





## ARTICLE

# The Pragmatic Functions of Allah-Centred Expressions in Jordanian Spoken Arabic

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## ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the use of the word Allah ‘God’ in Jordanian spoken Arabic and its pragmatic functions. The ethnography of communication method, as proposed by Gumperz and Hymes, alongside Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory were adopted to collect the data for this study. The data, gathered with the help of six native-speaking assistants and identifies (123) Allah-based phrases and compiled them into a list of (37) pragmatic functions used in Jordanian spoken Arabic. The researchers recorded real-life conversations across various social settings such as homes, universities, coffee shops, and workplaces. The findings reveal that *Allah*-based phrases serve a wide range of communicative purposes in Jordanian Arabic, including expressing admiration, praise, surprise, politeness, and emotional support. These expressions are idiomatic and culture-bound, functioning as speech acts and forming a specialized register deeply embedded in Jordanian society. The study underscores the religious and sociolinguistic significance of these phrases, highlighting their role in maintaining social harmony and expressing shared cultural values. This research contributes to the understanding of how faith-related language operates pragmatically in Arabic discourse and suggests avenues for further investigation in other Arabic dialects and cross-cultural contexts to broaden insights into religious expressions in communication.

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## 1. Introduction

Language serves as a fundamental medium of communication, playing a crucial role in human interaction and societal cohesion<sup>[1]</sup>. According to Rababah et al.<sup>[2]</sup>, language not only facilitates communication but also acts as a vehicle for conveying and preserving cultural identity. Through language, individuals express emotions, thoughts, and intentions, utilizing both literal and non-literal meanings that are shaped by social contexts. The interpretation of a given word or phrase is often contingent upon the situational context in which it is used, highlighting the dynamic nature of language<sup>[3]</sup>.

A distinctive feature of Arabic communication is the frequent use of Allah-based expressions, such as *inshallah*, *al-hamdulillah*, and *Allahu akbar*, which permeate both formal and informal discourse<sup>[4, 5]</sup>. These expressions serve various communicative functions, including greetings, farewells, congratulations, gratitude, and even imprecations<sup>[6]</sup>. Furthermore, Allah-based phrases reinforce the legitimacy and authority of speech, strengthening the impact of a speaker's message and influencing interpersonal interactions<sup>[6]</sup>. In Jordanian Arabic, such expressions are deeply embedded in daily conversations, fulfilling multiple pragmatic functions such as expressing admiration, gratitude, well-wishes, requests, and refusals. Importantly, their usage extends beyond religious affiliation, making them a significant aspect of Jordanian spoken Arabic<sup>[5, 7]</sup>. The widespread prevalence of these expressions underscores the profound influence of religious discourse on everyday language and social interactions<sup>[8]</sup>.

This study focuses on Allah-based expressions as a linguistic phenomenon that provides insight into the pragmatics of Jordanian spoken Arabic (JSA). The selection of these expressions stems from their ubiquity in Jordanian discourse and their capacity to illustrate the interplay between language, culture, and religion. The researchers' observations suggest that religious utterances in JSA serve diverse pragmatic functions, making them an invaluable resource for examining communicative strategies within this linguistic

context. Furthermore, these expressions are deeply interwoven with Jordanian cultural and religious norms, offering a rich dataset for pragmatic analysis.

Accordingly, this study aims to examine the pragmatic functions of Allah-based phrases in JSA from a socio-pragmatic perspective. By doing so, it seeks to contribute to the existing literature on the use of religious expressions in Arabic, particularly in the Jordanian context. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, no prior studies have comprehensively analyzed the pragmatic functions of a wide range of Allah-based expressions in JSA. Previous research in Jordan has been limited to specific expressions, such as *inshallah*<sup>[9]</sup>, *mashallah*<sup>[10]</sup>, and *ajlakom'allah*<sup>[11]</sup>. Unlike these studies, which focus on individual expressions, this study examines a corpus of 270 Allah-based phrases, utilizing Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory to categorize their pragmatic functions.

In light of these objectives, the research aims to address the following questions:

- (1) What Allah-based expressions are commonly used in JSA?
- (2) What are the pragmatic functions of these expressions in JSA?

## 2. Background Information

### 2.1. Overview of the Term Allah (God) in Islam

The term *Allah* signifies a supernatural entity beyond human influence and has been used by pre-Islamic Arabs to denote the highest deity. It is not exclusive to Islam, nor did its use originate with the revelation of the Holy Quran. From a linguistic perspective, *Allah* is a standard Arabic term that is not inherently tied to any specific religion.

Whether used singularly or within various religious invocations, the word *Allah* permeates every aspect of a Muslim's life, often employed unconsciously in multiple contexts for diverse purposes<sup>[12]</sup>. The interweaving of Arabic language and Islamic faith is a defining feature of Arab Muslim identity, with scholars asserting that the frequent

invocation of *Allah* in Arabic discourse reflects the belief that Allah governs all aspects of life<sup>[12]</sup>. Interestingly, non-Muslims around the world have also adopted such expressions in their daily interactions<sup>[4, 5]</sup>. For instance, American soldiers in Afghanistan and Iraq were observed using *Allah*-related expressions, such as *inshallah*, when engaging with local communities<sup>[13]</sup>. Similarly, non-native Arabic speakers, such as Malaysians and Indonesians, incorporate Arabic phrases like *inshallah* (God willing), *subhana Allah* (Glory be to God), and *alhamdulillah* (Praise be to Allah) into their discourse. These expressions are integral to Arabic communication and serve various pragmatic functions, including making promises, acknowledging events, and expressing gratitude<sup>[1, 7]</sup>.

## 2.2. Theoretical Framework

This study is grounded in two theoretical models: Speech Act Theory and Politeness Theory.

### 2.2.1. Speech Act Theory

The study of meaning in language has long attracted the attention of linguists, leading to the distinction between semantics and pragmatics. Semantics is defined as the study of meaning as encoded in words, phrases, and sentences, focusing on conventional interpretations<sup>[14]</sup>. In contrast, pragmatics examines language use in context, analyzing how meaning is shaped by situational factors<sup>[15]</sup>. The Speech Act Theory, a key component of pragmatics, has been widely explored by scholars<sup>[1, 14, 16, 17]</sup>.

