Forms of Address in Jordanian Arabic

With Some Additional Reference to Speech Fellowships

by

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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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I am also indebted to Mr. D. Barber for the time spent on reading certain parts of the thesis.

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M.I.E.
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:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{w} & : \text{a balabal semi-vowel} \\
\text{M} & : \text{a voiceless semi-vowel} \\
\text{b} & : \text{a voiced bilabial plosive} \\
\text{f} & : \text{a voiceless labio-dental fricative} \\
\text{m} & : \text{a bilabial nasal} \\
\text{n} & : \text{an alveolar nasal} \\
\text{l} & : \text{an alveolar lateral} \\
\text{r} & : \text{an alveolar flap} \\
\text{3} & : \text{a voiced palato-alveolar fricative} \\
\text{ʒ} & : \text{a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative} \\
\text{dʒ} & : \text{a voiced palato-alveolar affricate}
\end{align*}
\]
tʃ : a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
θ : a voiceless inter-dental non-sulcal fricative
ø : a voiced inter-dental non-sulcal fricative
θ : 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
ʃ : a voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ʂ : a voiced pharyngeal fricative
j : a palatal semi-vowel
2. **VOWELS:**

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<td>Close</td>
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<td>Half-close</td>
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<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel length or consonant length is indicated by double letters, e.g. marr “once”, hurr “free”, harr “hot”, habb “he loved”, habb “he is in love with”, sam “poison”, saam “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 astisk.
Background Information

Types of Speech Fellowship

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 xāajse, 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 xāajse may appear as an addressive phrase with a so-called literal translation "You villainess", as in 1. bastakl ja xāajse "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.106. 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 xājse ma gūliltišū sloon tinisdiš "You villainess, I told you how to knit".

3. Iaa miq heek ja xājse "Not like that, you villainess".

But the effect on the interlocutor of the use of ja xājse 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 xājse stands in marked contrast with the corresponding more educated use of ja + proper name or ja xānise; 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 fadadā "half-ripe", ʕādār, "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 maʕfara, which collocates with itṬibxar, is an important indicator of the speaker's regional as well as social provenance. In educated usage, the occurrence of maʕfara is far less likely than, say, mnàʔʔnaTa or mnàffaine. It also identifies her geographically in the sense that maʕfara 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 bidāmu. Also, the invariable "emphatic" negative sequence wala ʕiine "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 marra
"at all", cf.

(i) Uneducated:  
(ii) Educated:  

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, تحديكissäxa "at that time" vs. وردناكliktāb "that book". Likewise, a suffixed pronominal should agree with a following nominal in terms of number and gender; cf. ّيتيتغولُّولا تدابخ "What do you call the food?" vs. ّيتيتغولُّولا تدابليخ. Contrary, therefore, to what might have been expected, grammatical rules are violated by A when she says وردناكissäxa and تيتيتغولُّولا تدابخ. 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. ّيتيتغولُّولا "What do you (i.e. you and your group) call it?"
B. ّيتيتمANA بنسمان "We (i.e. me and our group) call it".

The use of plural in place of singular pronomininals 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.56 ff.) which are of fundamental importance to the study of modes of address. Terms such as "dialect", "vernacular" and "tongue" 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" 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". He maintains that "Words and sentences are merely human actions" and cannot be separated from the human beings who

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2. For the use of such terms, see Trevor Hill, "Institutional Linguistics" Orbis, 7 (1950), pp. 443-55.
5. Ibid. p. 133.
pronounce them. Objections have also been reiterated by Weinreich, who denounced methods practised by dialectologists 6, 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.0-50ff.) There is a need therefore to examine systematically the nature of socially relevant


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: ḥaquul, ḥazuul and jiquul. 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 ḥaquul 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, Tulkarm and Jenin. 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 jiquul speech fellowship belong to the Bedouin tribes living in the far eastern and southern deserts of the country in contradistinction to the ḥazuul people, whose members belong to the city dwellers of Nablus, Jerusalem, El-Khalil.
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 origins. Speech fellowships will be taken in turn; the largest or baguul 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 0 = RG1; + = RG2; Θ = RG3; Δ = SF II; ∆ = SF III
For practical purposes, these groups will be referred to as RGI (Rural Group 1), RG2 and RG3 in that order. Speech fellowships will comprise baqulu (SFI), baqul (SFII) and itiqual (SFIII).

1. **SFI : RGI or baqul-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 - ñ.

Examples are:

1. *ma tilhāqišt*  
   "she can't join in"

2. *ma bitšusštís itiqual*  
   "You can't see the way"
3. ma bi'burrūux "It won't do him any harm"
4. ma ri'būlx lónkil "He didn't want to eat"
5. ma bardqaš "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 wálə slínə and šeèle for -x, e.g.,

1. maa tilḥaq wálə slínə
2. maa bitšúufi Ttarīq wálə slínə
3. maa bi'burrə šeèle
4. maa ri'bīl lónkil šeèle
5. maa bardqaš šeèle

Similarly -x is omitted when wálə is prefixed to the sentence:

1. wálə maa tilḥaq
2. wálə maa bitšúufi Ttarīq
3. wálə maa bi'burrə
4. wálə maa ri'bīl
5. wálə maa bardqaš

Wálə and wálə slínə / šeèle may combine again with -x omitted, i.e.

1. wálə maa tilḥaq wálə slínə
2. **wálla maa bitšuufi Tlariq 계획**

All these features - prefixation of *wálla*, extension by *wála šíne / jejer*, and prominence of *maa* may combine with -ן 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 šíne / jejer. The inclusion of one of these satellite elements excludes the negative suffix -ן 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; "preposing" is "left-hand" expansion.

A. "Right-hand" Expansion:

(a) *min mára, wála šíne, jejer "at all"

(b) *wála mára*

(c) *wála ši*

(d) *šíši*
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 īši**  "I haven't touched anything"
4. **maa dqaléet wála īši**  "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 īši** are then interchangeable in final position; **wála márra** and īši are inadmissible. cf.

1. (a) **maa máši xábar min márra**
   (b) *maa máši xábar īši*
2. (a) **maa īli ḫáda wála īši**
   (b) *maa īli ḫáda 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 īši, wála īši**

**Class II:** **wála márra, īši**

**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 "Sumur. 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. *Sumri maa sallämt Salee*
   
   "I never greeted him"

2. *Sumri maa suit*
   
   "I never drove"

**Particle sentences**

1. *Sumri maa màl xaband*
   
   "I never knew"

2. *Sumri maa Zili Gänam*
   
   "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. ْلاَبَسَر, ِٰلَمُكَانَ, ِباًلِكَ, ِبِدْرُعَعَز which are all invariable and betoken hesitancy or uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

Examples are:

1. ْلَامُكَانَ ْمَا ِزِّيْلِتَيْكَ "You would not have been upset"
2. ْلَامُكَانَ ْمَا ِراَحُوْكَ "They may have not gone"
3. ْلاَبَسَر ِلِإْيَكَ ْمَا ِدَذَاكَ "He may not have come"
4. ِٰلَمُكَانَ ْمَا ِسَتَنَأَاكَ "I may not wait"
5. ِباًلِكَ ْمَا ِسُرَفِي ْقُيِّلُ َلِسُحَآلَ "He may not have known the answer"
6. ِبِدْرُعَعَزَ ْمَا ِرُحُوْكَ "I may not go"

On formal grounds, these sentences are characterized by:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>RG1</strong></td>
<td><strong>RG2 &amp; RG3</strong></td>
<td><strong>RG2 &amp; RG3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُسِيْلَوْكَ</td>
<td>ُمِنْ َمَاَرَّا</td>
<td>ُبِلْمِهْرَرَ/ ُمِنْ َمَاَرَّا</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ُسِيْلَوْكَ ُسِيْلَوْكَ/ ُسِيْلَوْكَ</td>
<td>ُمِنْ َمَاَرَّا</td>
<td>ُلْبَأَد</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1.2.2. The particle **bálá**: The position of the particle **bálá** in the clause in which it occurs is fixed, i.e. pre-nominal, as in

1. **bálá** **ruzz u bálá sahmá** "without rice and without fat"
2. **bálá** málah u bálá dharáât "without salt and without spices"
3. **bálá** Sálátá "without salad"

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

```
............. kufal ḫalíib
bkufal ḫalíib "with garnish/milk"
```

2. **bálá** (**min Geer**, **bidúún**) kufal/ḥalīb "without garnish or milk".

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

1.2.3. Corresponding Comparable forms elsewhere:

In addition to **min Geer** and **bidúún** cited above, the corresponding form employed by RG2 and RG3 and SFII is **wálá**, i.e.
In this context, *wala* varies freely with *balnaq*, e.g. *balnaq ruzz* w *balnaq lihun*. The corresponding form employed by SFIII, on the other hand, is the negative particle *mnu*, e.g. *mnu ruzz* u *mnu lihun*.

1.3. The form *Srudak* : *Srudak* appears in the following examples:
1. *bees Srudak daibiiya* – "How much did you pay for it?"
2. *tilha saale Srudak htuxlut* – "It has a machine which mixes"
3. *Srudak kashb nimalu* – "I like doing it"
4. *btismalu Srudak Tajiib* – "She makes it delicious"
5. *Srudak ma Tiliik minnu bidal Qalab arbaq* – *Srudhaat*  
   "No more than three or four turned out to be good"

1.4. The Verbal form *bidga*:- This is a verbal form invariable for person, gender and number and freely variant with *bikun* in certain exclamatory sentences. Within the total sentence constituency, it is noteworthy that *bidga* 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. bi'oda ll'išīb
   "How the grass grows!"
2. bi'oda makīna ll'išīb
   "How nice can the grass become!"
3. bi'oda ll'išīb Tawīl
   "How long the grass is!"
4. bi'oda kīju kīju
   "How nice it is!"

Corresponding forms employed by other speech fellowships are as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>RG2</th>
<th>RG3</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
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<tr>
<td>bibga</td>
<td>bibka</td>
<td>bibga</td>
<td>bibga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RG1</td>
<td>RG2</td>
<td>RG3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūkil</td>
<td>kul</td>
<td>kul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūxīb</td>
<td>xuū</td>
<td>xuū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TānTī</td>
<td>ṭāšTI</td>
<td>ṭāšTI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siss</td>
<td>kiss</td>
<td>kiss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RG1</td>
<td>RG2</td>
<td>RG3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2inobb</td>
<td>2inubb</td>
<td>2inIsik</td>
<td>2inIsik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lidd</td>
<td>Xuuf</td>
<td>hakkar</td>
<td>2inTTallas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zumm</td>
<td>2ikmil</td>
<td>yiil</td>
<td>2ikmil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadb</td>
<td>hadda</td>
<td>hadda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadbi</td>
<td>haddi</td>
<td>haddi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadak</td>
<td>hadak</td>
<td>hadak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadil (k)</td>
<td>hadik</td>
<td>hadik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadile (t)</td>
<td>hadile (t)</td>
<td>hadile (t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haddol</td>
<td>hadDool</td>
<td>hadDool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadilaak</td>
<td>hadDilaak</td>
<td>hadDilaak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hadilaak "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 ḥadd prefixed with the definite article ʾil is frequently used as a kind of "hesitational" or "apologetic device". The corresponding form employed by RG2, RG3 and SFII is predominantly ḥill prefixed with the bilabial semi-vowel /w/. SFIII, on the other hand, has ʾiṣṣir, ʾsinhew "and I don't know what". Examples illustrating the use of ʾilḥadd are as follows:

1. Ṣafāl ʾṣāazz ʾalāeehum ʾilḥadd "It remains dear to them and all that"
2. bitḥūṭṭī ʾalāee ʾssāmān ʾwilḥadd "You put in fat and so on"
3. bābqa ʾmādīra ʾilḥālam ʾwilḥadd "I shall be preparing meat and so on"

1.6.1. The Demonstrative ḥeetḵ:

In demonstrating attributes of size, the form ḥeetḵ is used in association with the form ḥa and/or ḥalqadd, e.g.

1. bṭība ʾilḥabbe ḥeetḵ ḥa or
2. bṭība ʾilḥabbe ḥalqadd ḥeetḵ ḥa "The melon is this big"

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2</th>
<th>RG3</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥeetḵib</td>
<td>ḥeeka</td>
<td>heek</td>
<td>ṭṣḥiḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Phonological "Indexical" Features:

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

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

Characteristic of RGI 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 /ʃ/, 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. /Gaalje/ e.g. ḳin Gaalje walla "But it is dear"
2. /xaali/ e.g. sind daar xaali "At my uncle's house"
3. /tufflanh/ e.g. tšaan hoon fitufflanh "There were apples here"
4. /hubbaal/ e.g. ITaabxa Tilha hubbaal "It has steam"
5. /maalu/ e.g. šu māalu ja xájti "What's wrong with him, sister?"
6. /lixwal/ e.g. ḳlaak lixwa ḳ̣akhbar minnek "Do you have brothers or sisters older than you?"
2.2. Differences in the Distribution of "dark" i:-

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>RG2 and RG3 and SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā́ut</td>
<td>nā́gal &quot;sole&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́hut</td>
<td>nā́hal &quot;bees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́tut</td>
<td>nā́gal &quot;draught&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́hut</td>
<td>nā́hal &quot;slowly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́Gut</td>
<td>nā́gal &quot;illegitimate colt&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́xut</td>
<td>nā́xal &quot;palm-trees&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́fut</td>
<td>Tīfāl &quot;infant&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nā́mut</td>
<td>nā́mal &quot;ants&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bū́tbut</td>
<td>bū́bul &quot;a nightingale&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qā́qut</td>
<td>sā́qal &quot;mind&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 hänCuul "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 hidd -

| 1st pers.  | bidd-1     | "I want" |
| 2nd pers. masc. | bidd-ak   | "Do you want?" |
| 2nd pers. fem.  | hitš-tši   | "Do you want?" |
| 3rd pers. masc. | hidd-u     | "Does he want?" |
| 3rd pers. fem.  | hitš-ha    | "Does she want?" |
| 1st pers.  | hidd-na    | "We want" |
| 2nd pers. masc. | bidd-ku    | "Do you want?" |
| 2nd pers. fem.  | hitš-tšin   | "Do you want?" |
| 3rd pers. masc. | hidd-hum    | "Do they want?" |
| 3rd pers. fem.  | hidd-hin    | "Do they want?" |

The suffixes -i, -ak, -tši, -u, -ha, -na, -ku, -tšin, -hum, -hin are obligatory in the sense that the form hidd- 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers. masc.</th>
<th>2nd pers. fem.</th>
<th>3rd pers. masc.</th>
<th>3rd pers. fem.</th>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>2nd pers. masc.</th>
<th>2nd pers. fem.</th>
<th>3rd pers. masc.</th>
<th>3rd pers. fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{šrib-}at$</td>
<td>$\text{šrib-}at$</td>
<td>$\text{šrib-ti}$</td>
<td>$\text{širib}$</td>
<td>$\text{širib-}at$</td>
<td>$\text{šrib-n}a$</td>
<td>$\text{šrib-tu}$</td>
<td>$\text{širib-in}$</td>
<td>$\text{širib-}u$</td>
<td>$\text{širib-in}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;He drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;She drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;We drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;You drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;They drank&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;They drank&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Suffix</th>
<th>3rd Pers. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{bidd - i}$</td>
<td>$\text{-}i\text{j}aa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{bidd - ak}$</td>
<td>$\text{-}i\text{j}aa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{hitš - tši}$</td>
<td>$\text{-}i\text{j}aa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{bidd - u}$</td>
<td>$\text{-}i\text{j}aa$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{bid - ha}$</td>
<td>$\text{-}i\text{j}aa$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) biddakijJaan?  "Do you want it?"
   (b) biddak ilktäab  "Do you want the book?"

