

# Ethnologue: Languages of Jordan

## Twenty-sixth edition data

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## List of Abbreviations

A	Agent in constituent word order
<i>alt.</i>	alternate name for
<i>alt. dial.</i>	alternate dialect name for
AOV	Agent-Object-Verb
C	Consonant in canonical syllable patterns
CDE	Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)
<i>Class</i>	Language classification
CPPDCE	Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)
CSICH	Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
DBS	Deaf Bible Society
<i>dial.</i>	primary dialect name for
DOOR	Deaf Opportunity Outreach
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
km	kilometer(s)
L1 / L2	first language / second (or other additional) language
<i>Lg Dev</i>	Language development
<i>Lg Use</i>	Language use
m	meter(s)
P	Patient in constituent word order
PARADISEC	Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources In Endangered Cultures
<i>pej.</i>	pejorative
pl.	plural
S	Subject in constituent word order
sg.	singular
SIL	SIL International
<i>Type</i>	Typological information
UNCRPD	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
V	Vowel in canonical syllable patterns

## How to Use This Digest

This *Ethnologue* country digest provides an extract of the information about the language situation in Jordan that is published in the 26th edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (see <http://www.ethnologue.com>), including some ways of presenting the information that are not available in the online version. The digest begins with a “Country Overview” (page 6) and “Statistical Summaries” (page 8) of languages and number of speakers by language size, by language status, and by language family.

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides detailed information on the 17 languages listed in the *Ethnologue* for the country of Jordan. This includes languages that are indigenous to the country, languages that have developed well-established multigenerational speaker communities after immigrating in the past, and languages that have a significant presence in the country but are not established (that is, not being transmitted to the next generation within the country). A complete language entry has the following form and content:

**Primary language name** [ISO 639-3 code] (Alternate names). Autonym. *Users*: Country user population. Population stability comment. Population remarks. Monolingual population. Ethnic population. *Location*: Location. *Status*: EGIDS level. Special cases. Language function in country. *Class*: Linguistic classification. Macrolanguage membership. *Dialects*: Dialect names. Intelligibility and dialect relations. Lexical similarity. *Type*: Linguistic typology information. *Lg Use*: Remarks on use of the language. Domains of use. User age range. Language attitudes. Bilingualism remarks. Use as second language. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rates. Literacy remarks. Use in education. Publications and use in media. Revitalization efforts. Language development agencies. *DLS*: Digital support. *Writing*: Scripts used. *Other*: Non-indigenous. General remarks. Religion. *Map*: Map page. *Worldwide*: Total population in all countries. Other countries where used.

See <http://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/#languagePages> for a full description of these information elements. If the autonym contains the “?” character, this indicates a complex non-Roman character that the PDF-creating software we are using is not able to render. We regret the inconvenience.

The “Language Map” (page 16) shows the locations of the listed languages. If the location of a language is given on a map, the *Map* element of the language entry indicates the page number of the map. If the language is identified on a map by name, but that name differs from the primary name in the language entry, the name on the map is given in parentheses. If the language is represented on the map by an index number, rather than by its name, the index number is given following the page number (with a colon as separator).

Many ways of finding languages are provided. “Languages by Population” (page 17) lists the languages in order of their first-language speaker populations. “Languages by Status” (page 19) lists the languages by their level of development or endangerment as measured on EGIDS, the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). “Languages by

Governorate” (page 22) lists the top-level administrative subdivisions of Jordan and the languages located within each. “Languages by Family” (page 23) lists the languages by their linguistic classifications. “Language Code Index” (page 24) gives an alphabetical listing of all the three-letter codes from ISO 639-3 that are used in this digest to uniquely identify languages. “Language Name Index” (page 25) lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. A total of 31 unique names are associated with the 17 languages described in this digest.

Finally, a listing of all the published sources cited within this digest is found in “Bibliography” (page 27). The published sources are cited using standard in-text citations enclosed in parentheses, consisting of the author’s or editor’s surname followed by the year of publication. Unpublished sources including personal communications and unpublished reports are also acknowledged when specific statements or facts are attributed to them. They are identified using in-text citations enclosed in parentheses in which the year of the communication is given first, followed by the source’s first initial and surname. In such a case, there is no corresponding entry in the bibliography.

This digest is designed for use in both digital and print formats. The cross-references are thus rendered as page numbers that are hyperlinks. When using the document in printed form, simply turn to the referenced page by number. When using it in digital form, click on the blue text to jump to the cross-referenced location.

If you believe any of the information about a language in this digest is in error or if you are able to supply missing information, please send your proposed change to the editor using one of the means given below. Provide as much information as possible about the source of your information. Full bibliographic details of published sources are especially helpful.