Speech Act Theory provides a framework for interpreting meaning and function in various contexts. It examines not only what language is but also what language does, emphasizing its pragmatic functions<sup>[14, 16]</sup>. Austin identified three categories of speech acts<sup>[16]</sup>:

- (1) **Locutionary Act** – The physical production of an utterance, whether spoken or written, consisting of structured sounds, words, or sentences with specific meaning and reference.
- (2) **Illocutionary Act** – The intended communicative function behind an utterance, conveying the speaker's intent to the listener. For instance, the phrase "*Pass me the salt, please*" functions as a request.
- (3) **Perlocutionary Act** – The effect of an utterance on the listener, such as persuading someone to take action.

For example, shouting "*Fire!*" may cause people to evacuate a building.

In Speech Act Theory, meaning is constructed through shared background knowledge, logic, and interpretation. Speakers often convey more than what is explicitly stated, utilizing secondary illocutionary acts to express primary intentions<sup>[17]</sup>.

Additionally, speech acts serve different communicative purposes and fall into several categories:

- **Expressive Acts** – Convey emotions or mental states, such as saying *thank you* to express gratitude.
- **Commissive Acts** – Commit the speaker to future action, such as making an oath.
- **Directive Acts** – Aim to influence the listener's actions, such as making a request.
- **Declarative Acts** – Bring about social or institutional change, such as announcing a death.
- **Representative Acts** – Express beliefs or describe reality, such as voicing dissatisfaction.

Section 4 will categorize the different speech acts that *Allah*-based expressions fulfill in Jordanian spoken Arabic.

### 2.2.2. Politeness Theory

Politeness Theory examines the strategies used to mitigate imposition and foster social solidarity between speakers and listeners. It is one of the most widely applied frameworks for analyzing politeness in social interactions. To minimize the impact of potentially face-threatening acts, speakers employ politeness strategies that preserve the interlocutor's face<sup>[18]</sup>.

## 3. Literature Review

This section provides an overview of previous studies examining *Allah*-based expressions and their pragmatic functions in both Arab and non-Arab contexts. The review highlights the scarcity of research specifically addressing the pragmatic functions of *Allah*-based phrases in Jordanian Arabic.

Farghal investigated the pragmatics of the term *inshallah* in Jordanian spoken Arabic (JSA)<sup>[9]</sup>, concluding that its interpretation depends on the context of speech rather than being a fixed formula with a singular meaning. The study emphasized that *inshallah* acquires different pragmatic

values across various communicative situations.

Similarly, Mehawesh and Jaradat explored the concept of *inshallah* in Jordanian Arabic, identifying both literal and non-literal meanings that allow Jordanians to perform various actions, whether positive or negative<sup>[19]</sup>. The study found that non-literal uses of *inshallah* often involve flouting Grice's maxim of quality, requiring the listener to infer the speaker's intended meaning. The findings indicated that the expression serves multiple functions, including irony, wonder, threats, wishes, and prohibitions.

Al-Ghower examined the usage and pragmatic functions of *algalakom 'allah* (may God elevate you) in Jordanian discourse, noting that it is commonly used when referring to animals, dirty places, or shameful conditions<sup>[11]</sup>. The study highlighted its role as a politeness strategy, enabling speakers to address socially sensitive topics indirectly and mitigate face-threatening acts.

Migdadi et al. analyzed the expression *mashallah*, revealing that beyond its conventional function as a protective supplication against the evil eye, it also serves as praise, an expression of delight, humbleness, mockery, a backchannel response, a mitigating tool, and a relational marker<sup>[10]</sup>.

Beyond Jordan, Clift examined the use of *inshallah* in the Syrian context, finding that it is widely recognized, even among non-Arabic speakers, as a mitigator for future-related statements and commitments<sup>[7]</sup>. The study concluded that the expression is used to secure probable sequences in conversations, facilitate topic closure, and establish reciprocal supplications.

In Iraq, Al-Ghazali analyzed the functions of *inshallah* among Iraqi Muslims<sup>[20]</sup>, revealing its strong association with religious belief and destiny. The study demonstrated that Iraqis use *inshallah* to express emotions, soften refusals, evade requests, make wishes, and persuade others. Similarly, Nazzal found that Arab speakers employ *inshallah* for various purposes, including covertly agreeing to requests, mitigating refusals, and hedging commitments<sup>[21]</sup>.

In non-Arab contexts, Pishghadam and Kermanshahi investigated the functions of *inshallah* in Iranian society, identifying eight key roles, such as empowering the speaker, encouraging action, avoiding direct responses, asserting Islamic identity, and expressing wishes<sup>[22]</sup>. Meanwhile, Al-Rawafi and Gunawan examined the use of *inshallah* in Indonesian teachers' conversations on social media<sup>[23]</sup>, reveal-

ing its illocutionary functions in expressing promises, planning, concluding, and confirming. The study emphasized that the meaning of *inshallah* is shaped by the relationship between speakers and the conversational context. In a related non-Arab context, Palacio and Gustilo conducted a pragmatic analysis of discourse particles (DPs) in Filipino computer-mediated communication, particularly on Facebook<sup>[24]</sup>. Their study demonstrated that even the smallest linguistic units, such as DPs, can perform complex pragmatic roles in digital interaction. Analyzing posts and comments by Filipino university students, the authors identified various English and Filipino relational DPs that enabled users to convey emotions, social attitudes, and interpersonal relationships. While not religious in nature, these particles mirror the contextual and relational functions of Allah-based expressions by highlighting the importance of pragmatics in meaning-making, especially in informal, digital genres.

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1. Data Collection

This study employed the ethnography of communication approach to investigate the pragmatic functions of Allah-based phrases in Jordanian spoken Arabic<sup>[25]</sup>. This method focuses on the intersection of language and social interaction to identify culturally specific communication patterns. Additionally, the study adopted Brown and Levinson's politeness model and a qualitative research design to analyze the data<sup>[18]</sup>.

To collect data, the researchers, assisted by six native Jordanian Arabic-speaking fieldworkers (both male and female), documented Allah-based expressions in real-life social interactions. Data collection took place from July 2024 to October 2024 across various settings, including university campuses, schools, homes, coffee shops, and workplaces. Participants consisted of 36 middle-aged male and female Jordanian Arabic speakers from diverse family backgrounds. All participants were university graduates or undergraduates, selected randomly based on the researchers' social contacts. They were encouraged to engage in spontaneous conversations covering a wide range of topics and personal experiences.