2. (a) biddak iljäaha?  "Do you want it?"
   (b) biddak iImjäbara?  "Do you want the inkpot?"

3. (a) biddak iljäahum  "Do you want them?"
   (b) biddak iliJulab  "Do you want the tins?"

3.2. The grammatical Directive System:

The grammatical directive system is of three terms:

(i) haan "here" (ii) hanäak "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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Suffix</th>
<th>3rd Pers. Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>bid - na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>bid - ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>biti - tcin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>bid - hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>bid - hin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"I/you.........etc. want it"
3.3. The deictic hāl/had:-

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th></th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th></th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RG1</td>
<td>RG2 and RG3</td>
<td>RG2</td>
<td>RG3</td>
<td>SFII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>hoon</td>
<td>haan</td>
<td>hoon</td>
<td>hāl/had</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>hnaak</td>
<td>hnaak</td>
<td>hnaak</td>
<td>hnaak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii)</td>
<td>Gaad</td>
<td>Gaad</td>
<td>Gaad</td>
<td>hāl/had</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here is a table with the examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RG2</th>
<th>RG3</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>hāl - ānī</td>
<td>hāl - ānī</td>
<td>hāl - ni &quot;Here I am&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hāl - ānte</td>
<td>hād - ānte</td>
<td>hāl - ak &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hāl - ānti</td>
<td>hād - ānti</td>
<td>hāl - ik &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hāl - ānwe/ āntu</td>
<td>hād - ānwe/ āntu</td>
<td>hāl - o &quot;Here he is&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hāl - āntha</td>
<td>hād - āntha</td>
<td>hāl - ha &quot;Here she is&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>hāl - āntha</td>
<td>hād - āntha</td>
<td>hāl - na &quot;Here we are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hāl - āntu</td>
<td>hād - āntu</td>
<td>hāl - ku &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hāl - āntin</td>
<td>hād - āntin</td>
<td>hāl - ku &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PAGE
NUMBERS
CUT OFF
IN
ORIGINAL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RG2</th>
<th>RG3</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>halj - ūmne</td>
<td>had - kūmme</td>
<td>halj - kūm &quot;Here they are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>halj - lāne/lithin</td>
<td>had - kīnne</td>
<td>halj - kūm &quot;Here they are&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>hānd - ani</td>
<td>har - ṣānī &quot;Here I am&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hānd - antē</td>
<td>har - ṣānta &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hānd - antī</td>
<td>har - ṣānti &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hānd - ahumwe</td>
<td>har - ṣāwwa &quot;Here she is&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hānd - ahinne</td>
<td>har - ṣānna &quot;Here he is&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>hānd - ahna</td>
<td>har - ṣāhna &quot;Here we are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hānd - antu</td>
<td>har - šāntu &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hānd - antin</td>
<td>har - šāntin &quot;Here you are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>hānd - humwe</td>
<td>har - šāwma &quot;Here they are&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>hānd - ahinne</td>
<td>har - šānna &quot;Here they are&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

halj or had is prefixed to one of ten members of a paradigm of pronominal forms which are restricted to this context of occurrence. Thus, -lītha, -lithin, -kūmwe, -kilje contain elements which do not occur pronominally elsewhere in the language, viz. -lit 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, ihna.

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

1. hajj/had ḫukṣar "Here is the chair"
2. hajj/had ḫabbit lamūn "Here is a lemon"
3. hajj/had ḫāsan zijl "There you are! ḫāsan has become angry"
4. hajj/had abūuj adja "Here comes my father"

4. Adverbs of Time: RG2 also differs from KG3 in respect of another feature, viz. adverbs of time. whereas ṭissa人身, lahalhin "not yet, still" and halhin are characteristic of KG2, ṭissa, lahāssa and ḥāssa are parallel KG3 forms. ṭissa人身 and lahalhin like ṭissa and lahāssa are freely variant and most frequently occur in negative sentences. On the other hand, halhin and ḥāssa occur in positive contexts. Examples are:-

1. ṭissa人身 ma ha ṭTeetiṣisaSiir randōora filmisfāa "I haven't yet put tomato juice in the strainer"
2. lahalhin ma Gasāltu "I haven't yet done the washing"
3. ṭissa ma xallāṣtiSa "I haven't finished yet"
4. halhīn baṭūl ilḥāṣīr mn ʿildjarrār "I am going to take the towel from the drawer"

5. ma dijāk abūj laḥāṣa "My father hasn't come yet"

6. laḥāṣa ma Tilṣiq abūj mniṣalān "My father hasn't finished his prayer yet"

7. baḍjibīlku liktāab ḥāṣa "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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) ḥāṣa /hassāijjāt</td>
<td>ḥalla /hal?éet</td>
<td>��hīn &quot;now&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) baṣd</td>
<td>laḥalla /hal?éet</td>
<td>baṣd &quot;not yet&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.49-50 ff.)
in contradistinction to the back quality of comparable vowel sequences in RG1. Examples are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2 and RG3</th>
<th>RGl</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CicCic</td>
<td>CuCCuc</td>
<td>Cvccvc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigsim</td>
<td>bugsum</td>
<td>bigsim &quot;he divides&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigfir</td>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>buffur &quot;he digs&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidual</td>
<td>buddiub</td>
<td>bidual &quot;he takes to market&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biglit</td>
<td>bulist</td>
<td>bulit &quot;he mixes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigcid</td>
<td>bugud</td>
<td>bigud &quot;he knots&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidmil</td>
<td>budmil</td>
<td>bidmil &quot;he covers&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birkiz</td>
<td>burkuz</td>
<td>birkiz &quot;he stays still&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigsur</td>
<td>bixsur</td>
<td>bixsur &quot;he squeezes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bixdim</td>
<td>bixdum</td>
<td>bixdim &quot;he serves&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigurs</td>
<td>bugurs</td>
<td>bugurs &quot;he plants&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigsil</td>
<td>bugsul</td>
<td>bigsil &quot;he washes&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2 and RG3</th>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CuCuC</td>
<td>CiCiC</td>
<td>CuCuC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ğúTuf</td>
<td>ğīTif</td>
<td>?ūTuf &quot;a bunch of grapes&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dúnūm</td>
<td>dīnim</td>
<td>dúnūm &quot;acre&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuSūm</td>
<td>xīSim</td>
<td>- &quot;corner of a sack&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuřūs</td>
<td>xīris</td>
<td>xuřūs &quot;Wedding&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūbul</td>
<td>hībil</td>
<td>hūbul &quot;crazy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʒūhur</td>
<td>dʒīhir</td>
<td>dʒūhur &quot;hole&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2 and RG3</th>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CiCiC</td>
<td>CuCuC</td>
<td>CiCiC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sīāb</td>
<td>Sū́ub</td>
<td>Sīāb &quot;difficult&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žītig</td>
<td>zū́ug</td>
<td>- &quot;sour&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dīgir</td>
<td>dú́ur</td>
<td>dīgir &quot;obstinate&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.5. Verbales: Vocalic sequences of the perfect tense of verbs of structure CVVVC is again characterized by frontness in contrast
with RGl backness:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2 and 3</th>
<th>RGl</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVCVC</td>
<td>CVCVC</td>
<td>CVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sádag</td>
<td>Sádag</td>
<td>sáda?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fárad</td>
<td>fárad</td>
<td>fá?ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rárad</td>
<td>rárad</td>
<td>rá?ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cálab</td>
<td>Cálab</td>
<td>Cálab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mázax</td>
<td>mázax</td>
<td>mázax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váxax</td>
<td>váxax</td>
<td>váxax</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quality of the anaptyctic vowel in RG1 forms is noticeably different from that in RG2 and 3 forms. Following a medial guttural /h, G, x/ an emphatic consonant /ḍ, T/, a trilled consonant /r/, a voiced velar plosive /g/, and a bilabial consonant /b, m/, the anaptyctic vowel in RG1 forms is close and back, whereas it is mid and central in the corresponding forms of RG1 and SFII, cf.
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 KG2 and RG3 and SFII in contrast with the case of anaptyxis in KG1, cf.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AHG2 and AHG3</th>
<th>AHGl</th>
<th>AHGII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bāstāni</td>
<td>bāstāni</td>
<td>bāstāni &quot;I become shy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāstāri</td>
<td>bāstāri</td>
<td>bāstāri &quot;I buy&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāltāni</td>
<td>bāltāni</td>
<td>bāltāni &quot;I get engaged&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāxtāfi</td>
<td>bāxtāfi</td>
<td>bāxtāfi &quot;I disappear&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāstāni</td>
<td>bāstāni</td>
<td>bāstāni &quot;I desire&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārtāni</td>
<td>bārtāni</td>
<td>bārtāni &quot;I shiver&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāitarif</td>
<td>bāitarif</td>
<td>bāitarif &quot;I admit&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāstāGil</td>
<td>bāstāGil</td>
<td>bāstāGil &quot;I work&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāhtāfil</td>
<td>bāhtāfil</td>
<td>bāhtāfil &quot;I celebrate&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bārtāfi</td>
<td>bārtāfi</td>
<td>bārtāfi &quot;I go up&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4. There are a number of common miscellaneous forms in which certain vocalic segments differ in quality from corresponding segments in comparable AHGl forms. These are as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG2 and RG3</th>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SPII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bidna</td>
<td>bidna</td>
<td>bidna &quot;We want&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firie</td>
<td>firie</td>
<td>firie &quot;village&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niil</td>
<td>niil</td>
<td>niil &quot;raw&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>findjaan</td>
<td>fundjaan</td>
<td>findjaan &quot;a cup&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laban</td>
<td>liban</td>
<td>laban &quot;sour milk&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahet</td>
<td>tihit</td>
<td>tahet &quot;under&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagfe</td>
<td>dife</td>
<td>ifife &quot;piece&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jumma</td>
<td>jumma</td>
<td>jumma &quot;mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>ani</td>
<td>ana &quot;I&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Two
The ba'azul 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 'sam and rak: Characteristic of SFII is the use of 'sam or rak in association with a following imperfect tense in contradistinction to the corresponding forms qáníd and rájik typical of SFI.
   1.2. **Contrastive Relationship of 'sam and rak 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:

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

      bidd + Pronominal Suffix Imperfect Tense form. The set of all forms which can appear in this position is as follows:
1. jDa1l, e.g. biddu jDa1l jIstG1l "He will continue to work"
2. jSltr, e.g. biddu jSltr jIstG1l "He will work"
3. Irudd, e.g. biddu Irudd jIstG1l "He will work again"
4. jupSud, e.g. biddu jupSud jIstG1l "He is going to work"
5. jruuh, e.g. biddu jruuh jIstG1l "He is going to work"
6. j?uum, e.g. biddu j?uum jIstG1l "He is going to work"
7. jib?a, e.g. biddu jib?a jIstG1l "He is working"
8. jkuun, e.g. biddu jkuun jIstG1l "He is working"
9. j?idar, e.g. biddu j?idar jIstG1l "He wants to be able to work"

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

1. biddu jruuh jDa1l jIstG1l "He will continue to work again"
2. biddu jruuh jSltr jIstG1l "He is going to start work"

jruuh also combines with Irudd, jupSud, j?uum, jib?a, e.g.,

biddu jruud jruuh jIstG1l "He is going to work again", biddu jruuh j?uum jIstG1l "He is going to start working".

3. biddu jib?a jruuh jIstG1l "He is going to work".

In addition to combinability with jruuh, jib?a combines
with iʔum, idal, irudd, and iʔudd, e.g. biddu ilh2a iʔum iʔxtgil
"He is going to work".

The forms sam and rakh 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
jimkin and laazim which behave similarly in the sense that they
characteristically fill the same position occupied by laazim and
jimkin, e.g.
1. laazim jixtgil tuul ilwaʔt "He must work all the time"
2. jimkin jixtgil tuul ilwaʔt "He may work all the time"
3. sam jixtgil tuul ilwaʔt "He is working all the time"
4. rakh jixtgil 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 rakh
and sam. Adverbs of "frequency" at 1-3 above, which occur in
association with sam and rakh + imperfect form, are regularly associated
with the imperfect form alone in the case of SFIII, e.g.
mi Jimkin iwuufuni halitš u bátšir tablíní fi dámmitš "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 ?atarīt: The form ?atarīt 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. ?atarītak btitmāsxar wāna miṣ daari "There you go kidding and I don't know".
2. ?atarīthum zaqlanīn wītwna miṣ daariiīn "There they go getting angry and we don't know"
3. ?atarīthana btitqāliīt wāna miṣ ḫna "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 ḫāba or ḫada in conjunction with the participal form bāaqi, e.g. ḫāba or ḫadā bāaqi titmāsxar wāna miṣ daari "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:
Elsewhere, and in a somewhat contrary sense, if two adjacent syllables are each initiated by /2/, between which the vowel /a/ occurs, then the first /2/ is replaced by /h/. A potential phonological sequence – ?aC- is likewise raised as ha?C-. Two successive glottal closures surrounding the open vowel thus constitute an impossible sequence. Examples are:

1. ta? ?a?ullak → ta? ha?ullak "Come and let me tell you something"
2. stānna ?āpuršak → stānna ha?ursak "Wait so that I may eat you" (form of endearing address to children).
3. huu ?ā?wa mínni → huu ha?wa mínni "he is stronger than me"
4. ?ā?all min heek → ha?all min heek "less than that"
5. ?ā?li ilbaTāTa → ha?li ilbaTāTa "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 + 1/r = nl/rr) (cf. exx. 9, 10). Examples are:

