

Forms of Address in Jordanian Arabic

With Some Additional Reference to Speech Fellowships

by

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Page

- 3 (1st parag. 1st line, after next); add (cf. pp. 156-158)
- 4 (1st and 2nd paragraphs) substitute A for B and vice versa
- 110 Col. 1, No.3) "my house" should read "my pride"
- 110 Col. 1, No.4) "my pride" should read "my house"
- 190 (3rd parag. 2nd line) delete and displays.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is primarily concerned with the investigation, within a socio-linguistic framework, of linguistic forms of address regularly observed in Jordanian Speech, having regard particularly to the status and role-relations of interlocutors. The linguistic characteristics of such relations are stated in lexical, grammatical and phonological terms and some attention is paid to interrelationships obtaining between these levels. In addition, a specification is given of important linguistic features characterizing Jordanian speech fellowships and a statement made as to variation in forms of address according to the speech fellowships of interlocutors.

The Transcription

The symbols used for the transcription of Jordanian Arabic correspond for the most part to the symbols of the I.P.A. except that, for typographical reasons, some specialized use of symbols has been necessary. Brief reading conventions are as follows:

1. CONSONANTS:

- w : a bilabial semi-vowel .
- ʌ : a voiceless semi-vowel .
- b : a voiced bilabial plosive .
- f : a voiceless labio-dental fricative .
- m : a bilabial nasal .
- n : an alveolar nasal .
- l : an alveolar lateral
- r : an alveolar flap
- ʒ : a voiced palato-alveolar fricative
- ʃ : a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
- dʒ : a voiced palato-alveolar affricate

- tʃ** : a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
ʈ : a voiced inter-dental non-sulcal fricative
ʈʰ : a voiced emphatic non-sulcal denti-alveolar fricative
θ : a voiceless non-emphatic non-sulcal denti-alveolar fricative
s : a voiceless non-emphatic sulcal denti-alveolar fricative
z : a voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative
S : a voiceless emphatic sulcal denti-alveolar fricative
Z : a voiced emphatic sulcal denti-alveolar fricative
t : a voiceless non-emphatic denti-alveolar plosive
d : a voiced non-emphatic denti-alveolar plosive
T : a voiceless emphatic denti-alveolar plosive
D : a voiced emphatic denti-alveolar plosive
q : a voiceless uvular plosive
k : a voiceless velar plosive
k' : a velar ejective
g : a voiced velar plosive
ʔ : a glottal stop
h : a glottal fricative
x : a voiceless uvular fricative
G : a voiced uvular fricative
ħ : a voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ʕ : a voiced pharyngeal fricative
j : a palatal semi-vowel

2. VOWELS:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
half-close	e	ə	o
open	a		ɔ

Vowel length or consonant length is indicated by double letters, e.g. márra "once", hurr "free", harr "hot", habb "he loved", haabb "he is in love with", samm "poison", saamm "poisonous".

3. PROMINENCE: The prominent syllable is indicated by ' placed above the vocalic nucleus of an appropriate syllable; the prominent syllable is distinguished inter alia by its being pronounced on a higher pitch than adjacent syllables and by its common association with a kinetic tone.

4. PAUSES: Pauses are represented by slant lines. The number of lines gives some approximation of the length of the pause. Thus a single slant / represents a pause which is perceptibly shorter in duration than a double //, and so on. Ungrammatical sentences are prefixed by an asterisk.

Background Information

Types of Speech Fellowship¹

1. General: Modes of address as used by Jordanians cannot be fully understood without taking into account a number of biographical characteristics of interlocutors, such as age, sex, educational background, regional and/or social provenance, status, etc., which are woven into the on-going behaviour of individuals in typical interactional settings.

A piece of language such as ja xáajse, for example, which is often interpolated in the discourse of female villagers cannot profitably be studied in vacuo so to speak. Nor can it be comprehended without reference to the speaker's background and group affiliation. At first sight, ja xáajse may appear as an addressive phrase with a so-called literal translation "You villainess", as in

1. bástahi ja xáajse "I'm shy, you villainess"

1. The term "speech fellowship" is owed to J.R. Firth. See "Personality and Language in Society", in Papers in Linguistics: O.U.P., 1964, p.186. It is used here in a somewhat different sense to refer to a group of people, the individual members of which share certain generally recognised sets of relationships, e.g., kinship, common residence, and speech ties; the last being the distinctive features which exclusively mark the members of the group as belonging to it. See also Raymond Firth, We, The Tikopia, London: Allen and Unwin, 1961, pp. 76-94.

2. ja xáajse ma gúlitlitš šloon tínisdzi "You villainess, I told you how to knit".

3. laa miš heek ja xáajse "Not like that, you villainess".

But the effect on the interlocutor of the use of ja xáajse is decidedly different from what the "translation meaning" implies in that it serves rather the important function of maintaining "friendly rapport" between two intimate female speakers. At the same time, it is one of many indices by which the so-called "uneducated" can be recognized, since ja xáajse stands in marked contrast with the corresponding more educated use of ja + proper name or ja záanise; the latter term being confined to more formal situations.

It will be seen, then, that modes of address can only be viewed as part of the larger complex of social activity and within the total communicative matrix within which social groups identify themselves and are identified, in part at least, through the choice of language.

There follow short extracts from a longish conversation recorded unbeknown to the female participants. The texts are given in full in Appendix (I) in order to illustrate certain facts about the complexity of Jordanian speech habits. The relevant biographical features of each participant are also included (cf. pp.153-4ff.).

Rural-urban differences are apparent in the text. In the first place, there are those items which belong to certain "semantic fields" unfamiliar to the urbanite. This accounts for a marked loss of intelligibility in places and for substantial paraphrasing in A. Items such as fad3d3 "half-ripe", ɛ́ád3ar, "hard" are examples of lexical items likely to cause such difficulties. These items and hundreds of others belonging to the area of rural husbandry are obviously unlikely to be found in urban speech. Likewise, the lexical item mǫáffara, which collocates with iTTábxá, is an important indicator of the speaker's regional as well as social provenance. In educated usage, the occurrence of mǫáffara is far less likely than, say, mnáʔʔaTá or mʔállaje. It also identifies her geographically in the sense that mǫáffara contains the voiced velar plosive /g/ in contradistinction to the more frequent occurrence of its urban reflex, /ʔ/ "the glottal stop".

Regional differences are also reflected at the syntactic level. The negative particles bála and min Geer "without" stand in marked contrast with the more frequent urban usage of bidúun. Also, the invariable "emphatic" negative sequence wala ɛ́íne "not a thing", "not at all" is yet another feature of "uneducated" rural speech, and is in contrast with the educated urban or rural min márra

"at all", cf.

- (i) Uneducated: maa hásrif wála šíine
 (ii) Educated: maa hásrif min márra

Furthermore; there are instances of "grammatical error" characterizing A's speech. It is often held in Arabic school grammar: that agreement obtains between a nominal and a preceding adjectival in terms of number and gender, say, hadíik issáasa "at that time" vs. hadáak liktáab "that book". Likewise, a suffixed pronominal should agree with a following nominal in terms of number and gender; cf. šú bitqulúulha Ttábxá "What do you call the food?" vs. šú bitqulúulu Ttábíix. Contrary, therefore, to what might have been expected, grammatical rules are violated by A when she says hadáak issáasa and šú bitqulúulu Ttábxá. Nevertheless, the two sequences were intelligible to B.

An important feature is the use of plural 2nd person pronominal forms and the associated use of plural 1st person forms in response, cf.

- A. šú bitqulúulu "What do you (i.e. you and your group) call it?"
 B. řihna binsammíi "We (i.e. me and our group) call it".

The use of plural in place of singular pronominals relates to the participant awareness of differences in group membership.

It can be seen, then, that no adequate description of modes of address can be given without first looking into the distinctive linguistic traits which characterize the principal groups constituting the Jordanian community.

2. Methodological Considerations:

In the foregoing paragraphs certain speech differences have been briefly mentioned so as to throw light on important variables (see pp.560ff.) which are of fundamental importance to the study of modes of address. Terms such as "dialect", "vernacular" and "tongue"² have been avoided, partly because there are as yet no general standards of agreement on how "a dialect" or "dialect boundary" can be delineated and partly because of the general conviction that if language is viewed in action and in relation to the "persons" or "personalities"³ by whom language is put to use, the need for such distinctions can largely be eliminated. L. R. Palmer categorically rejected such questions as "Are there differences between dialects?" and described them as "absurd".⁴ He maintains that "Words and sentences are merely human actions"⁵ and cannot be separated from the human beings who

2. For the use of such terms, see Trevor Hill, "Institutional Linguistics" Orbis, 7 (1958), pp. 443-55.

3. cf. J. R. Firth, "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory", Studies In Linguistic Analysis, Oxford - Blackwell, 1957, p.9.

4. L.R. Palmer An Introduction to Modern Linguistics (London: MacMillan & Co., 1936), p.131.

5. Ibid. p.133.

pronounce them. Objections have also been reiterated by Weinreich, who denounced methods practised by dialectologists⁶, because attention is usually focussed on the comparison of scattered elements belonging to unrelated systems and "without stressing their ultimate membership in those systems".⁷

In recent years there has been some shift of interest from the study of "ultra-conceptual" grammar to the consideration of language as part of the social process.⁸ Linguists are becoming increasingly aware of the existence of differences in the speech patterns of distinct social classes.⁹ But a precise determination of the range, characters, and distribution of significant socio-linguistic variants in Jordanian Arabic has to date not been attempted.

There exist readily recognizable lines of demarcation along speech levels of major communal groups (see pp. 8-30ff.) There is a need therefore to examine systematically the nature of socially *relevant*

6. Uriel Weinreich "Is Structural Dialectology Possible", in Linguistics Today (New York: World Vol. 10, 2-3 (1954), p.391.

7. Ibid., p.391

8. For a comprehensive bibliography, see, J. B. Pride, The Social Meaning of Language, Oxford University Press (forthcoming)

9. See, for example, William A. Labov The Social Stratification of English in New York City (Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966). Also G. B. Milner "The Samoan Vocabulary of Respect," Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (1960-62), 294-317.

linguistic variants so as to throw some light on the degree of correlation between modes of address and communal groups. In what follows, the most important distinguishing features in the speech patterns of each speech fellowship will be considered.

Chapter One

Linguistic Indicators of Jordanian Speech Fellowship

It is possible to classify Jordanian speakers into three main speech fellowships: baquul, haʔuul and ʔiquul. The 3rd pers. masc. imperfect form of the verb qaal "to say" is used as a convenient device for summing up the manifold differences which justify the threefold classification. A further threefold division of the baquul fellowship may be made on the basis of the pronunciation of the medial and final consonants of this particular form. Thus, the pronunciation of /g/ as a voiceless velar plosive is characteristic of the rural population living in the area around Jerusalem, Nablus Tuulkarm and Jeniin. Again, pronunciation of the final lateral consonant as "dark" is a distinguishing feature of cultivators living in the northern sector of the East Bank. Finally, if the lateral is pronounced "clear" and the preceding velar plosive voiced, this is an indication of the speaker belonging to the rural population living in the southern part of the west bank (the former British mandatory Palestine). Members of the ʔiquul speech fellowship belong to the Bedouin tribes living in the far eastern and southern deserts of the country in contradistinction to the haʔuul people, whose members belong to the city dwellers of Nablus, Jerusalem, El-Khaliil

and Amman.

The above-mentioned grouping is not necessarily definitive, since one has to reckon with many intermediate gradations in the speech habits of the three principal groups, owing largely to the constant mobility between groups as a result of the rapid expansion of education, urbanisation, and other processes of inter-communication, which the country has known in the last two decades. In passing, it may be noted that the direction of change of speech habits is always unidirectional, viz. Bedouin or rural towards urban and not vice versa.

The following sections will be devoted to the linguistic features which indicate group membership as well as regional origins¹⁰. Speech fellowships will be taken in turn; the largest or baquul fellowship first. As has already been indicated, this speech fellowship is subject to a further tripartite classification, viz.

- (i) the baguut - group
- (ii) the baguul - group
- (iii) the bakuul - group

10. Broadly speaking, the Jordanian community may be segmented into groups each of which traces its descent to a common ancestor. A combination of two or more groups constitute what is commonly known as Hamuula, which in many respects, is characterized by speech habits marking it off from other Hamuula's. From the point of view of speech habits, the largest Hamuula's may be seen to live in well-defined geographical areas - see accompanying map (p.199 ff.) wherein the constituent groups are symbolized by O = RG1; + = RG2; @ = RG3; Δ = SF II; A = SF III

For practical purposes, these groups will be referred to as RG1 (Rural Group 1), RG2 and RG3 in that order. Speech fellowships will comprise baquul (SFI), ba2uul (SFII) and liquul (SFIII).

1. SFI : RG1 or baquut-group:-

The following features are solely characteristic of this group. They have been selected from the corpus as characteristic of the "relaxed" informal colloquial style employed by members of the group in family surroundings or among intimate fellows. Each feature occurs in the corpus at least three times and is not to be regarded as of merely sporadic occurrence. Features also occur in the speech of more than one person and are not therefore idiosyncratic.

Attention is focussed below on grammatical and phonological "indexical" features. Corresponding features characteristic of other groups will be described subsequently:-

1.2. Grammatical:-

1.2.1. Negation: Negative sentences may be classified either (i) emphatic or (ii) non-emphatic. Non-emphatic negative sentences consist of a nuclear component comprising ma + perfect or imperfect form of the verb + a pronominal suffix + the negative suffix - ʒ.

Examples are:-

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. <u>ma</u> <u>tiḥāqis</u> | "she can't join in" |
| 2. <u>ma</u> <u>bitʒufiis</u> <u>iṭṭariiq</u> | "You can't see the way" |

3. ma biḥurrúuṣ "It won't do him any harm"
 4. ma riḏiṣ lókil "He didn't want to eat"
 5. ma bardʒaṣ "I won't go back"

The above sentences may be expanded by a set of elements the addition of which gives "emphatic force" to the sentence. Thus, it is possible in the above sentences (1-5) to substitute wála siine and ṣeele for -ṣ, e.g.,

1. maa tíḥag wála siine
 2. maa bitṣúufi Tariiq wála siine
 3. maa biḥurru ṣeele
 4. maa riḏi lókil ṣeele
 5. maa bardʒaṣ ṣeele

Similarly -ṣ is omitted when walla is prefixed to the sentence:

1. walla maa tíḥag
 2. walla maa bitṣúufi Tariiq
 3. walla maa biḥurru
 4. walla maa riḏi
 5. walla maa bardʒaṣ

Walla and wála siine / ṣeele may combine again with -ṣ omitted, i.e.

1. walla maa tíḥag wála siine

2. wálla maa bitšúufi Tariiq šéele

All these features - prefixation of wálla, extension by wála šiine / šéele, and prominence of maa may combine with -š omitted.

An emphatic negative sentence may thus be defined as one which consists of a nucleus component comprising maa + perfect/imperfect form of the verb plus one or more of the satellite elements wálla -/ -wála šiine / šéele. The inclusion of one of these satellite elements excludes the negative suffix -š occurring in corresponding "non-emphatic" negative sentences.

Further provision needs to be made, however, in order to include possibilities of negation characteristic of nominal and particle sentences, which, unlike the verbal sentences set out above, may be expanded by colligation with a limited number of "emphatic" satellites. The possibilities of expanding nominal as well as particle sentences are shown below; if the nucleus is expanded by a post-posed element, this is termed "right-hand" expansion; "pre-posing" is "left-hand" expansion.

A. "Right-hand" Expansion:-

(a) min márra, wála šiine, šéele "at all"

(b) wála márra

(c) wála ši

(d) ši

The emphatic "satellites" occupy final position in a negative verbal sentence and are all interchangeable freely in that position. Examples are:

1. maa Gasált min márra "I haven't washed at all"
2. maa džarrábt wála márra "I haven't tried at all"
3. maa Sibt iši "I haven't touched anything"
4. maa džaléet wála ši "I haven't washed up at all"

The emphatic elements cannot, however, be freely interchangeable when they are preceded by a nominal or a particle. Only min márra and wála ši are then interchangeable in final position; and wála márra and iši are inadmissible cf.

1. (a) maa mási xábar min márra
 (b) *maa mási xábar iši
2. (a) maa ili háda wála ši
 (b) *maa ili háda wála márra

On the basis of their potentiality of co-occurrence with preceding nominals as well as their interchangeability, the "emphatic satellites" may be subdivided into two classes:-

Class I : min márra, wála šiine, wála ši

Class II: wála márra, iši

B. "left-hand"Expansion:-

Negative - sentences may be subdivided according to whether the

nucleus of the negative sentence admit expansion with the "pre-posed" form šumur. According to this criterion, a primary division may be made between negative particle sentences, on the one hand, and negative verbal sentences, on the other, as follows:-

Verbal sentences

1. šumri maa sallámt šalée

"I never greeted him"

2. šumri maa sušt

"I never drove"

Particle sentences

* šumri maa maši xábar

"I never knew"

* šumri maa šilli šanam

"I've never had cattle"

A more positive definition of an emphatic negative sentence can now be attempted as one which consists of a nucleus (verbal, nominal or particle) preceded by an obligatory stressed negative particle and, optionally, by one of the elements of the "left-hand" expansion and/or followed by one of the elements of the "right-hand" expansion subject to restrictions imposed by sentence-types. Lengthy as the definition may appear, it is still incomplete to the extent that it does not embody contrast between emphatic negative sentences and other non-emphatic sentence-types. Non-emphatic negative sentences include negative sentences introduced by one of the following forms:-

1. tāra (accompanied by pronominal suffixes varying in terms of

person, gender and number).

2. ʔábSar, jímkin, báiki, bidzúuz which are all invariable and betoken hesitancy or uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

Examples are:

1. taráak ma ziíltiŷ "You would not have been upset"
2. taráahum ma rahúuŷ "They may have not gone"
3. ʔábSar leeŷ ma dʒáaŷ "He may not have come"
4. jímkin ma stannáaŷ "I may not wait"
5. báiki ma siífiŷ iíill issuʔáal "He may not have known the answer"
6. bidzúuz ma rúhəŷ "I may not go"

On formal grounds, these sentences are characterized by:-

- (i) the association with the verb of a negative suffix - ŷ, which is absent in the case of negative emphatic sentences,
- (ii) absence of "stress" associated with the emphatic particle maa.
- (iii) the inadmissibility of any of the emphatic "satellites".

The crucial point here is that the selection of the "emphatic" elements ʔéele, wála ʔíine is solely characteristic of RG1. Corresponding forms employed by other groups are set out in the table below:-

SFI		SFII	SFIII
RG1	RG2 & RG3		
wála ʔíine/ ʔéele	min márra	bilmárra/ min márra	ʔabad

1.2.2. The particle hála: The position of the particle hála in the clause in which it occurs is fixed, i.e. pre-nominal, as in

1. hála ruzz u hála sáman "without rice and without fat"
2. hála málah u hála bharaat "without salt and without spices"
3. hála Sálata "without salad"

hála varies freely with the negative particles min Geer, bidúun and stands in marked contrast with the particle h-, the use of which excludes negation, cf.

..... kufal halíib

hkufal hhalíib "with garnish/milk"

2. hála (min Geer, bidúun) kufal/halíib "without garnish or milk".

When hála is associated with a following definite nominal, then a greater degree of surprise and incredulity is marked, e.g.

hála rrúzz u hála ssáman "without rice and without fat", i.e.

"It's unbelievable that you do so." This particular pattern is

distinguished from the sentences 1, 2, 3 above by the fact that

hála in the former sentences is unstressed whereas in the latter it

is associated with the nuclear tone and with the consequent lengthening

of the vocalic elements in the first constituent syllables of hála.

1.2.3. Corresponding Comparable forms elsewhere:-

In addition to min Geer and bidúun cited above, the corresponding form employed by RG2 and RG3 and SFII is wála, i.e.

wála ruzz wála lāḥam. In this context, wála varies freely with halāaš, e.g. balāaš ruzz w balāaš lāḥam. The corresponding form employed by SFIII, on the other hand, is the negative particle muu, e.g. muu ruzz u muu lāḥam.

1.3. The form Ṣāadak : Ṣāadak appears in the following examples:

1. beeš Ṣāadak dʒibtīiḥa "How much did you pay for it?"
2. ʒīiḥa ʒāale Ṣāadak btūxluṭ "It has a machine which mixes"
3. Ṣāadak ḥāaḥb āṣmalu "I like doing it"
4. btīṣmalu Ṣāadak Tājjib "She makes it delicious"
5. Ṣāadak ma Tīiṣiṣ minnu biidʒi ḥālaḥ ārbāḥ Saadhāat

"No more than three or four turned out to be good"

1.4. The Verbal form biġda:- This is a verbal form invariable for person, gender and number and freely variant with bikuun in certain exclamatory sentences. Within the total sentence constituency, it is noteworthy that biġda should be followed by one of the following:-

- (i) an imperfect verb-form
- (ii) the exclamatory particle maa + comparative adjectival form
- (iii) a nominal (definite only)
- (iv) an adjectival

Examples are:

1. bíGda ííTlaí íííííí "How the grass grows!"
2. bíGda maíííííí íííííí "How nice can the grass become!"
3. bíGda íííííí Tawííí "How long the grass is!"
4. bíGda íííííí íííííí "How nice it is!"

Corresponding forms employed by other speech fellowships are as follows:-

RG2	RG3	SFII	SFIII
<u>bíhga</u>	<u>bíhka</u>	<u>bíhga</u>	<u>ííhga</u>

1.5. The imperative forms of certain commonly occurring verbs are characteristic of RG1. These forms are set out in the table below together with the corresponding forms employed by other groups:-

SFI			SFII	SFIII
RG1	RG2	RG3		
<u>íííííí</u>	<u>kul</u>	<u>kul</u>	<u>kool</u>	<u>kul</u> "eat"
<u>íííííí</u>	<u>xuð</u>	<u>xuð</u>	<u>xood</u>	<u>xuð</u> "give"
<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u> "give"
<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>íííííí</u>	<u>díííííí</u> "touch"

SFI			SFII	SFIII
RG1	RG2	RG3		
<u>ʔiḡḡab</u>	<u>ʔuḡbuḡ</u>	<u>ʔiḡsiḡ</u>	<u>ʔiḡsik</u>	<u>tiḡaawal</u> "catch"
<u>lidd</u>	<u>ʂuuf</u>	<u>haktir</u>	<u>ʔittállnḡ</u>	<u>Táallḡ</u> "see"
<u>zumm</u>	<u>ʔiḡmil</u>	<u>ʂiii</u>	<u>ʔiḡmil</u>	<u>ʂiii</u> "carry"

1.6. Demonstratives: The demonstrative system, for all groups, is of six terms which exhibit number and gender variation between the plural and singular. The terms in the system are as follows:-

		SFI			SFII	
		RG1	RG2	RG3		
Sing.	{	<u>hāḡḡ</u>	<u>hāḡḡa</u>	<u>hāḡḡa</u>	<u>hāḡḡa</u>	<u>hāḡḡa</u> "this" (m. sing.)
		<u>hāḡḡi</u>	<u>hāḡḡi</u>	<u>hāḡḡi</u>	<u>hāḡḡi</u>	<u>hāḡḡi</u> "this" (f. sing.)
		<u>hāḡḡaak</u>	<u>hāḡḡaaka</u>	<u>hāḡḡaak</u>	<u>hāḡḡaak</u>	<u>ḡaak</u> "that" (m. sing.)
		<u>hāḡḡiitḡ</u>	<u>hāḡḡiitḡ</u>	<u>hāḡḡiik</u>	<u>hāḡḡiik</u>	<u>ḡiitḡ</u> "that" (f. sing.)
Pl.	{	<u>hāḡḡool</u>	<u>hāḡḡool</u>	<u>hāḡḡool</u>	<u>hāḡḡool</u>	<u>ḡiile</u> "these"
		<u>hāḡḡilaak</u>	<u>hāḡḡilaak</u>	<u>hāḡḡilaak</u>	<u>hāḡḡilaak</u>	<u>ḡiilaak</u> "those"

When the speaker does not "find" the appropriate form he wants or when, say, difficulties arise over "technical terms" or names of objects for which there is no Arabic equivalent, the demonstrative ha prefixed with the definite article il is frequently used as a kind of "hesitational" or "apologetic device". The corresponding form employed by RG2, RG3 and SFII is predominantly ʔiʕi prefixed with the bilabial semi-vowel /w/. SFIII, on the other hand, has maadri, ʕinhew "and I don't know what". Examples illustrating the use of ilha are as follows:-

1. bʔa ʕaazz ʕalēhum ilha "It remains dear to them and all that"
2. bi ʔu ʕalē ssāman wilha "You put in fat and so on"
3. bābqa mʔabra illa ham wilha "I shall be preparing meat and so on"

1.6.1. The Demonstrative heetʕ:

In demonstrating attributes of size, the form heetʕ is used in association with the form ha and/or halqadd, e.g.

1. btībqa ilʔabbe heetʕ ha or
2. btībqa ilʔabbe halqadd heetʕ ha "The melon is this big"

On uttering the form heetʕ, the speaker demonstrates attributes of size by manual gesture. Other forms corresponding to heetʕ are elsewhere as follows:-

RG2	RG3	SFII	SFIII
<u>heetʕi</u>	<u>heeka</u>	<u>heek</u>	<u>ʔiʕi</u>

2. Phonological "Indexical" Features:-

Phonological "indexical" features relatable to RGl group themselves into the following:-

2.1. Relatively "Back" Vs. "Front" Vowel Qualities:-

Characteristic of RGl is the use of "backer" vowel qualities, especially in respect of open vowels, associated with the voiced and voiceless uvular fricatives /G, x/; the glottal fricative /h/; and the labial series comprising the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/, the voiced bilabial plosive /b/, the voiced bilabial nasal /m/, and the labio-velar semi-vowel /w/. Corresponding vowel-qualities in association with other groups are invariably front. Examples illustrating "backer" vowel qualities are as follows:

1. /Gáalje/ e.g. lkin Gáalje wálla "But it is dear"
2. /xáali/ e.g. šind daar xáali "At my uncle's house"
3. /tuffáah/ e.g. tšáan hoon fiituffáah "There were apples here"
4. /hubbáal/ e.g. iTTábxá žíha hubbáal "It has steam"
5. /máalu/ e.g. šú máalu ja xájtí "What's wrong with him, sister?"
6. /žixwa/ e.g. žílak žixwa žákbár mǐnnak "Do you have brothers or sisters older than you?"

2.2. Differences in the Distribution of "dark" l:-

Perhaps the most prominent consonantal feature distinguishing RG1 from other groups is the distribution of "dark" l which occurs in the environment of a preceding medial guttural /ɟ, ʕ, h, G, x/; a labial /f, m b/ or a voiced or voiceless velar plosive /g, k/, cf.

<u>RG1</u>	:	<u>RG2 and RG3 and SFII</u>	
<u>náɟut</u>	:	<u>náɟəl</u>	"sole"
<u>náʕut</u>	:	<u>náʕəl</u>	"bees"
<u>máʕut</u>	:	<u>máʕəl</u>	"draught"
<u>máʕut</u>	:	<u>máʕəl</u>	"slowly"
<u>náGut</u>	:	<u>náGəl</u>	"illegitimate colt"
<u>náxut</u>	:	<u>náxəl</u>	"palm-trees"
<u>Táɟut</u>	:	<u>Táɟəl</u>	"infant"
<u>námút</u>	:	<u>náməl</u>	"ants"
<u>bútbut</u>	:	<u>búblul</u>	"a nightingale"
<u>ɟáɟut</u>	:	<u>ɟáɟəl</u>	"mind"

3. Features Peculiar to RG2 and RG3

It has been shown that RG1 is distinguished from other groups by numerous features. Contrariwise, no very definite line of demarcation can be drawn between RG2 and RG3, there are, however, a few features which are not shared by the two groups (see pp.26-7ff.) Much overlapping is to be expected with the

həʔuul SF, since the latter lives at close quarters with RG2 and RG3, a fact which has promoted interdialectal contact and the consequent spread of shared features.

The most prominent feature (see also 29-36 ff.) distinguishing RG2 and RG3 is the manner in which the medial consonant of the form həCuul "I say" is pronounced, i.e. as /k/ or /g/. The following are characteristics of RG2 and RG3:-

3.1. Grammatical: For both RG2 and RG3, it is possible to distinguish two classes of pronominal suffixes. The membership of the first class is as follows in association with bidd -

<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>bídd-i</u>	"I want"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bídd-ak</u>	"Do you want?"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bítš-tši</u>	"Do you want?"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bídd-u</u>	"Does he want?"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bíd-hə</u>	"Does she want?"
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>bíd-na</u>	"We want"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bíd-ku</u>	"Do you want?"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bítš-tšin</u>	"Do you want?"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bíd-hum</u>	"Do they want?"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bíd-hin</u>	"Do they want?"

The suffixes -i, -ak, -tši, -u, -hə, -na, -ku, -tšin, -hum, -hin are obligatory in the sense that the form bidd- cannot occur independently. Furthermore, the suffixes constitute a

paradigmatic closed series, whose members are mutually exclusive with corresponding members of a congruent closed system of personal suffixes occurring elsewhere, cf.