The data collection process included listening, note-taking, phone calls, video recordings, and face-to-face con-

versations. The researchers then categorized the extracted expressions based on their pragmatic functions, facilitating a comprehensive analysis of their usage in Jordanian spoken Arabic.

## 4.2. Data Analysis

After collecting the data, the researchers identified 123 *Allah*-based phrases across all recorded conversations. These expressions were categorized into 37 pragmatic functions, determined by their contextual usage. Given that some phrases exhibited ambiguity and could convey multiple functions, the researchers sought verification from a panel of five professors who are native speakers of JSA. These experts, affiliated with Zaytoonah Private University and the Faculty of Educational Sciences and Arts, assisted in validating the pragmatic classification of select phrases. The final categorization was based on the most agreed-upon function, which consistently aligned with the researchers' assessments.

## 5. Results and Discussion

The analysis revealed that *Allah*-based phrases in JSA serve as speech acts fulfilling various pragmatic functions. This study focuses on the primary pragmatic function of each utterance, acknowledging that some expressions may serve multiple roles. The most frequently occurring pragmatic functions are discussed below, accompanied by illustrative examples and contextual background. These functions are analyzed within the framework of Speech Act Theory.

Before listing the *Allah*-based phrases, it is essential to examine the standalone use of the word *Allah*. In JSA, *Allah* by itself conveys several pragmatic functions, including expressing admiration, surprise, praise, alerting others, and confirming statements. The following contexts exemplify these uses:

### Expressing Admiration, Surprise, and Praise

- **Context 1:** While sitting at the beach, Wael witnessed a breathtaking sunset. Overcome with admiration, he uttered, "*Allaaaaaaah*", elongating the vowel /a/. This conveyed astonishment, admiration, and praise for Allah's creation.
- **Context 2:** A child playing in the park was pushed and nearly fell. His mother instinctively exclaimed, "*Allah*",

emphasizing the first syllable without vowel elongation. This served as an alert.

- **Context 3:** Addressing an unjust person, one might sternly say, "*Allah*", clearly pronouncing the /h/ sound. In this context, the utterance functions as a warning or intimidation. Often, such an expression is an ellipsis of *Itaki Allah* (Fear Allah), where the verb is omitted.

Additionally, *Allah* can be prefixed with the conjunction *wa-* ("and") to form *wallah* (I swear by Allah), which functions as an oath:

- **Context:** Sameer, searching for his missing wallet, questions Ahmad: "*Where is my wallet? It was on the desk, and you were the only one in the room.*"
  - Ahmad responds: "*I did not take it, wallah.*"

Similarly, the preposition *bi-* ("with/by") forms *billah*, expressing surprise or sorrow:

- **Context:** Suhail informs his father that their neighbor, Abu Mahmoud, who visited them earlier, has passed away in a car crash.
  - His father responds: "*Billah! Inna lillahi wa inna ilayhi raji'un.*" (Really? To God we belong, and to Him, we will return.)

### 5.1. Allah-Based Phrases and Their Pragmatic Functions

Below is an overview of selected *Allah*-based phrases, their pragmatic functions, and contextual examples. Due to space limitations, a full list of expressions is provided in **Appendices A and B, Tables A1 to A7.**

#### 1. Bismi Illah /bis.mil'la:h/ (In the name of Allah)

- **Function:** Expressing dependence on Allah, seeking blessings.
- **Context:** When offered a cup of coffee, Majida responds, "*Bismi Illah*", before taking a sip, reflecting the belief that invoking Allah's name brings blessings.

#### 2. Masha Allah Tabarak Allah/ma:fa:? al'la:h ta'ba:ra:k al'la:h/ (God bless, God protect)

- **Function:** Expressing admiration, avoiding envy.
- **Context:** Maha announces, "*Masha Allah Tabarak Allah! My daughter was blessed with a baby girl yesterday.*"

Additionally, *Masha Allah* *Tabarak Allah* and *Masha Allah La Quwata Illa Billah* are often used interchangeably and carry similar meanings. These expressions convey admiration, delight, and the avoidance of envy. From a politeness perspective, this pragmatic function is widely employed in Jordanian discourse as a strategy to protect against envy while expressing admiration. In Islamic teachings, Muslims are encouraged to invoke Allah's name frequently as a safeguard against envy and negative influences, a practice deeply rooted in Arab culture and other societies worldwide<sup>[26, 27]</sup>.

### 3. *Insha Allah* /in ʃaːʔ alˈlaːh/ (God willing)

- **Function:** Expressing hope and anticipation
- **Context:** Marwa to Zaina: *Finally, I passed the third secondary exam. However, we don't have money to attend university.*

Her mother: *Insha Allah, you will get a scholarship to enter the University of Jordan.*

This religious expression is deeply ingrained in Jordanian culture and commonly used to express hope and anticipation for future events. In JSA, it functions as a politeness strategy to emphasize aspirations and acknowledge the uncertainty of the future, as all events are believed to unfold by divine will. However, *Insha Allah* may also serve as a device for sarcasm, depending on the intonation and context, particularly when the speaker utters it with a noticeable rising intonation pattern.

### 4. *Subhan Allah* /sobˈhaːn alˈlaːh/ (Glory be to God)

- **Function:** Expressing awe and admiration
- **Context:** Waheed to Nabeel: *Subhan Allah! Look at the strange red flared beams over Amman. It is a miracle.*

The phrase *Subhan Allah* is frequently used to express astonishment, fascination, and admiration for Allah's creation. In Jordanian discourse, it functions as an interjection similar to "Wow!" in English.

### 5. *Allah ya'tik al-afiya* /alˈlaːh jaʃˈtʰiːk alˈʕaːfijah/ (May Allah grant you good health)

- **Function:** Expressing gratitude and appreciation
- **Context:** Ahlam: *Allah ya'tik al-afiya, Suha, for carrying my heavy bags to the fourth floor. I appreciate it.*

This expression is conventionally used to convey gratitude and appreciation for someone's efforts. It is equivalent to the English phrase "Thanks a bunch." In some contexts,

it overlaps with *Jazaka Allah Khairan* (May Allah reward you with goodness). The common response to this phrase is *Allah yiafik* (May Allah bless you with health).

