

SOME FEATURES OF THE OCCUPATIONAL REGISTER OF THE INDUSTRIAL AREA IN IRBID, JORDAN

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Abstract

The present study aims at highlighting the register of the Industrial Area in Irbid. It is mainly devoted to investigate a number of speech acts in the Industrial Area namely, greetings, naming/addressing, thanking, saying farewells and taking oaths. It is based on data collected from the researchers' own daily observations and informal interviews with a number of informants in the Industrial Area. Moreover, data were collected from one spare-parts shop owned by the second author's family. The results show that the Industrial Area in Irbid has its unique register that fall under occupational registers. It is a tough register with apparent low prestige and a hidden masculine covert prestige. The researchers argue that knowledge of this register may protect customers from being cheated and overcharged by mechanics and spare-parts shops owners.

Keywords: Register, speech acts, industrial area, covert prestige

Introduction

In essence sociolinguistics tries to answer questions related to language choices, such as who speaks to whom, how, when, why and where? (See Trudgill, 1974; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972 and Hudson, 1980). It argues that in addition to linguistic competence and performance (see Chomsky,

1965) that every speaker should possess in order to speak a language, he/she should also possess the so-called communicative competence (see Hymes, 1972, 1974). According to Hymes, meaning is determined by the community that speaks the code or language. He argues that any communication involves: Setting; Participants; Ends; Act sequence; Key; Instrumentalities; Norms of interaction and interpretation; and Genre. These components are often acronymed SPEAKING (see Hymes, 1974).

Sociolinguists argue that any successful speaker should possess, in addition to linguistic competence and performance, a certain social knowledge that enables him/her to use the correct style of language in appropriate settings. This knowledge is often referred to as 'verbal repertoire'. This term refers to the knowledge by which a speaker is able to use the correct style for different occasions or places (Trudgill, 1974). For example, when I speak to my mother, I use a certain style, and when I speak to my boss, I use another, and so on and so forth. Those styles that are appropriate for different occasions are called registers (Trudgill, 1974). These registers could be related to many factors, such as occupation (driving, teaching, military, engineering, medicine, car repair, etc.), subject matter (atomic power, chemistry, physics, etc.), domains (university lecture, mosque, industrial area, wedding party, etc.), and the context of the speaker spoken to (friend, enemy, boss, etc.). Registers also vary according to the way they are communicated; for example, written registers are often more formal than oral ones.

The register used in the Industrial Area in Irbid is a unique one. It is related to both 'occupation' and 'physical settings or domains'. As the second author's family owns a shop for car spare parts at the Industrial Area in Irbid, we can say that the register of the Industrial Area has its own features and any outsider to the area can be easily identified from his/her register. More often than not, people coming to repair their cars in the Industrial Area try to imitate the register used in the area but fail. They do so in order to get good deals on spare parts and/or labour.

The Industrial Area in Irbid

Location

The governorate of Irbid occupies the northwestern part of Jordan. The Industrial Area in Irbid is in the northeast of Irbid city. It is located along Yaziji Street and borders Bishra to the east and Huneina to the west.

Ownership

The ownership of all shops and workshops in the Industrial Area in Irbid belongs to the Municipality of Great Irbid. All shops and workshops in the area are rented via the Municipality.

The Emergence (History)

The Industrial Area in Irbid was established in Irbid City Centre in 1967, but moved to the North-East of the city in 1971 where it is still located. It started as a small area with few shops and has been expanding ever since.

Shops

The number of shops and workshops in the Industrial Area in Irbid is currently 2852. However, the number constantly changes with time as almost every month a new shop/workshop opens and another closes (Great Irbid Municipality Info Centre). Most of the shops and workshops are made of concrete. However, in the heart of the area there are a number of old hangers that are used to sell used spare parts. Those hangers were erected in 1979.