<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>šrīb-at</u>	"I drank"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>šrīb-at</u>	"You drank"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>šrīb-ti</u>	"You drank"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>šrīb</u>	"He drank"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>šrīb-at</u>	"She drank"
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>šrīb-na</u>	"We drank"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>šrīb-tu</u>	"You drank"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>šrīb-in</u>	"You drank"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>šrīb-u</u>	"They drank"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>šrīb-in</u>	"They drank"

bid(d)- may be accompanied by a bloc of two suffixes, of which the second is typically a third person form. Examples are as follows:

	<u>Pronominal Suffix</u>		<u>3rd Pers. form</u>
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>bidd - i</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bidd - ak</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bitš - tši</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bidd - u</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bid - ha</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>

	<u>Pronominal Suffix</u>		<u>3rd Pers. Form</u>
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>bid - na</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bid - ku</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bitš - tšin</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>bid - hum</u>	+	<u>ijjaa</u>
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>bid - hin</u>	+	<u>-ijjaa</u>

"I/you.....etc. want it"

The suffix -ijjaa is characteristic of RG2 and RG3 speech. It is typically replaced by a definite or indefinite nominal as the case may be in the speech of other groups, e.g.

1. (a) bíddakijjāa? "Do you want it?"
- (b) bíddak iiktāab "Do you want the book?"
2. (a) bíddak ijjaaha? "Do you want it?"
- (b) bíddak ilmāḥbara? "Do you want the inkpot?"
3. (a) bíddak ijjaahum "Do you want them?"
- (b) bíddak ilšulab "Do you want the tins?"

3.2. The grammatical Directive System:-

The grammatical directive system is of three terms:

(i) haan "here" (ii) hanāk "there" and (iii) Gaad "yonder".

These terms differ from the corresponding terms in RG1, RG3 and also from that of SFIII. Corresponding terms are tabulated on the next page:-

SFI		SFII	SFIII
RG1	RG2 and RG3		
(i) <u>hoon</u>	<u>haan</u>	<u>hoon</u>	<u>hni</u>
(ii) <u>hnaak</u>	<u>hanáak</u>	<u>hunáak</u>	<u>hnaak</u>
(iii) <u>Gaad</u>	<u>Gaad</u>	<u>Gaad</u>	<u>haláagSa</u>

3.3. The deictic h_ajj/h_ad:-

RG2 differs from RG3 with respect to deixis. While h_ajj is characteristic of RG2, the corresponding RG3 form is h_ad. The occurrence of these invariable forms is illustrated by the following examples, which are shown against corresponding forms of RG1, SFII and SFIII.

	RG2	RG3	SFII
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>h_ajj - áni</u>	<u>h_ad - áni</u>	<u>h_ajj - ni</u> "Here I am"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>h_ajj - ínte</u>	<u>h_ad - ánte</u>	<u>h_ajj - ak</u> "Here you are"
<u>2nd. pers. fem.</u>	<u>h_ajj - ínti</u>	<u>h_ad - ánti</u>	<u>h_ajj - ik</u> "Here you are"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>h_ajj - úwwe/ íitu</u>	<u>h_ad - kúwwe</u>	<u>h_ajj - o</u> "Here he is"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>h_ajj - íth_a</u>	<u>h_ad - kíjje</u>	<u>h_ajj - ha</u> "Here she is"
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>h_ajj - íth_a</u>	<u>h_ad - áth_a</u>	<u>h_ajj - na</u> "Here we are"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>h_ajj - íntu</u>	<u>h_ad - ántu</u>	<u>h_ajj - ku</u> "Here you are"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>h_ajj - íntin</u>	<u>h_ad - ántin</u>	<u>h_ajj - ku</u> "Here you are"

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	RG2	RG3	SFII
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>hájj - úmme</u>	<u>had - kúmme</u>	<u>háj - kum</u> "Here they are"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>hájj - íðne/ iithin</u>	<u>had - kínne</u>	<u>háj - kum</u> "Here they are"

	RG1	SFIII
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>háað - ani</u>	<u>har - śáni</u> "Here I am"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>háað - ante</u>	<u>har - śánta</u> "Here you are"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>háað - anti</u>	<u>har - śánti</u> "Here you are"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>háað - ahuwwe</u>	<u>har - śúwwa</u> "Here she is"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>háað - ahinne</u>	<u>har - śánna</u> "Here he is"
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>háað - ahna</u>	<u>har - śáhna</u> "Here we are"
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>háað - antu</u>	<u>har - śántu</u> "Here you are"
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>háað - antin</u>	<u>har - śántin</u> "Here you are"
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>háað - humme</u>	<u>har - śúmna</u> "Here they are"
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>háað - ahinne</u>	<u>har - śinna</u> "Here they are"

hájj or had is prefixed to one of ten members of a paradigm of pronominal forms which are restricted to this context of occurrence. Thus, -iitha, -iithin, -kuwwe, -kijje contain elements which do not occur pronominally elsewhere in the language, viz. -iit and -k.

It would therefore be descriptively erroneous to equate members of this class of pronominals with members of the Independent Pronouns, save in the general terms of congruence of distinctions recognized, although certain members exhibit *prima facie* similar form, cf. inti, inte, itna.

haji or had may also be associated with a following nominal (definite or indefinite), as in:-

1. haji/had ilkúrsi "Here is the chair"
2. haji/had hábbit lamúun "Here is a lemon"
3. haji/had hásan zíjil "There you are! Hasan has become angry"
4. haji/had abúuj adʒa "Here comes my father"

4. Adverbs of Time: RG2 also differs from RG3 in respect of another feature, viz. adverbs of time. whereas ?issaʒaan, lahalhiin "not yet, still" and halhiin are characteristic of RG2, ?issa, lahassa and hassa are parallel RG3 forms. ?issaʒaan and lahalhiin like ?issa and lahassa are freely variant and most frequently occur in negative sentences. On the other hand, halhiin and hassa occur in positive contexts. Examples are:-

1. ?issaʒaan ma ha Tteetiʒaʒa bandóora filmisfaa "I haven't yet put tomato juice in the strainer"
2. lahalhiin ma Gasaltiʒ "I haven't yet done the washing"
3. ?issa ma xallastiʒ "I haven't finished yet"

4. halhíin baTuul ilbaškiir mn ildjarraar "I am going to take the towel from the drawer"
5. ma d3aaš abúuj lahássa "My father hasn't come yet"
6. lahássa ma Til9i8 abúuj mniSSalaa "My father hasn't finished his prayer yet"
7. bad3iibíiku liktaab hássa "I am going to bring the book to you now"

4.1. Corresponding Forms of Other Groups:-

Corresponding forms of RG1, SFII and SFIII are tabulated below:-

RG1	SFII	SFIII
(i) hássa /hassa1ijjaat	hálla /halʔéet	ilhíin "now"
(ii) baʔəd	lahálla /halʔéet	baʔəd "not yet"

5. Phonological Features:-

5.1. Vocalic: Sequences of vowels, which can generally be regarded as discontinuous vocalic infixes in relation to the consonantal root, are often qualitatively different from those associated with comparable forms of RG1.¹²

5.1.1. b - imperfect verbs of the pattern bvccvc:-

The vowel sequence v-v of certain b - imperfect verbs is characterised by a syntagmatic feature or prosody of frontness in both syllables

12. Features of syllabication characterising comparable forms of SFIII are quite different from RG1 and RG2, RG3 and SFII and are better treated separately (see pp.48-50 ff.)

in contradistinction to the back quality of comparable vowel sequences in RG1. Examples are tabulated below:-

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
<u>CiCCic</u>	<u>CuCCuc</u>	<u>Cvccvc</u>
<u>bígsim</u>	<u>búgsim</u>	<u>bíʔsim</u> "he divides"
<u>bíʔfir</u>	<u>búʔfir</u>	<u>búʔfir</u> "he digs"
<u>bídʒlib</u>	<u>búdʒlib</u>	<u>bídʒlib</u> "he takes to market"
<u>bíxliT</u>	<u>búxliT</u>	<u>búxliT</u> "he mixes"
<u>bíʔid</u>	<u>búʔid</u>	<u>búʔid</u> "he knots"
<u>bídmil</u>	<u>búdmil</u>	<u>bídmil</u> "he covers"
<u>bírkiz</u>	<u>búrkiz</u>	<u>bírkiz</u> "he stays still"
<u>bíʔsir</u>	<u>búʔsir</u>	<u>búʔsir</u> "he squeezes"
<u>bíxdim</u>	<u>búxdim</u>	<u>bíxdim</u> "he serves"
<u>bíʔria</u>	<u>búʔria</u>	<u>búʔria</u> "he plants"
<u>bíʔsil</u>	<u>búʔsil</u>	<u>bíʔsil</u> "he washes"

5.1.2. Forms of pattern CVCVC:-

5.1.3. Nominals: On the other hand, vocalic sequences in certain nominals of structure CVCVC are characterized by a prosody of backness in contrast with frontness in cognate forms of RG1, cf.

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
CuCuC	CiCiC	CuCuC
<u>gúTuf</u>	<u>gíTif</u>	<u>?úTuf</u> "a bunch of grapes"
<u>dúnun</u>	<u>dínin</u>	<u>dúnun</u> "acre"
<u>xúSum</u>	<u>xíSim</u>	- "corner of a sack"
<u>ǵurus</u>	<u>ǵiris</u>	<u>ǵurus</u> "Wedding"
<u>húbul</u>	<u>híbil</u>	<u>húbul</u> "crazy"
<u>d3úhur</u>	<u>d3ihir</u>	<u>d3úhur</u> "hole"

5.1.4. Adjectives: Certain adjectives of similar structure to that of nouns at 5.1.3. have the phonological pattern (ciccic), that is, the vocalic sequence carries a prosody of frontness in contrast with backness in RG1, cf.

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
CiCiC	CuCuC	CiCiC
<u>Sílib</u>	<u>Súlib</u>	<u>Sílib</u> "difficult"
<u>zílig</u>	<u>zúlig</u>	- "sour"
<u>dígir</u>	<u>dúgur</u>	<u>dí?ir</u> "obstinate"

5.1.5. Verbals: Vocalic sequences of the perfect tense of verbs of structure CVCVC is again characterized by frontness in contrast

with RGl backness:-

RG2 and 3	RGl	SFII
CVCVC	CVCVC	CVCVC
<u>sádag</u>	<u>Sádag</u>	<u>sáda?</u> "he said the truth"
<u>fáfad</u>	<u>fáfad</u>	<u>fá?ad</u> "he lost"
<u>ráfad</u>	<u>ráfad</u>	<u>rá?ad</u> "It brooded"
<u>Gálab</u>	<u>Gálab</u>	<u>Gálab</u> "he won"
<u>másax</u>	<u>másax</u>	<u>másax</u> "he abused"
<u>wáxaz</u>	<u>wáxaz</u>	<u>wáxaz</u> "it stung"

5.2. The Quality of the Anaptyctic Vowel:-

The quality of the anaptyctic vowel in forms of pattern CUCVC is noticeably different from that in RGl forms. Following a medial guttural /h, G, x/ an emphatic consonant /ʕ, T/, a trilled consonant /r/, a voiced velar plosive /g/, and a bilabial consonant /b, m/, the anaptyctic vowel in RGl forms is close and back, whereas it is mid and central in the corresponding forms of RGl and SFII, cf.

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
<u>ʕámah</u>	<u>ʕámuh</u>	<u>?ámah</u> "corn"
<u>ʕáhər</u>	<u>ʕáhur</u>	<u>ʕahər</u> "month"
<u>ʕúGəl</u>	<u>ʕúGul</u>	<u>ʕúGəl</u> "work"
<u>nágəf</u>	<u>náGuɣ</u>	<u>ná?əf</u> "soaking"
<u>báGəl</u>	<u>báGul</u>	<u>báGəl</u> "mule"
<u>ʕábəl</u>	<u>ʕábul</u>	<u>?ábəl</u> "before"
<u>ʕáGəl</u>	<u>ʕáɣul</u>	<u>ʕa?əl</u> "mind"
<u>zárəf</u>	<u>zárɣ</u>	<u>zárəf</u> "crops"
<u>máhər</u>	<u>máhur</u>	<u>máhər</u> "dowry"
<u>ʕarəT</u>	<u>ʕarɣT</u>	<u>ʕarəT</u> "condition"
<u>náxət</u>	<u>náxul</u>	<u>náxəl</u> "palm-trees"
<u>fəðəl</u>	<u>fəðul</u>	<u>fəðəl</u> "favour"
<u>raTəl</u>	<u>raTul</u>	<u>raTəl</u> "a pound"

In other consonantal contexts, no significant differences of quality have been observed.

5.3. The medial 3-consonant cluster of b-imperfect verbs of the form (ba + CCCV) or (ba + CCCVC) is not associated with anaptyxis in RG2 and RG3 and SFII in contrast with the case of anaptyxis in RG1, cf.

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
<u>básthí</u>	<u>bástañí</u>	<u>básthí</u> "I become shy"
<u>bástri</u>	<u>báštari</u>	<u>bástri</u> "I buy"
<u>bálthi</u>	<u>báltahi</u>	<u>bálthi</u> "I get engaged"
<u>báxtfi</u>	<u>báxtafi</u>	<u>báxtfi</u> "I disappear"
<u>básthí</u>	<u>báštahi</u>	<u>básthí</u> "I desire"
<u>bártfiš</u>	<u>bártañiš</u>	<u>bártfiš</u> "I shiver"
<u>bástrif</u>	<u>báštariif</u>	<u>bástrif</u> "I admit"
<u>báštGil</u>	<u>báštagiil</u>	<u>báštGil</u> "I work"
<u>báñtfil</u>	<u>báñtafil</u>	<u>báñtfil</u> "I celebrate"
<u>bártfiš</u>	<u>bártafiš</u>	<u>bártfiš</u> "I go up"

5.4. There are a number of common miscellaneous forms in which certain vocalic segments differ in quality from corresponding segments in comparable RG1 forms. These are as follows:-

RG2 and RG3	RG1	SFII
<u>bídna</u>	<u>bádna</u>	<u>bídna</u> "We want"
<u>ǵárje</u>	<u>ǵírje</u>	<u>?árje</u> "village"
<u>níjj</u>	<u>nájj</u>	<u>níjj</u> "raw"
<u>findʒaan</u>	<u>fundʒaan</u>	<u>findʒaan</u> "a cup"
<u>lában</u>	<u>líban</u>	<u>lában</u> "sour milk"
<u>taḥət</u>	<u>tíhit</u>	<u>taḥət</u> "under"
<u>ǵáǵfe</u>	<u>ǵígfe</u>	<u>ǵa?fe</u> "piece"
<u>ǵamma</u>	<u>ǵumma</u>	<u>ǵamma</u> "mother"
<u>?ána</u>	<u>?áni</u>	<u>?ána</u> "I"

Chapter Two

The haʔuul Speech Fellowship

The question now poses itself as to the features of SFII which set its members apart from other groups. The following have been selected from the corpus:-

1. Grammatical:

1.1. The forms ḡam and raḡ:- Characteristic of SFII is the use of ḡam or raḡ in association with a following imperfect tense in contradistinction to the corresponding forms ḡaaḡid and raḡaḡiḡ typical of SFI.

1.2. Contrastive Relationship of ḡam and raḡ with other verbal forms:-

It is possible to set up a word-class labelled "auxiliary verb" on the basis of syntactic as well as morphological criteria.

These are as follows:-

(1) Substitutability: The chief characteristic of the class "auxiliary verb" is the exclusive ability of its members to fill the blank in the test frame:-

ḡidd + Pronominal Suffix _____ Imperfect Tense form. The set of all forms which can appear in this position is as follows:

1. jDall, e.g. bíddu jDall jíštGíí "He will continue to work"
2. jSíir, e.g. bíddu jSíir jíštGíí "He will work"
3. jrudd, e.g. bíddu jrudd jíštGíí "He will work again"
4. juʔʔud, e.g. bíddu juʔʔud jíštGíí "He is going to work"
5. jrueh, e.g. bíddu jrueh jíštGíí "He is going to work"
6. jʔuum, e.g. bíddu jʔuum jíštGíí "He is going to work"
7. jíbʔa, e.g. bíddu jíbʔa jíštGíí "He is ^{at}working"
8. kuun, e.g. bíddu kuun jíštGíí "He is ^{at}working"
9. jíʔdar, e.g. bíddu jíʔdar jíštGíí "He wants to be able to work"

(ii) Combinability: They may combine without the connective element ta which is obligatory when connecting two other verbal elements elsewhere, e.g. bastanna ta jíídʒi dóori "I am waiting for my turn (to come)". The combinatory possibilities of the "auxiliary verbs" appear in e.g.

1. bíddu jrudd jDall jíštGíí "He will continue to work again"
2. bíddu jrueh jSíir jíštGíí "He is going to start work"

jrueh also combines with jrudd, juʔʔud, jʔuum, jíbʔa, e.g.,

bíddu jrudd jrueh jíštGíí "He is going to work again", bíddu jrueh jʔuum jíštGíí "He is going to start working".

3. bíddu jíbʔa jrueh jíštGíí "He is going to work".

In addition to combinability with jrueh, jíbʔa combines

with ǰʔuum, ǰDall, ǰrudd, and ǰuʔʔud, e.g. híddu ǰíhʔa ǰʔuum ǰíʔtGíí
 "He is going to work".

The forms ǰam and raḥ which occur in association with a following imperfect tense-form are excluded from class membership of auxiliary verbs because they do not satisfy any of the above conditions. They may, however, be grouped with the invariable forms ǰimkin and ǰáazim which behave similarly in the sense that they characteristically fill the same position occupied by ǰáazim and ǰimkin, e.g.

1. ǰáazim ǰíʔtGíí Tuul ilwaʔt "He must work all the time"
2. ǰimkin ǰíʔtGíí Tuul ilwaʔt "He may work all the time"
3. ǰam ǰíʔtGíí Tuul ilwaʔt "He is working all the time"
4. raḥ ǰíʔtGíí Tuul ilwaʔt "He is going to work all the time"

1.3. Comparison with forms employed by SFIII:-

No forms have been attested in the corpus to match raḥ and ǰam. Adverbs of "frequency" at 1-3 above, which occur in association with ǰam and raḥ + imperfect form, are regularly associated with the imperfect form alone in the case of SFIII, e.g.

ani ǰilḥiin ǰʔuufuuni ḥállitʔ u báatʔir tablíini fi dámmitʔ "Your family may see me now and by doing so you may subject me to being accused of your 'blood' (i.e. committing an offence).

2. The Form ?ataríit: The form ?ataríit regularly occurs in utterance-initial position and is always accompanied by post-posed pronominal suffixes which agree in number, person and gender with following verbal forms, e.g.

1. ?ataríitak btitmáxar wána miš dáari "There you go kidding and I don't know".
2. ?ataríithum zaḡlanín wítina miš daariín "There they go getting angry and we don't know"
3. ?ataríitha bitḡájjit wána miš ḡáarif "There she goes crying and we don't know".

2.1. Corresponding forms employed in SFI:-

The corresponding forms employed in SFI are the demonstratives háada or háda in conjunction with the participial form báagi, e.g. háada or háda báagi titmáxar wána miš dáari "There you go kidding and I don't know"

2. Phonological Features:

2.1. Features of Junction:-

2.1.1. Gemination: The most prominent feature characterising SFII speech is the pronunciation of the voiceless uvular plosive /q/ as /ʔ/ "glottal stop". When /ʔ/ and /h/ are juxtaposed, for example as a result of suffixation of the pronominal suffix -ha, the implication for pronunciation is the gemination of /ʔ/. Examples are:-

1. Tálla? + ha → Tállá??a "he divorced her"
2. Ǿállá? + ha → Ǿállá??a "he hung it"
3. há? + ha → há??a "its price"

Elsewhere, and in a somewhat contrary sense, if two adjacent syllables are each initiated by /ʔ/, between which the vowel /a/ occurs, then the first /ʔ/ is replaced by /h/. A potential phonological sequence - ʔaʔC- is likewise realised as haʔC-. Two successive glottal closures surrounding the open vowel thus constitute an impossible sequence. Examples are:

1. taʔ ʔaʔúllak → taʔ háʔúllak "Come and let me tell you something"
2. stánna ʔáʔursak → stánna háʔursak "Wait so that I may eat you" (form of endearing address to children).
3. huu ʔáʔwa mínni → huu háʔwa mínni "he is stronger than me"
4. ʔáʔall min heek → háʔall min heek "less than that"
5. ʔaʔli ilbaTáaTa → háʔli ilbaTáaTa "Shall I fry potatoes"

On the other hand, if voiced or voiceless gutturals are juxtaposed at word boundaries, or if an alveolar nasal precedes an alveolar trill or lateral, the implication for pronunciation is as follows:-

A. The Guttural Group of Consonants:

- (i) both pharyngeal (heterogenous as to the voice/breath distinction);

the implication of junction is the gemination of the voiceless pharyngeal (cf. exx. 1,2, below).

(ii) In all other cases, gemination is of the consonant whose articulation is the "fronter" of the two (cf. exx. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.).

B. Liquids: an alveolar nasal /n/ + an alveolar lateral /l/ or trill /r/ gives rise to the gemination of the lateral or trill

(i.e. n + l/r = ll/rr) (cf. exx. 9, 10.). Examples are:-

1. báñki máɣ + náali — báñki máññáali "I am talking to myself"
2. rañ + ɣaléek ilfilm — raññaléek ilfilm "You missed the film"
3. la? + Gáali — laGGáali "It's dear"
4. máɣ + xáali — maxxáali "At my uncle's (house)"
5. Sahíih + huu — Sahíihñuu "It's correct"
6. baɣ + ha — báaɣa "He sold it"
7. wíɟih + ɣámmak — wíɟiɣámmak "Your uncle's face"
8. wíɟih + ñamúultak — wíɟihñamúultak "your tribes' face"
9. ween + ráajih — ween^Tráajih "Where are you going?"
10. miin + laajmak — miilláajmak "Who is blaming you?"

Another important feature characterizing SFII is that of syntagmatic fusion involving the combination of two different phonemes in a new phoneme different from either of the two. Thus, when the alveolar nasal /n/ and a voiced bilabial plosive /b/ occur at word

boundaries, the two are fused into one new phoneme, viz /m/ a bilabial nasal. Examples are:

1. ween + bnínzil → weemínzil "Where shall we get off?"
2. ween + bníTlaʃ → weemníTlaʃ "Where shall we ascend?"

2.2. "Frontness" vs. Backness in Association with /r/:-

The most prominent feature which differentiates urban women's speech (SFII) from members of other groups (male or female) is the feature of "frontness" associated with /r/ as opposed to the "backness" characteristic of men's speech generally and of the speech of women of other fellowships:-

The following words arranged in terms of their constituent structure (consonant and vowel) illustrate the occurrence of open front vowels in the environment of /r/: (C = consonant; V = short vowel; VV = long vowel).

CV-CVV-CVC	CV-CVV-CV	CV-CVC
<u>ʃaráaʃif</u> "bed-sheets"	<u>karáasi</u> "chairs"	<u>ʃáraʔ</u> "sweat"
<u>maráawih</u> "fans"	<u>faráaʃi</u> "brushes"	<u>wáraʔ</u> "paper"
<u>maráakib</u> "boats"	<u>maráasi</u> "anchors"	<u>máras</u> "rope"
<u>ʔaráenih</u> "rabbits"	<u>haráadi</u> "curtains"	<u>ʒáras</u> "bell"
<u>maráedzi</u> "references"	<u>ʃaráawi</u> "button-holes"	<u>háram</u> "mosque"

Chapter Three

The Iiquul SF

Features solely characteristic of SFIII may be categorised into three types: (i) grammatical (ii) phonological (iii) lexical, the last relating especially to certain aspects of the SFIII way of life. Grammatical features characteristic of SFIII are as follows:

1. Congruent but formally different classes of particles and affixes:-

1.1. Particles: Prominent among the grammatical features characteristic of SFIII are the forms of combination of the particle li and the pronominal suffixes. Contrasts with the congruent but formally different complexes of SFI and SFII are shown in the following table:-

	SFIII	SFI	
		RG1	RG2 and RG3
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>lídwa li</u>	<u>iddáwa laji</u>	<u>iddáwa ?íli</u>
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>lídwa lak</u>	" <u>leek</u>	" <u>?ílak</u>
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>lídwa lik</u>	" <u>leetš</u>	" <u>?ílitš</u>
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>lídwa leh</u>	" <u>lee(h)</u>	" <u>?ílu</u>
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>lídwa léha</u>	" <u>léeha</u>	" <u>?ílha</u>
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>lídwa léna</u>	" <u>léena</u>	" <u>?ína</u>
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>lídwa lékum</u>	" <u>léeku</u>	" <u>?íku</u>
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>lídwa líkum</u>	" <u>leetšin</u>	" <u>?íltšin</u>
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>lídwa léhum</u>	" <u>léehum</u>	" <u>?íhum</u>
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>lídwa líhum</u>	" <u>léehin</u>	" <u>?íhin</u>
	SFII	+	
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>iddáwa ?íli</u>	"the medicine is mine"	
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	" <u>?ílak</u>	"the medicine is yours"	
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	" <u>?ílik</u>	"the medicine is yours"	
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	" <u>?íli</u>	"the medicine is his"	
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	" <u>?ílha</u>	"the medicine is hers"	
<u>1st pers.</u>	" <u>?ína</u>	"the medicine is ours"	
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	" <u>?íku</u>	"the medicine is yours"	
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	" <u>?íikum</u>	"the medicine is yours"	
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	" <u>?íhum</u>	"the medicine is theirs"	
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	" <u>?íhin</u>	"the medicine is theirs"	

1.2. ḥaqq: The invariable form ḥaqq which always associates with a following nominal is also solely characteristic of SFIII. The corresponding form employed by SFII and SFI is la-, e.g.,

SFIII

SFII

1. maríiba witrúh ḥaqq laTíibba vs. maríida witrúh la ?aTíibba

"She is ill and goes to doctors"

2. tigúul ḥaqq wiládha vs. bitgúul lábanha

✓1.3. Interrogative Particles:- Certain interrogative particles also exhibit formal differences from those employed in SFI and SFII. The forms in Col. (1) of the following table are wholly characteristic of SFIII and contrast with corresponding forms of other speech fellowships as shown:-

SFIII	SFII	SFI
1. <u>weš kúḥur</u>	<u>?addéeš</u>	<u>qaddéeš</u> "how much"
2. <u>?améet</u>	<u>?éemta</u>	<u>waktéeš</u> "when"
3. <u>lawéeš</u>	<u>leeš</u>	<u>leeš</u> "why"
4. <u>léeman</u>	<u>lamíin</u>	<u>lamíin</u> "whose"
5. <u>šaláamak</u>	<u>š</u> u <u>máalak</u>	<u>š</u> u <u>máalak</u> "What's wrong?"
6. <u>weš int</u>	<u>š</u> u <u>?ínte</u>	<u>š</u> u <u>?ínte</u> "What are you?"

2. Affixes:

2.1. Associability of the prefix b- with verbal forms:-

In the environment of adverbials of "duration"¹³, the b- prefix is absent in SFIII in contradistinction to the facts of SFI and II speech, cf.

	SFIII	SFII	SFI
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>?iqúum kil joom</u>	<u>ba?úum kul joom</u>	<u>baqúum kul joom</u>
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>tiqúum</u> " "	<u>bit?úum</u> " "	<u>bitqúum</u> " "
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>tiqúumi</u> " "	<u>bit?úumi</u> " "	<u>bitqúumi</u> " "
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>jiqúum</u> " "	<u>bi?úum</u> " "	<u>biqúum</u> " "
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>tiqúum</u> " "	<u>bit?úum</u> " "	<u>bitqúum</u> " "
<u>1st pers.</u>	<u>niqúum</u> " "	<u>bin?úum</u> " "	<u>bingúum</u> " "
<u>2nd pers. masc.</u>	<u>tiquumúun</u> " "	<u>bit?úumu</u> " "	<u>bitqúumu</u> " "
<u>2nd pers. fem.</u>	<u>tiquumúun</u> " "	<u>bit?úumu</u> " "	<u>bitqúumin</u> " "
<u>3rd pers. masc.</u>	<u>jiqumúun</u> " "	<u>bi?úumu</u> " "	<u>biqúumu</u> " "
<u>3rd pers. fem.</u>	<u>jiqumúun</u> " "	<u>bi?úumu</u> " "	<u>biqúumin</u> " "

13. Adverbials of "duration" may be divided into two classes according to whether they occur with post-pronominal suffixes or not. Adverbials with post-posed pronominal suffixes are time-words in association with a constant element Tuul, viz. Tuul inhaar "all day", Tuul illéel "all night", Tuul issáne "all the year", Tuul ilwa?t "all the time". All these may be followed by pronominal suffixes, e.g. Tuul inhaar + u "All his day", Tuul wa?t + hum "All their time". The second class consists of the following members: marráat "sometimes", ba?D ihjáan "sometimes" dáajman "always"

2.2. The Verbal Suffix -uun:-

The imperfect tense-forms also differ from comparable forms in SFII and SFI by the presence of the suffix -uun marking "common gender" of 2nd and 3rd pers. masc. and fem. plural, e.g.

jamšúun "they walk", jaaxđúun "they take", tiquumúun "You stand up"
tadfašúun "You pay".