1. báhkkí máh - báhkkí máhkíálí "I am talking to myself"
2. rāh + Sāléek īlfīlm - rānhäléek īlfīlm "You missed the film"
3. Tā? + Gāálí - lāGGāálí "It's dear"
4. máx + xāálí - maxxāálí "At my uncle's (house)"
5. Sahíth + huu - Sahíhhuu "It's correct"
6. bārk + ha - bāskä "He sold it"
7. wídzhíh + gāmmak - wídzhíh gāmmak "Your uncle's face"
8. wídzhíh + hamúultak - wídzhíh hamúultak "your tribes' face"
9. wēn + rānjih - wēngñajh "Where are you going?"
10. miín - lānajmak - miillānajmak "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* + *bnìnzil* → *weenmnìnzil* “Where shall we get off?”
2. *ween* + *bnìTlať* → *weenmnìTlať* "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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV-CVV-CVC</th>
<th>CV-CVV-CV</th>
<th>CV-CVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ṣarānašif &quot;bed-sheets&quot;</td>
<td>karāasi &quot;chairs&quot;</td>
<td>Ṣarā ? &quot;sweat&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marāawīh &quot;fans&quot;</td>
<td>farāasi &quot;brushes&quot;</td>
<td>wāra ? &quot;paper&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marāakhib &quot;boats&quot;</td>
<td>marāasi &quot;anchors&quot;</td>
<td>máras &quot;rope&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣarāenīh &quot;rabbits&quot;</td>
<td>harāadi &quot;curtains&quot;</td>
<td>Ṣarāas &quot;bell&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marāadāqi &quot;references&quot;</td>
<td>Ṣarāawi &quot;button-holes&quot;</td>
<td>Ṣāram &quot;mosque&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter Three

The [Huu] 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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>RG2 and RG3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>lidwa li</td>
<td>Iddáwa liji</td>
<td>leek</td>
<td>?líli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers, masc.</td>
<td>lidwa lak</td>
<td>leetš</td>
<td>?líak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers, fem.</td>
<td>lidwa lik</td>
<td>leetš</td>
<td>?líitš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers, masc.</td>
<td>lidwa leh</td>
<td>le(h)</td>
<td>?lílu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers, fem.</td>
<td>lidwa leha</td>
<td>leéha</td>
<td>?líhna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>lidwa lena</td>
<td>leéna</td>
<td>?lína</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers, masc.</td>
<td>lidwa lékum</td>
<td>leéku</td>
<td>?líku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers, fem.</td>
<td>lidwa likum</td>
<td>leetšin</td>
<td>?lítsin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers, masc.</td>
<td>lidwa léhum</td>
<td>leéhum</td>
<td>?líhum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers, fem.</td>
<td>lidwa líhum</td>
<td>leéhin</td>
<td>?líhin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1st pers. | Iddáwa ?líli | "the medicine is mine"
2nd pers. masc. | " ?líak | "the medicine is yours"
2nd pers. fem. | " ?lílik | "the medicine is yours"
3rd pers. masc. | " ?líli | "the medicine is his"
3rd pers. fem. | " ?líha | "the medicine is hers"
1st pers. | " ?lína | "the medicine is ours"
2nd pers. masc. | " ?líku | "the medicine is yours"
2nd pers. fem. | " ?líkum | "the medicine is yours"
3rd pers. masc. | " ?líhum | "the medicine is theirs"
3rd pers. fem. | " ?líhum | "the medicine is theirs"
1.2. ḥagg: The invariable form ḥagg 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. marība witruh ḥagg laTībba vs. marīDa wbītrūn ḥal ṭatībba

"She is ill and goes to doctors"

2. tiqūul ḥagg wilādha vs. bitqūul lābanha

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:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wek kūbur</td>
<td>?addēel</td>
<td>gaddēel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;how much&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ?amēet</td>
<td>?eemta</td>
<td>wakteel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;when&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. laweex</td>
<td>leex</td>
<td>leex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;why&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. leeman</td>
<td>lamīn</td>
<td>lamīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;whose&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Salāamak</td>
<td>ṣu māalak</td>
<td>ṣu māalak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;What's wrong?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. wek int</td>
<td>ṣu ṭīnte</td>
<td>ṣu ṭīnte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;What are you?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>?i'úum kil loom</td>
<td>ba?úum kul loom</td>
<td>baqúum kul loom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>ti'úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bit?úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bitqúum &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>tiqúumi &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bit?úumi &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bitqúumi &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>jiqúum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bi?úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>biqúum &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>ti'úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bit?úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bitqúum &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st pers.</td>
<td>Niqúum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bin?úum &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bingúum &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. masc.</td>
<td>tiquumúun &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bit?úumu &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bitqúumu &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd pers. fem.</td>
<td>tiquumúun &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bit?úumu &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bitqúumin &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. masc.</td>
<td>jiquumúun &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bi?úumu &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>biquúmu &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd pers. fem.</td>
<td>jiquumúun &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>bi?úumu &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>biquúmin &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ila?t "all the time". All
these may be followed by pronominal suffixes, e.g. Tuul inhaar + u
"All his day", Tuul ila?t + hum "All their time". The second class
consists of the following members: marráat "sometimes", ba'd injáan
"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. 
jamìuuun "they walk", jaaaxìuuun "they take", tìguuuuun "You stand up" 
tadìaìuun "You pay".

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Túbxì</td>
<td>?úTubxì</td>
<td>?úTubxì &quot;cook&quot; (2nd pers. fem.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fìrìì</td>
<td>?ufurìì</td>
<td>?ufurìì &quot;lay down&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìmììl</td>
<td>?ìsmàììl</td>
<td>?ìsmàììl &quot;hear&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sèbri</td>
<td>?ùSubri</td>
<td>?ùSubri &quot;be patient&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sìlxì</td>
<td>?ìslaxì</td>
<td>?ìslaxì &quot;skin off&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ììbhìi</td>
<td>?ìdbahìi</td>
<td>?ìdbahìi &quot;kill&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kììftìi</td>
<td>?ìkipììl</td>
<td>?ìkipììl &quot;uncover&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qììdììi</td>
<td>?ùqùùdììi</td>
<td>hùùùdììi &quot;sit down&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kììmììi</td>
<td>?ìkimììi</td>
<td>?ìkimììi &quot;carry&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dììxììi</td>
<td>?ùdùxììi</td>
<td>?ùdùxììi &quot;enter&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 CVCCVC, CVCCVC, and CVCCV respectively elsewhere. The facts of correspondence are illustrated below:

The facts of correspondence are illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xl̄ga</td>
<td>x̄alaq</td>
<td>x̄al̆u &quot;he created him&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ỹḡra</td>
<td>ỹ̄garã</td>
<td>ỹ̄ḡara &quot;a hair&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w̄l̄dik</td>
<td>w̄ladık</td>
<td>w̄ladik &quot;your son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b̄ḡra</td>
<td>b̄garã</td>
<td>b̄ḡara &quot;a cow&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f̄ḡra</td>
<td>f̄ḡara</td>
<td>f̄ḡara &quot;poor people&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b̄s̄la</td>
<td>b̄š̄la</td>
<td>b̄š̄ale &quot;an onion&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f̄r̄sa</td>
<td>f̄r̄as̄u</td>
<td>f̄r̄as̄u &quot;his horse&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T̄b̄x̄a</td>
<td>T̄b̄x̄u</td>
<td>T̄b̄x̄u &quot;he cooked it&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l̄b̄n̄a</td>
<td>l̄b̄an̄u</td>
<td>l̄b̄an̄u &quot;his milk&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) (CCVCVC) vs. (CVCCVC)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kbarat</td>
<td>kubrit</td>
<td>kubrit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirbat</td>
<td>sirbit</td>
<td>sirbat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabhat</td>
<td>Tabhat</td>
<td>Tabhat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giadat</td>
<td>gudat</td>
<td>gudat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dxalat</td>
<td>dxalat</td>
<td>dxalat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammalat</td>
<td>Hammalat</td>
<td>Hammalat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libsat</td>
<td>libsit</td>
<td>libsit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Therif</td>
<td>thiurfur</td>
<td>thiurfur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisrif</td>
<td>Tisrif</td>
<td>Tisrif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thtasi</td>
<td>Thtsi</td>
<td>Thtsi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"she grew up"
"she drank"
"she cooked"
"she sat down"
"she entered"
"she carried"
"she dressed herself"
"she dug"
"she knows"
"she talks"

(iii) (CCVCV) vs. (CVCCV)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tbaama</td>
<td>Tbheme</td>
<td>Tdhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbama</td>
<td>lbhame</td>
<td>lbhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nxala</td>
<td>naxle</td>
<td>naxle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sxala</td>
<td>sxlle</td>
<td>sxlle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrisa</td>
<td>Mrase</td>
<td>Mrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"a bone"
"a piece of meat"
"a palm tree"
"a lamb?"
"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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ḥlāwa‘ajir</td>
<td>ḥlqaba‘ajil</td>
<td>ḥlqaba‘ajil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. márgad</td>
<td>fraa‘y</td>
<td>fraa‘y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ḥṭrabd</td>
<td>ḥlqalb</td>
<td>ḥlqalb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. garm</td>
<td>ḥāTab</td>
<td>ḥāTab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ʕuun</td>
<td>ʕineen</td>
<td>ʕineen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ʕuun</td>
<td>ʕineen</td>
<td>ʕidheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. sāalafa</td>
<td>ʕissā</td>
<td>ʕissā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. wältak</td>
<td>ʕibnak</td>
<td>ʕibnak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**"tribes"**

**"bed"**

**"heart"**

**"wood"**

**"eyes"**

**"ears"**

**"story"**

**"your son"**

### II. Verbal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFIII</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḥabb</td>
<td>baas</td>
<td>baas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jilawa‘iq</td>
<td>jihriq</td>
<td>jihriq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tādri</td>
<td>tiskrif</td>
<td>tiskrif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālwī</td>
<td>truuh</td>
<td>truuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gáljal</td>
<td>trājjah</td>
<td>trājjah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**"kissed"**

**"breaks the heart"**

**"you know"**

**"she goes"**

**"relaxed"**
PART II
Modes 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 pp77-05f). 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...

can be observed in the social activities in which the relations
are functioning. If this view is correct, then modes of address,
whose form is seen as a function of role-relationships obtaining
between individuals, 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".

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."

16. AR Radcliffe-Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society
Language in Culture and Society, ed. Dell Hymes, New York: Harper and
Row, 1964, p.239.
18. cf. Dell Hymes, "The Ethnography of Speaking", Anthropology and
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 "Nodes of Interaction of Language and Social
says, "must be determined empirically if the results are to have any validity". In fact, Hymes reiterates what Gardiner repeatedly emphasized in his book *The Theory of Speech and Language*, 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.

Jakobson also points out that speech functions may be described by reference to "factors of speech events". 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." 

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

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24. Ibid.
numerous aspects of speech still remain unknown or unstudied. Nor
have methods employed for collecting data 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. 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". 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'.

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".

27. Ibid.
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. But are there not other contextual constraints observable in different uses of language 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."

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-

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

B. Pronouns of Address

C. Respectful forms

A. Kinship terms

II.

Forms Appropriate to Temporary Relationships

B. Endearment - Affection

C. Meliorative - Pejorative

A. Approval - Disapproval
Chapter Four

Kinship Terms

1.0. **Classification**: Kinship terms may be subclassified in various ways. Firstly, according to *internal composition*\(^{33}\) 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.

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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 (1940) p. 169.
1.1. Classification According to Internal Composition:

1.1.2. Consanguinal: The relevant forms are:

- ?axx "brother"
- ?uxt "sister"
- dqidd or sild "paternal grandfather or maternal grandfather"
- dqidde or sitt "paternal grandmother or maternal grandmother"
- Samm "paternal uncle"
- Sámme "paternal aunt"
- xaal "maternal uncle"
- xáale "maternal aunt"
- ?abb "father"
- ?umm "mother"

1.1.3. Affinal:

- Sihr "father-in-law"
- hamaat "mother-in-law"
- d3ooz "husband"
- mára "wife"
- silf "husband's brother"
- sílfe "husband's brother's wife"
- sadíil "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. xaljoo "brother"
2. xaaloo "maternal uncle"
3. xammoo "paternal uncle"
4. d3iddoo or siidoo "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 xajti and bnaajti. 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. máma : méemti "(my) mother"
2. da'idde : dидд'de "(my) grandmother"
3. синме : смёenti "(my) father's sister"
4. xaale : xвеолт "(my) mother's sister"
5. ?uxt : xъ"ти "(my) sister"
6. бин : бнъж "(my) daughter"
7. ßiban : бнъз "(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 ßiban are feminine in contrast with those associated with -oo suffix. Contrariwise, the forms used by
women for the first class are:

1. **xwux** or **jxnux**  
   "my brother"
2. **x̂anli** or **ja x̂alí**  
   "my maternal uncle"
3. **ûmni** or **ja ūmni**  
   "my paternal uncle"
4. **dagiddi** or **ja dagiddi**  
   "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. **ja ìmna**  
   "my mother"
2. **ja x̂sti**  
   "my sister"
3. **ja bíníti**  
   "my daughter"
4. **ja bni**  
   "my son"
5. **ja ēmni**  
   "my paternal aunt"
6. **ja x̂álti**  
   "my maternal aunt"
7. **ja dagiddi**  
   "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:

- ?iban ?axx "nephew"
- bint ?axx "niece"
- ?iban ?iban "grandson"
- ?iban bint "daughter's son"
- bint iban "son's daughter"
- ?iban ?amm "paternal uncle's son"
- bint ?amm "paternal uncle's daughter"
- ?iban xaal "maternal uncle's son"
- bint xaal "maternal uncle's daughter"
- ?iban ?ämme "paternal aunt's son"
- bint ?ämme "paternal aunt's daughter"
- ?iban xáale "maternal aunt's son"
- bint xáale "maternal aunt's daughter"

1.2.5. Affinal:

- d3ooz ?ämme "paternal aunt's husband"
- mart ?âmme "paternal uncle's wife"
- d3ooz xáale "maternal aunt's husband"
- mart xaal "maternal uncle's wife"
- mart ?axx "brother's wife"
- d3ooz uxt "sister's husband"
- mart abb "father's second wife"
1.3. Classification According to Use:

The use of kinship terms contributes to the reciprocal behavior 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. 76-77 ff.).