Services

The main service that the Industrial Area offers is repairing cars and providing all sorts of spare parts either used or brand new. Car repair workshops include: 1) car electricians, 2) car mechanics, 3) car body repair and painting, 4) car computer checks, 5) steering balance, 6) car glass repair and 7) exhaust repair. Moreover, it offers car care services, such as car-wash stations, oil services, tyres repair, car condition check, car accessories, etc. The Industrial Area in Irbid contains a number of factories, such as nails, screws and building wires factory, FINE tissues factory, coal factory, plastic recycling plant, scrap plant and an ice-cream factory. Moreover, there are a number of coffee shops, groceries, kiosks, popular restaurants, and DIY shops. In the past, the Municipality of Great Irbid provided some free toilets, but they had to close them as they were turned into abomination areas. They were closed and then rented as shops and workshops. In the middle of the Industrial Area, the Municipality of Great Irbid has built a midsize mosque. It has a number of toilets and a wide abolition area. Not surprisingly, those toilets are privately rented and run by a member of the public who takes care of their cleanness for a small fee. Other mosques in the Industrial Area have

adopted the same practice and rented their toilets privately to prevent them turning into abomination areas. Other services in the area include: cars' scaling, Civil Defense Centre, Police Kiosk, Irbid Municipality Office, used cars sales garage and a bank (a branch of the Bank of Jordan).

Workers' Qualifications

According to Great Irbid Municipality Info Centre, the qualifications of the workers in the Industrial Area are:

1. Mechanics: Most mechanics are not educated; some of them are illiterate.
2. Spare parts sales: Most of those who work in brand new spare parts sales are educated. However, most of used spare-parts salesmen are not educated.

It is worth noting here that 100% of the workers in Irbid Industrial Area are males. Even the police kiosk is run by males. This is due to the fact that work in the Industrial Area is tough and physically demanding. Also, it is not safe for females to work in the area.

Statement of the Problem and Significance of the Study

As we mentioned above, the register of the Industrial Area in Irbid is a unique one and deserves to be studied. As will be shown later, one of the prominent features of life and language in the Industrial Area is impoliteness. Due to the tough jobs and the nature of the shops in the area, workers have to show that they are tough persons via rude and impolite language. In fact, one of the main features of the 'register' of the Industrial Area is the heavy use of expletives. To the best of our knowledge, no one has attempted to study this register. Some studies on loan words have hinted to some words used in the Industrial Area (cf. El-Khalil, 1983, Kailani, 1994) and few studies on translation also hinted to some words used in the Area (cf. Okour, 1997) but no thorough analysis has been made of the 'register'. Therefore, there is a gap in the literature in this area and the present study intends to fill this gap. The results of this study will contribute to the literature of sociolinguistics in general and to the study of occupational registers in particular.

Objectives and instruments

The main objective of this study is to examine the 'register' of the Industrial Area in Irbid. However, this study does not intend to study every

aspect of this register. It specifically aims to study the register of the Industrial Area in Irbid in relation to a number of speech acts, such as greetings, farewells, thanking, naming (nicknaming) and taking oaths.

The data collection procedure is threefold. As a spare part salesman, the second author is the main informant of the register. In addition, tape-recorded interviews are used to collect data. Thirdly, over a period of one year, the second author has observed and registered all sorts of natural occurrences of some speech acts, such as greetings, farewells, thanks, taking oaths, etc.

Selected Review of Related Literature

Trudgill (1974, p. 104) states that “the *occupational situation* will produce a distinct linguistic variety. Occupational linguistic varieties of this sort ... are likely to occur in any situation involving members of a particular profession or occupation.” The occupational registers are often different from each other in vocabulary. This can be either by using different lexical items or different senses (meanings) of the same lexical items. For example, the word ‘pitch’ has a special sense (meaning) in the register of football (Trudgill, 1974).

Juaro, Suleiman and Adamu (2013) investigate the occupational register used by soldiers in the barracks in Nigeria. An English language usage survey of “100 soldiers in the 23 Armoured Brigades, Gibson Jalo Cantonment, Yola was made and language use by soldiers was examined to discern whether such use are linked to and constrained in their Sociolinguistic Contexts by the educational qualification of the soldiers ” (p. 71). Data analysis has focused on the syntactic, stylistic and lexical features of the discourse. The findings show that “the language used by soldiers in the barracks is not only an effective and convenient tool for institutionalised occupational communication, but also a reflection of the educational realities of the soldiers” (p. 71).