### 6. *Alhamdulillah walshukr lilhah* /ælˈhæm.du. du alˈlaːh wafːʊk.ru alˈlaːh/ (Praise be to Allah)

- **Function:** Expressing contentment and relief
- **Context:** Hind: *Alhamdulillah walshukr lilhah, I was anxious, but I passed the practical driving test and finally got my driving license. This is my tenth attempt.*

This phrase is a fundamental expression of gratitude and faith in Jordanian culture, commonly uttered in both positive and challenging situations. It signifies an acknowledgment of Allah's will and reinforces Islamic values that encourage gratitude in all circumstances.

### 7. *La Ilaha Ila Allah* /laː mɪlˈlaːh ʔɪlˈlaː alˈlaːh/ (There is no god but Allah)

- **Function:** Expressing frustration or disbelief
- **Context:** A child breaks an antique vase and injures himself. His mother exclaims: *La Ilaha Ila Allah! How did you manage to do that? It was on the shelf!*

Although this phrase constitutes the foundational pillar of Islamic belief, in JSA, it is pragmatically extended to express frustration, exasperation, or disbelief, diverging from its literal theological meaning.

### 8. *Allahu Akbar* /alˈlaːh ʔæk.bar/ (Allah is the greatest)

- **Function:** Expressing indignation and moral condemnation
- **Context:** A woman recounts: *While I was going to the pharmacy to buy medicine for my sick baby, a thief snatched my purse and ran away.*

Her friend replies: *Allahu Akbar! He is merciless!*

This phrase, known as *Takbir* in Islamic doctrine, has multiple functions in JSA. In this context, it conveys indignation and moral condemnation, serving as an emphatic expression of disapproval toward injustice or wrongdoing.

### 9. *Allah Ya'tik* /alˈlaːh jaʃˈtʰiːk/ (May Allah grant you money)

- **Function:** Supplicating financial blessings
- **Context:** A beggar stands in front of a mosque: *Please give me some money.*

Salem responds: *Allah Ya'tik.*

This expression is typically used when interacting with

beggars. It serves as a polite refusal strategy, allowing the speaker to avoid direct rejection while still offering a socially acceptable response. The phrase reflects the cultural value of maintaining face and avoiding embarrassment in social interactions.

**10. Barak Allah fiik/'ba:. rak al'la:.hu fi:k/** (May Allah bless you)

- **Function:** Expressing gratitude and offering prayers
- **Context:** Khaled: *Barak Allah fiik, Mohammed, for giving me a ride.*

This expression is widely used in both formal and informal interactions in Jordan. It serves as a prayerful invocation, expressing gratitude and wishes for the recipient. The word *barak* signifies “blessing” in Arabic, and its usage conveys appreciation while reinforcing social bonds.

**11. Hasbuna Allah wa ni'ma al wakeel /'has. bu.na: al'la:.hu wa 'niʃ.ma il. wa'ki:l/** (Sufficient for us is Allah, and [He is] the best disposer of affairs)

- **Function:** Seeking God's support and comfort
- **Context:** A taxi driver: *Hasbuna Allah wa ni'ma al wakeel; the traffic police stopped me and fined me for going through a red light. Honestly, I did not do it.*

This expression carries a strong soothing effect, particularly when one feels wronged, mistreated, or subjected to injustice. It serves as a means of seeking solace in divine justice and reaffirming trust in Allah's ability to resolve hardships.

**12. La hawla wala quwwata illa billah /la: 'haw.la wa.la: 'quw.wa.ta ʔil'la: bil'la:h/** (There is no might and strength except in Allah)

- **Function:** Expressing grief, sadness, and helplessness
- **Context:** Maya: *Why are you crying, Laila? Laila: My little child was admitted to the hospital due to a car accident.* Maya: *La hawla wala quwwata illa billah.*

This phrase conveys deep sorrow and helplessness in difficult situations. It signifies the recognition that human beings are powerless without Allah's assistance. It is often uttered in moments of despair or when faced with overwhelming adversity.

**13. Wahid Allah /'wa. hɪd al'la:h/** (Profess there is only one God)

- **Function:** Expressing astonishment
- **Context:** Hasan: *Do you know what happened to our friend Sanad, who lost his apartment after going bankrupt?* Mahmoud: *What happened to him?* Hasan: *He won the lottery and became a millionaire.* Mahmoud: *Wahid Allah! Are you serious?*

This expression is used to convey extreme surprise or disbelief. It is often employed when someone is faced with unexpected or astonishing news. Additionally, it can serve as a calming phrase in moments of anger or distress.

**14. Yarhamokum Allah /jar. 'ha.mu.ku. mol'la:h/** (May Allah have mercy on you)

- **Function:** Wishing someone blessings and good health
- **Context:** Deema sneezes and says *Alhamdulillah.* Fatimah: *Yarhamokum Allah.*

This phrase is customarily uttered after someone sneezes as a polite and religiously rooted way of wishing them good health and divine mercy. It reflects Islamic social etiquette and reinforces communal bonds through well-wishing.

**15. Jazaka Allah Khairan /dʒa'za. ka al'la:.hu 'xaj.ran/** (May Allah reward you with goodness)

- **Function:** Expressing appreciation
- **Context:** Salem: *Thank you, Ali, for giving me a ride to the hospital.* Jazak Allah Khair.

This powerful expression is the Islamic equivalent of *thank you*, conveying not only gratitude but also a sincere supplication for divine reward. It signals deep appreciation and positive politeness. However, depending on the intonation and context, it may also serve as a sarcastic remark, as illustrated below:

- **Context:** Sameera: *Thank you, Nisreen, for not including my name in our report.* Jazaki Allah Khair.

In this context, the phrase is not used literally to express gratitude but rather as a sarcastic remark to criticize the exclusion. This usage demonstrates the pragmatic versatility of religious expressions in spoken Arabic.

**16. Ya Allah /ja: al'la:h/** (O Lord)

- **Function:** Expressing complaints
- **Context:** Amer: *Ya Allah, take away every unjust person.*

This utterance is frequently used in everyday speech as a petition to Allah, expressing distress, frustration, or a

plea for divine intervention. It carries an illocutionary force of complaint, where the addressee infers the speaker's intent based on the context.

**17. Ittaki Allah /it'a.qɪ. qɪ al'la:h/ (Be pious to Allah)**

- **Function:** Reminding people to obey Allah's commands/advising or warning about religious duties
- **Context:** Alia is addressing Rawda: *Samia does not like you and always gossips about you when you leave us.* Alia: *Ittaki Allah. Please stop it. I am not asking you to be a tattletale.*

Derived from *Taqwa* (piety), this expression is used as a reminder to obey Allah's commands and refrain from wrongdoing. It often carries an authoritative tone, serving as a caution or moral guidance.