2.3. Absence of the sequence /ʔv-/ (i.e. glottal stop followed by a vowel) from word-initial position: e.g.

SFIII	SFI	SFII
<u>Túbxi</u>	<u>ʔúTúbxi</u>	<u>ʔúTúbxi</u> "cook" (2nd pers. fem.)
<u>fírši</u>	<u>ʔúfurši</u>	<u>ʔúfurši</u> "lay down"
<u>símši</u>	<u>ʔísmáši</u>	<u>ʔísmáši</u> "hear"
<u>Sébri</u>	<u>ʔúSubri</u>	<u>ʔúSubri</u> "be patient"
<u>síłxi</u>	<u>ʔíslaxi</u>	<u>ʔíslaxi</u> "skin off"
<u>đíbhi</u>	<u>ʔíđbaħi</u>	<u>ʔíđbaħi</u> "kill"
<u>kíšfi</u>	<u>ʔíkíšfi</u>	<u>ʔíkíšfi</u> "uncover"
<u>qíšdi</u>	<u>ʔúqušdi</u>	<u>húʔušdi</u> "sit down"
<u>ħímlí</u>	<u>ʔíħimlí</u>	<u>ʔíħimlí</u> "carry"
<u>díxli</u>	<u>ʔúduxli</u>	<u>ʔúduxli</u> "enter"

2. Phonological:

2.1. Syllabication:- One of the most striking features of SFIII speech is the regular correspondence of the total syllable patterns CCVCV, CCVCVC, and CCVCV to CVCVCV, CVCCVC, and CVCCV respectively elsewhere.¹⁴ The facts of correspondence are illustrated below:-

(i) (CCVCV) vs. (CVCVCV)

SFIII	SFI	SFII	
<u>xláqa</u>	<u>xálaqu</u>	<u>xála?u</u>	"he created him"
<u>ššára</u>	<u>šášara</u>	<u>šášara</u>	"a hair"
<u>wlídik</u>	<u>wáladik</u>	<u>wáladik</u>	"your son"
<u>bgára</u>	<u>bágara</u>	<u>bá?ara</u>	"a cow"
<u>fgára</u>	<u>fúgara</u>	<u>fú?ara</u>	"poor people"
<u>bšála</u>	<u>bášala</u>	<u>bášale</u>	"an onion"
<u>frása</u>	<u>fárasu</u>	<u>fárasu</u>	"his horse"
<u>Tbáxa</u>	<u>Tábaxu</u>	<u>Tábaxu</u>	"he cooked it"
<u>lbína</u>	<u>lábanu</u>	<u>lábanu</u>	"his milk"

14. What seems of crucial importance here is that, unlike SFI and SFII, SFIII does not admit a sequence of two successive short open syllables, a fact which corresponds to Cyrenaican Arabic syllable patterns. See, T. F. Mitchell, "Prominence and Syllabication in Arabic", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. XXXIII, part 2, (1960)

(ii) (CCVCVC) vs. (CVCCVC)

SFIII	SFI	SFII	
<u>kbarat</u>	<u>kúbrit</u>	<u>kúbrit</u>	"she grew up"
<u>šribat</u>	<u>sírbít</u>	<u>šírbat</u>	"she drank"
<u>Tbaxat</u>	<u>Tábxat</u>	<u>Tábxat</u>	"she cooked"
<u>gádat</u>	<u>gádat</u>	<u>?ádat</u>	"she sat down"
<u>dxalat</u>	<u>daxlat</u>	<u>daxlat</u>	"she entered"
<u>hmalat</u>	<u>hám-lat</u>	<u>hám-lat</u>	"she carried"
<u>lbisat</u>	<u>líbsit</u>	<u>líbsit</u>	"she dressed herself"
<u>thafir</u>	<u>túhfur</u>	<u>tíhfir</u>	"she dug"
<u>tsarif</u>	<u>tíšrif</u>	<u>tíšrif</u>	"she knows"
<u>thatsi</u>	<u>tíhtsi</u>	<u>tíhki</u>	"she talks"

(iii) (CCVCV) vs. (CVCCV)

SFIII	SFI	SFII	
<u>šama</u>	<u>šáme</u>	<u>šáme</u>	"a bone"
<u>lhamá</u>	<u>lahme</u>	<u>lahme</u>	"a piece of meat"
<u>nxála</u>	<u>naxle</u>	<u>naxle</u>	"a palm tree"
<u>sxála</u>	<u>saxle</u>	<u>saxle</u>	"a lamb"
<u>mrísa</u>	<u>marase</u>	<u>marase</u>	"a rope"

3. lexical: Owing to the limitations of the corpus, it has not been possible to arrange words according to "semantic fields".

A selection of examples taken from the corpus is as follows:-

I. Nominal:

SFIII	SFI	SFII	
1. <u>ilṣawáajir</u>	<u>ilḡabáajil</u>	<u>ilʔabáajil</u>	"tribes"
2. <u>máḡḡad</u>	<u>fraaš</u>	<u>fraaš</u>	"bed"
3. <u>iṭṭṣabd</u>	<u>ilḡalb</u>	<u>ilʔalb</u>	"heart"
4. <u>ḡarm</u>	<u>ḡaṭab</u>	<u>ḡaṭab</u>	"wood"
5. <u>ṣjuun</u>	<u>ṣinéen</u>	<u>ṣinéen</u>	"eyes"
6. <u>ḡuun</u>	<u>ḡinéen</u>	<u>ʔidnéen</u>	"ears"
7. <u>sáalfa</u>	<u>ḡiSSa</u>	<u>ʔúSSa</u>	"story"
8. <u>wíldak</u>	<u>ʔíbnak</u>	<u>ʔíbnak</u>	"your son"

II. Verbal:

SFIII	SFI	SFII	
<u>ḡabb</u>	<u>baas</u>	<u>baas</u>	"kissed"
<u>jiláwwiṣ</u>	<u>jíḡriḡ</u>	<u>jíḡriʔ</u>	"breaks the heart"
<u>tádrí</u>	<u>tíṣrif</u>	<u>tíṣrif</u>	"you know"
<u>tálwí</u>	<u>truuh</u>	<u>truuh</u>	"she goes"
<u>ḡajjal</u>	<u>trájjah</u>	<u>trájjah</u>	"relaxed"

PART II

Nodes of Address

1. General: Having regard to aspects of speech diversity such as those considered hitherto, it is to be expected that forms of address will exhibit considerable variation (see pp77-85f) While it may be feasible to devise a model in which variation is seen relationally on a "broader front" of inter- and intra-group variation, the present study is limited to co-variation of forms of address in terms of participants and their inter-relationships. This limitation is necessary for practical purposes as well as in order to provide a link between linguistic abstractions on the one hand and the natural settings from which acts of speech in part derive their meaning.¹⁵

Radcliffe-Brown pointed out that it may well be an easy undertaking to observe directly some features of social structure, such as the geographical distribution of individuals, but relations such as those of father and son, buyer and seller, ruler and subject

15. cf. T. F. Mitchell's remark on the need for linguists to "renew" connection" by putting "grammatical, lexical and phonological abstractions back into the run of life whence they derive", in a review of David Abercrombie, Elements of General Phonetics in Journal of Linguistics, 5 (1969), p.164.

can be observed in the social activities in which the relations are functioning.¹⁶ If this view is correct, then modes of address, whose form is seen as a function of role-relationships obtaining between individuals,¹⁷ can be best investigated in natural day-to-day activities of which language is part and which are on-going. The immediate concern is therefore to look at modes of address as part of a larger field which Hymes called "The Ethnography of Speaking".¹⁸ Hymes drew attention to the importance of studying the speech event or single acts of speech as they typically occur in their natural settings. In particular, he pointed to seven major constituent factors of a speech event, which are crucial for the understanding of the communicative acts of a speech community. These are: "(i) sender (ii) receiver (iii) channel (iv) message-form (v) code (vi) topic (vii) context or scene."¹⁹ All these factors, Hymes

16. A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society (London: Cohen & West, Ltd. (seventh impression), 1968). p.181.

17. cf. Roger Brown and M. Ford, "Address in American English", Language in Culture and Society, ed. Dell Hymes, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, p.238.

18. cf. Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking", Anthropology and Human Behaviour: The Anthropological Society of Washington, (1962) pp. 13-53. According to Hymes, the ethnography of speaking is concerned with (i) what a child internalizes about speaking in order to become a member of its speech community (ii) what a foreigner must learn about a group's behaviour in a given situation and (iii) the uses and functions of speech in general. He pleads for the recognition of a linguistic 'competence' that will include such features and not be limited to the at present purely "referential" concepts of most grammarians.

19. Dell H. Hymes "Introduction to Language In Culture and Society" op. cit., p.216. Also "Modes of Interaction of Language and Social Settings", Journal of Social Issues, Vol. XXIII, 2 (1967) pp. 20-25.

says, "must be determined empirically if the results are to have any validity"²⁰. In fact, Hymes reiterates what Gardiner repeatedly emphasized in his book The Theory of Speech and Language²¹, wherein an outline of the essential factors of speech is given, viz. (i) the speaker (ii) the listener (iii) speech-sounds as a physical event (iv) the listener's reaction.²²

Jakobson also points out that speech functions may be described by reference to "factors of speech events"²³. Any such event, according to Jakobson, comprises an addressor sending a message to an addressee. The message requires a context to be operative, and is at least capable of verbalisation; a code which is at least partially common to both parties, and a contact, which is a "physical channel and psychological connection between the addressor and the addressee, enabling both of them to enter and stay in communication"²⁴

Very little work has been done in the field of speech events, despite assertion of the need by several linguists. As a result,

20. Dell H. Hymes, "Introduction to Language In Culture and Society", p.216.

21. Alan H. Gardiner, The Theory of Speech and Language (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939, p.79.

22. Ibid, p.7.

23. R. Jakobson, "Linguistics and Poetics", in Style in Language (ed. T. Sebeok), Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1966, p.351.

24. Ibid.

numerous aspects of speech still remain unknown or unstudied. Nor have methods employed for collecting data²⁵ in such areas as modes of address been wholly adequate.

Pride, for instance, has rightly expressed doubts concerning the reliability of questionnaires, interviews, dramatic dialogues, etc. He maintains that it would be a great help to look for new perspectives in the study of everyday uses of speech.²⁶ He goes on to say that "even such a fundamental investigation as that into modes of address and reference in British English has not yet been carried out for a single group of speakers"²⁷ Prima facie, modes of address in English may be accounted for in terms of first name, last name, etc. On further consideration, however, Pride says, address is an indivisible part of an endless ramifying complex of communication more usefully referred to as 'approach'.²⁸

Firth says, "Neither linguists nor psychologists have begun the study of conversation, but it is here we shall find the key to a better understanding of what language really is and how it works".²⁹

25. See, for example, R. Brown and M. Ford, "Address in American English", in Language in Culture and Society, op. cit. pp. 234-250.

26. J. Pride, The Social Meaning of Language London, O.U.P. (forthcoming)

27. Ibid.

28. Loc. cit.

29. J. R. Firth, "The Techniques of Semantics", in Papers in Linguistics Oxford, O.U.P., p.32.

Attempts to date have largely been concerned not with the study of conversation per se but with things about conversation. It may well be that a simple dichotomy such as the one established by Brown and Ford is the chief parameter which determines choice of forms of address in English:

(i) intimacy, which governs reciprocal address and
 (ii) status, defined in terms of age and occupational status, which governs non-reciprocal address.³⁰ But are there not other contextual constraints observable in different uses of language³¹ which limit the occurrence of such addressive sentences as "You are a chatterbox, You are a monkey and I'll belt you one. As Pride observes, "All levels of language and aspects of non-linguistic behaviour are liable to be brought into service"³²

Despite the author's valuable contribution towards setting up parameters of a sociolinguistic kind, Brown and Ford's study falls short of being a comprehensive treatment of the factors "determining" linguistic form. It does not include, for example, linguistic features indicative of "attitudes" appropriate to permanent relation-

30. . Brown and Ford, op. cit., p.238.

31. By "Uses of language" is meant the relationship obtaining between the choice of certain linguistic features and the use that is being made of language.

32.J.Pride, op.cit.

ships, such as parent to child or master to servant, or temporary "attitudes" such as politeness or formality, nor other various linguistic devices which reflect "orientation toward the addressee" within a situation. It may also be criticised for its total disregard of such meaningful categories as endearment, abuse, and of courtesy.

To obviate disadvantages arising from inadequate methods and/or data, care has been taken to obtain samples of speech authentic enough to safeguard against whims and fancies arising from the uncontrolled introspection of the analyst. The samples obtained were recorded on tape, and represent the major speech fellowships of the overall Jordanian speech community. Relevant parts of recorded material as well as biographical particulars of the participants are to be found in the appendix.

2. "Orientation Towards the Addressee":-

2.1. Constraints and Incentives:

It is generally recognized that speech represents some kind of interchange among participants within a situation. It is also accepted that the participants will use language which is appropriate to their "attitudes", having regard of course, to the factors of situations within which speech evolves and in respect of which participants (and linguistic features characteristic of them) may be classified, and constraints and incentives involving choice

between appropriate terms of address may be specified. Such factors may vary from "innate" factors of personality or intelligence to the external factors of place of origin or social class or speech fellowship. In almost all situations involving the meaningful use of language, some kind of interchange takes place and linguistic activity of participants will reflect a mutual "approach" or "orientation" between interlocutors. For instance, "orientation" towards the addressee will inevitably include constant selection of lexical items indicative of the "attitudes" of participants towards one another (see, for example, "meliorative-pejorative" and "approval-disapproval" forms below). In the present study, inter-personal behaviour is characterised by a twofold distinction of situational variables, which may be said to "generate" modes of address and influence "orientation" between interlocutors. These are:

- I. "Attitudes" appropriate to permanent relationships (such as parent to child or master to servant);
- II. "Attitudes" appropriate to temporary relationships (such as those indicative of approval, disapproval, politeness, etc.).

Broadly speaking, forms of address appropriate to temporary relationships are distinguished from forms appropriate to permanent relationships by the fact that the former are capable

of entering the networks of comparative and intensifying relationships, (see, pp. 122-27 ff.) whereas the latter cannot do so. By reference to these criteria modes of address may be divided into two primary divisions:-

I. Forms of address indicative of "attitudes" appropriate to permanent relationships, which include (A) kinship terms (B) Pronominal Forms and (C) Respectful Forms; all such forms may be said to be 'permanent' insofar as they serve to express reciprocal relationships (see pp. 60-107 ff.), which emphasize the social condition of the individual in society, so that by the use of one or other of them, the status of the speaker in relation to the person addressed is readily recognized.

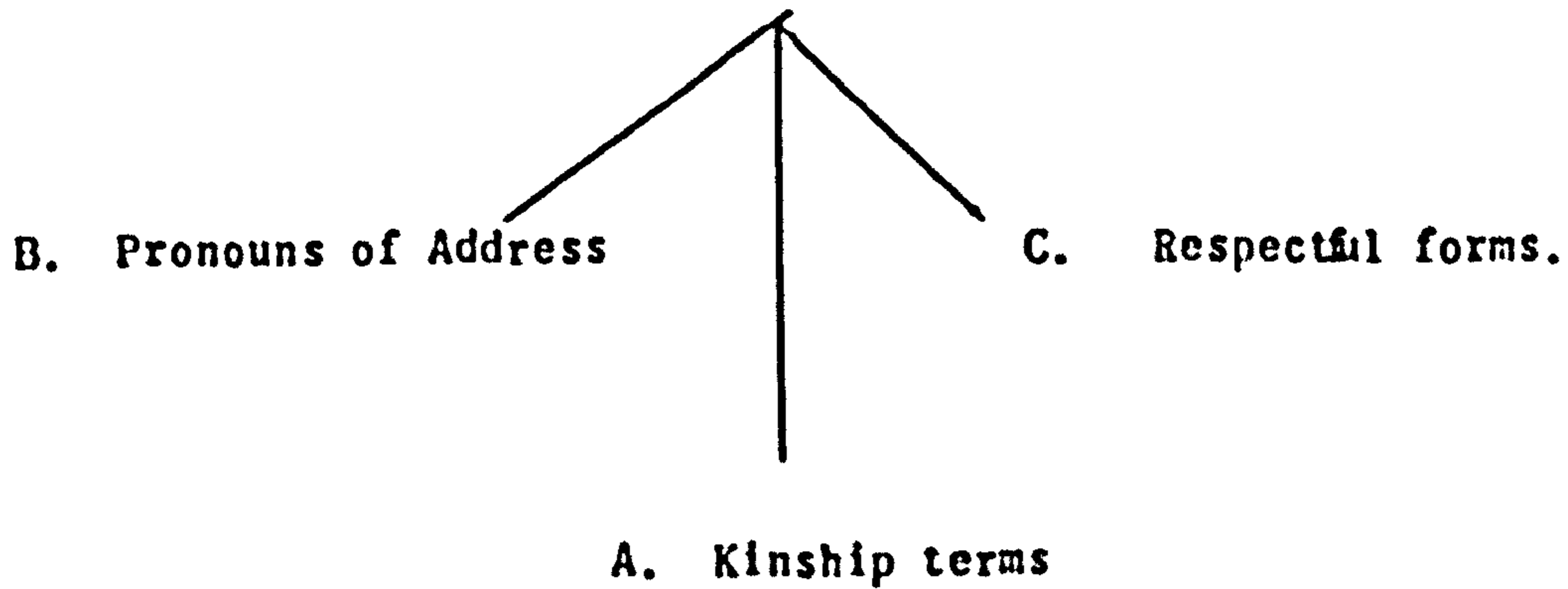
II. Address forms appropriate to temporary relationships on the other hand, may be divided into such categories as the following:

- A. "Approval-Disapproval" Forms
- B. "Meliorative-Pejorative" Forms
- C. Forms of Endearment and Affection.

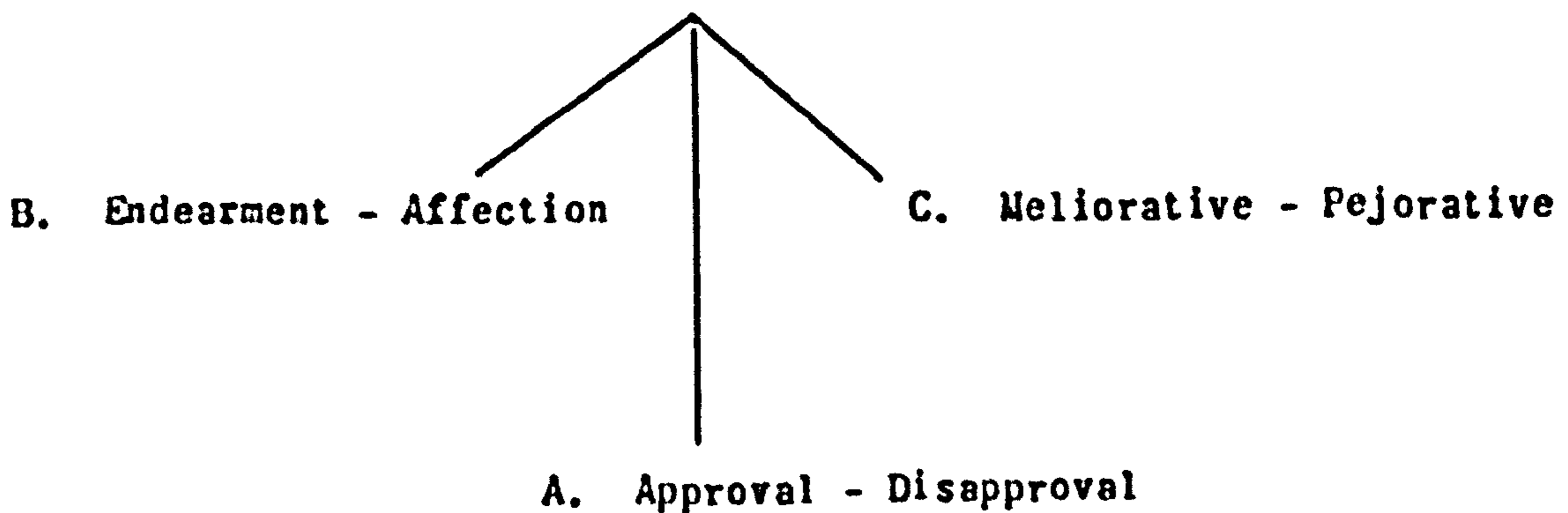
In contrast with those forms appropriate to permanent relationships, these 'temporary' forms may be looked upon as "learned reactions" to relatively less stereotyped behaviour, not rigidly performed in a way specified by the culture as only appropriate

to such relationships, because choice among them depends on the speakers' temporary "attitudes". Overlapping with permanent "attitudes" is, however, nevertheless to be expected. A diagram illustrating the categories of forms of address and their subdivision is as follows:-

I.

Forms Appropriate to Permanent Relationships

II.

Forms Appropriate to Temporary Relationships

Chapter Four
Kinship Terms

1.0. Classification: Kinship terms may be subclassified in various ways. Firstly, according to internal composition³³ in terms of which a twofold distinction may be recognised, viz. simple and complex, each of which is further subdivided into "consanguinal" or "affinal" terms (see below), or they may be classified according to modes of use, on the basis of which two types are again distinguished (cf. pp.66-73 ff.), or finally, they may be seen to differ among themselves according to speech fellowship, in relation to which formally different but congruent kinship systems are recognized.

33. According to Eugene A. Nida, the composition of any grammatical unit is defined in terms of the constituent part or parts, and (if parts) or their arrangement. The class of any grammatical unit is defined in terms of the relationship of the unit as a whole to all other grammatical units in the language. Class distinction may be based upon differences in composition - whether, for example items are simple or complex. It is this distinction between simple and complex that is adopted in the division of kinship terms, see E.A. Nida, "The Analysis of Grammatical Constituents", Lg. 25 (1948) p. 169.

1.1. Classification According to Internal Composition:-

1.1.2. Consanguinal: The relevant forms are:-

<u>?axx</u>	"brother"
<u>?uxt</u>	"sister"
<u>d3idd</u> or <u>siid</u>	"paternal grandfather or maternal grandfather"
<u>d3idde</u> or <u>sitt</u>	"paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother"
<u>Samn</u>	"paternal uncle"
<u>Samme</u>	"paternal aunt"
<u>xaal</u>	"maternal uncle"
<u>xaale</u>	"maternal aunt"
<u>?abb</u>	"father"
<u>?umm</u>	"mother"

1.1.3. Affinal:

<u>Sihr</u>	"father-in-law"
<u>hamaat</u>	"mother-in-law"
<u>d3ooz</u>	"husband"
<u>maara</u>	"wife"
<u>silf</u>	"husband's brother"
<u>silfe</u>	"husband's brother's wife"
<u>gadil</u>	"wife's sister's husband"

1.2.2. Division of Consanguinal Terms:-

A further subdivision of consanguinal terms may be made according to whether members of this category can be associated with the vocative morpheme - oo (e.g. d3idd -oo "grandfather") or not. Forms associable with -oo are as follows:-

1. xajjóo "brother"
2. xaalóo "maternal uncle"
3. ɣammóo "paternal uncle"
4. d3iddóo or
siidóo "father's father"

Subdivision of the remaining terms is also possible in so far as they are capable of modification by a derivational process of "diminution"; diminutive forms being characterized generally by a vowel -ee- preceding the root-final consonant and by a diphthong -aj- in the particular cases of xájtí and hnájtí. In addition, the diminutive forms occur regularly in association with the 1st pers. sing. pronominal suffix -i with, of course, the entailed appearance of preceding -t- characteristic of -a ending nouns in constructions of various kinds. Forms belonging to the distinction between non-diminutive and diminutive are as follows:

1. <u>máama</u>	:	<u>méemti</u> "(my) mother"
2. <u>dááde</u>	:	<u>dáácedti</u> "(my) grandmother"
3. <u>ɛ́nme</u>	:	<u>ɛ́mém̄ti</u> "(my) father's sister"
4. <u>xáale</u>	:	<u>xwéelti</u> "(my) mother's sister"
5. <u>?uxt</u>	:	<u>xájti</u> "(my) sister"
6. <u>bint</u>	:	<u>bnajti</u> "(my) daughter"
7. <u>?iban</u>	:	<u>bnájji</u> "(my) son"

The two classes (i.e. the -oo forms and the diminutives) may be regarded as syntactically and semantically restricted sub-classes of nouns on the grounds that the forms distinguishable by the vocative suffix -oo can only be used by men (to males or females) in contrast with the diminutive forms, which can only be used by women (again to males or females). In other words, the sex of the speaker is a significant variable in determining choice of kinship terms. Syntactically, on the other hand, relevant forms, when associated with the -oo suffix, cannot colligate with the vocative particle ja, whereas diminutive forms can do so only when the addressee is unrelated and unknown to the speaker (see pp.72-5ff) Furthermore, it is noticeable that the forms subject to "diminution" with the single exception of ?iban are feminine in contrast with those associated with -oo suffix. Contrariwise, the forms used by

women for the first class are:-

1. xuu or jaxúu "my brother"
2. xáali or ja xáali "my maternal uncle"
3. šámmi or ja šámmi "my paternal uncle"
4. džíddi or ja džíddi "my grandfather"

The inclusion or exclusion of ja relates to the degree of persuasiveness involved. Exclusion, for example, involves a stronger entreaty for help. Corresponding forms used by men for the second class are as follows:-

1. šamma "my mother"
2. šaxti "my sister"
3. ja binti "my daughter"
4. ja bni "my son"
5. ja šámti "my paternal aunt"
6. ja xáalti "my maternal aunt"
7. ja džídti "my grandmother"

Associability or non-associability with -oo and/or choice between diminutive or non-diminutive forms dictated by the relationship between addressor-addressee, which depends inter alia on the degree of closeness and intimacy involved. Other things being equal, both sub-sets of forms are suitable for addressing kinsmen but their use outside the immediate family surroundings to non-kinsmen is

dictated by the situational variable of "intimacy" (see pp.71-73 ff).

1.2.3. Complex forms: These are as follows:-

1.2.4. Consanguinal:

<u>?ibən ?axx</u>	"nephew"
<u>bint ?axx</u>	"niece"
<u>?ibən ?ibən</u>	"grandson"
<u>?ibən bint</u>	"daughter's son"
<u>bint ibən</u>	"son's daughter"
<u>?ibən ʒamm</u>	"paternal uncle's son"
<u>bint ʒamm</u>	"paternal uncle's daughter"
<u>?ibən xaal</u>	"maternal uncle's son"
<u>bint xaal</u>	"maternal uncle's daughter"
<u>?ibən ʒamme</u>	"paternal aunt's son"
<u>bint ʒamme</u>	"paternal aunt's daughter"
<u>?ibən xáale</u>	"maternal aunt's son"
<u>bint xáale</u>	"maternal aunt's daughter"

1.2.5. Affinal:

<u>dʒooz ʒamme</u>	"paternal aunt's husband"
<u>mart ʒamm</u>	"paternal uncle's wife"
<u>dʒooz xáale</u>	"maternal aunt's husband"
<u>mart xaal</u>	"maternal uncle's wife"
<u>mart ?axx</u>	"brother's wife"
<u>dʒooz uxt</u>	"sister's husband"
<u>mart abb</u>	"father's second wife"

1.3. Classification According to Use:-

The use of kinship terms contributes to the reciprocal behaviour characterizing every relationship among kinsmen. Since kinsmen speak in a language related to their personalities and social standing, it is to be anticipated that choice of appropriate kin terms will be dictated by considerations of such relevant attributes as sex, age and status, although choice may also be conditioned by speech functions, e.g. those of blessing, cursing, etc., (cf. pp.76-7 ff.).

Classification of kinship terms in terms of speech functions is no less important than their classification in terms of internal structuring, (see, pp.76-77ff.).

Reciprocals: In a patrilineal kinship system such as the one being studied, relationships within the family are, of all relationships, the most significant sociologically, psychologically and linguistically, because well beyond his middle age, a man's life is largely lived within his family, with the result that a sizeable number of kin terms are predominantly used in exchanges between relatives: father-child, mother-child, sister-sister, brother-brother, brother-sister. Exchange is of two types: (i) either both interlocutors "reciprocate" the same form or (ii) the addressee "returns" a form different from

that used in addressing him. Reciprocal terms of the first type may be symbolized as T-R (where T stands for term of address and R indicates the reciprocal form) and of those of the second type may be represented by T-R'. Examples of T-R and T-R' are as follows:- If a boy addresses his father's second wife as ja martabuu and he receives ja martabuu "my father's wife" in return, this mode of address will be called T-R. If, on the other hand, he is addressed ja bin d3oozi "my husband's son", this will be termed T-R'. The forms that occur are tabulated below. The forms T-R appears in the first and second columns of table (1). In table (2) (also table (4)) the first-named interlocutor of the third column uses the forms indicated in the first column and the second-named interlocutor those of the second column.