Moore (2014) tests Halliday’s (2002) register theory and Hasan’s (1984) cohesive harmony analysis, to “illuminate how habitual patterns of language make meat-eating and factory farming seem natural” (p. 59). Data consist of four texts: an award-winning animal welfare campaign (Animal Australia), ‘Sage and Red Wine Pork Sausages’, ‘Fact File’ from Animals Australia and an excerpt from “The Sheep Pig”, a children’s story with a pig as a central character. She concludes that:

while such genre-bending clearly aims at bypassing reader defences, the text's real achievement is to combine semantic features whose co-occurrence is normally blocked by the cultural-linguistic system, allowing it to project a sophisticated food identity for readers and construe a social identity for the recipe 'ingredients' (pigs), realized largely through bizarre cohesive harmony (p. 59).

Ayeomoni (2005) analyses the political register of the political elite in Nigeria. Data come from the public speeches of a number of Nigerian politicians while addressing hot political issues. The findings indicate that the register of the political elite in Nigeria has a number of unique linguistic features. For instance, there is a “preponderant use of simple declarative sentence typology that is balance and complete in components” (p. 166).

Lewandowski (2013, 2014) studies the register of football and suggest that it might be a useful tool for studying patterns of variation. He pinpoints the main features of the register of football and lists some of its sub-registers, such as football rules and regulations; on-field communication; match reports; live television football commentary; live radio football commentary; and minute-by-minute reports.

Mellinkoff (1963) studies Legal English as a specialised occupational register that is often referred to as ‘legalese’. He traces the history of this register and identifies some of its linguistic features. Similarly, Tiersma (2005) traces the historical development of legal English and explains some of its features that make it very difficult to comprehend by non-specialised readers, such as specialised vocabulary, wordiness, redundancy and lengthy complex sentence structure. As a result of its complexity, a movement emerged that called for simplifying this register. It was called the Plain English Movement and started as a consumer movement (see Schane, 2006).

Sometimes specialised textbooks are written to teach specialised occupational registers, for example Zhu & Gyorffy (1991) and Allum (2012) offer textbooks on Medical English that are intended for the use of non-native speakers of English who work as medical doctors in English-speaking countries. Also, they target students at medical schools who are not native-speakers of English.

Okour (1997) evaluates the translatability of some terms of the register of ‘car parts’ from English into Arabic. The findings obtained from a questionnaire reveal that

60% of the names of car parts have been borrowed and Arabicized. Out of these borrowed names, 45% of them have been linguistically borrowed without any alteration, whereas 55% have been altered and adapted to the sound system of Arabic. The results also show that only 16% of the Arabic formal translation equivalents are actually used in Jordan, whereas 24% of the names of car parts are colloquial and of French origin (p. iv).

Al-Asal & Smadi (2012) detect Arabicisation techniques in the register of 'University Lectures' in two Arab universities. The findings obtained from an observational checklist show that "the usage of the Arabicized scientific terms in JUST [Jordan University of Science and Technology] is higher in frequency than in the UD [University of Damascus], and the usage of the Arabic equivalents in the UD is higher in frequency than in JUST" (p. 15).

Darwish (2010) investigates the influence of the Peace Treaty between Jordan and Israel on the register of political journalism in the Jordanian newspapers, namely the way of referring to the other party prior and after the peace process. The findings reveal that the peace process has had a significant impact on Arabic journalistic language. For instance, "negative names that were regularly used to refer to Israel at the beginning of the Arab-Israeli conflict have gradually disappeared from the Jordanian press giving rise to new positive to neutral names" (p. 191).

Darwish and Bader (2014) examine the religious register of Jordanian Arabic and how it can be used to identify the religious affiliations of the speakers. The data have been obtained from both authors' personal observations, informal interviews, Jordanian TV, public speeches and university lectures. The findings reveal that Jordanians depend on linguistic and non-linguistic cues to "identify the religious affiliations of others. They also admitted that sometimes not knowing the religious affiliations of others might result in the inappropriate use of language in some situations, such as offering condolences, giving advice, etc." (p. 76).