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 _martabuuj_ and he receives ja _martabuuj_ "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 dzoizi_ "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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laxúuj, xajjóo</td>
<td>laxúuj, xajjóo</td>
<td>brother to brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bin şàmmi</td>
<td>ja bin şàmmi</td>
<td>cousin to cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bin xálì</td>
<td>ja bin xálì</td>
<td>sister's brother's son to maternal uncle's son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja šàndììli</td>
<td>ja šàndììli</td>
<td>spouse's sister's husband to spouse's sister's husband.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xáltì, jàxtì</td>
<td>xáltì, jàxtì</td>
<td>sister to sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint şàmmi</td>
<td>ja bint şàmmi</td>
<td>father's brother's daughter to father's brother's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint xálì</td>
<td>ja bint xálì</td>
<td>mother's brother's daughter to mother's brother's daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja šàlìftì</td>
<td>ja šàlìftì</td>
<td>spouse to her husband's brother's spouse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE OR FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jàaba</td>
<td>jàaba</td>
<td>father to son or daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jàmmà</td>
<td>jàmmà</td>
<td>mother to son or daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja xálì</td>
<td>ja xálì</td>
<td>maternal uncle to sister's sons or daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja šàmmi</td>
<td>ja šàmmi</td>
<td>paternal uncle to brother's sons or daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja šàlìdi, siidò</td>
<td>ja šàlìdi, siidò</td>
<td>grandfather to grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male or Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Interlocutors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja marth sammi</td>
<td>ja marth sammi</td>
<td>sons or daughters to father's brother's (paternal uncle) wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja marth xaali</td>
<td>ja marth xaali</td>
<td>sons or daughters to mother's brother's (maternal uncle) wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja marth axuu</td>
<td>ja marth axuu</td>
<td>brother's brother or sisters to brother's spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja marth abuu</td>
<td>ja marth abuu</td>
<td>sons or daughters to father's second wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male or Female</th>
<th>Interlocutors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jamma</td>
<td>jamma</td>
<td>mother to son or daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja samti smeemti</td>
<td>ja samti smeemti</td>
<td>paternal aunt to brother's sons or daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja xaalti xweelit</td>
<td>ja xaalti xweelit</td>
<td>maternal aunt to sister's sons or daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja sitti, д3йedti</td>
<td>ja sitti, д3йedti</td>
<td>grandmother to grandmother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: T-R'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jāxti</td>
<td>jaxúuj</td>
<td>brother and sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint ʕámmi</td>
<td>ja bin ʕámmi</td>
<td>husband and wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint xaáli</td>
<td>ja bin xaáli</td>
<td>maternal uncle’s son and mother’s brother’s daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja mart abúuj</td>
<td>ja bin dzóozi</td>
<td>son and father’s second wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja ʕámmi</td>
<td>ja dzóoz xaálti</td>
<td>mother’s sister’s husband and wife’s sister’s daughter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja bin xaáli</td>
<td>ja bin ʕámmti</td>
<td>paternal aunt’s son and mother’s brother’s son.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-U in the same way as corresponding usage among kinsmen. Thus

Table 3: T-R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja xuuj</td>
<td>ja xuuj</td>
<td>used to anyone or between close friends of the same age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja gëmmi</td>
<td>ja gëmmi</td>
<td>to older persons than the speaker and unknown to him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja xaal</td>
<td>ja xaal</td>
<td>used to an older person than the speaker but known to him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jëxti</td>
<td>jëxti</td>
<td>used between two close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja xëale</td>
<td>ja xëale</td>
<td>to an older woman than the speaker and unknown to her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja sitti</td>
<td>ja sitti</td>
<td>between two close friends indicating &quot;polite femality&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SENIOR</td>
<td>JUNIOR</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja wálad</td>
<td>ja míyídi</td>
<td>between an old man and a young person (paternalizing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja míyídi il̲ṣaṣiṣi</td>
<td>ja xúuti</td>
<td>between an older man and superior in status &quot;deprecating&quot; his status to an inferior addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>júmma</td>
<td>ja xáalti</td>
<td>between a very old woman and an unknown younger woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint</td>
<td>ja sítí</td>
<td>between a mistress and a maid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja binti</td>
<td>ja sámtí</td>
<td>between an old woman and another younger woman who is related.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja binti</td>
<td>ja sámtí</td>
<td>exchanged between an old man and a very young girl who is known to him (paternalizing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint</td>
<td>ja míyídi</td>
<td>exchanged between an old man or master to a maid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint ibni</td>
<td>ja xáale</td>
<td>exchanged between an old man and a young woman who is unknown to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja wálad</td>
<td>ja xáalti</td>
<td>exchanged between an old woman and a boy unknown to her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint bintí</td>
<td>ja mára</td>
<td>exchanged between an old woman scolding a very young boy unrelated to her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>MALE/FEMALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jíaba</td>
<td>ja sámtí</td>
<td>exchanged between an old man and a younger person (paternalizing)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 jāxtī (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 addressee 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) jāxti : wāltī, jāxti, nāla fēka bītifiddi "You, sister, what are you looking at?"

(b) méemti : méemti, ja ḫabilītī, āku bītswīlī ū "Mother, darling, what are you doing?"

(c) xwēeltī : xwēeltī, k6līrt ilGālāba, ?iftēi ilbāab "Aunty, naughty, open the door".

II. Complex Terms:

(a) sitt ilbanāāt: ma kēr Gālbatik, ja sitt ilbanāāt "How naughty you are! mistress of all girls".

(b) sitt ilkūll: fārk išqai, ja sitt ilkūll "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 ilbanāāt "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 mara "wife", ja zālAME "husband", or, if greater respect is appropriate, a husband addresses his wife as ja bint sāmmi "my cousin" and he receives ja bin sāmmi 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. jīšan ?abu ?aššak “Curse your lineage”
2. jīšan ?abu dāmmak “Curse your blood”
3. jīšan ūmmak “Curse your mother”

1.5.5. Terms of Blessing:

In contrast with Curses, in which kinship forms collocate with a “constant” verb-form, viz. jīšan, 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. jīrDa : jīrDa šalēeki, ja’aba “God bless you, father”
2. jisāhhil : jisāhhil Tariīgak, jāmma “May God make your way easy, mother”
3. jhānnin : jhānnin šalēeki, jāxti “May God be kind to you, sister”
4. jwarri : jwarriini wīḏhak šala xeer, ja xūuí “May we see your face again, 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 (consanquinal)

A. Ego's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>xajjoo</code> or <code>ja xuu</code></td>
<td>jāxi</td>
<td>xūuja or ja xūuj &quot;my brother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāxī or ja xajti</td>
<td>jāxī</td>
<td>jāxī &quot;my sister&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bin ẓāmmi</td>
<td>ja bin ẓāmmi</td>
<td>ja wild ẓāmmi &quot;my paternal uncle's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint ẓāmm</td>
<td>ja bint ẓāmmi</td>
<td>ja bint ẓāmmi &quot;my paternal uncle's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bin ẓāmme</td>
<td>ja bint ẓāmti</td>
<td>ja wild ẓāmāti &quot;my maternal aunt's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint ẓāmme</td>
<td>ja bint ẓāmti</td>
<td>ja bint ẓāmāti &quot;my maternal aunt's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bin xaal</td>
<td>ja bin xaali</td>
<td>ja wild xaali &quot;my paternal uncle's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja bint xaal</td>
<td>ja bint xaali</td>
<td>ja bint xaali &quot;my maternal uncle's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generation</td>
<td>Father's Generation</td>
<td>Mother's Generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF I</td>
<td>jā́bba or bā́ha</td>
<td>jī́mma or mḗnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF II</td>
<td>jā́bba or bā́ha</td>
<td>jī́mma or mḗnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF III</td>
<td>jā́bba or bā́ha</td>
<td>jī́mma or mḗnti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SF IV</td>
<td>jā́bba or bā́ha</td>
<td>jī́mma or mḗnti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* "My father" * "My maternal uncle" * "My maternal aunt" * "My paternal uncle's wife" * "My maternal aunt's husband"
### C. Children's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jaaba</td>
<td>Jaaba</td>
<td>Ja widi or ja widi &quot;my son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammoo (m)</td>
<td>Sammoo (m)</td>
<td>Ja wid iixuíj &quot;my brother's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meemti (f)</td>
<td>meemti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sammoo (m)</td>
<td>Sammoo (m)</td>
<td>Ja wid ixti &quot;my sister's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amme (f)</td>
<td>anti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xaaloo (m)</td>
<td>Xaaloo (m)</td>
<td>Ja bint ixti &quot;my sister's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xweelti (f)</td>
<td>Xweelti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFII</td>
<td>SFIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiddoo (m)</td>
<td>Siidoo (m)</td>
<td>Ja widi or ja widi &quot;my son's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadéédti (f)</td>
<td>sitti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiddoo (m)</td>
<td>Siidoo (m)</td>
<td>Ja binti &quot;my son's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiddoo (m)</td>
<td>Siidoo (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadéédti (f)</td>
<td>sitti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiddoo (m)</td>
<td>Siidoo (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadéédti (f)</td>
<td>sitti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiddoo (m)</td>
<td>Siidoo (m)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadéédti (f)</td>
<td>sitti (f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## II. Affinal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SF1</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja zálame or jabin</td>
<td>ja bint ֶ'ámám</td>
<td>ja bint ֶ'ámám &quot;my husband&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ֶ'ámám</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja mára or ja bint</td>
<td>ja bint ֶ'ámám</td>
<td>ja hurnéti or ja bint ֶ'ámám &quot;my wife&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ֶ'ámám</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja ֶ'ámám</td>
<td>ja ֶ'ámám</td>
<td>ja ֶ'ámám &quot;my father-in-law&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja tšínne</td>
<td>ja kinti</td>
<td>ja tšannéti &quot;my daughter-in-law&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja ֶ'ámámne</td>
<td>ja ֶ'ámám</td>
<td>ja ֶ'ámám &quot;my mother-in-law&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja d3ooz úxti</td>
<td>ja d3ooz úxti</td>
<td>ja nisihibi &quot;my brother-in-law&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja martaxúuj</td>
<td>ja mart ֶ'xí</td>
<td>ja mart uxauxi &quot;my brother's wife&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II. Terms of Reference

A. Eno's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?axuuj</td>
<td>?axi</td>
<td>xuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?uxt or</td>
<td>?uxt or</td>
<td>ixt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xajti</td>
<td>xajti</td>
<td>&quot;my brother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iban xammi</td>
<td>?iban xammi</td>
<td>wild xammi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint xammi</td>
<td>bint xammi</td>
<td>&quot;my paternal uncle's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iban xali</td>
<td>?iban xali</td>
<td>wild xali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint xali</td>
<td>bint xali</td>
<td>&quot;my maternal uncle's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iban xamti</td>
<td>?iban xamti</td>
<td>wild xamti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint xamti</td>
<td>bint xamti</td>
<td>&quot;my paternal uncle's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?iban xalati</td>
<td>?iban xalati</td>
<td>wild xalati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint xalati</td>
<td>bint xalati</td>
<td>&quot;my maternal aunt's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;my maternal aunt's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### B. Parent's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?abúuj</td>
<td>?ábl</td>
<td>buuj &quot;my father&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?úmmi</td>
<td>?ímmi</td>
<td>ummi &quot;my mother&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þámml</td>
<td>þánmi</td>
<td>þámml &quot;my paternal uncle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>þámti</td>
<td>þámti</td>
<td>þámti &quot;my paternal aunt&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xáali</td>
<td>xáali</td>
<td>xáali &quot;my maternal uncle&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xáalti</td>
<td>xáalti</td>
<td>xáalti &quot;my maternal aunt&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ooz þámti</td>
<td>d3ooz þámti</td>
<td>rát3ill þámti &quot;my paternal aunt's husband&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mart þámml</td>
<td>mart þámml</td>
<td>mart þámml &quot;my paternal uncle's wife&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ooz xáalti</td>
<td>d3ooz xáalti</td>
<td>rát3ill xáalti &quot;my maternal aunt's husband&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mart xáali</td>
<td>mart xáali</td>
<td>mart xáali &quot;my maternal uncle's wife&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
C. Children's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ibni</td>
<td>?ibni</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ibn axúuj</td>
<td>?ibn áxi</td>
<td>Abdael &quot;my brother's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint axúuj</td>
<td>bint áxi</td>
<td>Abdael &quot;my brother's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ibn úxti</td>
<td>?ibn úxti</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my sister's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint úxti</td>
<td>bint úxti</td>
<td>Abdael &quot;my sister's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D. Grandchildren's Generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?ibn Íbni</td>
<td>hafídi</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my son's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ibn binti</td>
<td>hafídi</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my daughter's son&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint Íbni</td>
<td>hafídúti</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my son's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bint binti</td>
<td>hafídúti</td>
<td>Abdel &quot;my daughter's daughter&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The main differences among kinship terms for all speech fellowships may be stated as follows:

1. **Lexical**: SFI and SFII ḫibin "son", ḏndnūz "husband" correspond to SFIII ḫild and ṭāḏālīl 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 xuūj, buūj vs. SFI Ḫxuūj and Ḫabūūj).
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symmetrical Relationships</th>
<th>Asymmetrical Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. superior and solidary</td>
<td>1. superior and not solidary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. equal and solidary</td>
<td>2. superior and not solidary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. inferior and solidary</td>
<td>3. inferior and not solidary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. inferior/superior</td>
<td>4. inferior/superior</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

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.
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RG1</th>
<th>SFI</th>
<th>SFII</th>
<th>SFIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñí</td>
<td>?ánî</td>
<td>?ánî</td>
<td>ñí &quot;I&quot; 1st pers. sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huu</td>
<td>huu</td>
<td>huu</td>
<td>hûwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hîi</td>
<td>hîi</td>
<td>hîi</td>
<td>hîi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hûmme</td>
<td>hûmme</td>
<td>hûmme</td>
<td>hûmme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hînne</td>
<td>hînne</td>
<td>hînne</td>
<td>hînne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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.
### 1. T-R

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏiné</td>
<td>ḏiné</td>
<td>brother to brother (irrespective of age) or father to son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏintu</td>
<td>ḏintu</td>
<td>brothers to brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>sister to sister (irrespective of age) or mother to daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏintin</td>
<td>ḏintin</td>
<td>sisters to sisters</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II. T-R’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏintu</td>
<td>ḏiné</td>
<td>father to sons or brother to brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏintin</td>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>mother to daughters or sister to sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>ḏiné</td>
<td>father to daughter or husband to wife or brother to sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEMALE</td>
<td>MALE</td>
<td>INTERLOCUTORS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏiné</td>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>mother to son or sister to brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏintu</td>
<td>ḏinti</td>
<td>mother to sons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ?ıntu (2nd pl) "you" and return ?ınte (2nd pers. sing.) to individual "inferiors". If no precedence is involved, interlocutors exchange the 2nd pers. sing. form ?ınte. The greeting formula kul săne w.... Tājjib and its associated response w ....... Tājjib (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 săne w - ıntu Tājjib - în "Many happy returns", to which he responds w - ınte Tājjib, only when the addressee is of lower rank. Otherwise, interlocutors of high social rank exchange between themselves ?ınte "you" (2nd pers. pl.), whereas persons of lower social rank exchange between themselves ?ınte "you" (2nd pers. sing.). Exchanges are
summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. T-R</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>peer to peer (in low social rank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ínti</td>
<td>?ínti</td>
<td>peer to peer (in high social rank)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>?ínti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?íntin</td>
<td>?íntin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. T-R'</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>between an inferior and superior (e.g. a junior civil servant and a minister).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?íntu</td>
<td>?ínti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affectionate</th>
<th>Otherwise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ṭu biddu ḫaļiḥal huu</td>
<td>Ṭu biddak īn ḫaļiḥal inte?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;what does &quot;sneaky&quot; want?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;what do you want, sneaky?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ṭu bỉsawwī ḫamū ḫuū</td>
<td>Ṭu bỉsawwī īn ḫarīnte?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu</td>
<td>Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu, Ṭu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;what is &quot;shorty&quot; doing? what</td>
<td>&quot;what are you doing? &quot;shorty&quot;, what, what, what, what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what, what?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (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 |
| 1. leeš huu trādāqā "why did he back out?" | leeš inte trādāqāt? "why did you back out?" |
| 2. leeš huu ma jitrājjah "why can't he settle down?" | leeš inte ma jitrājjah "why can't you settle down?" |
(iii) 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 kilif ilgeele "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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;Unrelated&quot; Male to Female</th>
<th>&quot;Related&quot; Male to Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Formally Polite&quot;</td>
<td>Otherwise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. mumkin tihkinna hii san</td>
<td>mumkin tihkinna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Could she tell us her</td>
<td>&quot;Could you tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?isam-ha</td>
<td>?inti san ismik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name?&quot;</td>
<td>us your name?&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ween hii wilidit?</td>
<td>ween inti wilidti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Where was she born?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Where were you born?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 wārṓhod appears with the definite article il- or not. Members of the first class, called for convenience Indefinite Pronouns, comprise the form wārṓhod (or wārṓhode) (f. sing.) and extensions thereof. The possibilities of extension are comprehensively stated below:

- **Left-hand**
  1. kul wārṓhod (wārṓhode) "everybody"
  2. ṭall wārṓhod (wārṓhode) "anybody"
  3. wāla wārṓhod (wāhade) "nobody"

- **Right-hand**
  4. wārṓhod (wāhade) ḍanni (ṭānje) "someone else"
  5. wārṓhod (wāhade) maGeer
  6. wārṓhod (wāhade) min "one of....."