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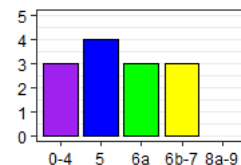
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## Country Overview

Name of country	Jordan
Other names	Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan
Population	10,269,000 (2021 UNDESA)
Principal languages	Levantine Arabic, Standard Arabic
Literacy rate	98% (2018 UNESCO)
Deaf population	240,200
International conventions	CDE (1976), CPPDCE (2007), CSICH (2006), ICCPR (1975), UNCRPD (2008), UNDRIP (2007)
General references	Fischer and Jastrow 1980, Ingham 1982, Johnstone 1967, Sebeok 1963

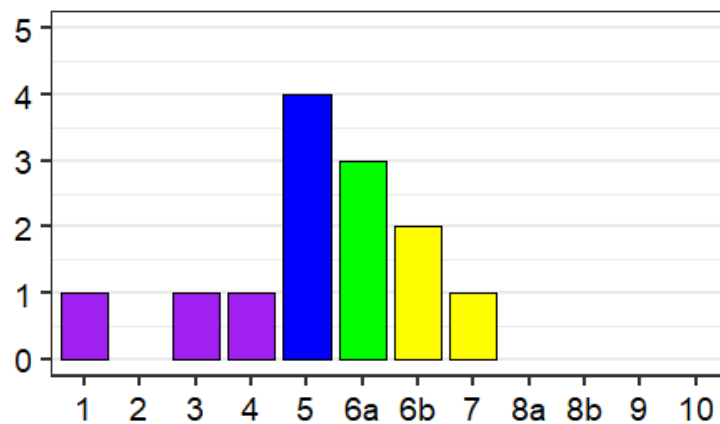
**Language counts**      The number of established languages listed for Jordan is 13. All are living languages. Of these, 4 are indigenous and 9 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 3 are institutional, 4 are developing, 3 are vigorous, and 3 are in trouble. Also listed are 4 unestablished languages.



See the next page for an explanation of the summary categories for language vitality used in the above counts and graph.

## Language Status Profile

The following histogram gives a graphic profile of the established languages in Jordan with respect to their status of language development versus language endangerment. This includes all of the languages appearing in the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) that report an EGIDS level after *Status*; macrolanguages and unestablished languages are not included in the profile. The horizontal axis plots the estimated level of development or endangerment as measured on the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The height of each bar indicates the number of languages that are estimated to be at the given level. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 19) in order to see the specific languages for each level.



The color coding of the bars in the histogram above matches the color scheme used in the summary profile graph on the preceding page. In this scheme, the EGIDS levels are grouped as follows:

- Purple = Institutional (EGIDS 0–4) — The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community.
- Blue = Developing (EGIDS 5) — The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
- Green = Vigorous (EGIDS 6a) — The language is in vigorous use among all generations and remains unstandardized.
- Yellow = In trouble (EGIDS 6b–7) — Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language so it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home.
- Red = Dying (EGIDS 8a–9) — The only fluent users (if any) are older than child-bearing age, so it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the home would need to be developed.
- Black = Extinct (EGIDS 10) — The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

## Statistical Summaries

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides a detailed listing of all the languages of Jordan. This section steps back from the detail to offer a summary view of the language situation in the country. Specifically, it offers three numerical tabulations of the living established languages of Jordan and their users: by language size, by language status, and by language family.

### Summary by language size

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Jordan by number of L1 speakers. The *Population range* column categorizes the sizes of the languages by order of magnitude (in terms of the number of digits in the population of first-language speakers). Consult “Languages by Population” (page 17) for a listing of the specific languages in each range category.

The *Count* column gives the number of living established languages within the specified population range. The *Percent* column gives the share of the count for that population range as a percentage of the total number of languages given at the bottom of the Count column. The *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sum of the percentage of languages going from top to bottom in the column.

The *Total* column gives the total L1 population of all the languages in the given range category. The second *Percent* column gives the percentage of the total country population as estimated at the bottom of the Total column. Note that if the table has a row for Unknown, representing languages for which the *Ethnologue* does not have a population estimate, the calculation of population percentage is not able to take those languages into account. The final *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sums of the population percentages going from top to bottom in the column.

**Table 1:** Distribution of languages by number of first-language speakers

Population range	Living languages			Number of speakers		
	Count	Percent	Cumulative	Total	Percent	Cumulative
1,000,000 to 9,999,999	2	15.4	15.4%	9,820,000	92.19567	92.19567%
100,000 to 999,999	3	23.1	38.5%	670,000	6.29034	98.48600%
10,000 to 99,999	4	30.8	69.2%	147,800	1.38763	99.87363%
1,000 to 9,999	2	15.4	84.6%	13,460	0.12637	100.00000%
Unknown	2	15.4	100.0%			
<i>Totals</i>	13	100.0		10,651,260	100.00000	

### Summary by language status

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Jordan by their status in

terms of language development or language endangerment. The *EGIDS* column categorizes the languages by their level on the EGIDS scale. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 19) for a listing of the specific languages that have been assigned to each level. Note that the EGIDS level reported here is for the status of the language in Jordan. Languages that are also used in other countries may be assigned to a different EGIDS level in those countries.

The next six columns are as in Table 1. In addition, the *Mean* column gives the average L1 population of all the languages with the given EGIDS level and the *Median* column gives the median L1 population for the languages at that level, that is, half of the languages at that level have a higher population and half have a lower population. If there are any languages with an unknown population, these are ignored in the calculation of the mean and the median.