Speech Act Theory

In 1962, J. L. Austin introduced the notion of speech acts. He argues that when we speak, we actually perform certain acts. These acts are termed locutionary acts, illocutionary acts, and perlocutionary acts. The difference

between the first two acts is similar to the difference between speaking and doing. For example, when someone utters an imperative sentence like “Leave”, he/she utters a sequence of phonemes that travel from his/her mouth to the hearer’s ears. These phonemes form a word that has a specific form with an implied “you” that means “depart”. This is the locutionary force of the utterance which is part of the rules of the language, i.e., grammar. Any intentions in the mind of the utterer are often referred to as the illocutionary force. For example, the above-mentioned utterance has the force of “directing” someone to do something, i.e., requesting or ordering. When the hearer complies and leaves, then that effect (i.e., leaving) is the perlocutionary force of the utterance (Meyer, 2009).

Although there are three forces/acts in the theory of speech acts, the term ‘speech act’ is often used to refer only to the ‘illocutionary act’, i.e., the speaker’s intention (Meyer, 2009). This use is a consequence of how John Searle (1979) sees and discusses speech act theory. To Searle, a speech act emphasises the beliefs and intentions of the speakers. In this respect, Searle (1979) classified the illocutionary speech acts into five categories:

1. Assertives/representatives: they are acts that commit the speaker to the truthfulness of the utterances. These are statements, such as: “I live in Irbid”.
2. Directives: they are acts that make the speaker respond by acting, i.e., doing something, such as: orders, requests, commands, advice, etc. For instance, “Write a sentence” is a request from the speaker to the hearer to act by writing a sentence.
3. Commissives: they are acts that commit the speaker to some acts in the future, such as: promises, oaths, etc. For instance, “I promise to buy you a phone” is a commissive speech act in which the speaker commits himself/herself to do a future action.
4. Expressives: they are acts by which the speaker expresses his/her emotions and attitudes, such as: congratulations, excuses, thanks, greetings, farewells, etc. For example, “I thank you very much” is an expressive speech act that demonstrates the speaker’s emotions and gratitude.
5. Declaratives: they are speech acts that can bring “a change in the state of affairs”, such as: naming, baptism and pronouncing someone husband and wife. For Example, if a minister says: “I now pronounce you husband and wife”, then the act of marriage is done (Meyer, 2009, p. 50).

Greetings

Greetings are one type of speech acts that fall under “Expressives” in Searle’s (1979) classifications mentioned above. When a speaker greets someone else, they express their emotions and attitudes towards the other. The type of greeting used between two persons can lead us to the type of relationship they have, i.e., good, bad, close, distanced, etc. Moreover, some greetings can tell the hearers information about the speakers: their social class, educational level, age, gender, etc. In the Industrial Area, greetings are often used as clues towards the status of the speakers and how to deal with them and consequently charge them fairly or overcharge them for the service given.

Greetings in the Industrial Area vary according to the relationship between the participants, but there are general terms that can be used with strangers. If a spare-parts shop owner/worker wants to greet someone he meets for the first time, he may use one of the following: *ahla w sahla* ‘welcome’, *tfaDDal 9ammi* ‘come in uncle’, *halaakhoy* ‘hello brother’, etc. However, if a shop owner/worker wants to greet someone known from outside the Industrial Area, he may use the following: *halabilghaali* ‘hello dear’, *halabkhaali* ‘hello uncle’, *hala m9allim* ‘hello master/dominie’, *keefakyamaan* ‘How are you man?’, *hala w ghala doctor* ‘hello dear doctor’, *zamaanhalgamar ma baan* ‘long time no see’, *halayaaba* ‘hello father’, *halaakhoy* ‘hello brother’, *halamuhandis* ‘hello engineer’. The latter greetings vary depending on the status of the addressee and the way he looks, i.e., his appearance and his clothes. Nevertheless, colleagues in the industrial area use more rude/intimate greetings: *sabaaHelkheeryahaamil* ‘good morning vagabond’, *marHabayakundara* ‘hello shoe’, *salaam yaHaawiyih* ‘salam rubbish container’, *salaam yakalb* ‘salam dog’, *gawwakyaHuthaalih* ‘hello trash’, etc. Some taboo obscene terms might also be used to greet intimate friends. Those are restricted between very intimate friends and colleagues and mark social attachment to the area. In such obscene greetings solidarity supersedes power and other status relationships (see Trudgill, 1974 for explanation of power and solidarity). It is worth-noting that obscene greetings are used more by uneducated shop owners/workers, mechanics and other workers. Moreover, age sometimes plays a role in using obscene greetings, i.e., participants of the same age might use them more often than participants from different age groups. All in all, the relationship and the

time of knowing and working together in the Industrial Area determine the amount of use of such apparently obscene greetings.