Table 1: T-R

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>jaxúuj</u> , <u>xajjóo</u>	<u>jaxúuj</u> , <u>xajjóo</u>	brother to brother
<u>ja bin sám̃mi</u>	<u>ja bin sám̃mi</u>	cousin to cousin
<u>ja bin xáali</u>	<u>ja bin xáali</u>	sister's brother's son to maternal uncle's son.
<u>ja sadíili</u>	<u>ja sadíili</u>	spouse's sister's husband to spouse's sister's husband.
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>xáiti</u> , <u>jáxti</u>	<u>xáiti</u> , <u>jáxti</u>	sister to sister
<u>ja bint sám̃mi</u>	<u>ja bint sám̃mi</u>	father's brother's daughter to father's brother's daughter
<u>ja bin xáali</u>	<u>ja bint xáali</u>	mother's brother's daughter to mother's brother's daughter
<u>ja síifti</u>	<u>ja síifti</u>	spouse to her husband's brother's spouse.
MALE	MALE OR FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>jáaba</u>	<u>jáaba</u>	father to son or daughter
<u>jámma</u>	<u>jámma</u>	mother to son or daughter
<u>ja xáali</u>	<u>ja xáali</u>	maternal uncle to sister's sons or daughters
<u>ja sám̃mi</u>	<u>ja sám̃mi</u>	paternal uncle to brother's sons or daughters
<u>ja síidi</u> , <u>siidóo</u>	<u>ja síidi</u> , <u>siidóo</u>	grandfather to grandchildren

MALE OR FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja mart</u> <u>ɣámmi</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>xáali</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>axúuj</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>abúuj</u>	<u>ja mart</u> <u>ɣámmi</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>xáali</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>axúuj</u> <u>ja mart</u> <u>abúuj</u>	sons or daughters to father's brother's (paternal uncle) wife sons or daughters to mother's brother's (maternal uncle) wife brother's brother or sisters to brother's spouse. sons or daughters to father's second wife.
FEMALE	MALE OR FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja</u> <u>ɣámmi</u> <u>ɣméemti</u> <u>ja</u> <u>xáalti</u> <u>xweelti</u> <u>ja</u> <u>sítti</u> , <u>d3deedti</u>	<u>ja</u> <u>ɣámmi</u> <u>ja</u> <u>ɣámmi</u> <u>ɣnéemti</u> <u>ja</u> <u>xáalti</u> <u>xweelti</u> <u>ja</u> <u>sítti</u> , <u>d3índti</u>	mother to son or daughter paternal aunt to brother's sons or daughters. maternal aunt to sister's sons or daughters grandmother to grandmother

Table 2: T-R'

MALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ǰáxti</u>	<u>ǰaxúuj</u>	brother and sister
<u>ǰa bint ǰám̄mi</u>	<u>ǰa bin ǰám̄mi</u>	husband and wife
<u>ǰa bint xáali</u>	<u>ǰa bin xáali</u>	maternal uncle's son and mother's brother's daughter
<u>ǰa mart abúuj</u>	<u>ǰa bin dʒóózi</u>	son and father's second wife
<u>ǰa ǰám̄mi</u>	<u>ǰa dʒooz xáalti</u>	mother's sister's husband and wife's sister's daughter.
MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ǰa bin xáali</u>	<u>ǰa bin ǰám̄ti</u>	paternal aunt's son and mother's brother's son

1.5. Extended Use of Kin Terms:-

The most striking feature of kin terms is perhaps not so much that they are used among relatives but that a sizeable number of terms is used to symbolize a man's social position around him, so that the use of a term gives an indication of the status of the person addressed and serves to evoke the response appropriate to the particular relationship. Choice of kinship terms when addressing non-kinsmen is determined by the following factors:-

(i) Age: In any relationship between a senior and a junior, there is always a restriction on the possible choice of kinship terms.

This usually involves the selection of the more polite or respectful forms. Other things being equal, men with a reputation for education, wealth or social standing in the society are accorded more respect and are treated with the deference due to them.

(ii) status subsumes the following categories:-

(a) occupation, age, or special accomplishments,

(b) rank conferred by birth, as in the case of "chiefs" or "notables".

(iii) Intimacy, in accordance with which choice of kinship terms is governed by the degree of "affection", "sentiment", or "emotional" dependence involved.

1.5.1. Classification According to Age, Status and Intimacy:-

Kinship terms, whose choice varies in relation to such

factors as the above, may also be classified in terms of T-R and T-R' in the same way as corresponding usage among kinsmen. Thus

Table 3: T-R

MALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja xúuj</u>	<u>ja xúuj</u>	used to anyone or between close friends of the same age
<u>ja ʒámmi</u>	<u>ja ʒámmi</u>	to older persons than the speaker and unknown to him.
<u>ja xáal</u>	<u>ja xáal</u>	used to an older person than the speaker but known to him
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja xáti</u>	<u>ja xáti</u>	used between two close friends
<u>ja xáale</u>	<u>ja xáale</u>	to an older woman than the speaker and unknown to her
<u>ja sítti</u>	<u>ja sítti</u>	between two close friends indicating "polite formality"

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Table 4: T-R'

SENIOR	JUNIOR	INTERLOCUTORS
MALE	MALE	
<u>ja wálad</u>	<u>ja síidi</u>	between an old man and a young person (paternalizing)
<u>ja síid ilḡazíiz</u>	<u>ja xúu</u>	between an older man and superior in status "deprecating" his status to an inferior addressee
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>júm̄ma</u>	<u>ja xáalti</u>	between a very old woman and an unknown younger woman
<u>ja bint</u>	<u>ja sítti</u>	between a mistress and a maid
<u>ja bnáiti</u>	<u>ja ḡámti</u>	between an old woman and another younger woman who is related.
MALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja bnáiti</u>	<u>ja ḡámmi</u>	exchanged between an old man and a very young girl who is known to him (paternalizing)
<u>ja bint</u>	<u>ja síidi</u>	exchanged between an old man or master to a maid
<u>ja bint ibni</u>	<u>ja xáale</u>	exchanged between an old man and a young woman who is unknown to him
FEMALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>ja wálad</u>	<u>ja xáalti</u>	exchanged between an old woman and a boy unknown to her
<u>ja bin binti</u>	<u>ja mára</u>	exchanged between an old woman scolding a very young boy unrelated to her
MALE	MALE/FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>jaába</u>	<u>ja ḡámmi</u>	exchanged between an old man and a younger person (paternalizing)

1.5.2.* Co-variation of kinship terms and Intimacy:-

The general principles which have been outlined are subject to modification and individual variation according to the degree of "familiarity" and emotional involvement with the persons addressed. Thus, certain forms, the choice of which is dictated by considerations of style, depending on the status of the person addressed, may be employed as terms of endearment in certain common situations of life. For example, the "reciprocal" term jáxti (T-R) may be exchanged either between two genealogically related sisters or between a male addressee and his sister. But the same form may be used as a form of endearment in addressing a male child unrelated to the addressor genealogically. Kinship terms used in such situations regularly occur with other forms indicative of "emotional" involvement or strong feelings of sympathy existing between the two participants. The following kinship terms arranged in terms of their constituent structure (i.e. simple or complex) are used particularly in addressing male children to show a greater degree of intimacy and "emotional" involvement. The same forms, however, when used by adults addressing female strangers indicate "polite formality".

I. Simple Terms:

- (a) jáxti : wálitš, jáxti, sála ʔeeš bitliddi "You, sister, what are you looking at?"
- (b) méemti : méemti, ja h́abiibti, šu bitsáwwi šu "Mother, darling, what are you doing?"
- (c) xwéelti : xwéelti, kθiirt ilGálabe, ʔiftahi ilbaab "Aunty, naughty, open the door".

II. Complex Terms:

- (a) sitt ilbanáat: ma kear Gálbatik, ja sitt ilbanáat "How naughty you are! mistress of all girls".
- (b) sitt ilkúll: h́ark iššai, ja sitt ilkúll "Stir the tea, mistress of all people".

The correlation of the kinship terms set out above and the degree of "emotional" involvement is apparent when a male child is addressed as if on the face of things he were a female. That is, forms of address and suffixes associated with pronominal, nominal and verbal forms are all feminine. It may, therefore be said ex hypothesi that the biological sex of a child is irrelevant to the form of address chosen (e.g. sitt ilbanáat "mistress of all girls" is used in addressing both male and female children).

1.5.3. Kinship terms used as respect forms:-

Husbands and wives on good terms call one another either by "generic" names, i.e. ja mára "wife", ja záame "husband", or, if greater respect is appropriate, a husband addresses his wife as ja bint šámmi "my cousin" and he receives ja bin šámmi in return,

even if the husband and wife are unrelated genealogically.

1.5.4. Terms of Abuse:

The most frequent kinship terms occurring in the speech function of abuse are ?abb "father" and ?umm "mother", which are always associated with a following nominal or with a pronominal suffix. The following attested sentences are used when addressing a male child and are expressive of "annoyance" and "impatience" on the part of the speaker.

1. jílʒan ?abu ?áʒlak "Curse your lineage"
2. jílʒan ?abu dámak "Curse your blood"
3. jílʒan úmmak "Curse your mother"

1.5.5. Terms of "Blessing":

In contrast with Curses, in which kinship forms collocate with a "constant" verb-form, viz. jílʒan, blessings are marked by the use of a limited number of verb forms which occur only in association with kinship terms. The set of all verbs collocating with kinship forms in the speech function of "blessing" are as follows:-

1. jírDa : jírDa ʒaléeki, jaaba "God bless you, father"
2. jsáhhil : jsáhhil Tariigak, jamma "May God make your way easy, mother"
3. jhánnin : jhánnin ʒaléeki, jaxti "May God be kind to you, sister"
4. jwarri : jwarriini widʒhak ʒala "May we see your face again,
xeer, ja xúuj brother".

1.6. Classification of Kinship Terms in relation to speech fellowship:-

Kinship terms also vary with respect to the three speech fellowships. The formally different but congruent kinship systems of the three speech fellowships are set out below. Subdivision of terms is made with respect to four dimensions:-

(i) Ego's generation (ii) Parent's Generation (iii) Children's Generation (iv) Grandchildren's Generation. The terms are classified into two major sets: (I) Terms employed in "direct" address (i.e. in speaking to a relative) and (ii) terms of reference (i.e. in speaking about a relative to a third party). A man speaker is abbreviated (m.) and a woman speaker (f.).

I. Terms of Address (consanguinal)A. Ego's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>xajjoo</u> or <u>ja xúuj</u>	<u>jáxi</u>	<u>xúuja</u> or <u>ja xúuj</u> "my brother"
<u>jáxti</u> or <u>xájtí</u>	<u>jáxti</u>	<u>jáxti</u> "my sister"
<u>ja bin sámí</u>	<u>ja bin sámí</u>	<u>ja wild sámí</u> "my paternal uncle's son"
<u>ja bint sámí</u>	<u>ja bint sámí</u>	<u>ja bint sámí</u> "my paternal uncle's daughter"
<u>ja bin sámme</u>	<u>ja bin sámí</u>	<u>ja wild sáméti</u> "my paternal aunt's son"
<u>ja bint sámme</u>	<u>ja bint sámí</u>	<u>ja bint sáméti</u> "my paternal aunt's daughter"
<u>ja bin xáal</u>	<u>ja bin xáali</u>	<u>ja wild xáali</u> "my paternal uncle's son"
<u>ja bint xaal</u>	<u>ja bint xáali</u>	<u>ja bint xáali</u> "my maternal uncle's daughter"

B. Parent's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>jaaba</u>	<u>jaaba</u> or <u>baaba</u>	<u>ju</u> ba "my father"
<u>ju</u> mma or <u>me</u> emti	<u>ji</u> mmi or <u>me</u> emti	<u>ju</u> mma or <u>me</u> emti "my mother"
<u>sa</u> mmoo or <u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mm	<u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mmi	<u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mmi "my paternal uncle"
<u>xa</u> aloo or <u>ja</u> <u>xa</u> aal	<u>ja</u> <u>xa</u> ali	<u>ja</u> <u>xa</u> ali "my maternal uncle"
<u>xa</u> ala or <u>xw</u> eelti	<u>ja</u> <u>xa</u> alti	<u>ja</u> <u>xa</u> alti "my maternal aunt"
<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>sa</u> mm	<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>sa</u> mmi	<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>sa</u> mmi "my paternal uncle's wife"
<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>xa</u> al	<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>xa</u> ali	<u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> rt <u>xa</u> ali "my maternal uncle's wife"
<u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mm	<u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mmi	<u>ja</u> <u>sa</u> mmi "my paternal aunt's husband."

C. Children's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>Jaaba</u>	<u>Jaaba</u>	<u>Ja wíldi</u> or <u>Ja wlídi</u> "my son"
<u>Samóo</u> (m) <u>meenti</u> (f)	<u>Samóo</u> (m) <u>meenti</u> (f)	<u>Ja wild ixúuj</u> "my brother's son"
<u>Samóo</u> (m) <u>amme</u> (f)	<u>Samóo</u> (m) <u>anti</u> (f)	<u>Ja wild íxti</u> "my sister's son"
<u>xaalóo</u> (m) <u>xweelti</u> (f)	<u>xaalóo</u> (m) <u>xweelti</u> (f)	<u>Ja bint íxti</u> "my sister's daughter"
SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>d3iddóo</u> (m) <u>d3deedti</u> (f)	<u>siidóo</u> (m) <u>sítti</u> (f)	<u>Ja wíldi</u> or <u>Ja wlídi</u> "my son's son"
<u>d3iddóo</u> (m) or <u>Ja d3iddi</u> (m) <u>d3deedti</u> (f)	<u>Ja síidi</u> <u>Ja sítti</u>	<u>Ja binti</u> "my son's daughter"

II. Affinal

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>ja zálame</u> or <u>jabin</u> <u>šamm</u>	<u>ja bin šámmi</u>	<u>ja bin šámmi</u> "my husband"
<u>ja mára</u> or <u>ja bint</u> <u>šamm</u>	<u>ja bint šámmi</u>	<u>ja ħurméti</u> or <u>ja bint šámmi</u> "my wife"
<u>ja šamm</u>	<u>ja šámmi</u>	<u>ja šámmi</u> "my father-in-law"
<u>ja tšínne</u>	<u>ja kínti</u>	<u>ja tšannéti</u> "my daughter-in-law"
<u>ja šámme</u>	<u>ja šáati</u>	<u>ja šamméti</u> "my mother-in-law"
<u>ja d3ooz úxti</u>	<u>ja d3ooz úxti</u>	<u>ja nisíihi</u> "my brother-in-law"
<u>ja martaxúuj</u>	<u>ja mart áxi</u>	<u>ja mart uxúuj</u> "my brother's wife"

II. Terms of ReferenceA. Ego's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>?axúuj</u>	<u>?áxi</u>	<u>xuuj</u> "my brother"
<u>?úxti</u> or <u>xájti</u>	<u>?úxti</u> or <u>xájti</u>	<u>ixti</u> "my sister"
<u>?íban şámmi</u>	<u>?íban şámmi</u>	<u>wild şámmi</u> "my paternal uncle's son"
<u>bint şámmi</u>	<u>bint şámmi</u>	<u>bint şámmi</u> "my paternal uncle's daughter"
<u>?íbin xáali</u>	<u>?íbin xáali</u>	<u>wild xáali</u> "my maternal uncle's son"
<u>bint xáali</u>	<u>bint xáali</u>	<u>bint xáali</u> "my maternal uncle's daughter"
<u>?íbin şámti</u>	<u>?íbin şámti</u>	<u>wild şámméti</u> "my paternal aunt's son"
<u>bint şámti</u>	<u>bint şámti</u>	<u>bint şámméti</u> "my paternal aunt's daughter"
<u>?íbin xáalti</u>	<u>?íbin xáalti</u>	<u>wild xáalti</u> "my maternal aunt's son"
<u>bint xáalti</u>	<u>bint xáalti</u>	<u>bint xáalti</u> "my maternal aunt's daughter"

B. Parent's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>?abúuj</u>	<u>?ábi</u>	<u>buuj</u> "my father"
<u>?úm̄mi</u>	<u>?ím̄mi</u>	<u>ummi</u> "my mother"
<u>ʒám̄mi</u>	<u>ʒám̄mi</u>	<u>ʒám̄mi</u> "my paternal uncle"
<u>ʒám̄ti</u>	<u>ʒám̄ti</u>	<u>ʒám̄m̄eti</u> "my paternal aunt"
<u>xáali</u>	<u>xáali</u>	<u>xáali</u> "my maternal uncle"
<u>xáalti</u>	<u>xáalti</u>	<u>xáalti</u> "my maternal aunt"
<u>d3ooz ʒám̄ti</u>	<u>3ooz ʒám̄ti</u>	<u>rád3il ʒám̄ti</u> "my paternal aunt's husband"
<u>mart ʒám̄mi</u>	<u>mart ʒám̄mi</u>	<u>mart ʒám̄mi</u> "my paternal uncle's wife"
<u>d3ooz xáalti</u>	<u>3ooz xáalti</u>	<u>rád3il xáalti</u> "my maternal aunt's husband"
<u>mart xáali</u>	<u>mart xáali</u>	<u>mart xáali</u> "my maternal uncle's wife"

C. Children's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>?íbní</u>	<u>?íbní</u>	<u>wíldí</u> "my son"
<u>?íbn axúuj</u>	<u>?íbn áxi</u>	<u>wíld íxúuj</u> "my brother's son"
<u>bint axúuj</u>	<u>bint áxi</u>	<u>bint íxúuj</u> "my brother's daughter"
<u>?íbn úxti</u>	<u>?íbn úxti</u>	<u>wíld íxti</u> "my sister's son"
<u>bint úxti</u>	<u>bint úxti</u>	<u>bint íxti</u> "my sister's daughter"

D. Grandchildren's Generation

SFI	SFII	SFIII
<u>?íbin íbni</u>	<u>hafíidi</u>	<u>wíld wíldí</u> "my son's son"
<u>?íbin bínti</u>	<u>hafíidi</u>	<u>wíld bínti</u> "my daughter's son"
<u>bint íbni</u>	<u>hafíidti</u>	<u>bint wíldí</u> "my son's daughter"
<u>bint bínti</u>	<u>hafíidti</u>	<u>bint bínti</u> "my daughter's daughter"

The main differences among kinship terms for all speech fellowships may be stated as follows:-

1. Lexical: SFI and SFII ?ibin "son", d3ooz "husband" correspond to SFIII wild and rád3ii respectively. It is also noticeable that whereas SFI and SFII regularly employ simple terms in addressing children, SFIII, on the other hand, regularly use complex terms.
2. Phonological: Phonological features recognised elsewhere as characteristic of each SF operate in the phonological structure of kinship terms (e.g. the omission of the sequence /?v-/ "glottal stop + a vowel" (cf. SFIII xuuj, buuj vs. SFI ?axúuj and ?abúuj).

Chapter Five

Pronouns of Address

1. Classification:-

Pronominal forms occupy a central position in the study of modes of address because choice from among them reflects in large measure a "mutual approach or orientation"³⁴ between interlocutors. It is therefore vitally important to know the appropriate pronominal forms to use when addressing one's equals, "superiors", and "inferiors".

1.1. Classification According to Speech Fellowship:-

Variation in the form of pronominal forms in relation to speech fellowship is as follows:-

34. See Brown and Gilman's "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity" in Style in Language, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok: MIT Press, 1966, pp.253-277, in which choice of second person pronouns is explained in terms of two dimensions: power and solidarity. The values of these dimensions may be shown as follows:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. <u>Symmetrical Relationships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. superior and solidary 2. equal and solidary 3. inferior and solidary | <p>B. <u>Asymmetrical Relationships</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. superior and not solidary 2. superior and not solidary 3. inferior and not solidary 4. inferior/superior |
|--|--|

Brown and Gilman's categorization of the 2nd person pronouns in several European languages into symmetrical and asymmetrical is, however, too broad to account for the various Arabic uses of 3rd. person pronouns in certain situations, see pp.92-96ff.

	SFI		SFII	SFIII
RG1	RG2	RG3		
<u>áni</u>	<u>?ána</u>	<u>?ána</u>	<u>?ána</u>	<u>áni</u> "I" <u>1st pers. sing.</u>
<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	<u>int</u> "you" <u>2nd pers. masc.</u>
<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	<u>ínti</u> "you" <u>2nd pers. fem.</u>
<u>huu</u>	<u>huu</u>	<u>huu</u>	<u>húuwe</u>	<u>ihwá</u> "he" <u>3rd pers. masc.</u>
<u>hii</u>	<u>hii</u>	<u>hii</u>	<u>híije</u>	<u>ihjá</u> "she" <u>3rd pers. fem.</u>
<u>?íhna</u>	<u>?íhna</u>	<u>?íhna</u>	<u>níhna</u>	<u>hínna</u> "we" <u>1st pers. pl.</u>
<u>húmma</u>	<u>húmme</u>	<u>húmme</u>	<u>húmme</u>	<u>hum</u> "they" <u>3rd pers. masc.</u>
<u>hínne</u>	<u>hínne</u>	<u>hínne</u>	<u>húmme</u>	<u>hum</u> "they" <u>3rd pers. fem.</u>
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?íntu</u>	<u>intu</u> "you" <u>2nd pers. masc.</u>
<u>?íntin</u>	<u>?íntin</u>	<u>?íntin</u>	<u>íntu</u>	<u>íntu</u> "you" <u>2nd pers. fem.</u>

1.2. Classification According to Exchange Between Interlocutors:-

Analogously to kinship terms, pronominal forms of address may best be classified in terms of the kind of exchange by interlocutors (i.e. T-R or T-R'). Variations in the values (i.e. selection of T-R or T-R') are a function of the social category membership of (a) the person addressed and (b) the speaker, only when the relationships existing among interlocutors are those of the "elementary

family"³⁵, within which nine possible combinations of relatives or "reciprocals" are possible. These are: mother-daughter, mother-son, father-son, father-daughter, husband-wife, older sister-younger sister, older brother-younger brother, older brother-younger sister, older sister-younger brother. Types of exchange between them are tabulated below:-

35. The basic unit of social structure is the family, which has at least three fundamental distinctive features: (i) it is extended in the sense that the father (the head of the family) lives with his unmarried sons or daughters and wife or wives (ii) it is patrilineal, i.e. each person is regarded as belonging to his father's family and not to his mother's. (iii) the family is patriarchal, that is to say that members of the family are ranked in terms of seniority, so that the older person is invariably regarded as more senior. The father's authority is undisputed and the younger members of the family are required to obey and respect decisions taken by senior male members.

I. T-R

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	brother to brother (irrespective of age) <u>or</u> father to son
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?íntu</u>	brothers to brothers
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	sister to sister (irrespective of age) <u>or</u> mother to daughter
<u>?íntin</u>	<u>?íntin</u>	sisters to sisters

II. T-R'

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	father to sons <u>or</u> brother to brothers
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?íntin</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	mother to daughters <u>or</u> sister to sisters
MALE	FEMALE	
<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	father to daughter <u>or</u> husband to wife <u>or</u> brother to sister
FEMALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	mother to son <u>or</u> sister to brother
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	mother to sons.

When relatives reciprocate pronominal forms in the manner shown, the relationship existing between them is one of intimacy and friendliness. In the core of the family, reciprocation of these forms is constant.

2. Correlation of Pronouns of Address with Social Variables:-

Only outside the household can second person pronominals vary according to such social variables as status, age and sex. In such circumstances, values of priority, precedence and authority are placed on distinctions of generation, sex, age and occupation. Certain observations about these values may be made, which provide the basis of the structure of behaviour in typical "face-to-face" encounters and influence choice of pronominal forms. These are as follows:-

(i) Members of the same sex who are of a senior generation have priority and precedence in any social context;

(ii) A "senior" member (i.e. enjoying a superior occupation or educational standard) of the same sex and of the same generation has priority and precedence over a "junior" member.

(iii) Males have priority and precedence over females in any context in which they are together; a male has priority over a female of the same generation irrespective of relative age or education. In

short, authority in social relationships rests with the senior male person.

The implications of these values as to the choice of the appropriate pronominal form are as follows:-

A. In any social context involving "priority and precedence", e.g. between persons of high social rank (such as ministers, district governors, and other high government officials) and their social "inferiors" (e.g. caretakers, waiters, vendors, and clerks), a T-R' exchange of pronominal forms takes place. "Superiors" receive ?íntu (2nd pl) "you" and return ?ínte (2nd pers. sing.) to individual "inferiors". If no precedence is involved, interlocutors exchange the 2nd pers. sing. form ?ínte. The greeting formula kul sáne w.... Tájjib and its associated response w Tájjib (wherein the blank space stands for the appropriate pronominal form) provides an illustrative frame for the categorization of exchange between interlocutors as T-R or T-R'. A person to whom precedence is accorded is greeted in the manner kul sáne w - íntu Tájb - íin "Many happy returns", to which he responds w - ínte Tájjib, only when the addressor is of lower rank. Otherwise, interlocutors of high social rank exchange between themselves ?ínte "you" (2nd pers. pl.), whereas persons of lower social rank exchange between themselves ?ínte "you" (2nd pers. sing.). Exchanges are

summarized in the following table:-

I. T-R

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?ínte</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	peer to peer (in <u>low social rank</u>)
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?íntu</u>	peer to peer (in <u>high social rank</u>)
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?ínti</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	peer to peer (in <u>low social rank</u>)
<u>?íntin</u>	<u>?íntin</u>	peer to peer (in <u>high social rank</u>)

II. T-R'

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?ínte</u>	between an inferior and superior (e.g. a junior civil servant and a minister).
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
<u>?íntu</u>	<u>?ínti</u>	between an employer and an employee (e.g. a headmistress and Minister of Education).

B. A greater degree of friendliness and politeness is shown by the replacement of 2nd pers. pron. forms by the 1st pers. pl. forms.

It is, however, only accepted from persons in authority or in certain professions, whose duty it is to ask personal questions or to issue personal orders or advice. It is accepted, for example,

Mother to Child	Mother to Eldest Son
Affectionate	Otherwise
<p>1. <u>ʒu bíddu íhájjaal huu</u> "What does "sneaky" want?"</p> <p>2. <u>ʒu bisáwwi lízɛar huu</u> <u>ʒu, ʒu, ʒu, ʒu,</u> "What is "shorty" doing? What what, what, what?"</p>	<p><u>ʒu bíddak ía íhájjaal ínte?</u> "What do you want, sneaky?"</p> <p><u>ʒu bítsáwwi ía zɛarínte?</u> <u>ʒu, ʒu, ʒu, ʒu?</u> "What are you doing? "shorty", what, what, what, what?"</p>

(ii) Between close friends of the Same Age:-

Two close friends may ridicule each other by use of 3rd pers. pron. in place of 2nd pers. pron., particularly when the addressee breaks the rules of conduct appropriate to his age, status or sex, cf.

Between very close (male) friends	Between Acquaintances
"Ridicule"	Otherwise
<p>1. <u>leeʒ huu tráadɛaí</u> "Why did he back out?"</p> <p>2. <u>leeʒ huu ma jítrájjań</u> "Why can't he settle down?"</p>	<p><u>leeʒ ínte tráadɛáít?</u> "Why did you back out?"</p> <p><u>leeʒ ínte ma títrájjań</u> "Why can't you settle down?"</p>

(111) Between Unrelated Males and Females:-

Social contact between women and "unrelated" men is subject to strong sanctions. Participation of both sexes in joint activities at ceremonies, assemblies or social gatherings is very rare indeed. One obvious example of such social constraint is the obligatory avoidance of another spouse's name in enquiries about health; the usual question is kiif ilḡeele "How is the family?". If social contact does, however, take place, male speakers select 3rd pers. pron. forms in order to maintain the social distance required, particularly in the initial stages of a conversation, cf.

"Unrelated" Male to Female	"Related" Male to Female
"Formally Polite"	Otherwise
1. <u>múḡkin</u> <u>tihkíinna</u> <u>hii</u> <u>ḡan</u> "Could she tell us her <u>?iḡam-ha</u> name?"	<u>múḡkin</u> <u>tihkíinna</u> "Could you tell <u>?ínti ḡan ísmik</u> us your name?"
2. <u>ween</u> <u>hii</u> <u>wíldit?</u> "Where was she born?"	<u>ween</u> <u>inti</u> <u>wíldit</u> "Where were you born?"