**Table 2:** Distribution of languages by vitality status

EGIDS	Living languages			Number of speakers				
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
1	1	7.7	7.7%	Unknown				
3	1	7.7	15.4%	8,430,000	79.1456	79.1456%	8,430,000	8,430,000
4	1	7.7	23.1%	14,800	0.1390	79.2845%	14,800	14,800
5	4	30.8	53.8%	136,460	1.2812	80.5657%	34,115	19,130
6a	3	23.1	76.9%	1,909,000	17.9228	98.4884%	636,333	415,000
6b	2	15.4	92.3%	151,000	1.4177	99.9061%	75,500	151,000
7	1	7.7	100.0%	10,000	0.0939	100.0000%	10,000	10,000
<i>Totals</i>	13	100.0		10,651,260	100.0000			

## Summary by language family

The genealogical classifications given in the language entries of the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) name 6 different top-level groups. Table 3 summarizes the distribution of living established languages and their L1 populations within these families. The columns are as for table 2, with the exception that *Cumulative* is excluded since there is no inherent ordering of the families.

**Table 3:** Distribution of languages by language family

Language family	Living languages		Number of speakers			
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Abkhaz-Adyghe	2	15.4	244,000	2.3	122,000	122,000
Afro-Asiatic	5	38.5	10,339,000	97.1	2,067,800	902,500

Language family	Living languages		Number of speakers			
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Indo-European	3	23.1	24,800	0.2	8,267	12,400
Nakh-Daghestanian	1	7.7	5,200	0.0	5,200	5,200
Sign language	1	7.7	30,000	0.3	30,000	30,000
Turkic	1	7.7	8,260	0.1	8,260	8,260
<i>Totals</i>	13	100.0	10,651,260	100.0		

## Alphabetical Listing of Languages

**Adyghe** [ady] (Adygey, West Circassian). *Users*: 93,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Class*: Abkhaz-Adyghe, Circassian. *Type*: SOV; 57 consonants and 3 vowels. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Radio. TV. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1991. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Cyrillic script. Latin script, used in Turkey. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Muslim. *Map*: 16:12. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 613,700. Indigenous in: Russian Federation. Also established in: Iraq, Israel, Syria, Turkey. Unestablished in: Egypt, Germany, North Macedonia.

**Arabic, Egyptian Spoken** [arz]. *Users*: 1,600,000 in Jordan (2017 Egypt Independent), based on nationality. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Lg Dev*: Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1932. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 102,436,230 (as L1: 77,436,230; as L2: 25,000,000). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Indigenous in: Egypt. Also established in: United Arab Emirates. Unestablished in: Australia, Canada, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Syria, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen.

**Arabic, Levantine** [apc]. *Users*: 8,430,000 in Jordan (2021), including 1,300,000 refugees from Syria (2021 Reliefnet). *Location*: ‘Ajlun, Al Balqa’, Al Karak, Al Mafrqa, ‘Amman, Irbid, Jarash, and Madaba governorates; major cities (Syrian refugees). *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. Became widespread before 1946 in the coastal region along the eastern Mediterranean. Spoken primarily in Jordan for everyday communication, also spoken throughout the Middle East. Used in entertainment. *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Dialects*: Horani, Fellahi, Madani. There is a village-to-village difference of which speakers are aware. Newly emerging urban standard dialect based on Amman. Lexical similarity (based on percentage of common words): When comparing Standard Arabic [arb] to Algerian [arq], Tunisian [aeb], Palestinian [apc], Syrian [apc], Jordanian [apc], and Egyptian [arz] spoken varieties, Levantine Arabic as spoken in Palestine (52%) is the most similar to Standard Arabic (Kwaik et al 2018, Harrat et al 2015). *Lg Use*: Used as L2 by Domari [rmt], Western Armenian [hyw]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. TV. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible portions: 1940–1973. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Other*: Muslim, Christian. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 47,595,360 (as L1: 47,236,360; as L2: 359,000). Also indigenous in: Israel, Lebanon, Palestine, Syria, Turkey. Also established in: Mexico. Unestablished in: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Côte d’Ivoire, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, France, French Guiana, Gambia, Germany, Guinea, Honduras, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Jamaica, Kuwait, Libya, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Martinique, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Nigeria,

Norway, Oman, Panama, Portugal, Qatar (North Levantine Spoken Arabic), Saudi Arabia (North Levantine Spoken Arabic), Senegal, Serbia, Sierra Leone, Spain, Sudan, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yemen.

**Arabic, Levantine Bedawi Spoken** [avl]. *Users*: 1,390,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Widespread but especially east. *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Dialects*: South Levantine Bedawi Arabic, North Levantine Bedawi Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Arabic. *Lg Dev*: TV. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Other*: The language of Jordan before Palestinian refugees arrived. Remains the language of the army. Muslim, Christian. *Map*: 16:11. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,841,600. Also indigenous in: Egypt (Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken Arabic), Palestine. Also established in: Syria. Unestablished in: Israel.

