge, tackles this crucial issue because these expressions have not been studied before. Also, this study is unique and original because it incorporates the effects of both gender and addressee together to study the variation in using agreement expressions.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research is interested in answering the following questions:

1. Do men and women in Jordan use different lexical expressions for agreement?
2. If there is a difference, what are the motives for both men and women to use these lexical expressions differently?

To answer these questions, a questionnaire was distributed randomly among respondents consisting of university students from three different universities in Jordan, ranging in age between 18 and 26 years old. The questionnaire was designed to discover the variation in the use of different expressions used for agreement in Jordanian Spoken Arabic. In the personal information section, the informants were asked about their gender. The second part of the questionnaire contained three questions, each of them in a different contextual situation with a different addressee. The language used in the questionnaire is Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA), making it easier for the respondents to answer the questions. In this paper, the questionnaire, located in Appendix B, has been translated from Arabic to English. A total of 627 questionnaires were distributed. However, 14 of them were not completed, leaving the total of completed questionnaires at 613.

A. Social Variables

The social factors discussed in this study are the genders of both the speaker and the addressee. Addressees may be parents, a university professor, or a close friend. The researchers chose these three types of addressees to show whether different addressees affect the speaker’s choice of one lexical expression over another. The distribution of the respondents is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1
THE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO GENDER

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Female	380	62%
Male	233	38%
Total	613	100%

B. Linguistic Variables

The linguistic variables being studied are the lexical expressions Jordanians use to express agreement. Among these linguistic variables are: 1.) /t'ayeb/ طيب; 2.) /ma:fi/ ماشني; 3.) /əv 'kei/ اوك; and 4.) /tama:m/ تمام. These expressions are synonymous with “okay” in English. The tendency to use one of these expressions, as the researchers hypothesize in this study, may be affected by the gender of the speaker and the addressee.

IV. RESULTS

This study clarified the differences in speech between males and females in Jordanian Spoken Arabic regarding the use of certain expressions for agreement. The researchers concentrated on studying these expressions in the following situations: 1.) with parents; 2.) with a university professor; and 3.) with a close friend. There are many synonymous expressions that Jordanians use in the mentioned situations; however, the researchers focused on the most frequently used ones. In this section, the researchers will present the responses of the informants to each question. It should be noted that each of the three questions contains a different contextual situation in which a different addressee is involved. To analyze the data in this study, the researchers made use of frequency counts and their percentages using SPSS software. Additionally, the researchers took advantage of percentage figures to show the distribution of each expression by both gender and addressee variables.

In Tables 2, 3, and 4 below, the responses of the informants are shown without taking the gender of the speaker into account.

Question One: If your father or mother tells you, “Go and do your homework”, and you agree to do it, what agreement expression do you use?

TABLE 2
THE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES WHEN THE ADDRESSEE IS ONE OF THE PARENTS

Expression	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
/t'ayeb/ طيب	274	44.7	44.7	44.7
/ma:fi/ ماشي	224	36.5	36.5	81.2
/əv 'kei/ اوک	96	15.7	15.7	96.9
/tama:m/ تمام	19	3.1	3.1	100.0
Total	613	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 shows that 44.7% of the respondents tend to use /t'ayeb/ طيب if the addressee is one of the parents. However, only 15% of them tend to use /əv 'kei/ اوک with their father or mother. Moreover, /tama:m/ تمام is rarely used in this situation.

Question Two: If your professor tells you, "Come to my office within the office hours", and you agree, which word do you use?

TABLE 3
THE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES WHEN THE ADDRESSEE IS A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

Expression	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
/t'ayeb/ طيب	104	17.0	17.0	17.0
/ma:fi/ ماشي	106	17.3	17.3	34.3
/əv 'kei/ اوک	220	35.9	35.9	70.1
/tama:m/ تمام	183	29.9	29.9	100.0
Total	613	100.0	100.0	

It is clear from Table 3 that respondents mostly tend to use /əv 'kei/ اوک with their professors rather than /t'ayeb/ طيب or /ma:fi/ ماشي, which scored only 17%. It is important to note that /tama:m/ تمام is used by 29.9% of the respondents, which is very close to the percentage of /əv 'kei/ اوک in this situation. In contrast, the use of both /t'ayeb/ طيب and /ma:fi/ ماشي is very limited.

Question Three: If your close friend tells you, "Go home and bring your cell phone. I'm waiting for you", and you agree to do it, which word do you use?