4. "Impersonal" Pronouns:-

Besides 3rd pers. pron. forms, "Impersonal" pronominal forms (see below) are frequently used in place of 2nd pers. pronominal forms. Such forms do not mark the speaker's status in society in the same way that certain kinship terms and pronominal forms do, but they are used in a "non-committal" sense, so to speak, and are neutral as to respect or intimacy. They may be divided into two classes according to whether the form wáahad appears with the definite article il- or not. Members of the first class, called for convenience Indefinite Pronouns, comprise the form wáahad (or wáahade) (f. sing.) and extensions thereof. The possibilities of extension are comprehensively stated below:-

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| "left-hand" | { | 1. <u>kul wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) "everybody" |
| | | 2. <u>?ajj wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) "anybody" |
| | | 3. <u>wála wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) "nobody" |

-
- | | | |
|--------------|---|---|
| "right-hand" | { | 4. <u>wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) <u>θáani</u> (<u>θáanje</u>) "someone else" |
| | | 5. <u>wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) <u>maGéer</u> |
| | | 6. <u>wáahad</u> (<u>wáahade</u>) <u>min</u> "one of....." |

Members of the second class, termed Impersonal Pronouns, are two only: ilwáahad and ilwáahade. They often follow the third person singular pronouns huu "he" and hii "she" as in:-

1. ma huu ilwáahad maa bíʔdar jíʔrif zajj ma bíddu

"One cannot spend as one likes"

2. ma hi ilwáahade ʔaxúuha min dámha w lahámha

"One's brother is made of one's blood and flesh"

In addition, impersonal pronouns regularly follow the locative prepositions šála "on", wára "behind", ʔuddáam "in front of", and the benefactive prepositions la "to" and ma "for".

Examples are:

1. gaddééʃ bíʔlaʔ šála ilwáahad "How much does it cost one?"

2. bíhku wára lwáahad "They gossip behind one('s back)"

3. biddáʔar ʔuddáam ilwáahad "He bumps into one"

4. su bídha tínfaʔ lalwáahad "What benefit is it for one?"

5. maa btífriʔ maʔ ilwáahad "It makes no difference to one"

To sum up then, the 2nd pers. pron. may be divided into two classes according to the type of exchange between interlocutors (i.e. T-R or T-R'). Only when one moves away from the "basic" family sphere can it be said that choice of 2nd. pers. pron. forms depends on certain social values such as that of "priority and precedence": exchange between superiors and inferiors is T-R' and between peers is T-R. Third person pronominal forms may be used instead of 2nd. pers. pron. forms in certain situations depending on the role-relationships of interlocutors.

Chapter Six

Respectful Forms of Address

1. Titles: It has been shown in the preceding sections that choice of certain kinship or pronominal forms is governed by social constraints, chief among which is the social relationship between the interlocutors. In many situations, however, titles, names of occupation, personal names and generic names may be used instead of kinship terms or personal pronouns. These forms are used in direct address and are chosen in accordance with social constraints to those of kinship terms and pronominal forms.

2. Scales of Interpersonal Relationship:-

An important aspect of interpersonal behaviour is characterized by differences of "attitude" in terms of status³⁶ and the degree of closeness or social distance involved. The basic distinction is between "attitudes" towards superiors and respected equals on the one hand, and "attitudes" towards familiar equals and inferiors on the other. The former are characterized by a more

36. A man is of high status if his occupation is regarded as having a high social standing. Persons of high prestige are, for example, engineers, doctors, professors, and occupants of important government offices generally. Persons of comparatively low prestige include among others, porters, drivers, nurses, shoemakers, cooks, bakers, janitors, mechanics and vendors. High status is also accorded to "chiefs", see pp. 71.

or less clearly defined demonstration of respect (see below), the latter by absence of such indications.

2.1. Respectful Forms appropriate to Superiors:-

Forms appropriate to superiors may be divided into two classes according to whether kinsmen or non-kinsmen are involved:

(i) Respectful Forms Appropriate to kinsmen:-

Respect to older (married) kinsmen is shown by the use of "teknonymy". That is, parents and older (married) brothers or sisters are addressed by the name of their first-born son or daughter preceded by the kinship form bu "father of" or ?imm "mother of". On the other hand, parents, older brothers and sisters address younger members of the family as:

1. ja halaali w maali "my property"
2. ja xéeri w rízqi "my source of income and happiness"

(ii) Respectful Forms Appropriate to Non-Kinsmen:-

Outside "the family", respect to non-kinsmen is predominantly shown by the use of titles. They can be used with a person's first name (abb. FN), with last names (abb. LN), with occupational terms, or they can be used alone. They may therefore be subdivided according to whether they occur with or without (FN) or (LN).

I. Titles Used Before (FN):-

- (a) šeex, e.g. ja šeex zabn "Sheikh zabn"
 (b) ħad3d3, e.g. ja ħad3d3 sléemaan "Ĥaj sleemaan"
 (c) sájjid, e.g. ja sájjid sáami "Mr. Saami"

II. Titles Used After (FN):-

- (a) báaša, e.g. ja sajjid báaša "Pasha Sa'id"
 (b) beek, e.g. ja zuhéer beek "Zuheer Bey"
 (c) ?afánda, e.g. ja ?usaama ?afánda "?usaama Efondi"

III. Titles Used before (FN) or (LN):-

- (a) doktór, e.g. ja doktór sáami (FN) "Dr. Saami", or
ja doktór sáaba (LN) "Dr. Saaba"
 (b) ?ustáad, e.g. ja ?ustáad kamaal (FN) "Mr. Kamaal" or
ja ?ustáad ħoraani (LN) "Mr. Horaani"

IV. Titles (+ Occup. Names) Used without (FN) or (LN):-

- (a) d3aláalat, e.g. d3aláalat ulmálik ilmudáddara "Your Majesty"
 (b) sumúww, e.g. sumúww ul?amíir "Your Highness"
 (c) dáwlat, e.g. dáwlat urra?íis "Your Excellency" (only to the
 Prime Minister)
 (d) mašáali, e.g. mašáalilwazíir "Your Excellency" (addressed only to
 a Minister)
 (e) šutúufat, e.g. šutúufat ulwakíll "Your Honour" (used to address
 senior govt. officials such as
 under-secretaries and district
 governors)
 (f) sašáadat, e.g. sašáadat ilmudíir "Your Honour" (used to address
 managers).

2.2. Types of Exchange:-

The use of the above titles (at I, II, III, IV) is governed by the social relationship between interlocutors and their ages. Relationships in which the speaker and the addressee have equal social status (e.g. a doctor addressing another doctor) are symmetrical, in which case both interlocutors exchange the same form of address (i.e. exchange is T-R). On the other hand, relationships in which the speaker has a lower status than the addressee are asymmetrical and the use of a title is always unidirectional, that is, the inferior addresses his superior by his appropriate title and the superior does not give a title in return (i.e. exchange is T-R'). Types of exchange are as follows:-

I. Exchange Between Respected Equals:-

If both interlocutors have equal social status, they show deference to each other's social status as in the table:-

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja</u> <u>šeex</u> + (FN)	<u>ja</u> <u>šeex</u> + (FN)	A tribal "Chief" to a tribal "chief"
2. <u>ja</u> <u>ħad3d3</u> + (FN)	<u>ja</u> <u>ħad3d3</u> + (FN)	A pilgrim to a pilgrim
3. <u>ja</u> <u>sájjid</u> + (FN)	<u>ja</u> <u>sájjid</u> + (FN)	An acquaintance to an acquaintance
4. <u>ja</u> + Name of Occup. + (FN) (e.g. <u>ja</u> <u>?ustáaħ kamaal</u>)	<u>ja</u> + Name of Occup. + (FN) (e.g. <u>ja</u> <u>?ustáaħ Ali</u>)	An acquaintance of the same profession to another of the same rank
5. <u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>báaša</u>	<u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>báaša</u>	a distinguished person holding this title by royal decree to another of the same rank.
6. <u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>beek</u>	<u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>beek</u>	A high government official <u>or</u> a senior army officer to another of the same rank
7. <u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>?afáandi</u>	<u>ja</u> + (FN) + <u>?afáandi</u>	a lawyer to a lawyer
8. <u>ja</u> + <u>mašáal ilwazír</u>	<u>ja</u> + <u>mašáal ilwazír</u>	A minister to a minister
9. <u>ja</u> + <u>šutúufat</u> <u>ulmutašárrif</u>	<u>ja</u> + <u>šutúufat</u> <u>ulmutašárrif</u>	A district governor to another district governor
10. <u>ja</u> + <u>sašáadat</u> <u>ulmudiir</u>	<u>ja</u> + <u>sašáadat</u> <u>ulmudiir</u>	A manager (e.g. of a bank) to another manager.

II. Exchange Between Inferiors and Superiors:-

In asymmetrical relationships, persons of inferior status such as servants, porters, janitors, hairdressers, tailors, etc. always show respect to their superiors by using their appropriate titles. For instance, a pupil addresses his teacher as ja ?ustand, a patient addresses a doctor ja doktór, and a soldier addresses an army officer as ja beek without receiving any deferential designation in return. If, however, the inferior happens to be an older (married) person, he is addressed as bu and the name of his first-born child (if known), as a mark of respect to his age.

The exchange of titles between inferiors and superiors or between respected equals is of paramount importance in all ceremonial occasions such as weddings, funerals, meetings for the termination of disputes or the settlement of feuds.

III. Exchange Between Familiar Equals:-

A greater degree of intimacy requires the use of first names (FN) exchanged between close friends. After a very long period of contact between them, however, first names are replaced by a special set of forms as in the following table:-

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja bn ilhaláal</u>	<u>ja bn ilhaláal</u>	between very close friends
2. <u>ja bn il?awáadim</u>	<u>ja bn il?awáadim</u>	ditto
3. <u>ja Tawíil ilSúmur</u>	<u>ja Tawíil ilSúmar</u>	ditto
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja bint ilhaláal</u>	<u>ja bint ilhaláal</u>	between very close friends
2. <u>ja bint il?awáadim</u>	<u>ja bint il?awáadim</u>	ditto
3. <u>ja Tawíilt ilSúmur</u>	<u>ja Tawíilt ilSúmur</u>	ditto
4. <u>ja xáajse</u>	<u>ja xáajse</u>	between 'uneducated' close friends of the same age
5. <u>ja Séexa</u>	<u>ja Séexa</u>	ditto
FEMALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja bn ilhaláal</u>	<u>ja bint ilhaláal</u>	between two speakers marking a long-standing friendship and mutual respect
2. <u>ja bn ?awáadim</u>	<u>ja bint ?awáadim</u>	ditto
3. <u>ja Tawíil ilSúmur</u>	<u>ja Tawíilt ilSúmur</u>	ditto

Forms used between familiar equals are, perhaps, the most frequent of all forms, more importantly still, they are regularly employed in the expression of the following everyday "speech functions" blaming, requesting, persuading. Interlocutors on very familiar terms indicate a greater degree of flattery and "incremental" deference by the use of the forms shown below:-

I. T-R.

MALE	MALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja mawlaana ilqaziiz</u>	<u>ja mawlaana ilqaziiz</u>	between men of the same age
2. <u>ja siid ilqaarfiin</u>	<u>ja siid ilqaarfiin</u>	ditto
3. <u>ja qaziizi w qaribi</u>	<u>ja qaziizi w qaribi</u>	ditto
FEMALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja sitt ilqaarfaat</u>	<u>ja sitt ilqaarfaat</u>	woman to woman of the same age
2. <u>ja qaziizti w qaribti</u>	<u>ja qaziizti w qaribti</u>	ditto

II. T-R'

MALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>ja ?aanise</u>	<u>ja ?ustaañ</u>	a teacher to an unmarried colleague and vice versa
2. <u>ja sitt</u>	<u>ja ?ustaañ</u>	a teacher to a married colleague and vice versa

3. <u>ja m̄ara</u>	<u>ja z̄alame</u>	wife to husband and vice versa
4. <u>ja k̄urme</u> or <u>ja wliije</u>	<u>ja z̄alame</u>	between any <u>man</u> and <u>woman</u>
5. <u>ja bint</u>	<u>ja w̄alad</u>	boy to girl and vice versa

IV. Exchange Between Superiors and Inferiors:-

Unless the inferior is older than the superior, (in which case he is addressed as bu or ?umm + the name of his first-born son), he is usually addressed as ja w̄alad "boy" or ja bint "girl", as the case may be. As has already been indicated, it is incumbent upon the inferior to indicate respect to his superiors and not vice versa. The child observes the use of respectful forms at home and elsewhere. He is deliberately taught by his elders to show respect to others by saying ?akb̄arukum s̄innan ?as̄ḥ̄amukum ḡadran "An older person is of higher rank and priority". Physical manifestations of respect include, inter alia, shaking the addressee's hand with both hands, offering one's seat on a bus or in other public places, and, in the case of children, kissing the person's hand.

To sum up, then, rank difference as much as kinship difference supposes a social relation and affects address forms along the following dimensions of exchange (i) between respected equals (ii) between inferiors and superiors and (iii) between familiar equals.

Chapter Seven

Forms of Endearment and Affection

1. Criteria of Differentiation:

- Forms of endearment differ from other comparable forms (e.g. forms of abuse, cf. pp 150-1 ff.) in the following respects:-
- (a) they are obligatorily associated with first person pronominal suffixes (see below);
 - (b) certain forms are capable of modification by a derivational process of "diminution", (see below);
 - (c) Unlike forms of "Approval and Disapproval" (cf. pp15-27 ff.), forms of endearment do not undergo "comparativisation",
 - (d) they are characterised by lack of association with the vocative particle ja characteristic of comparable forms elsewhere.

2. Subdivision of Forms of Endearment:-

Forms of endearment may be divided into six semantic subsets:-

1. Forms Related to Body Parts: these may further be subdivided into two sub-sets in terms of their composition: simple or complex:

(a) Simple Forms

1. ṣéeni "my eye"
2. róohi "my soul"
3. qálibi "my heart"
4. muṣláaḡi "my lung"
5. kíhidti "my liver"
6. ṣáqlí "my mind"
7. ḡráḡi, "my arm"

2. Forms Related to Property:

1. ḡalḡali "my cattle"
2. máali "my possession"
3. múlki " " " "
4. béeti "my house"
5. qízzí "my pride"

3. Plant Names:

1. ḡannúunti "my daffodil"
2. wáridti "my rose"
3. qámḡi "my wheat"
4. bálahi "my dates"
5. ṣínabi "my grapes"
6. ḡáṣabi "my sugar-beg^{cone}t"

Complex Forms

- nuur ṣéeni "light of my eye"
ḡabíib róohi "darling of my soul"
ḡaṣííṣit qálibi "innermost of my heart"
ḡráḡi iljamín "my right arm"

4. Personal Names:

1. ḡarīisi or ḡarūusti "my bridegroom or bride"
2. ḡamīiri or ḡamīirti "my prince or princess"
3. māliki or mālikti "my king or queen"

5. "Heavenly" Bodies:

1. ḡanari "my moon"
2. nīdḡni "my star"

3. Implications of Use:-

Display of affection is a characteristic feature of the Jordanian family and as such forms of endearment are exclusively used between members of one's immediate kin and intimate fellows. Generally speaking, the use and choice of endearing forms is governed by the interrelationship of participants and the social situation (see below). As far as relationships are concerned, it is convenient to distinguish two classes: symmetrical and asymmetrical (for a definition of both classes, see pp.101-2) when the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee is symmetrical, exchange of endearing forms is reciprocal; that is both interlocutors exchange the same form of address and the exchange is therefore characterized as T-R. Contrariwise, when the social relation is asymmetrical, the use of endearing forms is non-reciprocal, that is, a speaker gives an endearing form but the addressee does not give one in return:

exchange is T-R'. By reference to the type of exchange distinguished, reciprocal forms may be shown as follows:-

3.1. T-R

MALE	FEMALE	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>róohi</u> "my soul"	<u>róohi</u>	Young married couples to indicate greater affection and closeness
2. <u>gálbi</u> "my heart"	<u>gálbi</u>	
3. <u>gámari</u> "my moon"	<u>gámari</u>	
4. <u>wáridti</u> "my rose"	<u>wáridti</u>	
MALE OR FEMALE	M. OR F.	INTERLOCUTORS
1. <u>halaáli</u> "my cattle"	<u>halaáli</u>	Elder brothers/sisters and younger ones; expressive of great sympathy during crises such as sickness and death.
2. <u>máali</u> "my wealth"	<u>máali</u>	
3. <u>zízzi</u> "my house"	<u>zízzi</u>	
4. <u>béeti</u> "my pride"	<u>béeti</u>	
5. <u>hajaáti</u> "my life"	<u>hajaáti</u>	

All other forms of endearment and affection (at 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) are employed by parents in addressing children below the age of seven years (pre-school age). They frequently occur in association with certain "ritual" forms of language characteristic of certain common situations of daily life, such as meeting, parting, eating, drinking and blessing. Of particular interest are the following:-

(a) Greeting Formulae:-

They include general formulae of friendship valid at any time of the day, blessings, and formulae specifically related to the time of the day:

(i) General Formulae of Friendliness:-

A greater degree of friendliness is shown by the use of an endearing form in association with the neutral kiif iihaal "How are you?" Examples are:

Grandparents to Child:

1. kiif háalak, ja fárxi "How are you, my chick?"
2. kiif háalak, ja múhri "How are you, my colt?"
3. kiif háalak, ja ɔraaf iljamín "How are you, my right arm?"
4. kiif háalak, ja níɔmi "How are you, my star?"

(ii) Blessings:

A greater degree of sympathy is indicated by the addition of an endearing form to "blessings" invoked for a child's health and welfare, e.g.

Parents to Child:

1. ?álla jihmíik, ja ɣaríisi "May God protect you, my bridegroom"
2. ?álla jírdá ɣaléek, ja ɣízzi "God bless you, my pride"
3. ?álla jihdíik, ja haláali "May God help you, my treasure"
4. ?álla jsálmak, ja wáridti "May God keep you, my rose"

(b) Formulae Associated with Drinking:-

When someone is offered a drink, the following formula is used after drinking between close friends or parents and children:-

1. Sahteen u laafje, ja galbi "Health and long life to you, my heart"
2. hani?an ja roohi "Happiness to you, my soul"

(c) Summoning:

A frequent context of occurrence for endearing forms is that of summoning, with which the form of walak is regularly associated. The use of walak in association with an endearing form is common between close friends or parents and children. Examples are:

(i) Between close friends:

1. walak, ja zalame, ta?aal hoon "Hey, man, come along"
2. walak, ja walad, ?itla?i barra "Hey, boy, Go away"

(ii) Between Parents and Children:

1. walak, ja ?ariisi ?a ?ee? bitliidd "Hey, my bridegroom, what are you looking at?"
2. walak ja gamari, inzil ?an ilkursi "Hey, my moon, get off the chair"

(d) Parting Formulae:

Friendly attitudes are indicated by the use of a form of endearment in conjunction with the forms ?alla ma?ak "God be with you". The formula is employed by elderly men or women in addressing

affectionately younger persons (e.g. grandparents to grandchildren) or it could be used between a host and a guest. Examples are:

(i) Grandparents to Grandchildren:-

1. ʔálla máʕak, ja nuur ʕéeni "God be with you, light of my eye"
2. ʔálla máʕak, ja ʕabíib róoʕi "God be with you, darling of my soul"

(ii) Host to Guest:

1. ʔálla máʕak, ja ʕazíizi "God be with you, my friend"
2. ʔálla máʕak, ja xúuj "God be with you, brother"

3.2. The non-reciprocal use of forms of endearment and affection is restricted to asymmetrical relationships such as those between teachers and pupils, doctors and patients, police officers and "the injured" (e.g. in an accident):- the most common forms employed by the "senior" member in a given relationship are as follows:

1. ja ʕaráam "poor thing", which is employed by police officers or doctors in addressing sympathetically an injured or ill used person;
2. ja maskiin, which could be used in addressing affectionately a person whose rights have been infringed.
3. ja ʕaserti "my distress", employed by women among themselves and is expressive of strong feelings of sympathy and affection towards

a sick or a badly injured person.

4. "Diminutive" Forms:

A greater degree of intimacy and "emotional" involvement is implied when the following diminutive forms are employed by parents or grandparents in addressing children:

1. ḡwéenaati "my eyes"
2. qléebi "my heart"
3. m'héerti "my colt"
4. sxéelti "my lamb"
5. qméeri "my moon"

To sum up, use of endearing and affectionate forms rests primarily upon the emotional drive for sympathy, affection and inter-communion. There are two principal kinds of use: reciprocal and non-reciprocal according to the kind of relationship between interlocutors. Also, endearing forms regularly occur in association with certain "ritual" forms of language characteristic of certain situations of daily life and are one means of avoiding an unfeeling stereotyping of these ritualistic forms.

Unlike forms of "Approval and Disapproval", forms of endearment and affection do not undergo "comparativisation".

Chapter Eight

Terms of "Approval and Disapproval"

1. Criteria of Differentiation:-

On the basis of extra-linguistic and linguistic criteria, it is possible to set up a twofold distinction of address forms which correlate with a parallel distinction of two well-defined and clearly differential modes of behaviour, viz. the socially approved and the socially proscribed. The two types distinguished are culturally determined in that they are conventionally referred to as madāh "approval" and ḥamm "disapproval" and the distinction in terminology is therefore retained here.

1.1. "Extra-linguistic" Criteria:-

On the non-verbal level, forms of disapproval are characterised by the regular and simultaneous association with visible manual gestures and recognizable facial expressions which distinguish them from those associated with forms of approval. Gestures and facial expressions used in association with forms of "disapproval" are as follows:

Either hand is extended a little in front of the body at the breast level. The index finger is so tightly held against the ball of the thumb so that the middle finger is "half-stretched"

and the little finger is fully extended. The hand is then jerked up and down slightly. The lower jaw is pushed forward and the lower lip is dropped to expose the lower teeth.

Gestures associated with "approval" are varied and numerous. They range from simple smiles in which the lips are drawn slightly back to manual gestures in which all fingers of either hand are held tightly upwards at the breast level. Sometimes, especially when addressing children, an appropriate form of soothing manual caress especially to the child's head or cheeks is also used.

1.2. Formal Linguistic Criteria:-

"Disapproval" forms are distinguished from "approval" forms in three important respects:

(i) they associate with baláaš "stop (being)....., eg., baláaš wáldane "stop being a child", baláaš zanáaxa "stop being disgusting", baláaš dafaáše "stop being rough"

(ii) they associate with the particle ?ámma, e.g. ?ámma kalb "What a dog!", ?ámma šiTáan "What a devil!", ?ámma mad3núun "What a lunatic!", ?ámma ?áhbai "What a nut!"

(iii) certain members of the nominal class, used as forms of address, are associated with the marks of comparison elsewhere (cf. pp. 117-18ff.) solely characteristic of the adjective class. This set of forms is

semantically restricted to animal names and is exhaustively listed as follows:-

<u>h</u> maar "donkey"	<u>d</u> ʒaḥḡ "ass"
báGal "mule"	<u>k</u> alb "dog"
<u>t</u> ees "he-goat"	<u>w</u> aṭwaṭ "bat"
<u>n</u> isnáas "genet"	<u>x</u> anzíir "pig"

The "comparative" forms of these are: ʔáḥmar, ʔábGal, ʔátjas, ʔanásnas, ʔádḡhaḡ ʔaklab, ʔawáṭwaṭ, ʔaxánzar respectively.

In contrast with the above, comparable forms which are used as "terms of endearment" do not undergo "comparativisation". These are: ḡaSfúur "bird", Gazáal "deer", faḥd "cheetah" nimar "tiger".

2. Comparison of "approval and disapproval forms with other address forms:

Terms of "approval and disapproval" may best be understood by considering the relationships they accrete with other sets of forms, for example those indicating occupation, kinship, personal names and titles.

Forms of "approval and disapproval" are part of the vocative "piece" which may be abstracted as a separate sentence function partly because of the numerous and varied forms of address which are regularly associated with its formal marker ja and

partly because of its ability to occur by itself as an independent sentence.

3. Structure of the Vocative Syntagm:-

The constituency of the vocative syntagm is describable in terms of the different classes of forms associated with the vocative particle ja. These are as follows:-

A. Nominals, subdivided as shown:-

1. Generic e.g. ja mára "woman" ja zálame "man", ja Šabb "young man", ja xtjaar "old man", ja Tafal "child"

2. kinship e.g. ja xúuj "my brother", ja sámmi "my uncle" ja xáali "my maternal uncle".

3. Occupational e.g. ja nad3d3áar "carpenter", ja harráaQ, "ploughman".

4. Personal e.g. ja mhámmad "Mohammad", ja salmáan "Salmaan" ja sáami "Saami"

B. Constructs, subdivided as follows:-

1. ja + Adjective + Nominal e.g. ja kbiir d3d3áxxa "You snob", ja kbiir ilbaTan "You glutton".

2. ja + ?umm or ?abb + personal noun, e.g. ja ?umm mhámmad "Mohammad's mother", ja ?ábu sáali "Ali's father"

C. Adjectivals, again subdivided as follows:-

1. Participial e.g. múhtarana "respectful", mitmáddin "civilised"

mad3núun "fool", maħmúum "feverish" mahmúum "worried", qalqánn
"concerned" mufiid "useful"

2. Phonaesthetic e.g. xámxam "gluttonous" láglaq "outspoken"
wáswas "gossip", málmal "slow-coach"

3. Colour terms e.g. ?áSfar "yellow", ?áħmar "red", ?áxDar "green"

4. Qualitative e.g. ħanúun "kind", la?íim "mean", ħáki "intelligent",
bišis "ugly", zGiir "small" kblir "big", Tawíil "tall", wáasiš "wide".

D. Post-nominal relative modifier e.g. ja mħammad jállí maa
btísmæš "hey, Mohammad, you aren't listening" ((lit.) O Mohammad,
O who aren't listening").

Theoretically, the total number of the vocative ja
"pieces" in one syntagm is unlimited but, practically, it appears
that the maximum number of a combination of vocative "pieces" in
one syntagm does not exceed three.

The most frequent type of structural pattern is as
follows:

ja + Indefinite Nominal + ja + Construct + Postnominal Relative
Modifier. Examples are:-

1. ja wálad + ja malšúun ilwaaldéen + jállí maa htíštħi "Boy
whose parents are cursed and who is not shy".

2. ja bint ja xafišt iddam jállí htíšħabi "Girl, sweet and
lovely, and who is playing".

2.1.1. Differences between "Approval and Disapproval" forms and other comparable forms:-

"Approval and disapproval" forms are predominantly adjectivals including phonaesthetic, participial and colour adjectives and constructs in which the first juxtaposed form is an adjective and the following form is a nominal (definite or indefinite).

On grounds of substitutability alone, it would seem plausible *prima facie* to group all forms following ja into a single class. As has already been shown, all forms belonging to different grammatical classes can substitute for one another in the "place" following ja. It may be added that all forms associable with ja are regularly relatable to the nominal sentence pattern in which the subject is an independent pronoun of the 2nd person, e.g.,

1. ?ínte wálad "You are a boy"
2. ?ínte xámxam "You are gluttonous"
3. ?ínte báarid "You are cold"
4. ?ínte nad3d3áar "You are a carpenter"
5. ?ínte Saíid háðð "You are lucky"

A major subdivision of forms is, however, necessary between those which occur with ?ák0ar min "more than" or ?agáall min "less than" and those which occur in comparable contexts in the

morphological pattern ?accac

TYPE I

1. Passive Participles: mitmáddin "civilised", mitwáhhis, "uncivilised", múhtaram "respectful", maṣgúul "reasonable", muhimm "important", mumíll "boring", múratif "interesting", mSáddi "rusty"
2. Adjectives of the phonological pattern caaccaac:
taṣbáan "tired", ṣabṣáan "full up", ṣaṭṣáan "thirsty" talfáan "faulty"
3. Animal names: fahd "cheetah", wáawi "jackal", Qáṣlab "fox", sammúur "weasle", qúnfuḏ "hedgehog", Graab "crow".
4. Certain adjectives of the pattern caaclic, e.g.
Sahíih "correct", wahíid "alone", dṣaríih "hurt", malíih "good"

TYPE II

1. Phonaesthetic forms which are formally distinguishable as a separate reduplicative sub-class of adjectives in which the first syllable is repeated, e.g. xáxam "glutton", láglaḡ "talkative", málmal "slowcoach", wáswas "gossip", dábdab "a person stamping heavily with feet on ground", GámGam "grumbler". Comparative forms are derived by the prefixation of ?a- e.g., ?axámxam "more gluttonous", ?aláḡlaḡ "more talkative", ?amálmal "a bigger slowcoach" etc.

3. Names of Animals: kalb "dog", ħmaar "donkey", baGəl "mule" tees "he-goat". The comparative forms of these are: ʔaklab, ʔaħmar, ʔabGal and ʔatjas respectively.

3. All other adjectives indicating intellectual, emotional and social characteristics, e.g. šiniš "ugly", baxiil "stingy", nDiif "clean", faḏiit "smashing", raaʔiit "super", raħiim "kind", xadzuul "shy", xišin "tough", šaaqil "sensible", ʔamiin "trustworthy" ħanuun "sympathetic", gawi "strong", Gabi "stupid", daniiʔ "disdainful", šiliif "arrogant", šifir "scruffy", ziifir "sharp-tongued".

ʔakθar min contrasts with ʔagall min in pre-participial positions and both are in complementary distribution with the comparative form of the adjective.