**Arabic, Najdi Spoken** [ars] (Najdi). *Users*: 104,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Al ‘Aqabah, Al Mafrq, Az-Zarqa’, and southeast Ma’an governorates; scattered settlements far eastern Jordan. *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Type*: SVO. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Bible portions: 2013. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Map*: 16:8. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 18,073,860. Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Also indigenous in: Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria. Unestablished in: Canada, Kuwait, Qatar, United Kingdom, United States.

**Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken** [ayp]. *Users*: 415,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Scattered. *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. NT: 2012. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,263,460. Indigenous in: Iraq, Syria, Turkey. Unestablished in: Belgium, Germany, Norway, Sweden.

**Arabic, Standard** [arb]. *Users*: 5,770,000 in Jordan (2015 SIL), all users. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national language (1952, Constitution, Article 2). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Type*: VSO; prepositions; noun head initial; gender (masculine/feminine); dual number; definite and indefinite affixes; case-marking (3 cases); verb affixes mark number, gender of subject; aspect; 28 consonant and 6 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; stress on first syllable; trilateral roots, few affixes. *Lg Use*: Use promoted for students. Regional varieties used less in schools. Official purposes, print publications, communication in Arabic-speaking countries. *Lg Dev*: Taught in all primary and secondary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1645–2008. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 273,989,700. Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Saudi Arabia. Also established in 30 other countries and unestablished in 1 more.

**Armenian, Western** [hyw]. *Users*: 10,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 7 (Shifting). *Class*: Indo-European, Armenian. *Lg Use*: Shifting to Levantine Arabic [apc]. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. *Writing*: Armenian script. *Other*: Non-

indigenous. Christian. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,582,290 (as L1: 1,576,490; as L2: 5,800). Global EGIDS level: 5 (Developing). Indigenous in: Armenia, Georgia, Turkey. Also established in 20 other countries and unestablished in 14 more.

**Chechen** [che] (Nokhchi). *Users*: 5,200 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: Al Mafraq and Az-Zarqa' governorates; scattered communities north of Amman. *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Class*: Nakh-Daghestanian, Nakh, Chechen-Ingush. *Type*: Ergative case system; many consonants and vowels; extensive inflectional morphology, many nominal cases, several gender classes; complex sentences by chaining participial clauses; verbs have gender agreement with the direct object or intransitive subject, but no person agreement (Nichols 1995). *Lg Dev*: Newspapers. Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 2012. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Cyrillic script. Latin script, used between 1925–1938. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Muslim. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,687,700. Indigenous in: Russian Federation. Also established in: Georgia. Unestablished in: Azerbaijan, Egypt, Germany, Iraq, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Syria, Turkey, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan.

**Domari** [rmt] (Dom, Gypsy, Middle Eastern Romani, Nawar, Tsigene). *Users*: A few scattered and isolated speaker populations (Herin 2016). Ethnic population: 4,910 (2000). *Location*: 'Amman governorate and Iraqi-Jordan border area (Al Mafraq governorate). *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Dom. *Dialects*: Nawar (Nawari), Kurbat (Ghorbati), Barake. Part of the southern Domari dialect area, along with Palestine. Intelligibility limited with speakers of the northern dialect (Herin 2016). *Lg Use*: All also use Levantine Arabic [apc] (Herin 2016). *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Arabic influence. Muslim. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1. Indigenous in: Turkey. Also established in: Lebanon, Palestine, Syria.

**English** [eng]. Autonym: English. *Users*: 4,564,800 in Jordan, all users. L1 users: 14,800 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. L2 users: 4,550,000 (Ramaswami et al 2012). *Status*: 4 (Educational). *Class*: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; genitives after noun heads; articles, adjectives, numerals before noun heads; question word initial; word order distinguishes subject, object, indirect objects, given and new information, topic and comment; active and passive; causative; comparative; consonant and vowel clusters; 24 consonants, 13 vowels, 8 diphthongs; non-tonal; free stress; phrasal verbs. *Lg Dev*: Taught as subject in all primary and secondary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1382–2002. *Writing*: Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120). Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Ireland, United Kingdom. Also established in 167 other countries and unestablished in 16 more.

**Greek** [ell]. *Users*: 2,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Indo-European, Greek, Attic. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; noun head final; gender

(masculine/feminine/neuter); definite and indefinite articles; case-marking (3 cases); verb affixes mark person, number; passives (active, medio-passive, passive); tense and aspect; comparatives; 18 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; free stress. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1840–1994. *Writing*: Braille script. Cyrillic script, used in Ukraine. Greek script, primary usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 13,088,220 (as L1: 12,992,220; as L2: 96,000). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: Albania, Greece. Also established in: Australia, Cyprus, Egypt, Hungary, Italy, Romania, Turkey, Ukraine. Unestablished in: Argentina, Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Czechia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Denmark, Djibouti, Finland, Germany, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Libya, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, North Macedonia, Norway, Panama, Russian Federation, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Uzbekistan, Zambia, Zimbabwe.