**18. Hayaak Allah /'haj. ja. Ka al'la:h/ (Welcome to you)**

- **Function:** Greeting and welcoming people
- **Context:** Sameer to Younes: *This is my friend Mahdi.* Younes: *Hayaak Allah ya Mahdi.* Mahdi: *Alah yehayek.*

This phrase is commonly used to greet and welcome people. It translates to "May Allah grant you a long life" and serves as a positive politeness strategy, fostering warm social interactions and strengthening relationships.

**19. Azama Allah Ajerakum /ʕa'ð:a. ma al'la:hu ʔa'dʒo:ra. kom/ (May Allah magnify your reward)**

- **Function:** Expressing condolences
- **Context:** Musa: *Azama Allah Ajerakum, Ahmad.* *May Allah grant your father Eden and forgive him.*

This phrase is traditionally used to offer condolences when someone has passed away. It means "May Allah reward you greatly for your patience during this loss." The standard response is *Shakara Allah sayakum* (May Allah bless your endeavor).

**20. Twakal 'ala Allah /taw'kæl. tu ʕa'la al'la:h/ (Trust in God)**

- **Function:** Expressing reliance on Allah's will/confirming trust in divine plans
- **Context:** Fawzia: *I have chest pains, and cardiologists recommended that I urgently need to undergo open-heart surgery, or I will die at any moment as most of my coronary arteries are obstructed.* Muna: *Twakali ala Allah, go for it. You firmly believe in divine destiny, and you urgently need it.*

This phrase serves as a reminder of divine destiny and is frequently used in JSA to encourage and reassure individuals facing difficult decisions. It conveys absolute confidence in Allah's will, reinforcing the belief that nothing occurs without His knowledge or permission.

**21. Allah al Musta'an/al'la:hu ʔal.mus.ta'ʕa:nu/(Allah is the only one sought for help)**

- **Function:** Expressing hardship, struggle, or seeking divine assistance.
- **Context:** Hadeel: What's wrong, Suzan? You seem upset.

Suzan: Allah al-Musta'an, my husband was fired after being accused of verbally harassing a colleague, and now we are drowning in debt.

This phrase signifies turning to Allah in times of distress, acknowledging that only He can provide relief. It serves as a reminder of reliance on divine help and strengthens faith by reinforcing that true comfort comes from Allah alone.

**22. Uthkur Allah /ʔð. ko'ru al'la:h/(Remember Allah)**

- **Function:** Encouraging someone to seek Allah's help through remembrance (Dhikr).
- **Context:** Hamad: Why do you look so down, Basem? Basem: My wife has a malignant tumor, and her condition is critical.

Hamad: Uthkur Allah, keep mentioning Him. Insha'Allah, He will grant her healing.

This phrase is deeply rooted in Dhikr (remembrance of Allah), which plays a vital role in a believer's life. It brings a sense of peace and spiritual connection, acting as a source of strength in challenging times.

**23. Inna Lillahi wa Inna Ilayhi Raji'oon/'in. na: lɪ'l:a: hɪ wa 'in. na: ɪ'la. Hɪ ra:ɪ. dʒɪ'ʕu:n/(We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall return)**

- **Function:** Expressing condolences and patience upon hearing about someone's passing.
- **Context:** Sameer: I regret to inform you of the sudden passing of our dear friend, Majed.

Zuhair: Inna Lillahi wa Inna Ilayhi Raji'oon, when did it happen?

This phrase reflects a core belief in Islam: that life and death are in Allah's hands. It expresses acceptance of divine decree and serves as a reminder to remain patient in



times of grief. It is commonly used to console others and acknowledge the temporary nature of life.

**24. Allah la yihinak /al'la:hu la: jo'hi:. na:k/ (May Allah not permit you to be humiliated)**

- **Function:** Politeness marker, mitigating requests.
- **Context:** (*At the mosque*) Hazem to Muneer: Allah la yihinak, pass me that chair.

This phrase is commonly used in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA) to soften the impact of a request. It acts as a politeness strategy to maintain respect and avoid directness, preventing the conversation from sounding abrupt or impolite. Without it, the request could feel too demanding or inconsiderate.

**25. Ajalakum Allah /ʔa. dʒa'la. kom al'la:h/(May Allah elevate you)**

- **Function:** Euphemism for discussing socially sensitive topics.
- **Context:** Sajad: Where were you, Sami?

Sami: Ajalakum Allah, I was in the bathroom.

This phrase serves as a linguistic softener when discussing taboo or socially uncomfortable subjects in Jordanian culture. It is often used to refer to impure places, animals like pigs, or shameful conditions in a respectful manner. By employing this phrase, the speaker upholds politeness, preserves social harmony, and mitigates potential embarrassment in conversation.

## 5.2. Analysis of the Pragmatic Functions of Allah-Based Phrases According to Speech Act Theory

The (123) Allah-based phrases can be categorized into five types of speech acts serving 37 pragmatic functions. **Table 1** lists the five types of speech acts and their functions along with the number of phrases serving these functions and acts. See **Appendix B Table A2–A7** for all phrases and their functions.

**Table 1.** Types of Speech Acts Achieved by Allah-Based Phrases.

Speech Act Type	Function	No of Phrases	Example
Expressive Speech Acts	Expressing dependence on Allah (Obtaining blessing from Allah)	1	Bismi Illah (In the name of Allah)
	Greeting and welcoming people	3	Hayaak Allah (Welcome to you)
	Expressing farewell	4	Fi aman Allah (In God's care)
	Expressing recognition and gratitude/thanking	5	Kathar Allah Kheirak (May God increase your good deeds)
	Expressing condolences/Communicating sympathy and shared grief	7	Ina lilah wa ina ilaihi rajieun (We belong to Allah and to Him we shall return)
	Expressing satisfaction	4	Alhamdulillah walshukr lilah (All praise and thanks be to Allah.)
	Expressing grief and sadness/oppression/agony/	4	Hasbuna Allah wa ni'ma al wakeel (Sufficient for us is Allah, and [He is] the best Disposer of affairs)
	Expressing anger/annoyance	4	Allah yil 'anuh (God damn him)
	Expressing astonishment	1	Wahid Allah (profess there is only one God)
	Feeling nostalgia about the past	1	Saaqalla (May God bless the old days)
	Expressing sarcasm/demonstrating irony or mockery	1	Balla (by God)
	Expressing God's mercy in responding to worshippers and forgiving their sins	1	Allah raheem (God is merciful)
	Expressing admiration and hope/evading envy	4	Quul masha Allah (Say What God wills)
	Expressing Skepticism or Doubt	1	Yallah assalaameh God's safety—I am not sure how long it will take

Table 1. Cont.