2.1.2. Comparative and Intensifying Relationships Characteristic of "Approval-Disapproval" Forms:-

It is of importance to point out that in no case is it possible for other address forms (e.g. kinship terms, occupational names, animal names of non-pejorative implication) to enter the networks (see below) of comparative and intensifying relationships characteristic of forms of "approval and disapproval". Since constraints of this kind serve to distinguish these forms as a

separate class, they are considered below:-

2.1.3. The three-term Comparative System:-

1. Positive: ?ínte ḡáaqil "You are sensible"
2. Comparative: ?ínte ?áḡqal mínni "You are more sensible than me"
3. Superlative: ?ínte ?áḡqal wáaḥad "You are most sensible"

The generalized structures for these may be represented as follows:-

1. ProN + Adj
2. ProN + Adjcomp + min + ProN
3. ProN + Adjcomp + waaḥad

(ProN = Pronominal or Nominal; Adj = Adjectival;
Comp = Comparative)

Constructions in which the adjective "place" is filled by any member of Type I (i.e. participials, adjectives of the phonological pattern caccaac, or animal names) are shown as follows:-

1. Positive: ?ínte mitmáddin "You are civilised"
2. Comparative: ?ínte mitmáddin ?ákḡar (?aqáall) mínni
"you are more (or less) civilised than me".
3. Superlative: ?ínte mitmáddin ?ákḡar (or ?aqáall) wáaḥad
"You are the most (or the least) civilised"

The generalised structures for these may be indicated as follows:-

1. ProN + Adj. part.
2. ProN + Adj. part. + ?ákθar (?agáll) + min + Nominal or pronominal suffix.
3. ProN + Adj. part. + ?ákθar (?agáll) + wáahad

(ProN = Pronominal; Adj. part. = Participial Adjective)

Comparative structures are extensible to include terms of a threefold system of "intensification" whose terms may be labelled as follows:-

(i) 1st degree of "intensification" (ii) 2nd degree of "intensification" and (iii) 3rd degree of "intensification". These are as follows:-

- (i) 1st degree: ?ínte min ?áiqal maa júmkin "You are as sensible as you can possibly be".
- (ii) 2nd degree: ?ínte min ?áiqal sláale "You come from the most sensible lineage".
- (iii) 3rd degree: ?ínte ?áiqal min ?ajj wáahad θáani "You are more sensible than anyone else".

The generalised structures for these are as follows:-

- (i) ProN + min + Adj. comp + maa júmkin
- (ii) ProN + min + Adj. comp + N + (a very restricted class whose members are innáas "people", iššabáab "the young people", liwláad "the boys", ilbanáat "the girls".
- (iii) ProN + Adj. comp + min ?ajj wáahad θáani

Constructions in which the adjective "place" above is

filled by a member of Type I may be exemplified as follows:-

(i) 1st degree: ?ínte mitmáddin kθiir "You are very civilised"

(ii) 2nd degree: ?ínte min ?ákθar innáas tamáddun "You are one of the most civilised"

(iii) 3rd degree: ?ínte mitmáddin ?ákθar min ?ajj wáħħad θáni
"You are more civilised than anybody else"

The generalised structures of these are as follows:-

(i) ProN + Adj. part. + Adv.

(ii) ProN + min ?ákθar + N + Nv

(iii) ProN + Adj. part. + ?ákθar min ?ajj wáħħad θáni

(Nv = Verbal Noun; Adv. = Adverb)

(In the above structures, formal exponents of "intensification" are underlined, and other elements are indicated by Adj. comp. or Adj. part. as the case may be).

To sum up, forms of "approval and disapproval" may be subdivided into two major types:

Type I comprises passive participial forms, certain forms indicating animal names, and certain adjectives of the phonological pattern caccic.

Type II comprises adjectives of colour, certain animal names of "pejorative reference", phonaesthetic forms, and all other adjectives indicating personal traits.

The forms of "approval-disapproval" are differentiated from comparable forms by their functioning in systems of comparison and intensification each of which contains three terms which may be shown diagrammatically as follows:-

I. The Comparative System

Structural Formulae

- | | | |
|-------------|----|---|
| positive | 1. | Pron + Adj |
| comparative | 2. | (a) ProN + Adj + <u>min</u> + ProN
(b) ProN + Adj. part + <u>?ákθar</u> (<u>?agáll</u>) + <u>min</u> + ProN |
| superlative | 3. | (a) ProN + Adj. comp + <u>min</u> + <u>wáahad</u>
(b) ProN + Adj. part + <u>?akθar</u> (<u>?agáll</u>) + <u>wáahad</u> |

II. The Intensification System

- | | | |
|------------|----|---|
| 1st degree | 1. | (a) ProN + <u>min</u> + Adj. comp + <u>maa</u> + <u>jumkin</u>
(b) ProN + Adj. part + Adv. |
| 2nd degree | 2. | (a) ProN + <u>min</u> <u>?ákθar</u> + ProN + Nv
(b) ProN + <u>min</u> + Adj. comp + ProN |
| 3rd degree | 3. | (a) ProN + Adj. part + <u>?ákθarmin</u> <u>?ajj</u> <u>wáahad</u> <u>θáani</u>
(b) ProN + Adj. com + <u>min</u> <u>?ajj</u> <u>wáahad</u> <u>θáani</u> |

Chapter Nine

"Meliorative-Pejorative" Forms

1. Subdivision of Sentences:-

Sentences belonging to the category "Meliorative-Pejorative" may be divided into two major types according to whether these sentences either include forms of "meliorative-pejorative" implication which are explicitly differentiated for person, gender and number as well as those which are not. The following examples represent the first type and are divided into two sub-sets according to whether the sentences chosen are meliorative (Set A) or pejorative (Set B).

1.1. Sentences including forms differentiated for Number and Gender: -

Set (A): Kellorative	Set (B): Pejorative
I.	
1. <u>þín</u> te <u>þanún</u> "You are kind"	1. <u>þín</u> te <u>laþím</u> "You are mean"
2. <u>þín</u> te <u>ðjalúð</u> "You are patient"	2. <u>þín</u> te <u>saxlíf</u> "You are crazy"
3. <u>þín</u> te <u>Tájjib</u> "You are good-hearted"	3. <u>þín</u> te <u>sáflil</u> "You are a rascal"
4. <u>þín</u> te <u>laþíf</u> "You are considerate"	4. <u>þín</u> te <u>danlíf</u> "You are disdainful"
5. <u>þín</u> te <u>maskín</u> "You are poor"	5. <u>þín</u> te <u>halld</u> "You are dull"
II.	
1. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitþámmal</u> "You can put up with"	1. <u>þín</u> te <u>bidðgánnin</u> "You drive one mad"
2. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitþállam</u> "You suffer"	2. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitþárvad</u> "you do complain so"
3. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitþássar</u> "You long for"	3. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitþárh</u> "You get on one's nerves"
4. <u>þín</u> te <u>bidðgáamil</u> "You try to be polite"	4. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitkásslir</u> "You sneer"
5. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitáásir</u> "You entertain"	5. <u>þín</u> te <u>blitxábað</u> "You are 'foxy'"

(A) indicate a familiarity with the other speaker which is said to be friendly, while (B) are spontaneous expressions of hostility. They are used by members of a family between themselves and also between kinsmen of the same age group. Under both A and B the forms following independent pronominals are differentiated for gender and number; agreement obtains between pronominals (3rd pers. fem. sing.) and following verbals.

2.2. Sentences Including forms Undifferentiated for Number and Gender:

Sentences of this type consist of Yu + hal + a form belonging to a sub-class of nominals of the pattern (cacaacc) or a "construct" (see below). The important distinguishing features separating "pejorative" elements from their "meliorative" counterparts are as follows:-

- (i) "meliorative" elements are separated from the rest of the syntagm of which they form part by an obligatory pause, absent in the case of "pejoratives".
- (ii) accompanying nominals are indefinite in the case of "melioratives", definite (sc. preceded by hal) in the case of "pejoratives". Thus, in Set A below, a pause (H) and a glottal stop [ʔ] interrupt the sequence of elements, while following vocalic elements in polysyllabic stretches are always associated with "expressive"

.lengthening. The glottal closure associated with ? is not audibly released. These features are absent from examples under B.

Set (A): Meliorative	Set (B): Pejorative
I. 1. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>xíffit damm</u> "How sharp-witted"	1. <u>Šu Gaqáalit haddámm</u> "How thick-skinned!"
2. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>xíffit mriwwe</u> "How skilful"	2. <u>Šu Gaqáalit halimriwwe</u> "What laziness!"
3. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>safáadit baxət</u> "What good omen!"	3. <u>Šu kúθrit halGálabe</u> "How naughty!"
4. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>Túulit baal</u> "How considerate!"	4. <u>Šu tafásat halbáxt</u> "How ill-omen!"
5. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>Túulit rooḥ</u> "How patient!"	5. <u>Šu laśánit halhírsi</u> "How impudent!"
II. 1. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>šATáara</u> "How clever!"	1. <u>Šu halbaśáasa</u> "How ugly!"
2. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>ḥaláawe</u> "What beauty!"	2. <u>Šu halla?áame</u> "How mean!"
3. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>laTáafe</u> "How kind!"	3. <u>Šu halwasáaxa</u> "How nasty!"
4. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>naDáafe</u> "What cleanliness!"	4. <u>Šu halḥagáara</u> "What meanness!"
5. <u>Šu?</u> + <u>šadʒáana</u> "How brave!"	5. <u>Šu harraśáne</u> "What cowardice!"

It will be seen that both sets A and B are subdivided into two sub-divisions I and II. The subdivision is made on the basis of typological difference between the different elements associated with ʒu? and ʒu. In Set AI, the elements following + belong to the grammatical class known as "the construct", here comprising two indefinite nominals; in BI, the construct is still concerned but it is definite in form and the second nominal element is also preceded by the demonstrative element ha-. It is notable that in AII -1-5 and BII -1-5 the nominal following the particles ʒu? and ʒu is most commonly of the pattern *cacaaca*.

Both sets of sentences A and B can be either used in reference to a third party or in direct address. They can be used by and to men or women of any age; to one person or more than one; in praesentia or in absentia. Differences in the number of participants or in their sex are irrelevant in the contexts in which these types of sentences are appropriate. There are no formal indications of gender-number distinction in contradistinction to exclamatory sentences derived from declarative sentences (see below).

3. Interrelation with Exclamatory Sentences:-

Exclamatory sentences are formally marked by the presence of utterance-imitiator jaa bajj. The composition of an exclamatory

sentence may be described as one involving jaa bajj followed by one of the particles of "intensification" ma(a) and su. ma(a) and su occur in mutually exclusive positions in that the former colligates with a following (comparative) adjectival almost invariably of the structure ?accac, e.g. ?a^hsan "better", whereas su is always associated with a following verbal or nominal, e.g. ja bajj su btith^harwad "How often you complain!" ja bajj su maskiin "poor fellow". On the basis of this structural difference in the distribution of particles, it is reasonable to recognise two subtypes of sentence patterns exemplified by the following:-

TYPE A.

1. jaa bajj ma (?a) h^hannak! "How kind you are!"
2. jaa bajj ma (?a^h) d3ladak! "How patient you are!"
3. jaa bajj ma (?a^h) l?amak! "How mean you are!"
4. jaa bajj ma (?a^h) sxa^hfak! "How silly you are!"
5. jaa bajj ma (?a^h) bladak! "How dull you are!"

TYPE B.

1. jaa bajj su btith^hammal! "How much you put up with!"
2. jaa bajj su btit?állam! "How sad you must feel!"
3. jaa bajj su bid3d3ánnin! "How you drive me mad!"
4. jaa bajj su btith^harwad! "How often you complain!"
5. jaa bajj su btit^har! "How often you get on one's nerves!"

3.1. Relationship to Declarative Sentences:-

Both types A and B are transformationally related to sentences A I-II and B I-II. (p.129). In transformational terms, sentences of type A are derived by the application of an obligatory transformational rule (see below) to the strings underlying declarative nominal sentences exemplified by A-I and B-I; similarly, type B sentences by an obligatory transformational rule operating on verbal sentences exemplified by A-II and B-II. Thus:

Given the phrase structure rules which specify the underlying strings of simple declarative sentences (verbal and nominal), so that:-

1. Sentence \rightarrow Noun Phrase + Predicate Phrase
2. Noun Phrase \rightarrow $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Nominal} \\ \text{Pronominal} \end{array} \right\}$
3. Pronominal \rightarrow ?inte, huu etc.
4. Nominal \rightarrow ilwálad, Ahmad etc.
5. Predicate Phrase \rightarrow $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Adjectival} \\ \text{Verbal} \end{array} \right\}$
6. Adjectival \rightarrow hanúun, d3aluúdetc.
7. Verbal \rightarrow Prefix + verb
8. Prefix \rightarrow b-
9. Verb \rightarrow tḥámmal, d3ánnin etc.

Where \longrightarrow is to be read "re-write as", $\{ \quad \}$ as "any one of the elements included in the brackets and \longrightarrow (see below) is to be read as "the ordered list of elements on the left is transformed by the rule into the ordered list of elements on the right, one can then apply:-

(i) Transformational rule (Intensification); henceforth T-rule (i):-
 Noun Phrase + Adjective \longrightarrow jaa bajj + Particle ma Int.(ensification
 + Adjective Int.(ensification + Pronominal Suffix (2nd. pers. masc.))

This rule transforms, e.g. ?ínte + hannún "You are kind"
 \longrightarrow jaa bajj + ma + hannak "How kind you are!"

(ii) Transformational rule (Intensification); henceforth T-rule (ii):
 Noun Phrase + Prefix + Verb Imp.(erfect) \implies jaa bajj + Particle su
 + b + Verb Imp(erfect).

This rule transforms ?ínte bid3d3ánnin into jaa bajj + su + bid3d3ánnin.

It will be seen that T-rule (i) obligatorily deletes the pronominal ?ínte, adds jaa bajj + ma and a pronominal suffix to the adjective. T-rule (ii), on the other hand, deletes the pronominal ?ínte and adds su. Single forms, which may stand independently without a preceding pronoun, (see below) can also be transformed by the application of T-rule (ii). Thus:

1. maskíin → jaa bajj su maskíin "How poor you are!"
2. haziin → jaa bajj su haziin "How distressed you are!"
3. múdzirne → jaa bajj su múdzirne "How criminal you are!"
4. mahduud → jaa bajj su mahduud "How worn-out you are!"
5. ḡaall → jaa bajj su ḡaall "How humiliated you are!"

The rules formulated above are fragmentary, since they simply account for these particular types of sentences and sentence relationships and no others. Since both types of sentences A and B are transformationally related to declarative sentences, they may be called exclamatory declarative sentences. Their meanings are mainly "emotive", relating for example to wonder, joy, grief and indignation.

The frequency of occurrence of exclamatory sentences is contingent upon style and type of discourse governing their use in preference to the declarative sentences to which they are related.

Verbal exchanges in which these types of sentences figure most frequently are between intimates.

Further "intensification" may be realized by applying transformational rule (iii) (see below) which combines elements of two strings of declarative verbal or nominal sentences. Thus, given

the phrase structure rules specifying declarative verbal as well as nominal sentences (see above), T-rule (iii) would convert the substructure of, say, ?ínte ḥanún and ?ínte karím to the form: min kúṭur ma ?ínte ḥanún w min kúṭur ma ?ínte karím. This is done first by adding the element w and then by adding min kúṭur ma to both sentences. T-rule (iii) may be represented as follows:-
 Noun Phrase + Adjective + Noun Phrase + Adjective \longrightarrow min kúṭur ma + Noun Phrase + Adjective + w + min kúṭur ma + Noun Phrase + Adjective. The following sentences may combine by applying T-rule (iii):-

1. ?ínte ṣáagil + ?ínte laṭ'íf \longrightarrow min kúṭur ma ?ínte ṣáagil w min kúṭur ma ?ínte laṭ'íf "Because you are very sensible and because you are very kind".
2. ?ínte ṣáaṭir + ?ínte ?amíih \longrightarrow min kúṭur ma ?ínte ṣáaṭir w min kúṭur ma ?ínte ?amíin "Because you are very clever and because you are very honest".
3. ?ínte saxíif + ?ínte la?íim \longrightarrow min kúṭur ma ?ínte saxíif w min kúṭur ma ?ínte la?íim "Because you are very silly and because you are very mean".
4. ?ínte Tájjib + ?ínte bašúuš \longrightarrow min kúṭur ma ?ínte Tájjib w min kúṭur ma ?ínte bašúuš "Because you are very kind and because you are very cheerful".

3.2. Relationship to "Reduplicative-declarative" sentences:-

Two "meliorative" or "pejorative" forms of address may combine giving rise to what may be called "reduplicative-declarative" sentences (see below). Such combinations are particularly frequent in women's speech when addressing or "referring" to male or female children or very close friends. The special function of these sentences is that they serve to assert further the truth of the "message" and thereby imply the speaker's emotional involvement in it. They involve the juxtaposition of two identical nominals, the first definite and the second indefinite, e.g.:

Set A: "Meliorative"	Set B: Pejorative
1. <u>ilʔaliif</u> <u>ʔaliif</u> "A pet is a pet"	<u>ilʕafriit</u> <u>ʕafriit</u> "A menace is a menace"
2. <u>ilbariiʔ</u> <u>bariiʔ</u> "An innocent is an innocent"	<u>issáafil</u> <u>sáafil</u> "A rascal is a rascal"
3. <u>ilʔamiin</u> <u>ʔamiin</u> "An honest man is an honest man"	<u>ilʔáhbál</u> <u>ʔáhbál</u> "A nut is a nut"
4. <u>ilxabiir</u> <u>xabiir</u> "An expert is an expert"	<u>ildʒabáan</u> <u>dʒabáan</u> "A timid man is a timid man"
5. <u>ilʔhanúun</u> <u>ʔhanúun</u> "A kind man is a kind man"	<u>ilmadʒnúun</u> <u>madʒnúun</u> "An idiot is an idiot"

Both sets (A) and (B) are distinguished from comparable (nominal) sentences at T -1-5 of both sets (A) and (B) by the fact that they cannot be negated. Nor do they admit expansion by interrogative particles characteristic of comparable nominal sentences. cf.

1. ʔinte miʃ kasláan : * ilkasláan miʃ kasláan
2. miin kasláan "who : * miin ilkasláan kasláan
is lazy"

from teachers, parents, doctors and government officials, but not from social equals or inferiors. cf. (relevant pron. forms are doubly underlined):-

Teacher to Pupil	Teacher to Teacher
Greater friendliness	Normal
1. <u>?ihna</u> <u>miš</u> <u>šálna</u> <u>bašD</u> <u>iljóom</u> "we are not ourselves today"	<u>?ínte</u> <u>miš</u> <u>šálna</u> <u>bašD</u> <u>iljóom</u> "you are not yourself today"
2. <u>?ihna</u> <u>su</u> <u>?akálna</u> <u>iljóom</u> "What have we eaten today?"	<u>?ínte</u> <u>su</u> <u>?akált</u> <u>iljóom</u> "What have you eaten today?"

C. Replacement of 2nd pers. pron. by 3rd pers. pron.:-

Third person pronominal forms may be used in direct address in place of 2nd pers. pron. forms in three important situations:-

(i) Between Adults and Children:-

A greater degree of affection is shown in the examples below by the replacement of 2nd pers. pron. forms by 3rd pers. pron. forms:- cf.

4. "Emphasis" Characteristic of Exclamatory Sentences:-

Exclamatory sentences are distinguishable in part from other sentence types (see pp.133-35), by the presence in initial position of the piece jaa bajj directly followed by ku or ma (For difference in the distribution of particles, see pp.134-5). They are here discussed because they largely correlate with certain common situations relevant to modes of address (see below). In particular, exclamatory sentences introduced by jaa bajj serve to indicate the following "attitudes":

(i) Friendly attitudes between good friends and equals, e.g.

jaa bajj ma ?aTjabak "How kind of you"; jaa bajj ma ?a⁺sanak
"How nice of you".

(ii) When the above sentences are used in addressing a superior, the implication is that of "flattery" and excessive deference.

(iii) annoyance or impatience with children or pupils is shown

by e.g. jaa bajj ma ?abradak "how cold you are!"

jaa bajj ma ?abTa⁺ak "How slow you are!"

Greater friendliness, flattery or annoyance is, however, expressed by:

(i) repetition e.g. of jaa bajj immediately after the exclamatory sentence, e.g.

1. jaa bajj ma ʔáʔTarak! jaa bajj! jaa bajj!
2. jaa bajj ma ʔáʔTjabak! jaa bajj! jaa bajj!
3. jaa bajj ma ʔáʔbradak! jaa bajj! jaa bajj!
4. jaa bajj ma ʔáʔbaʔqk! jaa bajj! jaa bajj!

(ii) lengthening vocalic as well as consonantal segments of the constituent syllables of the sentence. The vocalic and consonantal segments of exclamatory sentences are given considerably greater length, than their counterparts in "non-emphatic" exclamatory sentences. Three sentences occurring in the corpus were chosen for instrumental analysis in support of perceptual judgment as to the relative lengths of comparable segments (see Appendix II)

Chapter Ten

IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

1. Types of Imperative Sentences:-

Basically, there are three types of imperative sentences distinguished by (i) their form and (ii) their occurrence in situations. Formal distinction is primarily based on the kind of verbal element included in the structure of each sentence-type and on extensions thereof. Taking the formal variation of a given verb-form, say háka "he talked", the three types are shown below, in which the verb-form is doubly underlined and optional elements of possible extensions are included within brackets:-

Type I

.....jíhki kílme "to say a word"

(a) Singular

1. kull wáahad jíhki kílme "Everybody is to say a word"
2. ?ajj wáahad jíhki kílme "Anybody say a word"
3. wála wáahad jíhki kílme "Nobody say a word"
4. wáahad jíhki kílme "Someone say a word"

(b) Plural

1. θneen jíhku kílme "Any two say a word"
2. θaláaθe jíhku kílme "Any three say a word"

Type II

..... ʔíhki kílme "Say a word"

(a) Singular

1. ʔínte ʔíhki kílme "You say a word"
2. ʔínte (ja mħammad) (ja bu dʒurzáaje xádra) ʔíhki kílme
"You Mohammad in the green sweater say a word"
3. ʔin kaan hawáak ʔínte ja mħammad ja bu dʒurzáaje xádra,
ʔíhki kílme "If you are interested, you Mohammad in the
green sweater, say a word"

(b) Plural

1. ʔíntu ʔʔneen ʔíhku kílme "You two say a word"
2. ʔíntu ʔʔaláaʔ ʔíhku kílme "You three say a word"

Type III

..... tíhki kílme "to say a word"

1. hálla tíhki kílme "Please say a word"
2. mumkin tíhki kílme "Won't you say a word"
3. btísmal maʒrúuf tíhki kílme "Would you care to say a word"
4. min ʒaan (ilmásih, álla, sína lʒádra) tíhki kílme
"For the sake of (the Messiah, Our Lady Mary) say a word"
5. wálla Geer tíhki kílme "You will say a word, won't you"
6. ja rabb tíhki kílme "I wish you would say a word"

The types shown above may be generalized as follows:

1.1. Type I

Pron_{Ind}/Quan_{Ind} + Vj + N

1.2. Type II

(Vocative Extension) + V_{imp} + N

1.3. Type III

(a) (Differential Extension) + V reg. + N

(b) wálla Geer + V reg. + N

(c) ja rabb + V reg. + N

(Where Pron_{Ind} = Indefinite Pronoun; Quan_{Ind} = Indefinite Quantifier (see (ii) below); Vj = Imperfect Verb-form phonologically marked in this context by an initial palatal semi-vowel /j/; imperfect verb-forms of types II and III are impossible (* kull wáahad ?íhki kílme and * kul wáahad tíhki kílme); N = Nominal; V_{imp} = Imperative verb-form; V_{reg} = a sub-class of an imperfect verb-form differentiated here by the sole occurrence of the initial denti-alveolar plosive /t/ following any of the element with which the verbal element is expandable, (also see (iii) below).

Points of contrast among the three types are as follows:-

(i) Indefinite pronouns preceding the verb-form at I (a), (b) are inomissible in contrast with the vocative noun or pronoun phrases (at II (a), (b)) which are freely deletable in what is otherwise

a complete sentence;

(ii) Indefinite pronouns and other quantifiers (e.g. ἄλλοι "two", οἱ τρεῖς "three" etc.) are used when the speaker is addressing without specifying a particular person or persons in contrast with vocative pronoun phrases at (II, b 1, 2), which are used when the speaker wants to draw attention to a particular person or persons addressed;

(iii) the essential point of contrast between sentences of type I, II and III is the inclusion of verb-forms which occur in mutually exclusive positions such that the occurrence of one verb-form subsumes the kind of elements with which that verb-form is extensible. For example, the imperfect verb-form ἴσκει at (I a b) is only expandable by either (i) an indefinite pronoun (see exx. (I(a)1-4) or (ii) an indefinite quantifier (exx. I(b)1-2). The imperative verb-form ἴσκει (at II a-b), on the other hand, is regularly extensible by (i) a vocative pronoun or noun phrases or by (ii) definite quantifiers (at II (b)1-2). Also, the verb-form of request, recognized here because it does not occur elsewhere in the sentences listed above, is regularly extended by "deferential or polite" forms shown at (III, 1-4).

Contrastive relationships between the imperative verb-form and the whole paradigm of the imperfect verb may be shown as follows:-

	<u>Imperfect</u>	<u>Imperative</u>
1st pers.	?a - <u>ruuh</u> "Shall I go?"	-
2nd pers. masc.	t - <u>ruuh</u> "Will you go?"	<u>ruuh</u> "Go"
2nd pers. fem.	t - <u>ruuhi</u> "Will you go?"	<u>ruuhi</u> "Go"
3rd pers. masc.	j - <u>ruuh</u> "Will he go?"	-
3rd pers. fem.	t - <u>ruuh</u> "Will she go?"	-
1st pers.	n - <u>ruuh</u> "Shall I go?"	-
2nd pers. masc.	t - <u>ruuhu</u> "Will you go?"	<u>ruuhu</u> "Go"
2nd pers. fem.	t - <u>ruuhin</u> "Will you go?"	<u>ruuhin</u> "Go"
3rd pers. masc.	j - <u>ruuhu</u> "Will they go?"	-
3rd pers. fem.	j - <u>ruuhin</u> "Will they go?"	-

2. Situational Context:

Situations in which imperative sentences occur range from politeness or friendliness to brusqueness depending inter alia on the relative social relationships between interlocutors (see pp.150-1ff), and the degree of intimacy or affection involved.

Greater politeness is marked by the addition of balla "please", mumkin "Won't", btimal ma'ruuf "Would you care . . ." The expressions min šaan alla l ilmasih etc. at (III -3-4) are used to cajole and are not appropriate. Brusqueness (e.g. to

servants or pupils) on the other hand, is usually indicated by the imperative verb-form alone in the absence of forms characteristic of "polite requests" (e.g. as in type III) or it may be shown by the imperative verb-form associated with a form of abuse (see (ii), pp.150-2ff.)

Type III -c structure typifies sentences used in blessings, prayers, and good wishes. These sentences are always formally marked by the sentence-initial "constant" forms ja rabb "Please God".

Examples are:

(a) Blessings:

1. ja rabb tíftah Tariigak "May God open your way"
2. ja rabb tihmiik "May God protect you"
3. ja rabb tiáalli manáaSbak "May God better your position"
4. ja rabb thábbib fiik aSháabak "May God induce your friends to like you"
5. ja rabb tíbiid íánnak ilmaSáajib "May God keep misfortunes off you"

(b) Prayers:

Sentences exemplifying this sub-type are frequently used by adults as well as children (in monologue) when praying for help in times of difficulty or distress.

Examples are:

1. ja rabb tirhámni "Please God bring mercy on to me"
2. ja rabb tihmiini "Please God protect me"

3. ja rabb tihdiini "Please God help me find my way"
4. ja rabb turzu'gni "Please God help me find means of subsistence"
5. ja rabb tib'idiini san's'sarr "Please God keep me away from evil"

Sentences at (a) are marked off from sentences at (b) by the fact that the verb-forms in the former are always associated with 2nd pers. pron. suffixes, whereas verb-forms in the latter are always associated with 1st. pers. pron. suffixes. Also, it is noteworthy that children in particular are "the recipients" of blessings invoked for them by parents or older people.

(c) Wishes: examples are:-

1. ja rabb ti'stGil
2. ja rabb tirDa
3. ja rabb tsa'amiñ
4. ja rabb thill ilmu'skile
5. ja rabb tbáTtil

These sentences are commonly used between brothers and sisters. They are expressive of strong sympathy when one is undergoing hardship or difficulty.

Sentences of type (II -(a) -1), that is, those of structure (Pronoun) + V_{imp} may be regarded as "unmarked" as to brusqueness or politeness. Correlation of imperative sentences with relevant aspects of social use may be stated as follows:-

(i) a greater degree of intimacy and affection are shown by the addition of (a) a term of endearment (see below) or (b) a respectful form of address or (c) the expressions ʔálla jxallíik, ʔálla jihmíik, ʔálla jihfaðak "May God protect you" or a combination of these forms. Examples are:-

(a) Husband to Wife:

1. ja habíibti naawlíini habteen ʔasbiríin "Darling, would you give me two aspirin tablets"

2. ja róohi ʔaʕTiini ilgaddáaha "My soul, give me the lighter"

(b) Between (Male) Friends:

1. ja bu mahmúud ʔihki kílme "Mahmuud's father, say a word"

2. ja siid ilʕazíiz sáwwi miθəl ma bíddak "Dear sir, do as you like"

(c) Between close (female) friends:

1. ʔálla jxallíiki jáxti dʒárbi "May God protect you, sister, try"

2. ʔálla jihmíiki ja ʕazíizti dʒíibi ssálle "May God protect you, my dear, bring the basket along"

(ii) On the other hand, greater brusqueness is usually indicated by the addition of forms of abuse, which may be divided into two classes in accordance with their composition: simple or complex.