TABLE 4
THE FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES WHEN THE ADDRESSEE IS A CLOSE FRIEND

Expression	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
/t'ayeb/ طيب	130	21.2	21.2	21.2
/ma:fi/ ماشي	198	32.3	32.3	53.5
/əv 'kei/ اوک	257	41.9	41.9	95.4
/tama:m/ تمام	28	4.6	4.6	100.0
Total	613	100.0	100.0	

As shown in Table 4 above, respondents mostly use /əv 'kei/ اوک (41.9%) with their close friends, while they rarely use /tama:m/ تمام. Also, the use of /ma:fi/ ماشي is 32.3%, somewhat close to the use of /əv 'kei/ اوک. As the data indicates, the use of /tama:m/ تمام is very limited.

On the other hand, when we take the gender of the speaker into account, the following results appear:

In Question 1 of the questionnaire, informants were asked which expression they use in a specific situation; i.e., with their parents. The responses of both males and females are shown below in Table 5.

TABLE 5
AGREEMENT EXPRESSIONS BY GENDER WITH PARENTS

		Gender		Total	
		Female	Male		
Q1	/t'ayeb/ طيب	Frequency	180	94	274
		%	65.7%	34.3%	100.0%
	/ma:fi/ ماشي	Frequency	138	86	224
		%	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%
	/əv 'kei/ اوک	Frequency	53	43	96
		%	55.2%	44.8%	100.0%
	/tama:m/ تمام	Frequency	9	10	19
		%	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
Total		Frequency	380	233	613
		%	62.0%	38.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	62.0%	38.0%	100.0%

As shown in Table 5, both males and females rarely use /əv 'kei/ اوک with their parents. However, both gender groups are in favor of /t'ayeb/ طيب in the same situation. Meanwhile, 47.4% of females responded to this question with /t'ayeb/

طيب, and 40.3% of males responded the same. These results are also shown below in Figure 1.

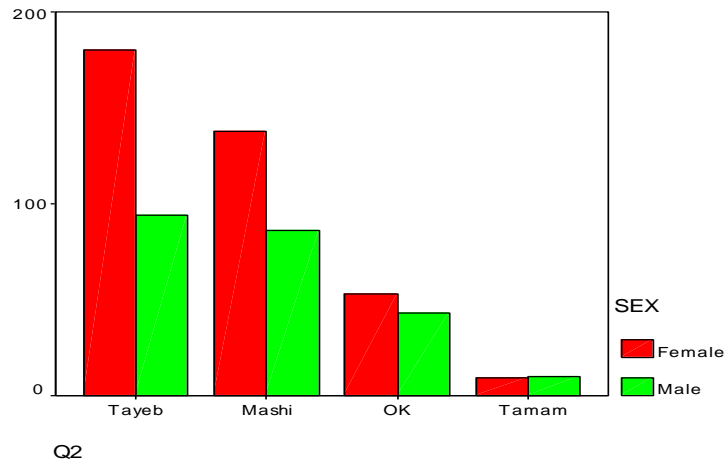


Figure 1. The Responses of Respondents by Gender in the Parents' Situation

In the second question, informants were asked about the expression of agreement they used in another situation. This time, the question involved a university professor. The responses of both males and females are shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6
AGREEMENT EXPRESSIONS BY GENDER WITH A UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR

		Gender		Total	
		Female	Male		
Q2	/t'ayeb/ طيب	Frequency	59	45	104
		%	56.7%	43.3%	100.0%
	/ma:fi/ ماشي	Frequency	59	47	106
		%	55.7%	44.3%	100.0%
	/əv 'keɪ/ اوك	Frequency	127	93	220
		%	57.7%	42.3%	100.0%
	/tama:m/ تمام	Frequency	135	48	183
		%	73.8%	26.2%	100.0%
Total		Frequency	380	233	613
		%	62.0%	38.0%	100.0%

In contrast to the situation with parents, 39.9% of males tend to /əv 'keɪ/ اوك when in agreement with a university professor. On the other hand, 35.5% of female respondents favor /tama:m/ تمام when they speak to their professors. These results are also shown in Figure 2.