Members of the second class, termed Impersonal Pronouns, are two only: ilwārṓhod and ilwārṓhode. They often follow the third person singular pronouns huu "he" and hii "she" as in:
1. ma huu ilwásaḥad maa bídar ifurif znj sa biddu
“One cannot spend as one likes”

2. ma hii ilwáhade ḥaxūhua mid dánha w láḥaṣa
“One’s brother is made of one’s blood and flesh”

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

Examples are:
1. padídī bítlaš sála ilwásaḥad "How much does it cost one?"
2. bíhku wára ilwásaḥad "They gossip behind one(’s back)"
3. bidaggar ṭuddáam ilwásaḥad "He bumps into one"
4. su bíhka tínfaš lálwásaḥad "What benefit is it for one?"
5. maa bífrif? mà ilwásaḥad "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 status 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 *rirm* "mother of". On the other hand, parents, older brothers and sisters address younger members of the family as:

1. *ja ḫalāli w māli* "my property"
2. *ja xēeri w rīmli* "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 zábı "Sheikh zábı"
(b) ḥadadja, e.g. ja ḥadadja šleemän "Ulaj šleemän"
(c) sájilid, e.g. ja sájilid šami "Mr. Saami"

II. Titles Used After (FN): -
(a) bãaâyà, e.g. ja sájilid bãaâyà "Pasha Sa'id"
(b) beek, e.g. ja zuheer beek "Zuheer Bey"
(c) ðafândi, e.g. ja ðusàama ðafândi "?usaama Efsendi"

III. Titles Used before (FN) or (LN): -
(a) doktóór, e.g. ja doktóór šami (FN) "Dr. Saami", or ja doktóór šabà (LN) "Dr. Saaba" 
(b) ðustkánà, e.g. ja ðustkánà kamanal (FN) "Mr. Kamaal" or ja ðustkánà kóranì (LN) "Mr. Horani"

IV. Titles (+ Occup. Names) Used without (FN) or (LN): -
(a) djalàlalt, e.g. djalàlalt umállik ilmùddin "Your Majesty" 
(b) sumùum, e.g. sumùum ul?anùr "Your Highness" 
(c) dawlat, e.g. dawlat urra?is "Your Excellency" (only to the Prime Minister) 
(d) mazàalì, e.g. mazàalìlważìr "Your Excellency" (addressed only to a Minister)
(e) suTúufat, e.g. suTúufat ulwakíl "Your Honour" (used to address senior govt. officials such as under-secretaries and district governors)
(f) sàzádat, e.g. sàzádat ilmùddir "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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja ʻeeex + (FN)</td>
<td>ja ʻeeex + (FN)</td>
<td>A tribal &quot;Chief&quot; to a tribal &quot;Chief&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja ḥadada + (FN)</td>
<td>ja ḥadada + (FN)</td>
<td>A pilgrim to a pilgrim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ja sājjid + (FN)</td>
<td>ja sājjid + (FN)</td>
<td>An acquaintance to an acquaintance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ja + Name of Occup + (FN) (e.g. ja Ṣustān Ali)</td>
<td>ja + Name of Occup + (FN) (e.g. ja Ṣustān Ali)</td>
<td>An acquaintance of the same profession to another of the same rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ja + (FN) + bānāsa</td>
<td>ja + (FN) + bānāsa</td>
<td>A distinguished person holding this title by royal decree to another of the same rank.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ja + (FN) + beek</td>
<td>ja + (FN) + beek</td>
<td>A high government official or a senior army officer to another of the same rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ja + (FN) + Ṣafandī</td>
<td>ja + (FN) + Ṣafandī</td>
<td>A lawyer to a lawyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ja + masīhal Ḫwnāzīr</td>
<td>ja + masīhal Ḫwnāzīr</td>
<td>A minister to a minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ja + Ṣuṭūufat</td>
<td>ja + Ṣuṭūufat</td>
<td>A district governor to another district governor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ja + saṣṣāndat</td>
<td>ja + saṣṣāndat</td>
<td>A manager (e.g. of a bank) to another manager.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ğa ğustand, a patient addresses a doctor ğa dökör, and a soldier addresses an army officer as ğa beck without receiving any deferential designation in return. If, however, the inferior happens to be an older (married) person, he is addressed as ğu 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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja bn ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>ja bn ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>between very close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja bn ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ja bn ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja bint ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>ja bint ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>between very close friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja bint ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ja bint ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ja xalalje</td>
<td>ja xalalje</td>
<td>between 'uneducated' close friends of the same age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ja xeexa</td>
<td>ja xeexa</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja bn ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>ja bint ’ilhalidal</td>
<td>between two speakers marking a long-standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>friendship and mutual respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja bn ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ja bint ’il?awladim</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ja Tawil il’lumur</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTOR(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja mawānna līkazīlīz</td>
<td>ja mawānna līkazīlīz</td>
<td>between men of the same age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja sīīd līkarafrīn</td>
<td>ja sīīd līkarafrīn</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ja ḫaṣīīzī wa ṣaqāribī</td>
<td>ja ḫaṣīīzī wa ṣaqāribī</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTOR(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja sītt līkarafrīnāt</td>
<td>ja sītt līkarafrīnāt</td>
<td>woman to woman of the same age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja ḫaṣīīzīt wa ṣaqāribītī</td>
<td>ja ḫaṣīīzīt wa ṣaqāribītī</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. T-R'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTOR(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ja ṭāanīṣe</td>
<td>ja ṭustānā</td>
<td>a teacher to an unmarried colleague and vice versa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ja sītt</td>
<td>ja ṭustānā</td>
<td>a teacher to a married colleague and vice versa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. ja žarna

4. ja hûme or ja wijije

5. ja bint

| ja žalmme | ja wâlād | wife to husband and vice versa |
| ja hûme or ja wijije | ja žalmme | between any man and woman |
| ja bint | ja wâlād | 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 ?umma + the name of his first-born son), he is usually addressed as ja wâlād "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 ?akbârûka simna ?agêmûka gîdran "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 150-1ff.) 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. pp 15-27ff.), forms of endearment do not undergo "comparativisation".

(d) they are characterised by lack of association with the vocative particle in 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. Ѭёєєіи "my eye"
2. рооои "my soul"
3. гїїїіи "my heart"
4. мїїїїи "my lung"
5. кїїїїи "my liver"
6. сїїїи "my mind"
7. ѳїїїи, "my arm"

2. Forms Related to Property:

1. Ѭїїїіи "my cattle"
2. мїїїи "my possession"
3. мїїїи "" " "
4. бїїїи "my house"
5. сїїїи "my pride"

3. Plant Names:

1. Ѭїїїїи "my daffodil"
2. вїїїїи "my rose"
3. гїїїи "my wheat"
4. бїїїи "my dates"
5. гїїїи "my grapes"
6. гїїїи "my sugar-beet"
4. **Personal Names:**

1. ראֶָמיֶֶת or ראֶָמִֶיתֶֶ תֶ "my bridegroom or bride"
2. רָמִֶית or רָמִֶיתֶ תֶ "my prince or princess"
3. מְלֶָיקֶי or מְלֶָיקֶת "my king or queen"

5. "Heavenly"Bodies:

1. גְעַמֶרי "my moon"
2. נָיֵֶד "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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ṭōōhi &quot;my soul&quot;</td>
<td>ṭōōhi</td>
<td>Young married couples to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. qālbi &quot;my heart&quot;</td>
<td>qālbi</td>
<td>indicate greater affection and closeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. gāmari &quot;my moon&quot;</td>
<td>gāmari</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ṭaridti &quot;my rose&quot;</td>
<td>ṭaridti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE Ou FEMALE</th>
<th>M. Ou F.</th>
<th>INTERLOCUTORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ḥalāali &quot;my cattle&quot;</td>
<td>ḥalāali</td>
<td>Elder brothers/sisters and younger ones; expressive of great sympathy during crises such as sickness and death.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ḡalali &quot;my wealth&quot;</td>
<td>ḡalali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ūizzi &quot;my house&quot;</td>
<td>ūizzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. bēeti &quot;my pride&quot;</td>
<td>bēeti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ḥalānti &quot;my life&quot;</td>
<td>ḥalānti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ilhanal* "How are you?" Examples are:

**Grandparents to Child:**

1. *kiif hälak, ja farxi* "How are you, my chick?"
2. *kiif hälak, ja múhri* "How are you, my colt?"
3. *kiif hälak, ja brang ilingham* "How are you, my right arm?"
4. *kiif hälak, ja nídami* "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. *ülála jihmiik, ja šaríisi* "May God protect you, my bridegroom"
2. *ülála jirDa šaléek, ja šízzi* "God bless you, my pride"
3. *ülála jihdíik, ja háléali* "May God help you, my treasure"
4. *ülála jsalnak, ja wárídti* "May God keep you, my rose"
(b) **Formulæ 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 ızafje, ja qálbi* "Health and long life to you, my heart"
2. *háníʔan 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 *wálak* is regularly associated. The use of *wálak* in association with an endearing form is common between close friends or parents and children. Examples are:

(i) **Between close friends:**

1. *wálak, ja zalame, tašáal hoon* "Hey, man, come along"
2. *wálak, ja wálad, ?íTlaʔ bárra* "Hey, boy, Go away"

(ii) **Between Parents and Children:**

1. *wálak, ja zarísi ša Zeeʔ bitlídd* "Hey, my bridegroom, what are you looking at?"
2. *wálak ša gámarí, înziš šan ilkúrši* "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 mašak* "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. ?alla màtak, ja nuur lëeni "God be with you, light of my eye"
2. ?alla màtak, ja hàbilib rûobi "God be with you, darling of my soul"

(ii) Host to Guest:
1. ?alla màtak, ja fâzîizi "God be with you, my friend"
2. ?alla màtak, ja xûuj "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 hàraam "poor thing", which is employed by police officers or doctors in addressing sympathetically an injured or ill used person;
2. ja maskîin, which could be used in addressing affectionately a person whose rights have been infringed.
3. ja hasârti "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. 'Śwēnnati "my eyes"
2. qleēbi "my heart"
3. mheērti "my colt"
4. sxēłti "my lamb"
5. gmeērti "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 madh "approval" and bāmm "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 balnaš "stop (being)........, eg., balnaš waldane "stop being a child", balnaš zanānaxa "stop being disgusting", balnaš dafaša "stop being rough"

(ii) they associate with the particle ?anìma, e.g. ?anìma kalb "what a dog!", ?anìma šiTāan "what a devil!", ?anìma mandaun "what a lunatic!", ?anìma ?ahbal "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.117-10ff.) solely characteristic of the adjective class. This set of forms is
semantically restricted to animal names and is exhaustively listed as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>donkey</td>
<td>ḥmār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mule</td>
<td>bāGal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-goat</td>
<td>tees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genet</td>
<td>nisnāas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ass</td>
<td>dḡaḥā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>kalb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bnt</td>
<td>waTwaT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>xanzīr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "comparative" forms of these are: ḥaḥmar, ḥbGal, ṭātjas, ṭanāsna, ṭaḏghaḏ ṭaklab, ṭawṬwaT, ṭaḍānzar respectively.

In contrast with the above, comparable forms which are used as "terms of endearment" do not undergo "comparativisation". These are: ṭaŠfūr "bird", Gazāl "deer", fahd "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
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 *mar* "woman", *ja *zâiane "man", *ja *šabb "young man", *ja *xtjânar "old man", *ja *Tafal "child"
2. **Kinship** e.g. *ja *xûül "my brother", *ja *câmmi "my uncle" *ja *xâali "my maternal uncle".
3. **Occupational** e.g. *ja *ndîgalîr "carpenter", *ja *harrâq "ploughman".
4. **Personal** e.g. *ja *mâhâmîd "Mohammed", *ja *sâlman "Salmaan", *ja *sâami "Saami".

B. **Constructs**, subdivided as follows:

1. *ja* + **Adjective** + Nominal e.g. *ja *kbiîr d3d3axxa "You snob", *ja *kbiîr ilbaTan "You glutton".
2. *ja* + ?umma or ?abb + **personal noun**, e.g. *ja ?umma *mâhâmîd "Mohammed's mother", *ja ?ább *sâli "Ali's father".

C. **Adjectivals**, again subdivided as follows:

1. **Participial** e.g. *muhtîrma "respectful", *mitma’dîn "civilised"
madanūn "fool", mahmūm "feverish" mahmūm "worried", galīnān "concerned" muflīd "useful"

2. Phonesthetic e.g. xāmuqān "gluttonous" lāqlāg "outspoken" wāswas "gossip", mālmal "slow-coach"

3. Colour terms e.g. ?āśfar "yellow", ?āhmar "red", ?āxDar "green" wāsīrns "gossip", mālmal "slow-coach"

4. Qualitative e.g. hānūn "kind", li?īm "mean", ḍākil "intelligent", bīšīk "ugly", zGīlīr "small" kblīr "big", Tāwīl "tall", waāslīs "wide".