**Jordanian Sign Language** [jos] (LIU, Lughat al-Ishāra al-Urdunia, Lughat il-Ishaarah il-Urduniyyah). *Users*: 30,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 20,000–40,000 deaf signers, based on 0.2%–0.4% of the general population. *Location*: Scattered. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Sign language, Deaf community sign language. *Dialects*: None known. LIU signers understand Egyptian Sign Language (LIM) [esl] to some extent, despite major lexical differences. Understood well by deaf in Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and even Egypt (Hendriks 2008:37). Not the same as Unified Arabic Sign Language, an artificial system promoted by representatives of 18 Arabic-speaking countries (Rashdan 2016). Relatively low lexical similarity with Egyptian Sign Language (LIM) [esl] (Hendriks 2008). *Type*: Content Q-Word Position: Final; Content Q-Word: One general plus some specific; Negation: Manual-dominant, Special emphatic negators; Fingerspelling: One-handed (Arabic script). *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Agency: Holy-Land Institute for the Deaf. *DLS*: Still.

**Kabardian** [kbd]. *Users*: 151,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Location*: ‘Amman, Az-Zarqa’, and Jarash governorates; Russeifa and Sweileh urban areas near the capital. *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Abkhaz-Adyghe, Circassian. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1993–2007. *Writing*: Cyrillic script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Muslim. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,849,800. Indigenous in: Russian Federation. Also established in: Syria, Turkey. Unestablished in: Germany, Saudi Arabia, United States.

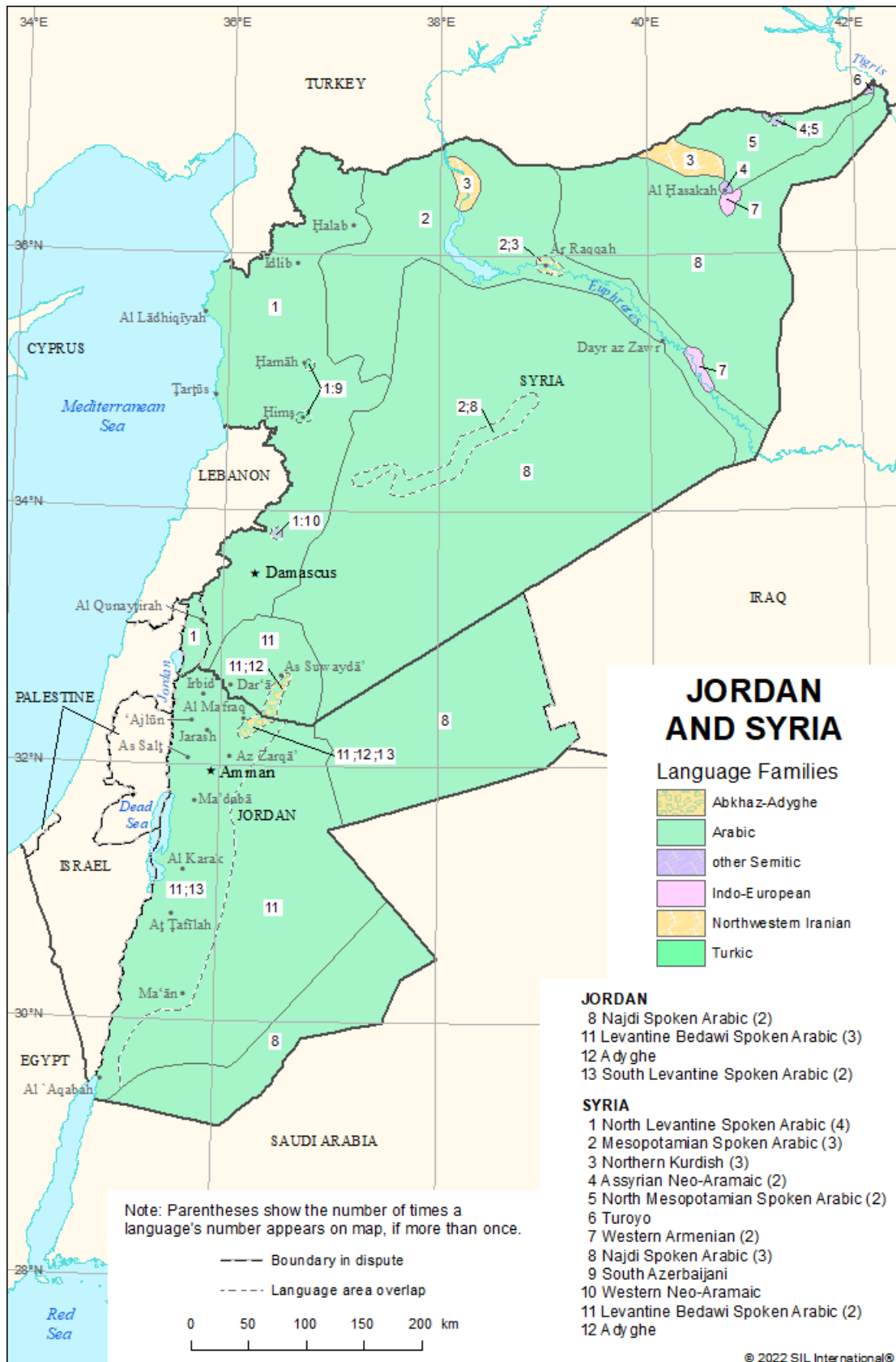
**Kurdish, Northern** [kmr]. Autonym: Kurdî-Kurmancî, Kurmancî. *Users*: 7,400 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Iranian, Western, Northwestern, Kurdish. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Periodicals. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 2008. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, used in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Armenian script, used between 1921–1929, used in Armenia. Cyrillic script, used in Armenia, Russia, and Azerbaijan. Latin script, developed in 1932, used in Turkey and Syria. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 15,789,810 (as L1: 15,785,010; as L2: 4,800). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey. Also established in: Georgia, Lebanon,

Turkmenistan. Unestablished in: Australia, Bahrain, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Netherlands, Norway, Russian Federation, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States.