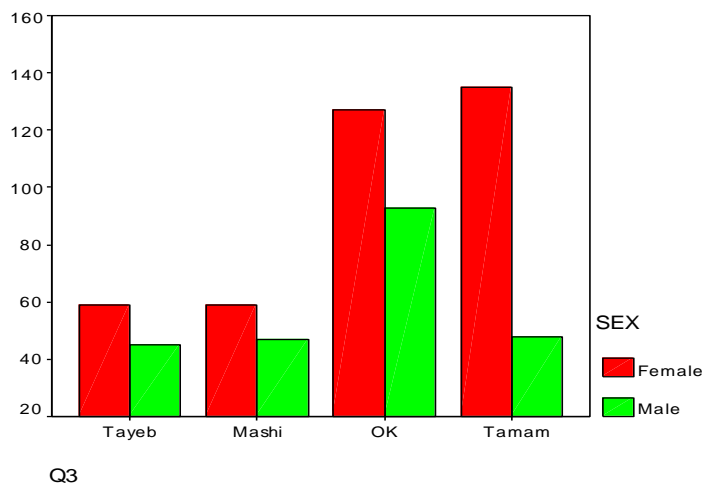


Figure 2. The Responses of Respondents by Gender in the Professor Situation

In the third question, the informants were asked about the agreement expression they mostly use with their close friends. The responses of both genders are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7
AGREEMENT EXPRESSIONS BY SEX WITH A CLOSE FRIEND

		Gender		Total	
		Female	Male		
Q3	/t'ayeb/طيب	Frequency	82	48	130
		%	63.1%	36.9%	100.0%
	/ma:fi/ماشى	Frequency	107	91	198
		%	54.0%	46.0%	100.0%
	/əʊ 'keɪ/اوك	Frequency	177	80	257
		%	68.9%	31.1%	100.0%
	/tama:m/تمام	Frequency	14	14	28
		%	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total		Frequency	380	233	613
		%	62.0%	38.0%	100.0%

It is clear from Table 7, above, that females mostly tend to use /əʊ 'keɪ/ اوك with close friends at 46.6%, whereas males tend mostly to use /ma:fi/ ماشى with their friends at 39.1%. These results are also shown below in Figure 3.

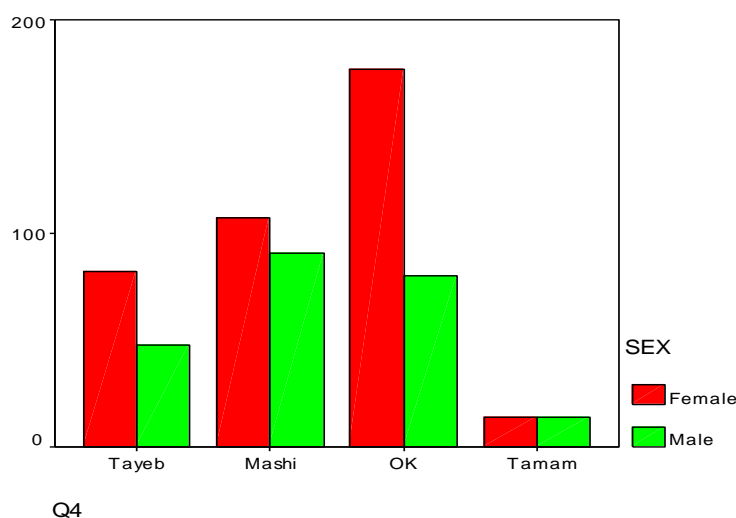


Figure 3. The Responses of Respondents by Gender in the Close Friend Situation

Table 8, below, summarizes the results in terms of gender and addressee:

TABLE 8
THE MOST USED EXPRESSION IN EACH SITUATION BY MALES AND FEMALES

	In General	Parents	Professor	Close Friend
Males	/əʊ 'keɪ/اوك	/t'ayeb/طيب	/əʊ 'keɪ/اوك	/ma:fi/ماشى
Females	/əʊ 'keɪ/اوك	/t'ayeb/طيب	/tama:m/تمام	/əʊ 'keɪ/اوك

Table 8 shows that the expressions used by both males and females vary according to the addressee. For example, females use /t'ayeb/طيب with their parents, but they use /əʊ 'keɪ/ اوك with their close friends. On the other hand, males use /t'ayeb/طيب with their parents, but they use /ma:fi/ ماشى with their close friends. If the addressee were a university professor, males tend mostly to use “okay”, whereas females tend mostly to use /tama:m/ تمام.