Speech Act Type	Function	No of Phrases	Example
Commissive Speech Acts	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody	10	Allah yukhdhak (May God take you)
	Invoking divine intervention for blessings/asking Allah to grant goodness	10	Barak Allah fiik (May Allah bless you)
	Expressing a wish for good wellbeing/blessings/a speedy recovery	17	Allah yasir amrak (May God make your affairs easy)
	Softening potential offense	1	Ajalakum Allah (Allah elevate you)
	Expressing reliance on Allah's will/affirming trust in divine plans	1	Twakal ala Allah (Trust in God)
	Making an oath	6	Uqsim billah, (I swear by Allah)
Representative Speech Acts	Praising and wondering Allah about somebody or something	1	Subhan Allah (Glory be to Allah)
	Announcing demise	1	Fi thimatillah (in Allah's custody)
	Expressing dissatisfaction, complaints, gloating	9	Min Allah bikhayr (Fine by the grace of God)
	Expressing reliance on Allah's will/affirming trust in divine plans	1	Twakal ala Allah (Trust in God)
	Expressing hope in God's grace and rejection of pessimism/affirming optimism and faith	2	Faal Allah wa laa faalk (God forbid)
	Expressing God's attributes/majesty/generosity	3	Allah kbeer (God is great)
	Expressing poor economic conditions/stating a factual struggle	1	Allah al Musta'an (Allah is the only one sought for help)
	Expressing consciousness and devotion to Allah/acknowledging awareness of His presence	1	Uthkur Allah (Remember Allah)
	Expressing God's vengeance on the wicked/highlighting divine justice	2	Allah muntakem (Allah is the avenger)
	Requesting God's mercy or support/supplicating for divine intervention	2	Jiirit Allah 'alayk
	Requesting someone to do something for you	2	Dakhiil Allah 'aleek (For God's sake)
	Supplicating Allah to award people what they want	2	Allah Ya'tik (May Allah grant give you money)
	Seeking God's support and comfort	1	Bi'een Allah (May God help)
	Praying against every evil	1	Allahu Akbar (Allah is the greatest)
Directive Speech Acts	Expressing a wish for God's protection/support/care	5	Allah yihmeek (May God protect you), Allah ynjahak (May God grant you success)
	Reminding people to obey Allah's commands/advising or warning about religious duties	2	Ittaki Allah (be pious to Allah), Khaaf Allah (Fear God)
	Directing someone to leave	1	Allah maak (God be with you)

As can be seen from **Table 1**, expressive speech acts are the most common type (14 functions) while declarative speech acts are the least common type (one function). This reflects the nature of human communication and needs. Ex-

pressive speech acts are mostly associated with conveying positive interpersonal and spiritual attitudes that strengthen relationships between the speaker and Allah, or between the speaker and others. These phrases avoid negativity by replacing potentially harmful feelings with positive ones. The high frequency of these phrases shows that Jordanians are keen on maintaining social bonding, spiritual connections, and reliance on Allah. On the other hand, the least common functions reflect the sacristy of situations that invoke the use of these phrases.

Note that one phrase can serve more than one pragmatic function; however, our focus is on the primary speech act that the phrase achieves. For example, the phrase *Ajalakum Allah* ‘may Allah elevate you’ can function as an expressive speech act, as it acknowledges the sensitive nature of the issue and a directive one as it prepares the listener for the discussion and encourages engagement. Another example is the phrase *Allah yshafik wayaeafik* ‘may God heal you and keep you well’. It can be an expressive speech act to express goodwill and simultaneously a directive asking Allah to heal the addressee.

These Allah-based phrases, with their multiple functions and dimensionalities, are used as linguistics markers in JSA, and they are deeply rooted in the Jordanian culture. These can also represent well-established cliches that are very common in Arabic culture<sup>[28]</sup>. They also confirm that religion is integral to Jordanian culture and language; see also the work by Jaradat<sup>[12]</sup>. These phrases serve as a discourse marker and increase the meaning expressed in the adjacent linguistic context, a finding that is corroborated by Hamdan and Abu Rumman<sup>[29]</sup>, who reported a similar use of the expression *yahummali* in JSA. These phrases acquire a new meaning, in addition to their denotative and prototypical meanings, in the context where they are used.

The ubiquity of these Allah-based phrases is not restricted to Arabic, but they are also found in other languages as loanwords from Arabic. Besides, such phrases are used by Muslim and non-Muslim Arabs<sup>[7, 30]</sup>.

## 6. Conclusions and Recommendations

This study has identified 123 Allah-based phrases in Jordanian Arabic, covering 37 distinct pragmatic functions.

These expressions play crucial roles in seeking blessings, showing admiration, and invoking divine intervention, while also acting as positive politeness strategies that maintain social harmony.

The findings emphasize that these phrases permeate all aspects of Jordanian life, regardless of religious beliefs or levels of devotion. Their widespread use reflects the deeply ingrained role of faith in Jordanian linguistic and cultural practices—a trend likely shared across other Arab societies. This aligns with Castleton’s observation that the word Allah has become idiomatic and is deeply embedded in daily Muslim conversations<sup>[8]</sup>.

Given their linguistic, cultural, and religious significance, these phrases hold practical value for foreign learners of Arabic, particularly those studying in Jordan. Understanding their pragmatic functions enhances intercultural communication, reduces misinterpretations, and improves social interactions. For linguists, pragmatists, sociolinguists, and theologians, further research into these expressions can provide insights into the intersection of religion, politeness strategies, and discourse markers, shedding light on how cultural values and religious beliefs shape Arabic communication.

While this study focuses on Jordanian Arabic, future research should explore similar phrases in other Arabic-speaking communities. A broader comparison could help determine contextual variations and prevent potential miscommunication. Additionally, a cross-cultural study comparing the influence of religion and culture on language use in Arabic and non-Arabic-speaking societies would offer valuable perspectives on the universality of faith-based linguistic expressions.