When a customer comes to the Industrial Area and uses very polite greetings with shop owners/workers or mechanics, he is often identified as an easy hunt or prey and they might overcharge him. On the other hand, if he uses less polite greetings, such as: *marHaba m9allim* ‘hello master/dominie’, *salaam yakbiir* ‘salam big/great’, *salaam yaHajji* ‘salam old man’, *salaam yalHabiib* ‘salam darling’, *salaam yaghaali* ‘salam precious’, *gawwakkhaal* ‘hello maternal uncle’, *salaam siidi* ‘salam sir’, *salaam yaaba* ‘salam father’, he is often identified as an experienced customer and they might not overcharge him.

Naming and Addressing

Naming or addressing people in general is a speech act that can fall under both declaratives and expressives in Searle’s (1979) classifications. People address each other with different names and social honorifics that express their emotions and attitudes towards them. In the Industrial Area, addressing outsiders, of course, differs from addressing insiders. Outsiders may be addressed by one or more of the following: *khaal* ‘maternal uncle’, *9ammi* ‘paternal uncle’, *doctor* ‘doctor’, *ghaali* ‘precious’, *muhandis* ‘engineer’, *m9allim* ‘master/dominie’, *hajji* ‘old man’, *akhoy* ‘my brother’, *elHabiib* ‘darling’, *elTayyib* ‘kind-hearted’, *elmuHtaram* ‘respected’, *nuwwarah* ‘blossom/light’ and *sheekh* ‘sheik’, *mudiir* ‘boss’, and *ustaathi* ‘teacher’.

Insiders can be named all sorts of names and nicknames according to the educational level and the relationship between the addresser and the addressee. For example, standard names include: *muhandis* ‘engineer’, *m9allim* ‘master/dominie’, *khabiir* ‘expert’, *khaal* ‘maternal uncle’, *za9iim* ‘chief’, *9ammi* ‘paternal uncle’, *jiddi* ‘grandfather’, *akhoy* ‘brother’, *yaaba* ‘father’, *maan* ‘man’, *kbiir* ‘big/great’, *9gaali* ‘my headband’, etc. Interestingly, mechanics often use very rude names to address very close colleagues. Strangely, the closer the relationship, age, and educational levels are the ruder the names get. Such rude names and nicknames include: *haamil* ‘vagabond’, *kundara* ‘shoe’, *haffaayih* ‘slippers’, *zannuubah* ‘flip flop’, *daabbih* ‘animal’. Moreover, some obscene and taboo terms are sometimes used to refer to very close colleagues.

Farewells

Farewells fall under “Expressives” in Searle’s (1979) classifications mentioned above. When speakers say farewells to others, they express their emotions and attitudes towards them. The type of farewell used between two persons can lead us to the type of relationship they have, i.e., good, bad, close, distanced, etc. Moreover, it can tell us information of how their encounter took place, i.e., bad farewells hint to bad encounters and so on and so forth.

In the Industrial Area, farewells vary depending on the addresser and the addressee and the way the encounter (service-payment-satisfaction) went. If the customer was satisfied and paid for his service promptly, then the farewells would often be positive, such as: *Allah ma9ak* ‘may Allah be with you’, *Allah yiyassiramrak* ‘may Allah make your way’, *ma9essalaamih* ‘goodbye’, *khaliinanshuufak* ‘let us see you again’, etc. If, however, things did not work out smoothly, i.e., the customer was not satisfied by the service or did not pay for the service in full and kept bargaining, then the farewells would often be negative, such as *darbySud ma yrud* ‘May you go and not come back’, *Allah la yijiibak* ‘May Allah not bring you again’, *Allah la yiraj3ak* ‘May Allah not bring you again’, *Allah la ybaariklak* ‘May Allah not increase his givings to you’, or a faint *halahala* ‘welcome, welcome’.