D. Post-nominal relative modifier e.g. ja māmāz jāllī maa bātsīmās "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 wālād + ja mālšūn iλwanīdeen + jāllī maa bātsītī "Boy whose parents are cursed and who is not shy".

2. ja bīnt ja xārifīf liddām jāllī bītīsīhī "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 جن 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 جن. It may be added that all forms associated with جن are regularly relatable to the nominal sentence pattern in which the subject is an independent pronoun of the 2nd person, e.g.,

1. ئينتَ وَلَد "You are a boy"
2. ئينتَ خَادم "You are gluttonous"
3. ئينتَ بَارِد "You are cold"
4. ئينتَ مَدَّار "You are a carpenter"
5. ئينتَ سَلِيد "You are lucky"

A major subdivision of forms is, however, necessary between those which occur with مَكَار min "more than" or مَنَل min "less than" and those which occur in comparable contexts in the
morphological pattern ?accac

**TYPE I**

1. **Passive Particles:** mitmāddin "civilised", mitwākhīl, "uncivilised", mūhtār "respectful", masgūul "reasonable", mūhimm "important", mūmil "boring", mūmit "interesting", mSāddīl "rusty"

2. **Adjectives of the phonological pattern caccaac:**
   - tahān "tired", tahān "full up", ṣnīsān "thirsty" talsān "faulty"

3. **Animal names:** rāh "cheetah", rawwī "jackal", tāslob "fox", sammūr "weasle", nūnfūb "hedgehog", granb "crow".

4. **Certain adjectives of the pattern caccaac, e.g.**
   - Sāhīf "correct", wahīd "alone", dārīf "hurt", mālīf "good"

**TYPE II**

1. **Phonesthetic forms** which are formally distinguishable as a separate reduplicative sub-class of adjectives in which the first syllable is repeated, e.g. xāxmā "glutton", lálag "talkative", máilmal "slowcoach", wāswas "gossip", dādhab "a person stamping heavily with feet on ground", GāmGām "grumbler". Comparative forms are derived by the prefixation of ?a- e.g., ?axammām "more gluttonous", ?alaglaq "more talkative", ?amālmal "a bigger slowcoach" etc.

3. All other adjectives indicating intellectual, emotional and social characteristics, e.g. ḥiniq "ugly", baxiīl "stingy", nḍili "clean", fāǧīl "smashing", rāʔiīl "super", rāḥīm "kind", xadʒuul "shy", xīṣin "tough", ẓāqālīl "sensible", ṭnwīn "trustworthy" ḥanūn "sympathetic", gāwi "strong", Gābī "stupid", ḏanī? "disdainful", Siḷif "arrogant", Siʔīr "scruffy", Siʔīr "sharp-tongued".

ʔakOar min contrasts with ṭagālīl 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 ạ́máá “You are sensible”
2. Comparative: ?ínte ạ́máá míní “You are more sensible than me”
3. Superlative: ?ínte ạ́máá wáñánd “You are most sensible”

The generalized structures for these may be represented as follows:

1. ProN + Adj
2. ProN + Adjcomp + mín + ProN
3. ProN + Adjcomp + wáñánd

(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 cacaac, or animal names) are shown as follows:

1. Positive: ?ínte mitmááddin “You are civilised”
2. Comparative: ?ínte mitmááddin ?ákGáá (?ággál) míní
   “you are more (or less) civilised than me”.
   “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 (?agÁ11) + min + Nominal or pronominal suffix.
3. ProN + Adj. part. + ?ákΘar (?agÁ11) + wÁhád

(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: ?intě min ?áqgal maa jÁmkin "You are as sensible as you can possibly be".

(ii) 2nd degree: ?intě min ?áqgal slÁale "You come from the most sensible lineage".

(iii) 3rd degree: ?intě ?áqgal min ?ají wÁhád ?Ánāi "You are more sensible than anyone else".

The generalised structures for these are as follows:

(i) ProN + min + Adj. comp + maa jÁmkin

(ii) ProN + min + Adj. comp + N + (a very restricted class whose members are inÁnas "people", iÁmsábÁab "the young people", liwÁnád "the boys", ilbÁnÁat "the girls".

(iii) ProN + Adj. comp + min ?ají wÁhád ?Ánāi

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 kólnir "You are very civilised"

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

(iii) 3rd degree: ?ínte mitmáddin ?ákQar min ?ajj wáahad Qání
  "You are more civilised than anybody else"

The generalised structures of these are as follows:-


(ii) ProN + min ?ákQar + N + Nv

(iii) ProN + Adj. part. + ?ákQar min ?ajj wáahad Qání
  (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 cacclic.

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 diagramatically as follows:
I. The Comparative System

Structural Formulae

positive ——— 1. Pron + Adj

comparative ——— 2. (a) Pron + Adj + min + Pron
(b) Pron + Adj. part + ?akQar (?ag?ll) + min + Pron

superlative ——— 3. (a) Pron + Adj. comp + min + wānahad
(b) Pron + Adj. part + ?akQar (?ag?ll) + wānahad

II. The Intensification System

1st degree ——— 1. (a) Pron + min + Adj. comp + māa + jūmkin
(b) Pron + Adj. part + Adv.

2nd degree ——— 2. (a) Pron + min ?akQar + Pron + Nv
(b) Pron + min + Adj. comp + Pron

3rd degree ——— 3. (a) Pron + Adj. part + ?akQarmin ?ajj wānahad Qānānī
(b) Pron + Adj. comp + min ?ajj wānahad Qānānī
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. Set (a): "You are kind"
    | 2. | 2. "You are a trial"
    | 3. | 3. "You are good-hearted"
    | 4. | 4. "You are considerate"
    | 5. | 5. "You are prudent"
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1. Set (b): "You are kind"
    | 2. | 2. "You are a trial"
    | 3. | 3. "You are good-hearted"
    | 4. | 4. "You are considerate"
    | 5. | 5. "You are prudent"

Sentences including forms differentiated for number and gender.

- "You are kind" (singular)
- "You are a trial" (singular)
- "You are good-hearted" (singular)
- "You are considerate" (singular)
- "You are prudent" (singular)

"You are kind" (plural)
"You are a trial" (plural)
"You are good-hearted" (plural)
"You are considerate" (plural)
"You are prudent" (plural)
(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 (¶) 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set (A): Meliorative</th>
<th>Set (B): Pejorative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.</strong></td>
<td><strong>II.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. šu? + ʼixīfīt damm  &quot;How sharp-witted&quot;</td>
<td>1. šu Gāgālīt haddāmm  &quot;How thick-skinned!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. šu? + ʼixīfīt mriwwe  &quot;How skilful&quot;</td>
<td>2. šu Gāgālīt hālimrīwwe  &quot;What laziness!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. šu? + saʕādīt baʕat  &quot;What good omen!&quot;</td>
<td>3. šu kūGrīt hālGālābe  &quot;How naughty!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. šu? + Tūulīt roōn  &quot;How patient!&quot;</td>
<td>5. šu lāʕāntīt hālīnsī  &quot;How impudent!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. šu? + ʕaTāara  &quot;How clever!&quot;</td>
<td>1. šu hālbaʕāʕa  &quot;How ugly!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. šu? + hālʕāwe  &quot;What beauty!&quot;</td>
<td>2. šu hālāʔānām  &quot;How mean!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. šu? + laTāfe  &quot;How kind!&quot;</td>
<td>3. šu hālwaʕāʕa  &quot;How nasty!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. šu? + naʔāfe  &quot;What cleanliness!&quot;</td>
<td>4. šu hālwaʔāʔa  &quot;What meanness!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. šu? + naʕāʕa  &quot;How brave!&quot;</td>
<td>5. šu harrāʕāʕa  &quot;What cowardice!&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ū and ā. In Set AI, the elements following + belong to the grammatical class known as "the construct", here comprising two indefinite nominals; in DI, 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 ū and ā 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 jaan baji. The composition of an exclamatory
sentence may be described as one involving \textit{jan bajj} followed by one of the particles of "intensification" \textit{ma(a)} and \textit{su}. \textit{ma(a)} and \textit{su} occur in mutually exclusive positions in that the former colligates with a following (comparative) adjectival almost invariably of the structure ?accac, e.g. \textit{?ahas} "better", whereas \textit{su} is always associated with a following verbal or nominal, e.g. \textit{ja bajj su btithárwed} "how often you complain!" \textit{ja bajj su masuki'n} "poor fellow". On the basis of this structural difference in the distribution of particles, it is reasonable to recognise two sub-types of sentence patterns exemplified by the following:

**TYPE A.**

1. \textit{jaa bajj ma (?a) tannak}! "how kind you are!"
2. \textit{jaa bajj ma (?a) d3ladak}! "how patient you are!"
3. \textit{jaa bajj ma (?a) l?amak}! "how mean you are!"
4. \textit{jaa bajj ma (?a) sxafrfak}! "how silly you are!"
5. \textit{jaa bajj ma (?a) bladak}! "how dull you are!"

**TYPE B.**

1. \textit{jaa bajj su btithåmmal}! "how much you put up with!"
2. \textit{jaa bajj su btitâllam}! "how sad you must feel!"
3. \textit{jaa bajj su bidqânnin}! "how you drive me mad!"
4. \textit{jaa bajj su btithárwed}! "how often you complain!"
5. \textit{jaa bajj su btí?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 $\rightarrow$ \{Nominal \} \{Pronominal\}
3. Pronominal $\rightarrow$ ?inte, huu ........ etc.
4. Nominal $\rightarrow$ ilwalad, Ahmad ........ etc.
5. Predicate Phrase $\rightarrow$ \{Adjectival\} \{Verbal\}
6. Adjectival $\rightarrow$ hanúun, dálúud ........ etc.
7. Verbal $\rightarrow$ Prefix + verb
8. Prefix $\rightarrow$ b-
9. Verb $\rightarrow$ hámmal, dánín ........ etc.
Where → is to be read "re-write as", \{ \} as "any one of the elements included in the brackets and → (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 → Jaa bajj + Particle ma Int. (ensification + Adjective Int. (ensification + Pronominal Suffix (2nd. pers. masc.) This rule transforms, e.g. ?ínte + hánnun "You are kind" → Jaa bajj + ma + hánnak "How kind you are!" (ii) Transformational rule (Intensification); henceforth T-rule (ii): Noun Phrase + Prefix + Verb Imp. (erfect) → Jaa bajj + Particle șu + b + Verb Imp. (erfect). This rule transforms ?ínte bidqánnin into Jaa bajj + șu + bidqánnin. 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 șu. Single forms, which may stand independently without a preceding pronoun, (see below) can also be transformed by the application of T-rule (ii). Thus:
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, ?înte ëhanûun and ?înte kariïm to the form: min kuçour ma ?înte ëhanûun w min kuçour ma ?înte kariïm. This is done first by adding the element w and then by adding min kuçour ma to both sentences. T-rule (iii) may be represented as follows:-

Noun Phrase + Adjective + Noun Phrase + Adjective → min kuçour ma + Noun Phrase + Adjective + w + min kuçour ma + Noun Phrase + Adjective. The following sentences may combine by applying T-rule (iii):

1. ?înte lâagil + ?înte laTiïf → min kuçour ma ?înte lâagil w min kuçour ma ?înte laTiïf "Because you are very sensible and because you are very kind".

2. ?înte ësaTiïr + ?înte ëamîïn → min kuçour ma ?înte ësaTiïr w min kuçour ma ?înte ëamîïn "Because you are very clever and because you are very honest".

3. ?înte sâxîïf + ?înte luîïim → min kuçour ma ?înte sâxîïf w min kuçour ma ?înte luîïim "Because you are very silly and because you are very mean".

4. ?înte Tâjjib + ?înte bašûuï → min kuçour ma ?înte Tâjjib w min kuçour ma ?înte bašûuï "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.,

...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set A: &quot;Meliorative&quot;</th>
<th>Set B: Pejorative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. il(\text{a}l)(\text{i})f (\text{a}l)(\text{i})f &quot;A pet is a pet&quot;</td>
<td>il(\text{s}a)fr(\text{r})f(\text{i})t (\text{s}a)fr(\text{r})f(\text{i})t &quot;A menace is a menace&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. il(\text{b}a)ri(\text{i})(\text{b})ari(\text{i}) &quot;An innocent is an innocent&quot;</td>
<td>iss(\text{s})(\text{a})(\text{a})fil (\text{s})(\text{a})(\text{a})fil &quot;A rascal is a rascal&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. il(\text{a})(\text{m})(\text{i})(\text{n}) (\text{a})(\text{m})(\text{i})(\text{n}) &quot;An honest man is an honest man&quot;</td>
<td>il(\text{b})(\text{a})hbal (\text{b})(\text{a})hbal &quot;A nut is a nut&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. il(\text{x})(\text{a})(\text{b})(\text{i})(\text{i})r (\text{x})(\text{a})(\text{b})(\text{i})(\text{i})r &quot;An expert is an expert&quot;</td>
<td>ild(\text{g})(\text{a})(\text{b})(\text{a})(\text{n}) (\text{d})(\text{g})(\text{a})(\text{b})(\text{a})(\text{n}) &quot;A timid man is a timid man&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. il(\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{n})(\text{u})(\text{n}) (\text{h})(\text{a})(\text{n})(\text{u})(\text{n}) &quot;A kind man is a kind man&quot;</td>
<td>il(\text{m})(\text{a})(\text{d})(\text{h})(\text{n})(\text{n})(\text{u})(\text{n}) (\text{m})(\text{a})(\text{d})(\text{h})(\text{n})(\text{n})(\text{u})(\text{n}) &quot;An idiot is an idiot&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. pi\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)nte mi\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)s kasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an : * ilkasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an mi\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)s kasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an |
2. mi\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)n kasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an "who : * mi\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)n ilkasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an kasla\(\text{\textquoteleft \textquoteleft}\)an |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher to Pupil</th>
<th>Teacher to Teacher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater friendliness</td>
<td>Normal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. ?íhna mi₃ ṭán ba₃D ḳ₁jóm</strong></td>
<td><strong>?ínte mi₃ ṭán ba₃D ḳ₁jóm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;we are not ourselves today&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;you are not yourself today&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. ?íhna su ?ażálna ḳ₁jóm</strong></td>
<td><strong>?ínte su ?ażnlít ḳ₁jóm</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;What have we eaten today?&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;What have you eaten today?&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Third person pronominal forms my 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 $\text{jaa baJj}$ directly followed by $\text{su}$ or $\text{ma}$ (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 $\text{jaa baJj}$ serve to indicate the following "attitudes":

(i) Friendly attitudes between good friends and equals, e.g.
$\text{jaa baJj ma ?aabTjabak}$ "How kind of you"; $\text{jaa baJj ma ?aabSanak}$ "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. $\text{jaa baJj ma ?aabradak}$ "How cold you are!";
$\text{jaa baJj ma ?aabTa?ak}$ "How slow you are!"