V. DISCUSSION

In this section, the researchers discuss the results obtained from the analysis of the data. The discussion is divided into three parts. The first one tackles how informants use these four expressions in general and will account for the most used expression. The second will discuss how the informants use these expressions in different situations without taking the interaction of the gender variable with the addressee variable into account. The final part will focus on the main question of this study: whether males and females use agreement expressions differently, taking into account the different situations that include different addressees.

First, as shown in Table 9, note the overall use of each of the expressions in all questions of the study. It is clear that the expression /əʊ 'keɪ/ اوك is the expression most frequently used.

TABLE 9
THE OVERALL FREQUENCIES OF EACH VARIANT

The Expression	The Overall Frequency
/t'ayeb/ طيب	508
/ma:fi/ ماشي	528
/əv'kei/ اوک	573
/tama:m/ تمام	230

Taking into account that all informants are undergraduate university students, this finding is supported by the hypotheses of both Al-Btoush (2014) and Sulieman (1985) that university students tend to use loan words and borrowed English expressions to appear cool and modern.

Second, the results in Tables 2, 3, and 4 show that there are differences in the most used expressions with the parents and the other two situations, that is, a university professor and a close friend. However, /əv'kei/ اوک appears to be used the most in situations involving both the professors and close friends. Thus, there is no difference in the most commonly used expression in these two situations. On the other hand, there is no big difference in the use of /tama:m/ تمام and /əv'kei/ اوک when in agreement with a university professor, and /ma:fi/ ماشي and /əv'kei/ اوک when agreeing with close friends. Therefore, as the small differences between the frequency of the four expressions reveal (whether in the same situation or in different situations), an analysis based on the variable “the addressee” alone would not be adequate.

Additionally, Tables 5, 6, and 7 show different results when we take the gender variable into account. This conclusion is supported by the strong tendency of females to use /tama:m/ تمام when the addressee is a university professor and the tendency of males to use /əv'kei/ اوک in the same situation. Also, the tendency of males to use /ma:fi/ ماشي when the addressee is a close friend and the tendency of females to use /əv'kei/ اوک in the same situation are supportive of the conclusion that an analysis based on interaction between the gender variable and the addressee is more adequate.

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the concept that males and females use language differently is a fact verified by many sociolinguistic studies in many speech communities. This study also reveals that there is a variation in the linguistic devices utilized by males and females, more specifically in the use of agreement expression in JSA.

In the situation where the addressee is one of the parents, we notice that both male and female respondents mostly use the expression /t'ayeb/ طيب. /t'ayeb/ طيب is considered a vernacular expression, but it is more polite than /ma:fi/ ماشي. So, both males and females tend to use polite expressions with their parents without abandoning the intimacy that is supposed to exist between the parents and their children by using /t'ayeb/ طيب rather than /ma:fi/ ماشي. In contrast, in the situation where the addressee is a close friend, we notice that males tend to use the least formal and most vernacular expression /ma:fi/ ماشي.

The tendency of males to use /ma:fi/ ماشي with their close friends, which could be considered a closed network, proves the hypothesis of Coates (1993) that men maintain vernacular forms in their closed networks for reasons of solidarity. On the other hand, the tendency of females to use /əv'kei/ اوک in situations where the addressee is a close friend is justified by the suggestion that they use it for casualness and coolness with their friends rather than to appear more prestigious. Therefore, the strictness of using informal and vernacular forms is more apparent in the speech of males than that of females because, as argued by Holmes (2008), they relate the vernacular to “masculinity and toughness” (p. 167).

In addition, women generally tend to use more formal or polite forms than men do, as argued by Lakoff (1975). This hypothesis proves the tendency of females in this study to use the most formal expression among the four observed ones, i.e., /tama:m/ تمام, in the situation where the addressee is a university professor, which is considered a formal situation. A justification for this tendency is that females use more formal forms than males because they are more status-conscious than males, and the social norms of a society pressure women into being more conservative and polite in their behavior. Therefore, this pressure will affect the language that females use (Holmes, 2008). On the other hand, we notice that in the same situation, i.e., with a university professor, which is supposed to be a formal situation, males tend mostly to use /əv'kei/ اوک in this situation. It suggests that males are less status-conscious and do not tend to be conservative; thus, in this situation, they do not conform to the norms and use the formal expression, i.e., /tama:m/ تمام, in our case. However, males use the casual expression /əv'kei/ اوک in this formal situation.