Examples are:-

(a) Simple forms of abuse:-

(Parents to Children)

1. sákkir θúmmak ja mSáddi "Do shut up, rusty"

2. ʔíTlaq bárra ja braS "Get out of here, you leper"
3. báTtil kalaám ja Gábi "Stop talking, stupid"
4. ʔínksiḥ ja boot ṣatfiq "Sit down, you old boot"
5. ṣábbi lláqan ja Saṭal "Fill up the container you bucket"

(b) Complex forms added:

(Teachers to Pupils)

1. ʔixras ja qalíil ilʔadab "shut up, you ill-mannered boy"
2. ruuḥ min hoon ja matʔúus ilbaxt "Go away, you ill-omened creature"
3. thárrak ja qalíil ilhíile "Move, slow-coach"
4. ʔíḥki kílme ja magsúuf ilṣúmur "Say a word, you stubborn"
5. ʔúskut ja Tawiil ilsáan "Calm down, long tongue"

1.4. There is yet another type of imperative sentence which may be regarded as transformationally derived from sentences of type III structure. Thus, given the phrase structure rules which specify the underlying strings of tíḥki kílme as V request + N, a transformational rule may be applied to convert V request + N into Neg. + V request + N, where Neg. stands for the negative particle laa. This rule transforms tíḥki kílme into laa tíḥki kílme "Don't say a word" and tnázu ṣan lihSáan into laa tnázu ṣan lihSáan "Don't get him down off the horse".

To sum up: Imperative sentences constitute an essential part of modes of address. Basically, there are three types of imperative sentences distinguished by (a) their form (b) their

occurrence in situations: sentences indicative of politeness are commonly introduced by (a) a "deferential" form (b) a term of endearment (c) a respectful form or (d) the expressions ?álla jxalliik/jihmiik. Absence of these or addition of a term of abuse is indicative of brusqueness.

Appendix I

Texts

The relevant biographical features of speakers recorded are as follows:-

- A- Female; twenty-four years of age; born in El-Khaliil; Jordanian Secondary Certificate of Education (henceforth abbr. JCE).
- B- Female, twenty-two years of age; was born in Irbid. Had no formal education
- C- Male, thirty-two years old. Was born in Irbid. Had formal university education
- D- Male, thirty years old. Was born in El-Khaliil. Had formal university education.
- E- Male, fifty years old. Was born in Al-Husun. Had no formal education.
- F- Male, was born in Tuulkarm. Holder of JCE.
- G- Female, forty-five years old. Was born in Irbid. Had no formal education.
- H- Male, twenty-eight years old. Holder of JCE. Was born at Al-Shoobak (ilkarak District).

TEXT I

- A- bithúTTi haan issámne wissúkkar / baɣdéen bithúTTi hadóol
ilxallaTáat / hadóol bixíITu //
- B- baɣrífhin hadóol bníxliT bíihin //
- A- hadóol bithuTTíihum hoon // fi nafs ilwa?t bti?dari tistaʕimli
hai laḥáalha //
- B- ?íiha ?áale ʕáadak btúxluT //
- A- hai bti?dari tistaʕimliiha laḥáalha / ?íza man ḥabbéeti tistaʕimli
háada / btistaʕimli Saḥən táani //
- B- haḍáak aḥsan //
- A- bithuTTíiha filkáhraba //
- B- ?u bitʕaGlíiha? //
- B- bitSír min ḥáalha túbrwa //
- A- bsúrʕa btixliT il?iʕi //
- A- bti?dari tíʕidʕni ʕalécha //
- B- Wálla túḥfe //
- A- háada bidúur / iSSaḥən bidúur //
- B- maḥláaha //
- A- ?íiha búrgi //
- A- hadíik tábʕat beed bas // hadíik tábʕat beed / hai bti?dari
tíʕmali fíiha heek //

- B- xálaS sakríiha / sakríiha /
- A- btííirfi šu smilt saléeha / smilt saléeha húmmuS //
- B- ja xájtí bállá Sañíih //
- B- wilkúbbá lafaád bíiha smílti //
- A- laa miš fíiha smilt ilkúbbe // smilt kúbbe zaj ma ?ultíili /
miš baTTáale Tííset // záakje //
- A- síhle wbsuhúule u bašdéen maa btáaxud wa?t //
- B- laa laa wála síine
- B- maa dǵarrábtha
- B- bas ilkúbba jáni mistawíjje
- A- ?aa maa haTTéetha níjje
- A- maa haTTéeti mašrúum u láhme w báSal //
- B- Tájjib bidǵúuz //
- A- záaki Táβan //
- A- ?u hadíik ilmárra šu haTTéeti //
- A- mašrúum? //
- B- mušrúum u láhme w báSal u ruzz //
- A- ?u ruzz kamáan haTTéeti //
- B- ?aa //
- A- ilmuhímm Tíílat záakje //
- B- ?aa Tájbe //
- A- bas maa ?aleetíiha bzeet zectúun //

- B- maa haTTéeti saléeha zeet zeetúun //
- A- zaj ma ?últi / ?int btixil-Tíiha bzeet zeetúun ? //
- B- baklúTha //
- B- ilhášwe //
- A- la? miš ilhášwe /šú bisammúuha //
- smiid //
- A- ?addéeš bithúTTi zeet //
- B- kθiir ba^húTT / jáxti zeet zeetúun dáajman síndana //
- A- ?addéeš jáni bithúTTi sala kaase másnan // mitəl hai /
- B- zaj hai /
- B- kaastéen // heek jáni //
- B- ja xáajse miš bithíssi ?innu mgáffar / jáni / btisirfiis Tájjib
iTTábxá lámma titgáffar keef btibga //
- A- bašrifsi / btitgáffar //
- B- btitgáffar jáni bihúTTu saléeha ssamən wilháad //
- B- šu ntu bitgulúulu //
- A- maa bášrif šu btú?uSdi //
- B- lámma bithúTTi ssamən sarrúzz máθalan / gabəl maa thúTTi bitgulúulu
šú / miš bála ruzz u bála samən / šú bitgulúulu //
- A- náášif jímkin //
- B- náášif min Geer kufəl //
- A- kufəl ? //

B- kufəl // jaṣni min Geer gúfra / u bála samən / bála zeet /

B- bigulúulu kufəl / lámma bithútti samən u zeet / bitgulíilu
mgáffaraTTábxá //

A- maa bnistaṣmíha // bidzúuz jaṣni //

B- ?aa law kunt ḡind daar ḡámmi / ?áTbux irruzz / ?u míḡmal lāban
u níḡmal ṣaakrijje ?u haṣṣ / ?u bídna ndiir ṣarrúzz bitgúlli
ḡámti / gaffartíi //

A- stánni tatzákkar ṣu mugaabíha háadi gaffartíi //

B- ṣaajf ilḡariis / lees ja ḡabíibi / ṣu báddu ja xájti // ṣu
báddu //

A- bíddu jíḡab fíiha /bíddu jíḡab filkáase //

A- hájha / bas wíṣxa miṣ nDiife //

B- ṣu bitkiili bíḡa hai //

A- ilḡalíib / háadi tutt / ?u háadi tultéen / ṣáajfel baṣdeén
háadi rubḡḡ rubḡéen tlat irbáaṣ / ?u háadi káase káaṣ //

B- ja xájti /wálla merra ḡmíltha / wálla kunt ḡḡmáḡn tíTlaḡ
?áTjab min heek //

B- Sájir aṣmálha miṣ Tájbe //

A- ilwídḡih maa jíTlaḡ kawájjis máḡi /

B- la? / baḡibhúuṣ ilwídḡih / wálla bála wídḡih ?áTjab min heetḡ //

A- bti?dari thútti bádal ilwídḡih hadáak wídḡih taáni //

B- ṣu huu //

- A- btí?dari thúTTi másalan táTli //
- B- btííirfi maígúud ilíín ab / h́áabbi ámalu //
- A- Gáli báirif / tiímalihúuš //
- B- íáadakh́áabbe ámalu //
- A- btíírafi //
- B- ?aa
- A- kiif tiíamlii //
- B- báirif / A- ?íhna binsámmi íanTabíix //
- B- Tabíix //
- A- íanTabíix // ?isəm Garíib huu //
- B- ja bajj bass úmmi tímal ikínib /šáajfe //
- B- baídeén bithúTT íalée gírfe ?aw íi / min íaan ííir íhmar //
- u bisíir Tájjib /
- A- ?u baídeén ittiín btiímalúu bidzúuz //
- B- íu btíibga ilh́áabbe heetš /íádzar / bitlaagíi fadzdz / míš místawi
- kóir / nuSS ía nuSS //
- m
- A- ?últi íádzar bitsamíi //
- B- ilíádzar bíGda jéni míš místawi / ?aa láakin fadzdz íhna
- binsamíi / nuSS sájje /
- B- btiímalu íáadak Tájjib íu /ha //
- A- ?ímmi íáaTra fi heck ?ííi //

B- ?aa ja xajti // ittuffaan̄ baɖdeen ixɔar / btíɖmalu maɖgúud //

A- ?ána baɖraɖɖ̄s̄ ámal ?ísi min hannóoi //

B- wala ɖíine //

A- miš ana / ?amma ?immi btíɖmal //

B- Wummi ?ummi ?ummi //

A- kul maa btíɖmal ?aTramíiz dáajman ?áaklu /

B- jii ja xáajse / kul ma tgúlli taɖɖali šúufi haTTábx̄a kiif

báddi aTbúxha / šu báddi bhaššáGla /ɖalájje ?óokii ?áni //

Translation

- A- You will put fat and sugar here / Then you will put these whisks / these will mix //
- B- I know these / we mix with them //
- A- You will put these here / at the same time you can use this alone //
- B- It has a machine which mixes, doesn't it?
- A- You can use this separately / if you don't like to use this, you can use another plate //
- B- That one is better //
- A- You will connect it with the mains //
- B- and you will switch it on //
- B- and it will revolve by itself //
- A- It mixes the thing very quickly //
- A- You can also make dough with it //
- B- It's wonderful //
- A- This revolves / the plate revolves //
- B- How great it is! //
- A- It has a screw //
- A- That one is for eggs only // that one is for eggs /
- B- That's enough / switch it off / switch it off //

- A- Do you know what I have made / I have made crushed lentils "hummus".
- B- Sister / is it true?
- B- And did you make "kubba" with it?
- A- No, I haven't made "kubba" with it / I have made "kubba" as you told me. / It turned out to be not too bad / delicious //.
- A- It's very easy and doesn't take time //
- B- No, no, Not at all //
- B- I haven't tried it //
- B- But "kubba" /was it well done ? //
- A- Yes, it was all right.
- A- Haven't you put mushroom, minced meat and onion?//
- B- It is delicious //
- A- Of course, it is //
- A- What did you put that time ? Was it mushroom? //
- B- mushroom, minced meat, onion and rice //
- A- Have you put rice, too? //
- B- Yes //
- A- Anyway, it was delicious //
- B- Yes, it was //
- A- You didn't add olive oil, did you? //
- B- No, I didn't //
- A- Do you mix the dough with olive-oil, then? //

B- the dough? //

A- Yes //

A- How much olive oil do you add?

B- a lot I put / Sister, we always have plenty of olive oil //

A- How much exactly do you add, for example, on a glass like this?

B- like this?

A- Yes

B- About two

B- Villainess, don't you feel that it is dressed up / don't you know how food looks when it is dressed up.

A- I don't know / "Dressed-up"? / I don't understand //

B- "Dressed"; that is, with lard put on it and that sort of thing //
What do you call it? //

A- I don't know what you mean //

B- When you put lard on rice, for example, before you put it on what do you say?

A- dry, perhaps //

B- dry? without garnish? //

A- garnish? //

B- garnish / that is, without dressing, without lard and without oil //

A- I don't know what we call it // perhaps you are right //

B- Yes / if I were at my uncle's house cooking rice / or making "sour milk" and things /, my aunt would say, "Have you dressed it up?" //

A- Wait a minute and I'll try to remember what the equivalent of this "gaffartii" is //

B- Do you see the bridegroom? / What's the matter, darling? / What does he want, my sister? / What does he want? //

A- He wants to play with it // He wants to play with the cup //

A- Here it is / but it is dirty, not clean //

B- What do you measure with this one?

A- milk / this one is third / and this one is two-third / you see / then this is a quarter, two quarters, three quarters / and this is a whole cup //

B- Sister / Once I did it / I used to make a more delicious one than this //

B- I don't make delicious ones any more //

A- The top isn't alright, is it?

B- no, / I don't like the top / I like it without the top //

A- You can put some other top instead of that one //

B- What is it? //

A- You can put, for example, jam //

B- Do you know grape jam? / I would like to make it //

A- I think it's very dear / It costs a lot // Don't make it //

- But I'd like to make it //
- A- Do you know //
- B- Yes //
- A- How to make it? //
- B- I know //
- A- We call it grape jam //
- B- jam? //
- A- Yes /
- B- When my mother used to make it / you see // then she used to
put cardamom and all that in order to give it a crispy look /
It's delicious //
- A- Do you make fig jam too?
- B- Yes / A fig is as big as this /unripe / half and half //
- A- Did you say unripe?
- B- Yes / Not very well done /
- B- My mother makes it delicious //
- A- My mother is very good at it //
- B- Yes, sister // She also makes jam from apples //
- A- I can't make any of the sort //
- B- Not at all ? //
- A- Not me / but my mother does //
- B- And my mother, mother, mother //
- A- Whenever my mother used to make a jar, I used to eat it all up //

B- Villainess / Whenever she used to say, "Come and have a look at this dish / "What do I want this for?", I used to say to myself.

TEXT 2

- C- ?abúuk midzdzáwwiz tšamm mára? //
- D- 0aláa0 //
- C- i00aláa0e maš baš0 Tajbáat wílla... //
- D- wáñade Tallágha / ?u / gáídat mašáa šahréen // wi00áanje gáídat
mašáa múdde Tawílle / lámma dzdzáwwaz ámmi / hírdit mártā búuj
?u ráaḥat maš íbinha
- C- hírdet / jánišsuu / jáni zíḥlet //
- D- zíḥlet // ?u sáknat fi beet laḥáalha / maš íbinha //
- C- maš íbinha / Géerak //
- D- Géeri //
- C- man huu haad / šú smu //
- D- ?ísmu saḥid //
- C- ?akbar minnak wílla zGar minnak //
- D- ?akbar / ?akbar minni bašr isniin
- C- maa šaa? alláa //
- D- ?u hássaibašdu Tajjib //
- D- ilhámdu lilláah Tajjib / ḥíndu sabḥ iwláad //
- C- ḥíndu sabḥ iwláad //
- C- ?u ween bíštāgil //
- D- bíštāgil fi šammáan háalijjan //
- C- šu waḍíiftu //

- D- mḡállim //
- C- mḡállim midrase //
- C- banáat wílla wláad //
- D- wlaad //
- C- gaddéeš bóoxið //
- D- bóoxið ?arbḡiín néera //
- C- ?arbḡiín néera //
- C- maašáalla / wálla bḡammáan maliíḡáat / láakin bḡammáan šu
bádhin isáwwin fii xajjóo laribḡiín néera //
- D- wála biḡajḡínnu wála biḡájḡin iwláadu //
- C- wálla baḡiíḡ ḡa suug ilḡísbe u biSríḡhin u biḡálla mráwwih //
- D- ?aj máḡam /
- C- miš miḡil ilḡúra / ?íḡna ḡíndama bilḡúra máḡalan illi bóoxið
ḡiḡriín néera haḡóol bišwin miḡje bḡammáan /
- D- leeš //
- C- ilḡadḡáat libḡílzam labéet raxíiSa / il?ákil raxíiS //
- bidfáḡiḡ ?adḡaráat / ilbaSáat mafíiḡ ḡíndu / ráajíḡ dḡai ḡála
ridḡlee / birtḡab dḡáḡḡu / birtḡab iḡmáaru / birúuh ḡa šúḡlu /
u bírdḡaḡ ḡa béetu / ma fiiḡ / hanáak bḡammáan / tḡeef ma
tḡarrak /tseef ma hazzḡáalu báddu jíSrif //
- D- maZbúuT / wnafs il?íḡi wálla binnísbe ?íli / lámma kunt áštḡil
fiḡammáan maa bagéet awáffir wála ḡirḡ //

C- wála girs /

D- wála tafriife /

C- ?ána sišt biammáan 0ála0 saníin ja mĥámmad / 0ála0 saníin /
kunt sáakin bhájj jáni miš Gáni / ĥájj mitwáSSIT / kunt ádfaf
?árbaš leeráat / xámas leeráat biššáhur ?údrít ilbeet / ?u
kunt ašúufha k0fire / láakin ilmaSrúuf i00áani / ja xúuj /
ilmaSrúuf i00áani / iili biamáan bilmadíine / xajjóo fi sinamáat
biammáan // bilmúdu / ?íhna síndana bilgúra mafíšš //

D- maZbúuT //

C- falwáahad ma bigdárš i0áll sáajiš bhalGúrfa laĥáalu / báddu
jruuh sála ssiinama / báddu jíSrif / jíTlaš salgáhwa ?u jíšrĥblu
fundžáan šai / ?u fundžáan gáhwa / ?u bārbaš xams igrúnš /
?ajj ihna bārbaš xams igrúuš síndana báštari raTəl súkkar /
basáwwi miit fundžáan gáhwa w miit fundžáan šai //

D- maZbúuT //

D- šan ?ees kúnna nítki //

C- ?aa ?íhna gúlna ?ínnu ?ílak ?íxwa ?ákbar mínnak //

D- ?íli

C- ?ílak ?íxwa ?ákbar mínnak / u háá0a / sáknat waalídtak mášu //

C- Tájjib / ?ínte ja mĥámmad báddi ?ás?alak /

C- kunt tíštaGil biammáan bār0u //

C- tšeef ĥáSSalit sála halbí0e hai /

D- lámma d3iit ána haan //

C- ʔaa / lamma dʒiit lahoon //

D- lamma dʒiit lahaan / ja mawlaana ilʒaziiz / smiʒit inhum
bigadmu Talabaat //

C- ʔajwa //

D- min ʒaan biʒe / ʔu baʒdeen gaddamit Talab

C- miin hamma illi bigadmu Talabaat // miin huu illi jaʒni
Talabhin iTalabaat minku haʒool //

D- illi Talabhin minna /ma haʒdiʒ Talab minna Talabaat //

C- haa //

D- ʔamma wizaarit ittariʒije ʒammamat innu fii biʒeʒat ʒala barri
Taanja //

D- ʔajwa jaʒni adʒa min wizaarit ittariʒije miʒ gaddamtu Talabaat
heetʒ //

C- miʒeʒi ma Saar maʒi biʒʒabt / wazaarit ittariʒije gaddamit ʔu fii
biʒeʒat illi bihiʒb jitaʒdamilha witgaddamit //

D- ʔu baʒdeen ana nafs iʒʒi //

D- biʒraʒu baʒal ja bu ʒammaar //

C- baʒal walla ʒindana haakuura / jaʒni baʒaddir masaʒiʒha bdinim
dinmeen / hai / maʒsimha ʔabuuj laʒismeen / ʒisam biʒraʒu
baʒal u baʒaʒa / ʔu ʒisam ʒaani biʒraʒu fuul / haʒda ilfuul /
Tuul issane wiʒna nookil fuul ja xuuʒ / fuul ixʒar // ja bajj
ma Tjaʒu ja bajj / ʔu biʒwal / ja maʒammad biʒwal / ʔu biʒiir
lazinnaar izzalame // ilbaʒal / baharrabiʒ biʒarbiʒ / irraas

- bíGda halíúli wáragu ?u biZánbiT ja xúuj // láakin ilbaTáaTa
ma btuzbúTiš ja xúuj //
- D- bunkúšha nkáaše wílla kiif //
- C- wálla buhrúŋha šála ddawáab /šíndu d3ooz ħamfír / wáahad íswad
u wáahad íxŋar / ?u birátštsib šaléehin halíúud / ?u búhruŋ
maZbúuT / bašdéen bitallímha / ?u bíZraš halbášal // biGúzzuu
Gazz ilbášal / láakin ilbaTáaTa bihifruúlha d3úwar biSSáabba
baš d lihráaŋ //
- D- wálla wabúuj kamáan šíndu ħakúura / jášni bíZraš fíiha miš
bášal u baTáaTa / bíZraš fíiha fuul u bíZraš fíiha záhra.
bikúun fiš ?ázka min heek / kull innáas bíid3u jíštru mínha
ja bu šammaár / wálla maa fii ázka mínha / joom tóokil iŋluuš /
?u joom tóokil//
- C- jaa saláam / jaa saláam //
- C- Tájjib / hássašbáddi ás?alak ja mĥámmad / ilĥajáa šíndku /
ilĥajáa gírji šíndku / miš heek // gaddééš jášni fi gírjítku
sukkáan //
- D- fíiha xámastaaláaf násame //
- C- háŋóol ilxámastaaláaf zúlum u niswáan wílla šu likbáar bas //
- D- wálla fiš ?iĥšáa? rášmi / bas bigúulu xámas taaláaf //
- D- fii šíndku wíli filgárje //
- C- fii šíndana wáahad ismu ?ábu šáli / tastúur min xáaTrak ja
bušáli /

D- biru^húulu //

C- biru^húulu inniswáan //

D- šu bigulúulu //

C- tastúur min xáaTrak ja bušáli / haaj wáħade máθalan ma
 btíħbališ bitrúuh bsáasit xílwa šála halfagfir / btóoxiđlu
 šaršúuħ wišwájjit baxxúur //

C- buħúđzbin inniswáan šíndku ja mħammad //

D- wálla ħíđzbin / birúuhin laššéex //

C- ?ajj šeex / man huu ššeex ilmašhúur //

- birúuhin šaššéex ilbákrad₃ //

D- ?aa ilbákrad₃ //

TEXT 2

C- How many wives has your father married?

D- Three

C- Are they all living together?

D- One was divorced / She stayed with him two months / The second wife lived with him for a long time / But when he got married to my mother / She was very cross and chose to live with her son //

C- Was she cross? //

D- Yes, she was very cross / She lived with her son alone //

C- With her son?

D- Yes, someone other than me //

C- Who is he? / What's his name? //

D- His name is Said //

C- Is he older or younger than you? //

D- Older / He's ten years older

C- Is he still alive?

D- Thanks God, he's still alive / he has seven sons and daughters //

C- He has seven children // Where does he work? //

D- He works in Amman, now //

C- What's his job? //

D- A teacher //

C- A school teacher // Is it a girls' school or a boys' school? //

D- Boys' //

C- How much is he paid? //

D- He's paid forty pounds //

C- Forty pounds // Very good / they are not bad / But the trouble is they won't be enough in the Capital / brother, What can forty pounds cover? //

D- They won't be enough to spend on himself and his family //

C- If he goes to the vegetable market / he will spend half his salary //

D- Oh, yes //

C- The capital is not like villages / In villages, forty pounds are worth a hundred in Amman //

D- Why? //

C- Domestic goods are very cheap / food is cheap // One doesn't pay fares (for buses) / One goes to and fro on foot / or gets on one's donkey / one goes to work without having to pay / but in Amman, wherever one moves, one has to pay //

D- Correct / the same can be applied to me / When I used to work in Amman, I didn't save anything //

C- Not a penny //

D- Not a half-penny //

C- I lived three years in Amman, Mohammad / three years / I used to live in a middle-class quarter / and I used to pay five pounds for the rent / but the other expense, my brother, is for the cinemas / there are cinemas in Amman, my brother / but in villages, there aren't any //

D- That's right //

C- One can't possibly live in one room alone / One would like to go to the pictures / or the cafe // This means, he'll have to spend, whereas in villages one can make a hundred cups of coffee with the fourpence paid for a single cup in towns //

D- That's true //

D- Where were we? //

C- We said you have brothers older than you //

D- Yes, I have.

C- You have older brothers than you and your father's second wife lived with him // Well / I would like to ask you, Mohammad / Were you working in Amman / how did you get a scholarship? //

D- When I came here? //

C- Yes, when you came here //

D- When I came here, dear Sir / I heard they were applying for scholarships //

C- Yes //

D- In order to get a scholarship / then I applied for one //

C- Who were they // Who asked for the forms? //

D- Nobody asked for them /

C- Yes //

D- The Ministry of Education circulated a letter about scholarships to Britain // The letter was circulated by the Ministry //

C- The same happened to me exactly / The Ministry circulated a letter for those who would like to study in Britain and I applied for a scholarship //

D- So did I //

D- Do you grow onions, Ammaar's father //

C- Oh, yes, we have a field which is about 2-3 'dunums'. / My father divides it into parts / in one part is grown onions and potatoes / in another is grown broad beans / We eat broad beans all the year round, my brother // green beans // how delicious it is // Beans grow and grow until they become as high as a man's belt / Onions grow very tall at spring / Onion leaves are great, my brother / But potatoes don't grow very well, my brother //

D- Does he dig for potatoes?