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

(i) Repetition e.g. of $\text{jaa baJj}$ immediately after the exclamatory sentence, e.g.
(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 imperitive 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 ḥaka "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

................................. jīhki kilme "to say a word"

(a) Singular

1. kull wāahad jīhki kilme "Everybody is to say a word"
2. ṭajj wāahad jīhki kilme "Anybody say a word"
3. wāla wāahad jīhki kilme "Nobody say a word"
4. wāahad jīhki kilme "Someone say a word"

(b) Plural

1. Ṯeen jīhku kilme "Any two say a word"
2. Ṯalāaṭa jīhku kilme "Any three say a word"
Type II

.............................. ?íkki kílme "Say a word"

(a) Singular

1. ?ínte ?íkki kílme "You say a word"
2. ?ínte (ja mhánmad) (ja bu dýurzánje xádra) ?íkki kílme
   "You Mohammad in the green sweater say a word"
3. ?ín kaan hawák ?ínte ja mhánmad ja bu dýurzánje xádra,
   ?íkki kílme "If you are interested, you Mohammad in the
   green sweater, say a word"

(b) Plural

1. ?íntu Ọggeen ?íkkú kílme "You two say a word"
2. ?íntu Ọgaláá ?íkkú kílme "You three say a word"

Type III

.............................. tíkki kílme "to say a word"

1. bálla tíkki kílme "Please say a word"
2. múmkína tíkki kílme "Won't you say a word"
3. báśmal mánruuf tíkki kílme "Would you care to say a word"
4. min Ọaan (ilmásíiḥ, álalá, sitna ọdára) tíkki kílme
   "For the sake of (the Messiah, Our Lady Mary) say a word"
5. wálla Geer tíkki kílme "You will say a word, won't you"
6. ja rabb tíkki kílme "I wish you would say a word"

The types shown above may be generalized as follows:
1.1. Type I

\[ \text{Pron}_{\text{Ind}}/\text{Quan}_{\text{Ind}} + V_j + N \]

1.2. Type II

\[ (\text{Vocative Extension}) + V_{\text{Imp}} + N \]

1.3. Type III

(a) (Deferential Extension) + V_{\text{reg.}} + N

(b) wálla Geer + V_{\text{reg.}} + N

(c) ja rabb + V_{\text{reg.}} + N

(Where Pron\text{Ind} = Indefinite Pronoun; Quan\text{Ind} = Indefinite Quantifier (see (ii) below); V_j = 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 kilm and * kul wáahad tíhki kilm); N = Nominal; V_{\text{Imp}} = Imperative verb-form; V_{\text{reg.}} = a sub-class of an imperfect verb-form differentiated here by the sole occurrence of the initial dentic-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. Oneen "two", Galanoe "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 jihki 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 jihki (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:-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st pers.</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?a - ruuh</td>
<td>&quot;Shall I go?&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 2nd pers. masc. | t - ruuh | "Will you go?" | ruuh | "Go" |
| 2nd pers. fem. | t - rúuhí | "Will you go?" | rúuhí | "Go" |
| 3rd pers. masc. | j - ruuh | "Will he go?" | - |
| 3rd pers. fem. | t - ruuh | "Will she go?" | - |

| 1st pers. | n - ruuh | "Shall I go?" | - |
| 2nd pers. masc. | t - rúuhú | "Will you go?" | rúuhú | "Go" |
| 2nd pers. fem. | t - rúuhín | "Will you go?" | rúuhín | "Go" |
| 3rd pers. masc. | j - rúuhú | "Will they go?" | - |
| 3rd pers. fem. | j - rúuhín | "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 bólna "please", münkin "Won't ......", b tímal mairúuf "Would you care..." The expressions min بقاء الله یلمسیح ..... 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 Tarligak "May God open your way"
2. ja rabb tihtmík "May God protect you"
3. ja rabb tálíli manáasbak "May God better your position"
4. ja rabb thábbib flik aSháabak "May God induce your friends to like you"
5. ja rabb tíbbid tínnak ilmašáajib "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 tirhúni "Please God bring mercy on to me"
2. ja rabb tihtmíni "Please God protect me"
3. ja rabb tihdīni "Please God help me find my way"
4. ja rabb turzungni "Please God help me find means of subsistence"
5. ja rabb tibṣīdīni tanšṣārīr "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 tīšṭīgil
2. ja rabb tīrda
3. ja rabb tsāāmīh
4. ja rabb thill ilmuškīle
5. ja rabb ṭāṭṭīl

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 "nalat al jaxaliik, nalla jihmiik, nalla jihfa'dak "May God protect you" or a combination of these forms. Examples are:

(a) Husband to Wife:
1. Ja habibti naawliini habteen nashiriin "Darling, would you give me two aspirin tablets"
2. Ja roohi natsiini ilgaddaha "My soul, give me the lighter"
(b) Between (Male) Friends:
1. Ja bu mahnud nihki kilme "Mahnud's father, say a word"
2. Ja siid ilzaziz sawi milal ma biddak "Dear sir, do as you like"
(c) Between close (female) friends:
1. Nalla jaxaliike jaxti dagarbi "May God protect you, sister, try"
2. Nalla jihmiike ja zaiizti dagibbi ssalle "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. Sakkir Qummak ja msaddi "Do shut up, rusty"
2. TíTlaq bárra ja brás "Get out of here, you leper"
3. bátTil kalám ja Gábi "Stop talking, stupid"
4. Tíñksih ja boot çafTíq "Sit down, you old boot"
5. Tárbi línqan ja Sátal "Fill up the container you bucket"

(b) Complex forms added:

(Teachers to Pupils)
1. Tíxras ja qalííl ilzáddab "shut up, you ill-mannered boy"
2. ruuh min hoon ja mättúus ilbaxt "Go away, you ill-omened creature"
3. thárrak ja qalííl ilhiíle "Move, slow-coach"
4. Tíhtí kilme ja mágṣúuf ilžímur "Say a word, you stubborn"
5. Túsíkut ja Tawíl ilzáán "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 Tíhí kilme 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 lan. This rule transforms Tíhí kilme into lan tíhí kilme "Don't say a word" and Tnázlú san línzáán into lan Tnázlú san Tíhí tán "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 ṭila ḳxalliik/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-Khalili;

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-Khalili. 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 (ilkark District).
TEXT I

A- bithûTTî haan issàmme wissûkkàr / baàdèen bithûTTî hadòol
   ilxallàtàn / hadòol bixîltu //
B- baàrùfîn hadòol bniùlli bûlîn //
A- hadòol bithûTTîhum hoon // fi nafs ilwaít bti?dari tisàzìmîli
   hai laâhalha //
B- ?îlîha ?àale ëadak btúxluT //
A- hai bti?dari tisàzìmîliha laâhalha / ?îza maà habbàoti tisàzìmîli
   hàada / btisàzìmîli sahàn tàamî //
B- haàànkh ahsàn //
A- bithûTTîha fîlkâhraba //
B- ?u bitxàGiîha? //
B- bitSiîr min hàalha túbrum //
A- bsûrîa btiùlli il?îzi //
A- bti?dari tîrîdîni ñâléêha //
B- Wàlla tûhse //
A- hàada bidûur / issâhàn bidûur //
B- maâlàhaa //
A- ?îlîha bûrGi //
A- hadîkk tàbtât beeD bas // hadîkk tàbtât beeD / hai bti?dari
   tíímali fiîha heek //
B- xalnS sakriiba / sakriiba /
A- btiirfi sh u smilt salEeHa / smilt salEeHa himmus //
B- ja xajti baUna Sahiia //
B- wilkubba laaabad biha smilti //
A- laa mi sh fiiba smilt ikubbbe // smilt kubbbe zay ma ?ultili /
    mi sh baTTaale Tillet // zaakje //
A- sihle wbsuhuule u baideen maa btaxud wa? //
B- laa laa wala siiHe
B- maa daarrabtha
B- bas ilkubba jaini mistawijje
A- ?aa maa taTT'eetha niije
A- maa taTT'eeti ma3rüm u lahme w baSaAl //
B- Taajjib bidjuuz //
A- zaaki Ta3gan //
A- ?u hadliik ilm'arre sh u baTT'eeti //
A- ma3rüm? //
B- mu3rüm u lahme w baSaAl u ruzz //
A- ?u ruzz kam5an taTT'eeti //
B- ?aa //
A- ilmuhiimm Tiliat zaakje //
B- ?aa Ta5be //
A- bas maa talaetiiha bzeet zeetuuun //
B- maa haTTeti ลำাঈหำ zeet zeetűun //
A- zaj ma ṭúlti / ʔint btixil-Tīlha bzeet zeetűun ? //
B- bākluTha //
B- iňhařwe //
A- la? miř iňhařwe /ru bisammüuño //
- smiid //
A- ḥaddeeř bithűTTi zeet //
B- kōlir bāhūTT / jōxti zeet zeetűun dōajman ūndana //
A- ḥaddeeř jāñni bithűTTi .TIMa kaasə māršan // mītəl häi /
B- zaj hai /
B- kaasteen // heek jōñni //
B- ja xāajse miř bith pérdi ʔinnu muqāffar / jōñni / btikirfiřiř Tājjib
iTTābxa lāmma titqāffar keef btibga //
A- bāšriffi / btitqāffar //
B- btitqāffar jōñni bithűTTu ลำā�หำ ssaman wihānd //
B- ūru ntu bitgulūulu //
A- maa bāšrif ūru būruSuSI //
B- lāmma bithűTTi ssaman Sarrūzz māqalən / gabal maa thűTTi bitgulūulu
 ūru / miř bāla ruzz u bāla ssaman / ūru bitgulūulu //
A- nāařif jīmkin //
B- nāařif min Geer kuFəl //
A- kuFəl ? //
B- kufel // jānzīnī min Geer gūfra / u bāla sāmān / bāla zeet /
B- bigulūlu kufel / lāmmā bithūrrī sāmān u zeet / bitgūllīlu
mgūffarā nīnakə //
A- maa binistalmīla // bidgūnuz jāznī //
B- ?aaw law kunt līn daarr jāmnī / ?aThux Arruzz / ?u mīkmal līban
u nīkmal łaakrijiye ?u hānd / ?u bīdna nīdir sarruzz bitgūllī
jārnī / gaaffartī //
A- stānnī tatzûkkar ṣu muqabālīha ḥādīi gaaffartī //
B- ṣaanj iljariis / leeē jā habībī / ṣu bāddu ja xajti // ṣu
bāddu //
A- bīddu jījūab fīīha / bīddu jījūab fīkūsē //
A- hājha / bas wīrxa mīx nDīife //
B- ṣu bitkīīlī bīīa hai //
A- iljālib / ḥādīi tūt / ṣu hādīi tuītēen / ṣrājfel basēēen
hādīi rubāō rubēēen tlat ırbaäī / ṣu hādīi kāāse kēēzē //
B- ja xajti / wālla mārra ṣmīlītha / wālla kunt ṣmāāa tīṬlaā
ʔaʔjab min heek //
B- ṣānjir aṁmālīha mīx ṭājbe //
A- ilwĪḏ3īh maa jīṬlaā kawājjiis māqī : /
B- la? / baʔibhuwwī ilwīḏ3īh / wālla bāla wīḏ3īh ʔaʔjab min heetz //
A- btiʔdarī thūrī TTī bādāl ilwīḏ3īh haddāk wīḏ3īh tānnī //
B- ṣu huw //
A- بتیداری تیم تی مسالان تاا //
B- بتیدیری ماهیود یاره کب / ینابیبی ایمالو //
A- غالی بتیری / تیزمالیحیع //
B- زیادکهکاببه ایمالو //
A- بتیرای //
B- ؟ان
A- کیف تیاملی //
B- بتیری / A- ؟یهنا بیهحمی وانتابیخ //
B- وانتابیخ //
A- وانتابیخ // ؟یسوم گاریب هیو //
B- ین باجی بسیم تیزمالی میزنیب /یسایه //
B- بیدین بیتیووتی عالیه یریفه ؟ابس یک / رون ینان ریسر ینمار //
u بیسیر تیجیب /
A- یو بیدین یتیین بیتیمالیع بیدیوز //
B- یو بیتیبا یییامی بیتی /ییدیار / بیتلایگیو رادیی / میک میستاوی
kئیر / nuSS ءا nuSS //

m
A- ؟elsius رادیار بیتاپی //
B- رادیار بیگدا یییانی میک میستاوی / یوا ساکین رادیی یهنا
bیهحمی / nuSS سیجی //
B- بیتیمالو زیادک تیجیب یو /ها //
A- ییمی ریاتری ییهک ریشی //
B- ?aa ja xaajt / ittuffi la bardteen jihar / btiiimalu mahguyud //
A- ?iina baabkif jimal ?iiki min halnada //
B- wala ?iiine //
A- mi? ana / ?amma / jimmi btiiimal //
B- Wimm ?imm / jimm //
A- kul maa btiimal ?aatimiz d firepower ?aaklu /
B- jii ja xaaajse / kul ma tgirlu taqalila ?uumfl haTTubxa kif
Translation