Within the insiders, saying farewells differs according to the profession. For example, spare-parts shop owners often use more polite farewells than mechanics. This is due to the fact that shop owners are often more educated than the mechanics and other workers. Shop owners are often educated people who have invested in the Industrial Area or government workers who have retired and invested in a spare-parts shop in order to kill time and make some money. Most of the mechanics, on the other hand, are uneducated individuals who have left school or who have been expelled from school at an early age. Therefore, when mechanics say farewell to each other, they often use very rude phrases in order to mark their belonging to the tough masculine community. For example, rude farewells such as the following are common between the mechanics: *gal9a tigla9ak* ‘May you go and not come back’, *Allah la yijiibak* ‘May Allah not bring you again’, *Allah yookhthak* ‘May Allah take you away’, *darbtSudd ma trudd* ‘May you go and not come back again’, etc. Again, some obscene farewells are sometimes used between very close colleagues.

Generally speaking, most face-to-face farewells used by people in the Industrial Area to address outsiders, i.e., customers, are positive and call them to come back again. They often contain an invocation of Allah to protect the customer and bring him again. On the other hand, non-face-to-face farewells vary according to the situation, but they are mostly less positive than face-to-face ones.

Thanking

Thanking falls under “Expressives” in Searle’s (1979) classifications of speech acts. When speakers thank each other, they often do so in order to express their gratitude to the addressees. Like other speech acts in the Industrial Area, the way a customer says ‘thanks’ may determine whether he is going to be cheated and overcharged or not. For example, if a customer overuses very high-class and polite expressions of ‘thanking’ during the service, the mechanics may infer that he belongs to a rich class that is able to pay more and that is more distant from their own; therefore, more often than not they may decide to overcharge him or even charge him for a fake or unnecessary service. However, there are expressions that are polite and tough at the same time, such as: *shukranyakbiir* ‘thanks big/great’, *shukranyamaan* ‘thanks man’, *shukranyalHabiib* ‘thanks darling’, *shukranyagalbi* ‘thanks my heart’, etc. Such expressions of thanks, send a message to the mechanics that the customers belong to the same working-class as themselves and that they have experience with life in the Industrial Area; therefore, they may feel reluctant to try and cheat or overcharge them.

Within the Industrial Area itself, spare-parts shop owners and the mechanics often use the following expressions of thanks with the customers after a satisfactory encounter/business: *shukranyaTayyib* ‘thanks kind-hearted’, *shukranya9ammi* ‘thanks paternal uncle’, *shukranyakhaali* ‘thanks maternal uncle’, *shukranyasheekh* ‘thanks sheikh’, *shukranyakbiir* ‘thanks big/great’, *shukranyamaan* ‘thanks man’, *shukranyagalbi* ‘thanks my heart’, *9ala raasi* ‘lit. on my head = thanks’. These expressions are also used between the mechanics and the spare-parts shop owners. Nevertheless, some mechanics whose relationships are very close and whose ages are very close often use obscene expressions of thanks in order to mark their belonging to the tough speech community at the Industrial Area.

Swearing or taking oaths

Swearing or taking oaths fall under “Expressives” in Searle’s (1979) classifications of speech acts. However, because they commit their doers to the truthfulness of what they swear about, they can also be considered “Commissives”. When someone swears or takes an oath, he/she does so in order to convince the others that what is said is true. Jordanians often swear by Allah (*wallah*), Allah’s life (*wiHyaat Allah*), God (*wrabbi*), God’s life (*wiHyaat rabbi*), prophets (*winnabi*, *wirrasuul*, *wmoHammad*), prophets lives (*wiHyaatinnabi*, *wiHyaatelrasuul*, *wiHyaatMoHammad*), Quran (*wilquraan*, *wilmisHaf*), honour (*wsharafi*), relatives lives (*wiHyaatummi*), relatives honour (*wsharafkhawaati*), etc. Interestingly, Islam and Christianity discourage swearing and taking oaths a lot. Moreover, Muslims are not allowed to swear by anyone but Allah. Nevertheless, in reality Muslim and Christians Jordanians do swear a lot by Allah’s (God’s) name and by others as stated above. In the Industrial Area, swearing by Allah, God and other persons or things is rampant by Muslims and Christians and people of other religions. This is due to the fact that there is no trust between the customers and the mechanics or spare-parts shop owners.