## Author Contributions

Conceptualization: M.N.A.-G.; methodology: O.A.A.-H.E.; validation: O.A.A.-H.E., A.A.Q., and A.R.A.; formal analysis: M.N.A.-G.; investigation: A.A.Q.; resources: A.A.Q.; data curation: M.N.A.-G.; writing—original draft preparation: O.A.A.-H.E.; writing—review and editing: A.A.Q., M.N.A.-G., and A.R.A.; supervision: A.R.A.; project administration: A.A.Q. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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## Institutional Review Board Statement

The study was conducted in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki, and approved by the Ethics Committee of UNRWA University, Jordan (protocol code 65433 - Aug 2024).

## Informed Consent Statement

Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

## Appendix A

## Data Availability Statement

The data supporting the study's findings are available by Dr. Omar Abdullah Al-HajEid upon reasonable request.

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## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflict of interest. The funders had no role in the design of the study; in the collection, analyses, or interpretation of data; in the writing of the manuscript; or in the decision to publish the results.

**Table A1.** An Example of Validation.

No	Religious Phrase	Pragmatic Function	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree Disagree	Remarks
1.	Bismi Illah (In the name of Allah)	Obtaining blessing from Allah				

## Appendix B

### Allah-Based Phrases

**Table A2.** Allah Phrase +Verb.

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1.	Allah ya'tik al- afiya (May Allah grant you good health)	Expressing recognition and gratitude
2	Allah Ya'tik (May Allah grant give you money	Supplicating Allah to grant money to beggars
3	Allah yehdeek (May God guide you to the right path)	Expressing anger/annoyance
4	Allah bilamirsad (God is watching/God has the plan)	Expressing complaints
5	Allah yarhamuhu (May God rest his soul)	Expressing condolences
6	Allah yfarjiini feek yuum (May Allah make me happy through you one day)	Expressing gloating not wish

**Table A2. Cont.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
7	Allah yukhdhak (May God take you)	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody
8	Allah yantaqm mink (May God take revenge on you)	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody
9	Allah yuthelak (May Allah humiliate you)	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody
10	Allah yishilak (May Allah take /paralyze you)	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody
11	Allah yiksir khatrak (May Allah break your heart)	Invoking Allah's imprecation upon somebody
12	Allah yihmeek (May God protect you)	Expressing a wish for God's protection/support/care
13	Allah maak (God be with you)	Expressing farewell Asking someone to leave
14	Allah yasir amrak (May God make your affairs easy)	Expressing a wish for easy life/matters
15	Allah yshafik wayacafik (May God heal you and keep you well)	Wishing a speedy recovery
16	Allah yqawmak bilsalameh (May God put you back on your feet safely)	Wishing a speedy recovery
17	Allah ynjahak (May God grant you success)	Invoking Allah for good
18	Allah yirzaqak hadat albal (May God grant you peace of mind)	Invoking Allah for good
19	Allah ybiadh wajhak (May God fill you with happiness)	Invoking Allah for good
20	Allah yustur 'alayk (May God not disclose your secrets)	Invoking Allah for good
21	Allah y'awd 'alayk (May God make it up to you)	Invoking Allah for good
22	Allah yisma'minak (May God hear from you)	Invoking Allah for good
23	Allah yhanin 'alayk (May God have tenderness on you)	Invoking Allah for good
24	Allah yakhtarlak alafdal (May Allah Choose the best for you)	Invoking Allah for good
25	Allah wakilak (God is your guardian)	Making an oath
26	Allah ybashrak bilkhayr (May God give you the glad tidings)	Thanking someone for bringing good news
27	Allah yirzigak al thuraya al salhah (May God provide you with virtuous descendants)	Invoking Allah for good
28	Allah yanawir darbak (May Allah enlighten your path)	Invoking Allah for good
29	Allah yanawir basirtak (May God enlighten your insight)	Invoking Allah for good

**Table A2. Cont.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
30	Allah ytawil bi ‘amurak (May God prolong your life)	Invoking Allah for good
31	Allah yifrijha ‘aleek (May God relieve it for you)	Invoking Allah for good
32	Allah ybark fiik (God bless you)	Invoking Allah for good
33	Allah yigaweek (May God strengthen you)	Invoking Allah for good
34	Allah yhayyiik (May Allah greet you)	Invoking Allah for good
35	Allah yhayi aslak (May God greet your origin= you are of noble origin)	Invoking Allah for good
36	Allah yisalmak (May God keep you safe)	Invoking Allah for good
37	Allah yiftaha biwijhak (May God open it for you)	Invoking Allah for good
38	Allah yultuf (May God be kind to you)	Invoking Allah for good
39	Allah yihrik hareeshu (May God curse your enemy)	Invoking Allah for good
40	Allah yarda ‘annak (May God be satisfied with you)	Invoking Allah for good
41	Allah yanem ‘alayk (May God reward you)	Expressing a reply to a nice haircut
42	Allah yikhrib beetak (May God destroy your home)	Invoking Allah’s imprecation upon somebody
43	Allah yighdab ‘alayk (May Allah be unsatisfied with you)	Invoking Allah’s imprecation upon somebody
44	Allah yintagim minak (May God take revenge on you)	Invoking Allah’s imprecation upon somebody
45	Allah yil ‘anuh (God damn him)	Expressing anger/annoyance
46	Allah ysahil ‘alayk (May God make it easy for him)	Expressing farewell

**Table A3. Verb+ Allah Phrases.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1.	Barak Allah fiik (May Allah bless you)	Praying for someone to be blessed
2	Yarhamokum Allah (God bless you)	Wishing somebody blessings and good health
3	Jazaka Allah Khairan (May Allah reward you with goodness)	Wishing somebody blessings and good health
4	Twakal ala Allah (Trust in God)	Expressing full reliance on the will of Allah