**Tagalog** [tgl]. Autonym: Tagalog. *Users*: 8,900 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Greater Central Philippine, Central Philippine, Tagalog. *Type*: Prepositions; no articles; ergativity; tense and aspect; comparatives; 16 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; inclusive/exclusive pronouns. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1905. *Writing*: Braille script. Latin script, primary usage. Tagalog script, no longer in use. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 83,054,910 (as L1: 28,746,910; as L2: 54,308,000). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Indigenous in: Philippines. Also established in: Canada, Guam, Sweden, United States. Unestablished in: American Samoa, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Brazil, Cayman Islands, China–Hong Kong, China–Macao, China–Taiwan, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Japan, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Northern Mariana Islands, Norway, Oman, Palau, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom.

**Turkish** [tur]. Autonym: Türkçe. *Users*: 8,260 in Jordan (2010 census). Ethnic population: 62,000 (Leclerc 2021a). *Location*: Scattered. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Turkic, Southern, Turkish. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; noun head final; indefinite articles; case-marking (6 cases); verb affixes mark person, number; passives; tense; causatives; comparatives; 19 consonant and 8 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; stress on final syllable; vowel harmony; evidentiality. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1827–2006. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Braille script. Cyrillic script, used in Bulgaria. Greek script, no longer in use. Latin script, used since 1928 or 1929, primary usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 90,028,000 (as L1: 84,010,500; as L2: 6,017,500). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey. Also established in: Germany, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, North Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Syria, Uzbekistan. Unestablished in: Albania, Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Canada, Croatia, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Georgia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Poland, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States.

# Language Map



## Languages by Population

In this section the languages of Jordan are listed in order of their population of first-language speakers within the country, from highest to lowest. The entries report just the population and status elements.

### 1,000,000 to 9,999,999

**Arabic, Levantine** [apc] *Users:* 8,430,000 in Jordan (2021), including 1,300,000 refugees from Syria (2021 Reliefnet). *Status:* 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 47,595,360 (as L1: 47,236,360; as L2: 359,000).

**Arabic, Egyptian Spoken** [arz] *Users:* 1,600,000 in Jordan (2017 Egypt Independent), based on nationality. *Status:* Unestablished. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 102,436,230 (as L1: 77,436,230; as L2: 25,000,000).

**Arabic, Levantine Bedawi Spoken** [avl] *Users:* 1,390,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,841,600.

### 100,000 to 999,999

**Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken** [ayp] *Users:* 415,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 10,263,460.

**Kabardian** [kbd] *Users:* 151,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 6b\* (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,849,800.

**Arabic, Najdi Spoken** [ars] *Users:* 104,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 18,073,860.

### 10,000 to 99,999

**Adyghe** [ady] *Users:* 93,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 5\* (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 613,700.

**Jordanian Sign Language** [jos] *Users:* 30,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 20,000–40,000 deaf signers, based on 0.2%–0.4% of the general population. *Status:* 5 (Developing).

**English** [eng] *Users:* 14,800 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. 4,564,800 in Jordan, all users. L2 users: 4,550,000 (Ramaswami et al 2012). *Status:* 4 (Educational). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120).

**Armenian, Western** [hyw] *Users:* 10,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 7 (Shifting). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,582,290 (as L1: 1,576,490; as L2: 5,800).

## 1,000 to 9,999

**Tagalog** [tg] *Users:* 8,900 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* Unestablished.

*Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 83,054,910 (as L1: 28,746,910; as L2: 54,308,000).

**Turkish** [tur] *Users:* 8,260 in Jordan (2010 census). Ethnic population: 62,000 (Leclerc 2021a).

*Status:* 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 90,028,000 (as L1: 84,010,500; as L2: 6,017,500).

**Kurdish, Northern** [kmr] *Users:* 7,400 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:*

Unestablished. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 15,789,810 (as L1: 15,785,010; as L2: 4,800).

**Chechen** [che] *Users:* 5,200 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* 5\*

(Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,687,700.

**Greek** [ell] *Users:* 2,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Status:* Unestablished.

*Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 13,088,220 (as L1: 12,992,220; as L2: 96,000).

## Unknown

**Domari** [rmt] *Users:* A few scattered and isolated speaker populations (Herin 2016). Ethnic

population: 4,910 (2000). *Status:* 6b\* (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1.