VI. CONCLUSION

The study aimed to accomplish two objectives: (a) identify agreement expressions mostly used by Jordanians and their frequency of occurrence; and (b) examine the influence of gender on the choice of agreement expression. The findings showed that Jordanians tend to use multiple agreement expressions. It has been observed that there are more than four ways Jordanian males and females agree when they are asked to do something for somebody. They mostly use /t'ayeb/ طيب, /ma:fi/ ماشي, /tama:m/ تمام, and /əv'kei/ اوک. All of these expressions mean “okay” in English. These expressions are synonymous but vary according to the gender of the speaker and the addressee. Thus, they cannot be used interchangeably.

It is clear from the findings that each of the four expressions used for agreement in Jordanian society has a suitable contextual use. These expressions vary in their formality, with /tama:m/ تمام being used in the most formal situation and /ma:fi/ ماشي being the most vernacular and informal; on the other hand, /əv'kei/ اوک is used for casualness and /t'ayeb/ طيب being vernacular, but it is more polite than /ma:fi/ ماشي since the use of these two expressions proves these functions.

The findings of the study indicate that the variation in the linguistic styles utilized by both males and females is apparent in Jordanian society as compared to other societies that sociolinguists have investigated. This variation appears in the use of agreement expressions. It is shown that females tend to use the formal variant, i.e., /tama:m/ تمام, in its suitable formal contextual situations, whereas males are less concerned with the suitability of this variant and use a more casual variant, i.e., /əv'kei/ اوك in a formal situation. Furthermore, both males and females tend to be polite with their parents, avoid using borrowed foreign expressions, and use the vernacular polite variant, i.e., /t'ayeb/ طيب. In another contextual situation, i.e., a close friend, males tend to be stricter in using the vernacular form, i.e., /ma:fi/ ماشي within their closed networks, whereas females, even with their close friends, use less vernacular and tend to use the casual variant, i.e., /əv'kei/ اوك.

APPENDIX A

The Phonemes of Spoken Jordanian Arabic (adopted from Al-Harabsheh, 2014):

- ʔ: voiceless glottal stop ء
- b: voiced bilabial stop ب
- t: voiceless dental stop. ت
- θ: voiceless inter-dental fricative. ث
- ʒ: voiced palatal affricate ج (Jordanian Arabic)
- dʒ: fricative voiced alveolar ج (Standard Arabic)
- ħ: voiceless pharyngeal fricative ح
- X: voiceless velar fricative خ
- d: voiced dental stop د
- ð: voiced inter-dental fricative ذ
- r: alveolar tap ر
- z: voiced dental fricative ز
- s: voiceless dental fricative س
- ʃ: voiceless palatal fricative ش
- tʃ: voiced palatal fricative تش
- s': voiceless fricative alveolar ص
- t': stop voiceless emphatic ط
- ð': Voiced fricative emphatic ظ
- d': voiced emphatic stop ض
- ʕ: voiced pharyngeal fricative ع
- ɣ: voiced velar fricative غ
- f: voiceless labio-dental fricative ف
- g: voiced velar stop ق (Jordanian Arabic)
- q: voiceless uvular stop ق (Standard Arabic)
- k: voiceless velar stop ك
- l: alveolar lateral ل
- m: bilabial nasal stop م
- n: alveolar nasal stop ن
- h: voiceless glottal fricative هـ
- w: approximant velar و
- y: palatal semi-vowel ي

APPENDIX B

Survey

Kindly answer this survey for a linguistic study.

This survey asks you to answer questions about the expressions you use for agreement. The answers should take you only a few minutes to answer.

Gender: *Male (.....) * Female (.....)

1. If your father or mother tells you, “Go and do your homework”, and you agree to do it, what agreement expression do you use?
 - a) /t'ayeb/ طيب
 - b) /ma:fi/ ماشي
 - c) /tama:m/ تمام
 - d) /əv'kei/ اوك
2. If your professor tells you, “Come to my office within the office hours”, and you agree, which word do you use?
 - a) /t'ayeb/ طيب
 - b) /ma:fi/ ماشي
 - c) /tama:m/ تمام

- d) /əʊ 'keɪ/ اوڤك
3. If your close friend tells you, "Go home and bring your cell phone. I'm waiting for you", and you agree to do it, which word do you use?
- a) /t'ayeb/ طيب
- b) /ma:ʃi/ ماشي
- c) /tama:m/ تمام
- d) /əʊ 'keɪ/ اوڤك

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