**Table A3. Cont.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
5	Utrukha lillah (Leave it to Allah)	Expressing complaints
6	Khaliha 'ala Allah (Leave it to Allah)	Expressing complaints
7	Ittaki Allah (Be pious to Allah)	Reminding people to obey Allah's commands/advising or warning about religious duties
8	Khaaf Allah (Fear God)	Reminding people to obey Allah's commands/advising or warning about religious duties
9	Hayaak Allah (Welcome to you)	Greeting and welcoming people
10	Massaak Allah bil khayr (May God fill your evening with good/Good evening)	Greeting and welcoming people
11	Wahid Allah (Profess there is only one God)	Expressing astonishment
12	Azama Allah ajerakum (May Allah reward you greatly)	Expressing condolences
13	Zaratna albarakah wallah (God's blessings visited us)	Greeting and welcoming people
14	Alhamukum Allah alsabr walsulwan (May Allah grant you patience and consolation)	Expressing condolences
15	Bi'een Allah (May God help)	Seeking God's support and comfort
16	Salamak Allah (May God keep you safe)	Expressing a wish for good wellbeing
17	Quul masha Allah (Say What God wills)	Invoking divine intervention for blessings/Evading envy
18	Uthkur Allah (Remember Allah)	Expressing consciousness and devotion to Allah/Acknowledging awareness of His presence
19	Uqsim billah (I swear by God)	Making an oath
20	Yishhad Allah (God is my witness)	Making an oath
21	Y'alam Allah (God knows)	Making an oat
22	Astawdaeak Allah (I command you to Alah's keeping)	Expressing farewell
23	Saaqalla (May God bless the old days)	Feeling nostalgic about the past
24	Faal Allah wa laa faalk (God forbid)	Expressing hope in God's grace and rejection of pessimism/affirming optimism faith
25	Akarmak Allah (May Allah reward you)	Expressing thanks
26	Kathar Allah Kheirak (May God increase your good deeds)	Expressing thanks

**Table A3. Cont.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
27	Ashkiik lillah (To God I complain about you)	Making a complaint
28	Ajalakum Allah (Allah elevate you)	Softening potential offense/Talking about socially banned issues
29	quul Allah (say Allah)	Expressing annoyance

**Table A4. Allah Phrase+ Adjective.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1.	Allahu Akbar (Allah is the greatest)	Praying against every evil
2	Allah kareem (God is generous)	Expressing God's unlimited generosity and kindness
3	Allah raheem (God is merciful)	Expressing God's mercy in responding to worshippers and forgiving their sins
4	Allah kbeer (God is great)	Expressing God's majesty and pride
5	Allah samee' (God is all-hearing)	Expressing God's attributes of hearing and responding/affirming theological beliefs
6	Allah jabbaar (Allah is the compeller)	Expressing God's vengeance on the wicked
7	Allah muntakem (Allah is the avenger)	Expressing God's vengeance on the wicked
8	Allah ghalib (God is victorious)	Expressing complaints

**Table A5. Preposition +Allah.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1	Ina lilah wa ina ilaihi rajieun (We belong to Allah and to Him we shall return)	Expressing condolences
2	Lilah ma akhadh walilah ma a'tah (For God is what He has taken and for God is what He has given)	Expressing condolences
3	Fi hifz Allah wa 'inayatu (In God's care and protection)	Expressing farewell
4	Fi aman Allah (In God's care)	Expressing farewell
5	Min Allah bikhayr (Fine by the grace of God)	Expressing dissatisfaction Expressing satisfaction
6	Balla (by God)	Expressing sarcasm
7	Bihaayat Allah (By God)	Making an oath
8	'Ala Allah (It is up to God)	Expressing dissatisfaction



**Table A5. Cont.**

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
9	Bijaah Allah (For the sake of God)	Expressing annoyance
10	Fi thimatiallah	Announcing demise
11	Billah ‘alayk (For God’s sake)	Expressing admiration and delight

**Table A6.** Negation by Two Sounds La (Not) + Verb.

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1.	Allah la yehinak (May God not permit anyone to humiliate you)	Expressing a wish for good wellbeing
2	Allah la yigadir (May God forbid)	Expressing hope in God’s grace and rejection of pessimism and faith
3	Allah la yiwatrizlak (originally yiwati rizgak) (May God not lower your livelihood)	Expressing a wish for good wellbeing
4	Allah la yebtaliik (May God not afflict you)	Expressing a wish for good wellbeing
5	Allah la yiwarjeek (May God not let you see it)	Invoking Allah for Good
6	Allah la ysahil ‘alayk (May God make it not easy for him)	Invoking Allah’s imprecation upon somebody
7	Allah la yuhutak mahalli (May God not put you in my shoes)	Showing difficult circumstances

**Table A7.** Miscellaneous Structures of Using Allah Phrases.

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
1.	Bismi Illah (In the name of Allah)	Obtaining blessing from Allah
2	Masha Allah tabarak Allah (God bless God Protect)	Expressing admiration and evading envy
3	Insha Allah (God willing)	Expressing admiration and hope Expressing sarcasm Expressing doubt
4	Alhamdulillah walshukr lilhah (All praise and thanks be to Allah.)	Expressing satisfaction
5	La Ilaha Ila Allah (No God except Allah)	Expressing resentment
6	Hasbuna Allah wa ni’ma al wakeel (Sufficient for us is Allah, and [He is] the best Disposer of affairs)	Expressing Oppression
7	La hawla wala qua ila billah (There is no power to avoid evil and no power to do good except with God’s help)	Expressing grief and sadness/oppression/agony
8	Allah al Musta’an (Allah is the only one sought for help)	Expressing complaints Expressing poor economic conditions/stating a factual struggle

Table A7. *Cont.*

No	Allah-Based Expressions	Pragmatic Functions
9	Allah ‘ala al thalem (God is against the oppressor)	Expressing complaints
10	Al baqa’ lillah (Only God remains)	Expressing condolences
11	Aldaym (hu) Allah (God is eternal)	Expressing condolences
12	‘Alecha wjrh Allah (May God’s face be on it)	Swearing by God
13	Yallah assalaameh God’s safety- I am not sure how long it will take	Expressing Skepticism or Doubt
14	Ism Allah ‘aleek (God’s name on you)	Evading envy
15	Ya Allah (Oh, God!)	Expressing agony
16	Allah ‘aleek (God may take revenge on you)	Invoking Allah’s imprecation upon somebody
17	Subhan Allah (Glory be to Allah)	Praising and wondering Allah about somebody or something
18	Jiirit Allah ‘alayk (May God’s neighborhood be close to you)	Requesting someone to do something for you
19	Dakhiil Allah ‘aleek (For God’s sake)	Requesting someone to do something for you
20	‘Een Allah tir’aak, (May God’s eyes be upon you)	Invoking Allah for good
21	Tafagiid Allah raHmeh (Misfortunes inflicted by God are a mercy)	Expressing satisfaction
22	Illi min Allah ya maHlaah What comes from God is nice	Expressing satisfaction

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