Generally speaking, spare-parts shop owners swear by Allah (*wallaahi*), Allah’s life (*wiHyaat rabbi*), Allah’s might (*w9izzit Allah*), God (*wrabbi*), God’s life (*wiHyaat rabbi*), God’s might (*w9izzit rabbi*). A small percentage of shop owners use a less standard phrases of swearing, especially when not telling the truth, such as: *wghalaatak* ‘by your dearness’, *biduunHilfaan* ‘without swearing’, *wraHmitaboy* ‘by the memory of my late father’ (used when the father is still alive as a way round the lie), *wsharafukhti* ‘by the honour of my sister’ (used when the addresser does not have a sister as a way round the lie), etc.

On the other hand, the mechanics’ phrases of swearing are more ‘slang’ and less standard, such as: *wsharafkhawwati* ‘by my sisters’ honour’, *w3ardh khawaati* ‘by my sisters’ honour’, *w3ardh ummi* ‘by my mother’s honour’, *wiHyaatelkhubiz* ‘by the bread’, etc. Other taboo phrases are also used by some mechanics with each other and with the customers, such as *wiTTalaaq* ‘by divorce’ (Muslims are advised not to swear by the holy bond of matrimony as ‘divorce’ is a speech act that can be performed verbally or can be bound to the truthfulness of a statement).

Conclusion

All in all, we can safely say that standard speech acts inside the Industrial Area are often less polite than those outside. This may be due to different factors. Firstly, almost all workers at the Industrial Area are not educated and hence belong to lower social classes. Secondly, all workers are males and hence covert prestige might be at work (covert prestige refers to a special type of prestige set by speakers who want to belong to a certain group, ethnicity, or speech community). Thirdly, jobs at the Industrial Area are tough and require less politeness in order for the workers to survive. Fourthly, most of the workers wear dirty clothes during work due to its nature, this might reflect on the way they feel and talk. Fifthly, lack of governmental supervision, inspection and censorship might have played a role in shaping the general rude and manipulative atmosphere in the Industrial Area. Sixthly, lack of religion and morality might have nurtured such rude language in the Industrial Area.

There are many implications for the benefit of the outsiders who read this study. From the long experience of the second author as an insider at the Industrial Area, we can argue that the insiders listen carefully to the way customers talk in order to infer their social status. They are vigilant to the way customers dress, behave and talk. From the moment a customer greets them, they listen carefully and other things are decided upon the way they perceive him. For instance, if a customer came to a mechanic smartly dressed and spoke politely using very polite greetings and overused prestigious phrases of thanks, there is a good chance that the mechanic would identify him as a possible prey. In other words, there would be a good chance that the mechanic would fake some problems in the car and ask him to go and buy some unnecessary parts from another allied spare-parts shop owner. In this case, the mechanic would ask him to tell the spare-parts shop owner that “Mechanic x sent me to you and he wanted those spare parts”. To the insiders, this is a code that the customer is an easy prey. Consequently, the customer would be overcharged for unnecessary spare parts and the mechanic would steal the old genuine parts (which do not need to be replaced) with new commercial and less reliable ones. In this case, the customer would go home happy and the mechanic would go and collect his share from the spare-parts shop owner after he has charged the customer for fake service and stolen his genuine working parts which he in turn would sell back to the spare-parts shop owner as used genuine parts.

Hence, customers are advised to be vigilant about the way they speak in the Industrial Area. They must use less prestigious phrases of greetings, thanking, addressing, swearing, etc. In other words, they should try to show the mechanics that they are experienced customers and that they come from similar social classes. Only in this way, they might avoid being overcharged or charged for fake services.

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