**Arabic, Standard** [arb] *Users:* 5,770,000 in Jordan (2015 SIL), all users. *Status:* 1 (National).

Statutory national language (1952, Constitution, Article 2). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

## Languages by Status

In this section the languages of Jordan are listed in order of their status within the country as represented by their level on the EGIDs scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The language entries are reduced to just the information elements that are relevant to assessing the EGIDS level: population, status, language use, language development, and writing.

### 1 (National)

**Arabic, Standard** [arb] *Users:* 5,770,000 in Jordan (2015 SIL), all users. *Status:* Statutory national language (1952, Constitution, Article 2). *Lg Use:* Use promoted for students. Regional varieties used less in schools. Official purposes, print publications, communication in Arabic-speaking countries. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

### 3 (Wider communication)

**Arabic, Levantine** [apc] *Users:* 8,430,000 in Jordan (2021), including 1,300,000 refugees from Syria (2021 Reliefnet). *Status:* De facto national working language. Became widespread before 1946 in the coastal region along the eastern Mediterranean. Spoken primarily in Jordan for everyday communication, also spoken throughout the Middle East. Used in entertainment. *Lg Use:* Used as L2 by Domari [rmt], Western Armenian [hyw]. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 47,595,360 (as L1: 47,236,360; as L2: 359,000).

### 4 (Educational)

**English** [eng] *Users:* 4,564,800 in Jordan, all users. L1 users: 14,800 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. L2 users: 4,550,000 (Ramaswami et al 2012). *Writing:* Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120).

### 5 (Developing)

**Adyghe** [ady] *Users:* 93,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Cyrillic script. Latin script, used in Turkey. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 613,700.

**Chechen** [che] *Users:* 5,200 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Cyrillic script. Latin script, used between 1925–1938. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,687,700.

**Jordanian Sign Language [jos]** *Users:* 30,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 20,000–40,000 deaf signers, based on 0.2%–0.4% of the general population. *Lg Use:* Vigorous. Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. Grammar.

## 5 (Dispersed)

**Turkish [tur]** *Users:* 8,260 in Jordan (2010 census). Ethnic population: 62,000 (Leclerc 2021a). *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, no longer in use. Braille script. Cyrillic script, used in Bulgaria. Greek script, no longer in use. Latin script, used since 1928 or 1929, primary usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 90,028,000 (as L1: 84,010,500; as L2: 6,017,500).

## 6a (Vigorous)

**Arabic, Levantine Bedawi Spoken [avl]** *Users:* 1,390,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,841,600.

**Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars]** *Users:* 104,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 18,073,860.

**Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken [ayp]** *Users:* 415,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 10,263,460.

## 6b (Threatened)

**Domari [rmt]** *Users:* A few scattered and isolated speaker populations (Herin 2016). Ethnic population: 4,910 (2000). *Lg Use:* All also use Levantine Arabic [apc] (Herin 2016). *Writing:* Unwritten. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1.

**Kabardian [kbd]** *Users:* 151,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Cyrillic script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,849,800.

## 7 (Shifting)

**Armenian, Western [hyw]** *Users:* 10,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Lg Use:* Shifting to Levantine Arabic [apc]. *Writing:* Armenian script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,582,290 (as L1: 1,576,490; as L2: 5,800).

## Unestablished

**Arabic, Egyptian Spoken [arz]** *Users:* 1,600,000 in Jordan (2017 Egypt Independent), based on nationality. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 102,436,230 (as L1: 77,436,230; as L2: 25,000,000).

**Greek** [ell] *Users:* 2,000 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Braille script. Cyrillic script, used in Ukraine. Greek script, primary usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 13,088,220 (as L1: 12,992,220; as L2: 96,000).

**Kurdish, Northern** [kmr] *Users:* 7,400 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, used in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon. Armenian script, used between 1921–1929, used in Armenia. Cyrillic script, used in Armenia, Russia, and Azerbaijan. Latin script, developed in 1932, used in Turkey and Syria. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 15,789,810 (as L1: 15,785,010; as L2: 4,800).

**Tagalog** [tgl] *Users:* 8,900 in Jordan (Leclerc 2021a), based on ethnicity. *Writing:* Braille script. Latin script, primary usage. Tagalog script, no longer in use. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 83,054,910 (as L1: 28,746,910; as L2: 54,308,000).

## Languages by Governorate

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the top-level administrative subdivisions within Jordan. Under the name of each governorate is a list of the language communities that are located within its area.

### **‘Ajlun**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

### **‘Amman**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

Domari [rmt], 13

Kabardian [kbd], 14

### **Al Balqa’**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

### **Al Karak**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

### **Al Mafraq**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12

Domari [rmt], 13

### **Aqaba**

Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12

### **Az-Zarqa’**

Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12

Kabardian [kbd], 14

### **Irbid**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

### **Jarash**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

Kabardian [kbd], 14

### **Ma’an**

Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12

### **Madaba**

Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11

## Languages by Family

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the linguistic classifications used for the established languages of Jordan. The entries in this index represent the full path in the linguistic family tree from the highest level grouping down to the lowest. All the languages listed in the same entry are members of the same lowest-level subgroup. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language.