C- He ploughs the ground // my father has a couple of donkeys / one is black and one is grey / He puts the plough on them and then ploughs the ground / then he makes rows and puts the onions in the ground / As for potatoes, they dig it again with a pick-axe

after ploughing //

D- So does my father / he has a small field in which he grows onions, potatoes, broad beans and cauliflower // All the villagers come round to buy from him // You can't buy a better cauliflower, my brother //

C- Wonderful, wonderful //

C- I would like to ask you, Mohammad // You live in a village, don't you // How many people are there in your village? //

D- 5,000 people

C- Are these people men, women and children or just adults? //

D- There isn't an official census / but it is estimated at 5,000 //

D- Do you have a Saint at your village? //

C- We have someone called Abu Ali /

D- Do people visit him? //

C- Women go to visit him //

D- What do they tell him? //

C- Allow us Anu Ali, please / If someone is sterile, she'll go to the saint asking for help taking with her some bread and money //

C- Do women use amulets, Mohammad? //

D- Yes, they do / they go to the saint //

C- Which one? / Who is the famous one? //

D- Saint Bakraj //

TEXT 3

- E- Su ḏāarib ḡalēeha ja d3amāaḡa //
- G- ḡalja wagḡiḡtha Sāḡbe ja bu maḡmúud / wāḡḡa maḡḡúune wagḡiḡtha //
- E- laa ḡāwla wāla qúwwata ?illa billāah //
- F- illi mniidu ?alla jziidu / māalha brákbət ḡāda xāTijje
halḡúrme //
- G- ?id3d3amal joom júbrux bíkḡaru sallaaxiinu / ḡaḡiḡha ḡúrme
malḡāaḡ ḡāda / gaḡdiin bitḡúḡtu ḡalēeha illóom //
- E- laa ja fálḡa / ḡind ma míḡḡib Tālabḡalja / leeḡ rāḡḡatu /
leeḡ fāḡḡalat ilḡaríib ḡalēe / ilḡaríib ?ābda min ibən
ḡāmha tixmíin
- G- ?íntu bitSādgu ínnu ibən ḡāmha tbādda bíḡha ja ḡād3d3e //
- F- leeḡ binSaddikiḡ / ma waddāaḡ zlaam juḡulbúulu jjāaha / tixmíin
ma waddāaḡ ?ābu maḡmúud fid3d3āaha //
- E- jāaba ja fāḡḡal iddínja māsa ālla jmassíik bilxéer //
- H- ?alla jmassíik bilxéer //
- E- ?alla jíḡḡid halmāsa //
- E- wallāahi ílli maa bíḡḡi ilhāgg ḡātta maa bikúun zāleme miḡl
izlāam /, ḡābəl maa jíḡḡtib ktaab ḡalja ḡāla míḡḡib / raaḡ
ilxābar lābən ḡāmha / ḡalúulu ja wālad / haaj bint ḡāmmak nnaas

min bárra biTTáalabu bíiha, fá?in tšaan jáaba hawáak / thárrak //
 guum wáddi dzáhtak / ?ibən sámba maa hárrak sáakin ja hadzdz //

F- nálam / nálam

E- laa gaal ?aa wála gaal la? / xálla ilgááíjje mšóoTaha /
 fajóomin ?ahl ilbint šáafu haššóofe wínnu zzálame miš háatši
 wála huu mhárrik sáakin / ndzábaru júnuTgu bíiha laGarfib /
 fankátab liktáab u kúlsi raah gábalu / háadi ilmaráadzil háadi
 dzdzáddadat mni dzdiid / maráadzil //

E- ma háadi hii ilzáade / wilbínit bdaar abúuha ja šeex zabən //

F- aa šišt //

E- wlaad sámba bibállu saaktiin - wéemta btidziíhum ššatáara /
 bašad ma ?ábu ilbínit jašTíiha ja sábdu w jínkitib ktáabha /
 saasiítha biθúuru u biSíruru jitbáddu bbínit sámbum // bikúun
 faat ilfóot šaad //

F- aa //

E- ?in Gáabat šánnak maa btidziíhum ilfaSáaha ?ílla bašad ma ?ábu
 ilbínit ibáarik / u jíniktib ktaab bíntu / ?ajj háada mánTig //

F- walláahi jáaba maa huu mánTig

E- fíšlan miš mánTig

E- ?ee ja sábdu wála guTšáan bhárdzak //

H- tfaDDal / ja bu mahmúud

E- ilmawDúuú u maa bli / baštagdíiku taxríib door jáabn / ja

zábə̀n //

F- ?ájwa

E- ?id₃d₃amáaʒa sáaʒit maa tbáddu bbint ʒámhum / ma bagáaʒ
 ?ílhun meel / húmme maa tbáddu béeha ʒan meel / heekʒan taxríib
 door miθə̀l maa ǵálbi bíhibni / fə̀lbínt / ʒáarfe wilwálad
 ʒáarif / ?ínnu d₃d₃ihatéen ma ʒindhúmmiš meel lab₃ʒíðhum
 ilbáʒíð / ma Geer húTTu déeku bmájje báarde wisharúulku
 Geer hassáhra //

F- ?ána bíddi sʒal fə̀ðə̀l / dáxlak kull halmúdde / ween báka ?ibən
 ʒamm ʒálja / leeʒ ma Talábha ?in tʒaan Saħíih ?ílu háwa
 bTálabha / leeʒ xálla d₃d₃amáaʒa jóomin kátabu liktə̀ab / raah
 id₃áddid bilmaráadʒil u jitbádda bbínit ʒámmu //

H- ?ánu illi ǵállak ja hád₃d₃ //

F- ?áwwal ?íʒi ?ínbu ?ibən ʒámha maa Talábha ?ána báʒrif ?ínnu
 ?íbin ʒámha Tálabha min ?abúuha / bádál ilmárra marráat //
 láatʒin ilbínit bák'at túrufðu / malháaʒ ʒinlibən ʒámha meel /
 ?áaxir márra káalat ilbínit law batkáTTaʒ / maa bóoxíð ihən
 ʒámmi / ?ibən ʒámmi wáaħad miʒ mitʒállim / ?u ?ána bíddi
 wáaħad mitʒállim / kaal ja síidi bidháaʒ ihən ʒámha / bíðha
 wáaħad mitʒállim miθíilha miθílu //

H- leeʒ hii mitʒálme // miθíilha miθíil halbanə̀at //

G- min d₃íinit mitʒálme / mitʒálme // ilwáaħad jíħki /m₃ZbúuT /

- ?abúuha tíḡib ḡaléeha / u waddáaha ḡalmndáaris taxámat kull
 igraajítha / ?ibin ḡámha miš mitḡállim ḡádha //
- F- ween irdḡíḡna / háaḡa hi ?áxḡat wáaḡad mitḡállim náka ḡinóeha /
 leeš kul joom wiḡḡáani míḡitḡle / Taalama hii mitḡálme /
 wílli áxḡatu mitḡállim / leeš Sáarilha ḡahír bdáar abúuha
 ḡardáani fahmúuni //
- H- jaa dḡamaáaia ilḡílim maa bisáwwi xeer lnḡḡáabu /
- E- háaḡa Sahíih //
- F- láazim maḡ ilḡílim ikuun fii ḡwájjit ḡákil ?íntu fíkirḡum /
 ?ínnu bass i?insáan jitḡállam xálaḡ birtáaḡ / Sadkúuni ?íḡa
 il?insáan maa bikúun ḡáklu wáafi Sáafi / wílla ilḡílim laḡáalu
 maa bisáwwi natiídḡe / ḡálja ḡind maa fáḡḡalat ilmitḡállim
 ḡála ibin ḡámha ja zabən //
- H- isállim ḡúmmak //
- E- káanat maḡḡúuḡe / kaan fíkirha ?ínnu ilḡílim birájjih báalha //
 ?u bisawwíha míḡade / níḡjat ?ínnu lixláag wilḡḡil maḡilḡílim
 hínni illi bíḡidín Sáahibhin //
- H- háaḡi nnúḡḡa Gáabat san baal ḡálja //
- H- ?álla jaa ḡadḡḡ idḡíib iddárḡ illi dḡáabatak /
- G- ?ee wálla //
- E- ?ibən ḡam ḡálja illi tḡáḡdadat ḡalée ḡálja u ráḡḡat tóoxḡu
 ḡaḡáanu miš mitḡállim / leeš huu w máratu raḡḡjín marḡijjín
 u ḡajjaáathum ma baḡḡ miḡi ilḡaláawe // u díiru báalku Taraféen

miš mitsálmíin / biḏḏímmi illi miš middaxlíin fiíhum /
 bihannúuhum ḡála halḥajáa / wífig u maḥábbe u kul ši
 ḡála maa juráam //.

G- ʔaahnáanna bilgísme winnaSíib / láakin jaa fáḥa laa tínsi
 ʔínnu ilḡágil maTlúub / Sáahb ilḡágil maa bíḡib ʔábadan fi
 halḥajáah //

H- wála rfiigu bíḡab //

E- ḡan ʔiḏinku ʔíntu ʔneen //

H- tfaḏḏal ja bu maḥmúud //

E- ʔiziíd fáḏlak // wálla ja ḡammi illi maa bínfasu ḡáglu miḏal
 maa tfaḏḏalt máhma tḡállam u máhma raah ḡála lmadáaris biḏáll
 díimit ḡúmru u huu tḡabáan // wílli jáaba ja zabān / ma
 biḡúun náfsu / ilḡílim maa biḡúunu laḥáalu / láazim ilʔinsáan
 ikúun ḡíndu ḡágil ḥátta jsuun náfsu //

H- ʔájwa

E- ʔu lfáajde min mitsállim madḡnúun / gulúuli //

F- ʔaa ja bu maḥmúud / háaḏa mawḏuus ʔíḏa bídna nitḡámmak fii
 bóoxiḏ máḡna wákit Tawíil // ilmúxtaSar ilmufíid / múškilit
 ḡálja maḡḡeelítha u blaxáSS maḡ dḡóozha múškile bídha ḡákil /
 ihíilha ilḡílim laḥáalu maa bíkfi / ḡálja mitsálme ʔaxḏat
 mitsállim / ʔu nífiḡhum ilḡílim / Táalama ḥáSai béenhum
 tífirga / laa ḡálja ḥátḡḡamat ḡákiha wála dḡóozha ḥákkam

ɛ́aklu /

G- isállim 0úmmak

E- Tájjib ʒu bihííha / ?íɔa ɛagl iTTaraféen wáawa / ɛágilhum
 boodʒíɛhum / Walláahi ma daam halhátʒi heetʒ / law jíltagi
 kul ɛulamáa? iddínja / Táalama ɛágilhum tars / maa bittífgu wáa
 biSíir béenhum máhábbe / ?ána ɛíndi tɛsilimtéen gábil maa j0áll //
 tíidʒi ilbínit titWárraT / badaal ma tís?al ɛan gráajtu u ɛan
 faSáahtu / tís?al ɛan máslaku u ɛan ixláagu //

G- ɛan ixláagu //

E- tís?al ɛanɛíímu / háɛam ɛála ráasi w ɛéeni / láatʒin bas
 miʒ tís?al galúulha flaan gáaɛid bifukk ilmaktúub / xálaɛ
 ja haláali ja máali //

H- gáari haad biSíir

G- láazim tíɛrif ixláagu

E- tfaad0al jáaba / ?ihtʒi kííme

G- ja háɛarti maa háda laháda / ilkúll ɛalfagiír / ma háda bSáffu //

E- ?ajj illi mníidu ?álla jziídu jaafálha / ilfágar biTúbbiʒ
 ɛannáas Tábab // innáas illi biTúbbu ɛalfágar

TEXT 3

- E- What's the matter with her, folks?" //
- G- Alja's difficulty is very grave, Abu Mahmuud / It's very very serious //
- E- Oh, dear //
- F- It's her own fault; // no one else is to blame.
- G- When the camel sits down, many rush to have a-ride / because she's a lonely woman, many faults are being counted //.
- E- No Falha / When Mit'ib asked Alja's hand / Why did she let him down / Why did she prefer to have a stranger / A stranger is in no case preferable to her cousin //.
- G- Do you think that her cousin was preferred, Haj //
- F- Why don't we / didn't he send men to ask her hand on his behalf / didn't he send Abu Mahmuud to mediate?"
- E- FaDil, Good evening //
- F- Good evening //
- E- Good evening //
- E- If someone does not tell the truth, he is not to be considered one of men / before "the marriage contract" was written, her cousin had been informed / they said to him, "Boy, your cousin's hand is being asked by a number of people / if you are interested

- go on / send your mediators / Her cousin didn't move, Haj //
- F- Yes, yes //
- E- He didn't say yes and he didn't say no // When the girl's family realized that he is keeping quiet all about it, they had to let her marry the stranger / her marriage contract was written and everything was done with / These attempts to win her hand back are all new //
- E- This is typical / When the girl was at her father's house, Sheikh Zabān //
- F- Yes, may you live longer //
- E- Her father's brothers' sons would keep quiet - they only make all the fuss after her father promises others and after conducting "the marriage contract". Only then they get excited and begin to ask for their father brother's daughter // It will be too late by then //
- F- Oh, yes //
- E- Only after the girl's father is taken upon his word, they are prepared to say something // Is it fair? //
- F- No it isn't fair //
- E- It isn't fair at all //
- E- Oh, yes, Abdu, sorry to interrupt you //
- Go on, Mahmuud's father //

E- All that they are up to, I think,

F- Yes

E- is to spoil the whole thing. When they had been given priority as far as the girl is concerned, they didn't show any interest. Anyhow, the boy knows as well as the girl that they don't like each other / just calm down and find some other topic to talk about //

F- I would like to ask FaDil / Why didn't her father's brother's son ask for her hand all this time / Why didn't he ask her hand, if it is true that he has a favourable tendency towards her / Why is it only when her "marriage contract" was being drawn up that he made all the fuss //

G- Who told you that, Haj. All I know is that her father's brother's son did ask for her hand several times / but the girl let him down / she simply doesn't like him / the girl even said if you cut me into pieces, I won't marry my father's brother's son / he is not educated / I want someone educated / You see, sir, she doesn't want her father's brother's son / she wants someone like her with the same education //

H- Is she educated really // She's just like any other girl //

G- As far as education is concerned, she really is / One should be honest / her father spent a lot on her until she has got to that

- stage / her father's brother's son is not educated like her //
- F- The point is that she has got married to an educated man / just what she has always wished / Why is there everyday a row / she has been like that ever since she has married / and what's more she's been staying with her father away from her husband for a month now / Will you tell me? /
- H- Education is not enough, then //
- E- That's right //
- F- In addition to education, there must be some commonsense / do you think that if someone has finished his education, he will live in comfort all his life? / Believe me, if someone is without commonsense, education alone does not pay off / When Alja preferred the educated man to her cousin, Zaban //
- H- May God protect your mouth //
- E- She was mistaken / She thought that education will bring her comfort / and will make her completely happy / She forgot that only a combination of education and commonsense can make one happy //
- H- Alja must have missed this point //
- H- May God keep you, Haj //
- G- Yes, indeed //
- E- Alja's cousin whom she let down because he isn't educated is now very happy with his wife / he and his wife are not educated

but they are very happy / Everybody congratulates them on this life // love and concord prevail //

G- It's true that everybody gets married to whoever is destined for him / but don't forget that commonsense is required /

E- Excuse me, you two //

H- Yes please, Abu Mahmuud //

E- Thank you, // just as you said, if someone does not have commonsense, he will certainly be in trouble no matter how much education he has // if someone does not protect himself, education won't help alone / One should always have commonsense //

H- Yes, indeed //

E- What is the use of an educated man without commonsense // tell me //

F- Yes, Mahmuud's father / This is a long topic / if we want to discuss it, it'll take a very long time // What matters is that Alja's problem with her husband needs common sense / education alone is not enough / misunderstanding did occur, although both of them are educated //

G- May God protect you //

E- But how could the problem be solved if both sides are adamant // I think if all the scientists in the world meet, they will fail to make them get along with each other as long as neither of them is ready to use commonsense. / Before the girl commits

herself, she should ask about his conduct and manners before she asks about his education //

G- Yes, about his conduct //

E- Of course, she should ask about his education. She should, however, be extremely careful not to be satisfied if someone had told her that one can read and write

G- She should know about his conduct very well //

E- You say something //

G- Oh dear, you all blame her because she is very poor //

E- Well, it's her own fault and she should bear the consequences.//

APPENDIX II

In order to distinguish between exclamatory sentences the vocalic and consonantal segments of which are given considerable length, and non-emphatic exclamatory sentences to which no such length is given, three sentences were chosen for instrumental analysis. These are as follows:-

1. jaa bajj ma ?al?ámha "How mean she is!"
2. jaa bajj su btithárwad "How often she complains!"
3. jixrib béetha "May God destroy her house!"

1. Description of the Experiment:-

Each of the above sentences was pronounced by the writer emphatically and unemphatically. The unemphatic rendering envisaged a context of situation where, say, a statement of fact is being reported.

An aerometer was used to which a mask was attached. The mask was fitted to the mouth and nose in such a way that no lateral escape of air was possible. A microphone was strapped round the throat so that the vibrations of the vocal cords could be recorded!

With the mask fitted to the mouth and nose and held tightly

1. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. C. Scully of the Phonetics Department, Leeds University, for kindly allowing me to use freely the Phonetics Laboratory and for instructing me in the use of the aerometer, without which the exercise would not have been possible.

at the front, an initial check was made to ascertain that the air flow in and out of the mouth and nose acted independently of each other. This is done by breathing in, then out first through the nose only, and then through the mouth only. There was little distortion if any of normal speech as judged from the tape-recording obtained from a miniature microphone (MM51, Senheiser) mounted inside the mask in front of the speaker's mouth. The tape recorder used was a Bang and Olufsen 2000T. A Mingograph 24B running at a paper speed of 10 cm/s was used to display simultaneously air pressure and air flow through the mouth and nose.

The Mingograph incorporates four channels which display air flows as follows:-

1. Channel 1 (Timer): This channel represents the time scale to which reference is made for the measurement of the duration of sounds recorded. The timer frequency is 50 cycles per second, so that one cycle represents $\frac{1}{50}$ second.
2. Channel 2 (Mouth Trace): This channel is represented by the mouth trace which shows fluctuations in the air stream and displays so that the type of articulation which has been made may be recorded and differences in the air stream of different speech sounds can be seen visually displayed. For instance, a vowel sound can be

detected and recognized by the regular wave form recorded on paper. Also, plosive bursts indicated by an increase in air pressure can be seen on the Mouth-trace. In addition, the amplitude and frequency of the vibration can be calculated accurately.

3. Channel 3: (Larynx Trace): This trace shows the vibrations of the vocal chords. If voicing occurs, the vibrations are indicated by regular wavy striations and, contrariwise, if there is no voicing, a straight line is shown.

4. Channel 4: (Nose Trace): The nose trace represents the air flow in and out of the nose and thus indicates if nasalization occurs in an utterance.

2. Division of Utterances for Comparison:-

It is convenient to divide each sentence into syllabic portions in terms of C and V (i.e. Consonant and Vowel). For example, the first sentence jaa bajj ma ?al?amha may be divided into six such syllables indicated by CV and numbered consecutively from 1-6 as shown below:-

jaa	/	bajj	/	ma	/	?al	/	?am	/	ha	/
1		2		3		4		5		6	
CV		CVCC		CV		CVC		CVC		CV	

Corresponding division on the M- and L- tracings was made by drawing vertical lines in such a way that each line cuts the tracing at points 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 each of which coincides with a

syllable boundary which may be recognized on the M- tracing by the downward or upward excursion as the case may be. Further subdivisions may be effected, whereby the duration of segments of syllables can be accurately measured, but such subdivisions need not concern us here.

3. Results:

It will be seen that the tracings of each comparable pair of utterances are quite different as far as the duration of the total excursions are concerned. By measurement against the time scale, the phonetic length measured in centiseconds for each of the constituent syllables of each emphatic and unemphatic sentence may be tabulated as follows:-

sentence (1): jaa bajj ma ?al?amha

Emphatic	duration in centi-sec.	Unemphatic	duration in centi-seconds
(jaa) 1 CVV	47	(ja) 1 CV	17
(bajj) 2 CVCC	57	(baj) 2 CVC	15
(ma) 3 CV	50	(ma) 3 CV	13
(?al) 4 CVC	49	(?al) 4 CVC	18
(?am) 5 CVC	52	(?am) 5 CVC	20
(ha) 6 CV	111	(ha) 6 CV	19

Sentence (2): jaa bajj su btitharwad

Emphatic	duration	Unemphatic	duration
(jaa) 1 CVV	52	(ja) 1 CV	13
(bajj) 2 CVCC	53	(baj) 2 CVC	17
(sub) 3 CVC	40	(sub) 3 CVC	24
(tit) 4 CVC	57	(tit) 4 CVC	19

Emphatic		duration in centi-sec.	Unemphatic		duration in centi-sec.
(har)	5 CVC	43	(har)	5 CVC	23
(wad)	6 CVC	153	(wad)	6 CVC	32

Sentence (3): jixrib beetha

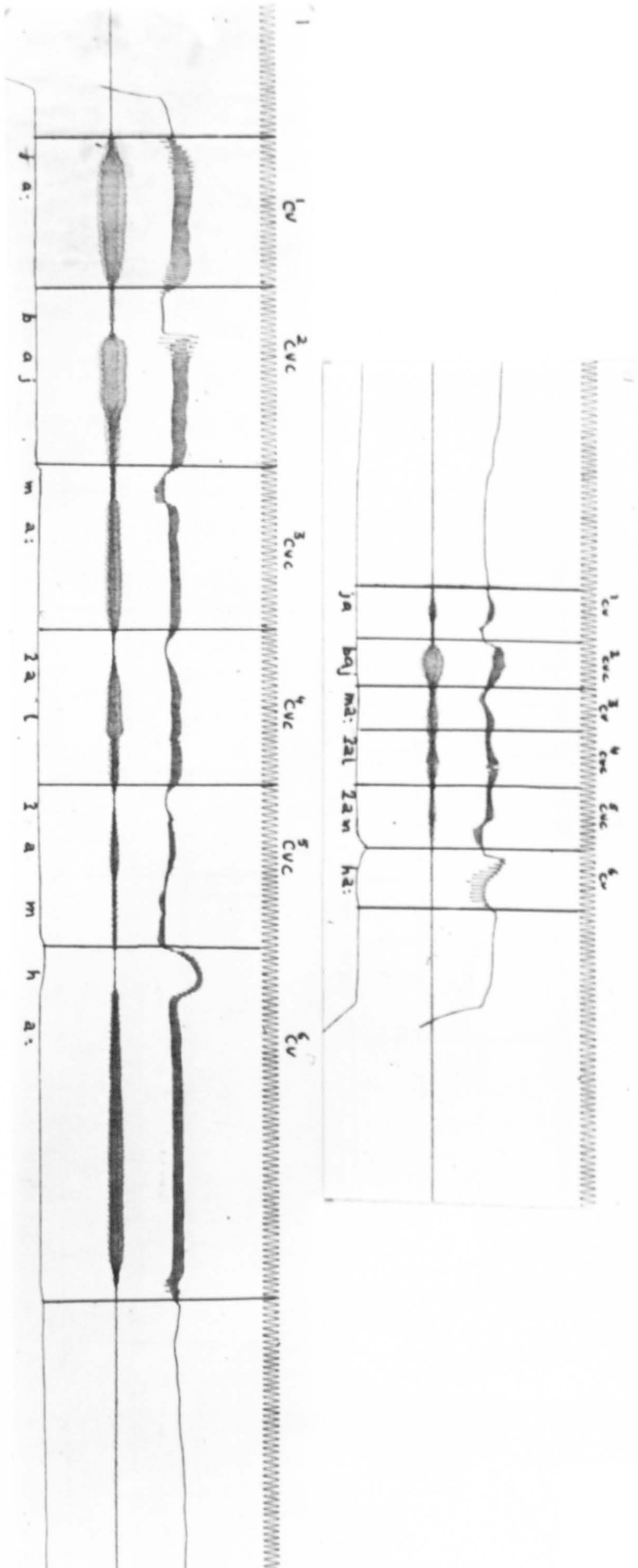
Emphatic		duration	Unemphatic		duration
(jix)	1 CVC	27	(jix)	1 CVC	15
(rib)	2 CVC	87	(rib)	2 CVC	33
(beet)	3 CVVC	79	(beet)	3 CVVC	28
(ha)	4 CV	118	(ha)	4 CV	19

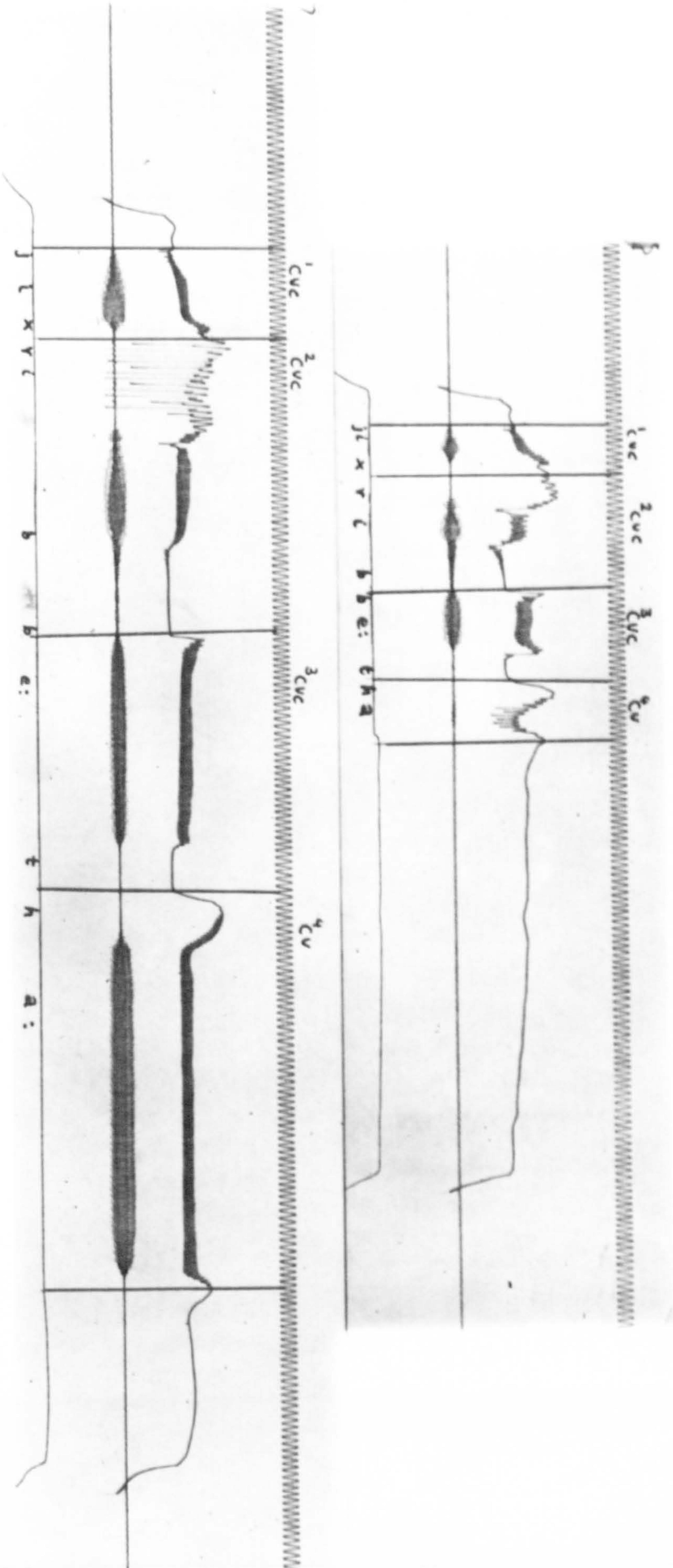
It will be seen that in all emphatic utterances each syllable is given substantially greater length, which varies from a minimum of twice the length of its short counterpart to a maximum of four times its length, with the exception of the last syllable which in all cases is pronounced approximately six times longer. The total duration in centiseconds of each utterance may

be shown as follows:-

<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Emphatic</u>	<u>Unemphatic</u>
1	366	102
2	398	128
3	301	95

The total duration of each emphatic utterance is thus about three times that of the unemphatic utterance. Since length is characteristic of the whole utterance, a prosodic system may be recognized comprising two terms: length and shortness and referred to the functions we have labelled.





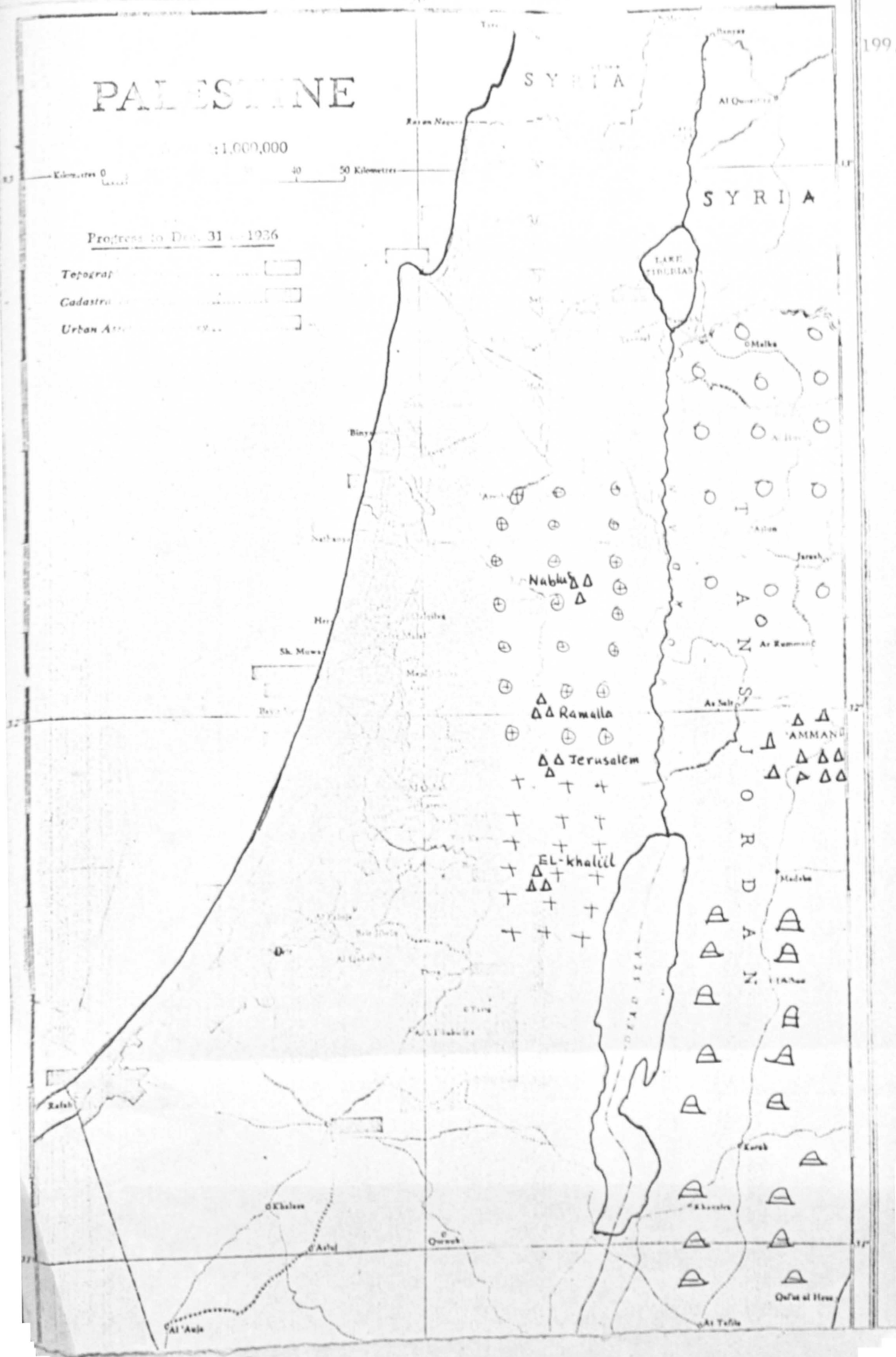
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Progress to Dec. 31 1936

- Topograf 
- Cadastral 
- Urban Areas 



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AA	American Anthropologist
AL	Anthropological Linguistics
AS	American Speech
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
FL	Foundations of Language
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
JL	Journal of Linguistics
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
SF	Social Forces
SIL	Studies In Linguistics
SWA	Southwestern Journal of Anthropology
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society

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