### **Abkhaz-Adyghe, Circassian**

Adyghe [ady], [11](#)

Kabardian [kbd], [14](#)

### **Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic**

Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken [avl], [12](#)

Arabic, Levantine [apc], [11](#)

Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], [12](#)

Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken [ayp], [12](#)

Arabic, Standard [arb], [12](#)

### **Indo-European, Armenian**

Armenian, Western [hyw], [12](#)

### **Indo-European, Germanic, West, English**

English [eng], [13](#)

### **Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Dom**

Domari [rmt], [13](#)

### **Nakh-Daghestanian, Nakh, Chechen-Ingush**

Chechen [che], [13](#)

### **Sign language, Deaf community sign language**

Jordanian Sign Language [jos], [14](#)

### **Turkic, Southern, Turkish**

Turkish [tur], [15](#)

## Language Code Index

This index gives an alphabetical listing of all 17 three-letter codes that are used in this work to uniquely identify languages. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. All codes listed are part of the ISO 639-3 standard; see <http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/>.

<b>ady</b>	Adyghe, <a href="#">11</a>	<b>ell</b>	Greek, <a href="#">13</a>
<b>apc</b>	Arabic, Levantine, <a href="#">11</a>	<b>eng</b>	English, <a href="#">13</a>
<b>arb</b>	Arabic, Standard, <a href="#">12</a>	<b>hyw</b>	Armenian, Western, <a href="#">12</a>
<b>ars</b>	Arabic, Najdi Spoken, <a href="#">12</a>	<b>jos</b>	Jordanian Sign Language, <a href="#">14</a>
<b>arz</b>	Arabic, Egyptian Spoken, <a href="#">11</a>	<b>kbd</b>	Kabardian, <a href="#">14</a>
<b>avl</b>	Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken, <a href="#">12</a>	<b>kmr</b>	Kurdish, Northern, <a href="#">14</a>
<b>ayp</b>	Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken, <a href="#">12</a>	<b>rmt</b>	Domari, <a href="#">13</a>
<b>che</b>	Chechen, <a href="#">13</a>	<b>tgl</b>	Tagalog, <a href="#">15</a>
		<b>tur</b>	Turkish, <a href="#">15</a>

## Language Name Index

This index lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. The following abbreviations are used in the index entries: *alt.* ‘alternate name for’; *alt. dial.* ‘alternate name for a dialect of’; *dial.* ‘primary name for a dialect of’; *pej. alt.* ‘pejorative alternate name for’; and *pej. alt. dial.* ‘pejorative alternate name for a dialect of’. Each index entry resolves to the primary name for the language with which the indexed name is associated, followed by square brackets containing the unique three-letter language code from ISO 639-3. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. If the language appears on a map, the entry for the primary name also lists page numbers for the maps on which the language occurs.

- Adygey**, *alt.* Adyghe [ady], 11
- Adyghe** [ady], 11, 16
- Egyptian Spoken Arabic**, *see* Arabic,  
Egyptian Spoken [arz], 11
- Arabic, Levantine** [apc], 11  
*see* Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11
- Arabic, Levantine Bedawi Spoken** [avl], 12, 16  
*see* Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken [avl], 12
- Arabic, Najdi Spoken** [ars], 12, 16  
*see* Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12
- Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken** [ayp], 12  
*see* Arabic, North Mesopotamian Spoken [ayp], 12
- Arabic, Standard** [arb], 12  
*see* Arabic, Standard [arb], 12
- Armenian, Western** [hyw], 12  
*see* Armenian, Western [hyw], 12
- Barake**, *dial.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Chechen** [che], 13
- Dom**, *alt.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Domari** [rmt], 13
- Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Arabic**, *dial.* Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken [avl], 12
- English** [eng], 13
- Fellahi**, *dial.* Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11
- Ghorbati**, *alt. dial.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Gypsy**, *alt.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Horani**, *dial.* Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11
- Jordanian Sign Language** [jos], 14, 0
- Kabardian** [kbd], 14
- Kurbat**, *dial.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Northern Kurdish**, *see* Kurdish, Northern [kmr], 14
- LIU**, *alt.* Jordanian Sign Language [jos], 14
- Lughat al-Ishāra al-Urdunia**, *alt.* Jordanian Sign Language [jos], 14
- Lughat il-Ishaarah il-Urduniyyah**, *alt.* Jordanian Sign Language [jos], 14
- Madani**, *dial.* Arabic, Levantine [apc], 11
- Middle Eastern Romani**, *alt.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Najdi**, *alt.* Arabic, Najdi Spoken [ars], 12
- Nawar**, *alt.* Domari [rmt], 13  
*dial.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Nawari**, *alt. dial.* Domari [rmt], 13
- Nokhchi**, *alt.* Chechen [che], 13
- North Levantine Bedawi Arabic**, *dial.* Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken [avl], 12
- South Levantine Bedawi Arabic**, *dial.* Arabic, Eastern Egyptian Bedawi Spoken [avl],

12

**Tsigene**, *alt.* Domari [rmt], 13

**Turkish** [tur], 15

**West Circassian**, *alt.* Adyghe [ady], 11

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