A- You will put fat and sugar here / Then you will put these whisk / 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.
C- የአቡፎ ከማድስንም ይስም መርአ? //
D- ባላልል //
C- ይህንም በእኔ ብር ተጠቀም ገጃም ይወላ... //
D- የኢትወል ገላግካ / ይህ / ያስልፇል መረፋ ዘለየኩን // የእንወል ያስልፇል መረፋ ሰወድ ገላገለ / ከለማ ትምስንም ይምና / ከገርድ ሸርት ትሳኝ ይህ ዋልስት በእኔ ላበና የርስት / ከዓንኩን ከምና / ከዓንኩን ዋልስት //
D- ዋልስሽ // ይህ ውንክት ወሱ ሰርተ እስከላካሱ / መረፋ ላበና የርስት //
C- ላበና የርስት / ጌርር የርስት //
D- ጌርር // ይህ ውንክት ሰርተ ሰርተ እስከላካሱ / መረፋ ላበና የርስት //
C- የርስት / ጆርር የርስት //
D- ጆርር // የሆስልፇል ገጆን ገጆን ተጠቃለ ይጎንን //
C- የሆስልፇል ገጆን ተጠቃለ ይጎንን //
D- የሆስልፇል ገጆን ተጠቃለ እስከላካሱ እስከላካሱ //
C- የሆስልፇል ገጆን ተጠቃለ እስከላካሱ እስከላካሱ //
D- የሆስልፇል ገጆን ተጠቃለ እስከላካሱ እስከላካሱ //
C- የሆስልፇል ገጆን ተጠቃለ እስከላካሱ እስከላካሱ //
D-  מילי ///
C- -pills ///
C- 万里 mata ///
D- 万里 ///
C- گادة b’oxi ///
D- b’oxi ?arfiin neera ///
C- ？arfiin neera ///
C- 1عطو / 万里 baramaan malihqat / laakin baramaan xuu 
bádhin isawwín fii xajjóo laribfiin neera ///
D- 万里 bśajjínnu 万里 bśajjíin iwlaadu ///
C- 万里 batíih ra-suuq ilhísbe u bśriifhin u bśiíllí marwwih ///
D- ？aj màqam /
C- ？iš màqal ilgúra / ？íkina màndama bilgúra màqaran illi bśoxí 
qiírín neera hájóol bśiswin mjje baramaan /
D- leex ///
C- ilhadqát libtílzam lalbéet raxís / il?qalí raxís ///
bidfániq ?ad3arát / ilbašát màffík xíndu / raajíñ ñqul xíla 
ridqée / birtšaab džáhí / birtšaab xímaaru / birúúh xá rúGlú / 
ú birt’íñ ña bétu / mà fiiñ / háwax baramaán / tseef mà 
thisrak /tseef mà hazhxnalu báddu jiśríf ///
D- màZbúuT / wnafs il?qalí 万里 binnísbe ?ili / làmama kant étGil 
fiqammaán maa bagéet awáffír 万里 gírr ///
C- wála girs /
D- wála tafrifé /
C- ?ána rišt báamëran ³láθ sanit ja mahammad / ³láθ sanit /
kunt xàanin bëjëjj jëfnë miæ Gëini / hàjj mitwàSSIT / kunt ñidëñ 
?árbañ leeràat / xàmas leeràat blësëñhür ?ündërit ëlbeet / ãu 
kunt xànsufha këfìre / lâkin ilmañruuf iØðàni / ja xùuj / 
ilmañruuf iØðàni / ìlí bëraman blîmadíne / xàjjòo ãi sinamñat 
blámëran // blîmadun / ?éína ñëndana bilgùra mafirìñ //
D- ìZbùuT //
C- falàwañhad ma bigdarì ñëlàil ñåajìë bhalGùr fa ³lëflal / ñàddu 
jruañ xàla ssùìnam / ñàddu jísñif / jíñfl ñalguñhwa ãu jísñifblu 
fundjañ ñai / ãu fundjañ ñåìhwa / ãu bërbañ xàms ñgrùnrë / 
?ajj ìëína bërbañ xàms ñgrùnrë ñëndana bëstari ratël ñùkkë / 
basànñi mëit fundjañ ñåìhwa w mëit fundjañ ñai //
D- ìZbùuT //
D- ñàn ñëes kùnna niññi //
C- ?ììa ñëína gùlna ñënnu ñìlàk ?ìxwa ñëkbar ñënnak //
D- ñìì //
C- ñììlàk ñìxwa ñëkbar ñënnak / ãu hòlna / sàkñat waalìdtak ñëkñu //
C- Tàjjìb / ?ìnte ja mahammad bàddi ñàssìalak /
C- kunt tììñtaGil bëramëan bërzëñu //
C- tëeef hàSSalìt ñàla halbìkëe hai /
D- lâmma dììnt ñàna baan //
C- ?aa / l'onna dʒilit lahön //
D- l'onna dʒilit lahön / ja mawlonas iñazi / smiriñ inhum
bigádmu Talabát //

C- ?ajwa //
D- min ḫan biɣe / ṭa bariñed gaddám / Tālab
C- min h'onna ildi bigádmu Talabát // miin ḫuun illi jëriñ
Talgabhin iTTalabát mënku saxiñ //
D- ildi Talábhin mënna /ma ṭa jëddiñ Tālab mënna Talabát //
C- haa //
D- ?anna wizaarıit ittarbije ṭamámam mat innu fii bīżaät Ga1a baril
Tänja //
D- ?ajwa jëriñ àn dëg min wizaarıit ittarbije miñ gaddám /ta Talabát
heet //
C- miθəl ma Saar mënri bizzaatt / wazaarıit ittarbije gaddám /tu fii
bīżaät illi bëjëbi jittgëddámñta witgaddám //
D- tu bariñed ñan nafs irdi //
D- btiżrənu bâ Saúde ja bu mënmalar //
C- bâ Saúde walla mënnda raakurra / jëriñ bagëddir masahlítha bdëñim
dinóñ / hai / ngassimha ?abūñj lagismeñ / gisem bïzrænu
bâ Saúde u bâṬārə / ṭu gërron ñadani bîzrænu fuul / ḫa8də bïfuuñ /
Tuuł issâñe ñiñna nökîl fuul ja xuñuj / fuul ixδir // ṭa bâj
ma Tjâbu ja bâj / ṭu bïTuuñ / ja mënñmad bïTuuñ / ṭu bïSîir
laziññar izzâlame // tîbâ Saúde / baharrabìñ bïTarbir / irrañas
bígda haliüli wáragu ?u biziñbbiT ja xúuj // 1aakin ilbaTáaTa ma butZbúTiš ja xúuj //

D- bunkúšha nka'se wíllä kiif //

C- wíllä buhruúha ri'ala ddawáb / bìndu d3ooz hámíir / wáahad íswad u wáahad iśdår / ?u bòrátståib záleéhin haliüud / ?u bühru0 maZbúuT / baadéen bitallíimha / ?u bíZra5 hálbásal // bíGúuzzu Gazz ilbánSal / 1aakin ilbaTáaTa bihifrúulha d3úwar bisíSáabbáb baṣd lihráaθ //

D- wíllä wabúuj kamaan bìndu hakuúra / jö'ni bíZrag fíiha miž báSal u baTáaTa / bíZrag fíiha fuul u bíZrag fíiha zühra. bikúun fíi ?ázka min heek / kull innaa bìidgu jístru miñha ja bu zammáar / wíllä maa fíi ?ázka miñha / joom tóokil idíluuţ / ?u joom tóokil .....//

C- jaa saláam / jaa saláam //

C- Töjjib / hásaaábóddi ás?alak ja mhóommad / ilhajaa riíndku / ilhajaa gírjí riíndku / miž heek // gaddéeë jö'ni fi girjítku sukkáan //

D- fíiha xamastaaláaf nórsame //

C- hádëół ilxamastaaláaf zúlum u nisweéen wíllä ñu likbúar bas //

D- wíllä fíi ñiñbaa? roóxal / bas bígúulu xamast taaláaf //

D- fíi riíndku wíllí filgíirje //

C- fíi riíndana wáahad ísmu ñabu riíli / tastúur min xóóTrak ja buúli /
D- biruh núulu //
C- biruh núulu inniswāan //
D- ṣu bigul núulu //
C- tastūur min xā̄Trak ja buğāli / haaj wākhade māθāla manifeste ma
btīhbališ birūnuh bsàasît xīlwa ṣāla haļfagīr / btōoxīōlu
sarūnumū wiśwàjjit baxxūur //
C- buhnūḏgbin inniswāan rīndku ja māmmad //
D- wāla ḏānūḏgbin / birūnhin laṣṣēex //
C- ṭajj ūnex / man huu ūnex ilmāshūur //
  - birūnhin laṣṣēex ilbākrad₃ //
D- ṭaā ilbākrad₃ //
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 Saiid //
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 Dakraj //
TEXT 3

E- șu șaarih șalēeha ja dämiča //

G- zalja wargītha șāiboe ja bu mämmūud / wāqyra mārišune wargīthā //

E- 1aa jāwla wāla quwwata șillāa billāah //

F- illi mniīdu șāllal jżīldu / māalha șrākbāt șāda xīTijje
halhūrne //

G- ?idģidgāmāl joom jūbrux bīkāru sallaaxūnu / șarīnha șūrme
mahāah șāda / gaadālnin bīthnūTTu șalēeha illūom //

E- 1aa ja fālha / jīnd ma mīțlīb Tālābžālja / leex ɾālīkatu /
leex fādīlātat ilGarīb șalēe / ilGarīb șābdā min ḫaen
qāmha tixmīn

G- ?īntu bītsādge ițnu ḫaen qāmha tbađda bițha ja Ḫādīḑa //

F- leex bīnsāddīkīʃ / ma waddāaʃ zlaam jūTulbūnulu jjaʃa / tixmīn
ma waddāaʃ șāb maamūud fidqddgāha //

E- jāaba ja fīlāl iiđīnja māsa șalla jmassīk bīhxīr //

II- șalla jmassīk bīhxīr //

E- șalla jīskīd halmāsaa //

E- walleahil șillī maax bihtsh iihāgg ḥāttā maax bikūn zālēme șīrī
izlāaam /, gābeh maax jīncit ktaab zalja șīla mīțlīb / raak
ilxābar lāben șāmha / galūnulu ja wālad / haaj bīnt ṭamnāk nnaas
نام هر را بی‌دلالب بی‌ها، فاین تهاان جانبا هنیاک / ثنیررک //
گوئم واددی دگایتاک / یبین لامها مان هنیرک سانکین جا ناددی //

F- نازام / نازام

E- لانیگاا یا وانا گاال لئ / خالا وگن‌ییجه مسیوت‌ها /
فاجومن یاه ایلکنت یحافو هارسیوafe وینن مامتاا میی هنارکی
والا هیو مکارک ساکین / ندیابرو جیعن‌اتو بی‌ها یئلگارتیب /
فانکیتاب لیکتااب ع کیری راکی گابالو / ها‌لوندی یلمراندییاا ها‌لوندی
d3دیادداتا مانی د3ددیی / مراندییاا //

E- ما ها‌لوندی هیا السی‌اد / ویلینیت بدات آبیها یا ژیکس زابین //

F- ایست //

E- ولاد لامها بی‌حعلو ساکتین - ویمته بتیگییووم ییتیاتارا /
بیساند مان یآبی ایلکنت جاتییه جا یابدیو یجیکتیب کتاابها /
ساکی‌تی‌ها بی‌یچوو و بی‌یچوو جیتیابدیو ابینیت لامنوم // بکین
فت ایفوت ساد //

F- ای //

E- ینیا یاگابت جاناک مانی بتیگییووم ییسدیداا ییللاا بیساند مان یآبی
یلینیت ابیارک / و یجیکتیب کتااب بینتو / ئاجی هااییا مانتیگ //

F- والیا‌هی یادبا مانی هیو مانتیگ

E- ییلیان میی مانتیگ

E- ئیه جا یابدیو وانا یوتی‌مان بیوید3اک //

Il- tfaDDال / یا یا مان‌نیود

E- یلمیندیویی و مان بی / بستگدیلکو تائییب دور ینابا / یا
ङ्लेन //

F- ऐवाज

E- मद्दमाशा साए ता बाददू बिन राहम / मा बागलकर
 राहम मी / हूमम मा बाददू बेहा जान मी / हेकजन तारीफ
 द्वार मीब मा गालबि बिकिंग / टलबिंग / हार्फे विलवान्द
 द्वारिफ / ?ीनु नौघातेह मा सिंधुम्मी मी मी इंलुहिद्वहुम
 इल्हाद / मा गैर हूंटु देठु बमाज बार्दे विळयूल्कु
 गैर हासाह्र / //

F- ऐना बिद्दी राल फूटाल / दांलक कुल हलमुड्डे / वीने बांका ऐबेन
 लाम ग्वालजा / लीज मा तैलिमा रिन ट्यान स्माई रिली हूाँ व्हावा
 बतैलिमा / लीज ग्वाल द्दामाशा ज्मों नन कफऱु लिंकाब / रानी
 द्दाद्दी बिलमाराद्दी जु जिबद्दा ब्बिनित रांमु //

H- ऐनु इली गाललक जा रानद्दी //

F- ऐवावल रिउ स्तैली रिनकु मा तैलिमा ऐना वैनरिफ रिनु
 ऐबिन लाम तैलिमा मिन राबुनहा / बादल इलामरा मारट / //
 लातायन इलिनि बाक्कट तुरुफु / माल्हाने लिंसूबन लामहा मी /
 द्दाद्दिर माररा काफाल इलिनि लाउ बटकांटर / मा बादोक्क इलोन
 लामनी / ऐबिन लामनी पलिनद दिदि मिर्ज़ैलिम / रिन ऐना बिद्दी
 वालिनद मिर्ज़ैलिम / काल जा स्तैग बिद्दीले इलो लांगहा / बिलोक
 वालिनद मिर्ज़ैलिम मित्तीलह मियो / //

G- लीज नी मिर्ज़ैलमे // मित्तीला मियो हलबाना //

min d3iinit mitrzilme // mitrzilme // ilwàhàad jìhìki /mZbùnT /
180.


?l?l`al`a ibin ?ammha ja zaba`//

H- iis`?lim O`mmak //

hin`ni illi bi`is`?din Sa?n?l?h?in //


H- ?l?l`la jaa had?d`3 i?d?i`b idd?arb illi d3a`abatak /

G- ?ee w?lla //

u haj`j`a`thum ma ba`?i` mi`il i`x`la`aw?e // u di`ru` d`alk`u ?Tarm`feen
mı�� mitxällmilä / biíxällmilä illi mit middaxliin fiihum /
bihannüuhum ράλα hallajää / wifig u mañativity u kul ρί
qala maa jurjum //

G- ?aaamannna bilgïísme winnašïib / lëëkin jaa rájëh laa tinsi
?íñnu ilxägïl maaTläüüub / Sâahëb ilxägïl maa bitxëb ?ëñbadan fi
hallajääh //

H- wàlá rífigu bitxëb //


M- tæññal ja bu maañmùud //

E- ?iiäid ræóòak // wàlla ja lámmi illi maa bënhëfu ñånglu miøal
maa tæññal måhna träälän u måhna raññ òala lmadalañis biñöll
dëñìit ñüìmu u huu tæñbään // wëëli jëñæba ja zabèñ / ma
biñëun nàñfu / ilxäilm maa biðùñunu laññalalu / lóazìm il?inslànn
ikùñu ñùndu ñàngil ëtàttà jsùun nàñfu //

H- ?àjàwa

E- ùu lfaajde min mitsälìlim mæòjùñun / gùñwùli //

F- ?aa ja bu maañmùud / hàkjìn maañmùunù ?íëa bídëna mitGàmmak fìl
bùñxië màñna wàkit Tawíil // ìlmùx trapar ìlmùfìid / mûñkììit
zálja màññërlëthà u biñàxSS màs dòòozha mûñkììle bìdhà zàkìì /
ìëìììì ilxäilm laññalu maa bìkìì / zálja mitsälìmë ?ììëdìät
mitsälìlim / ùu nùjììììì ilxäilm / Tràalëma hàkkal bëñnuum
tíñríga / laa zálja hàñtìñtrìamät zàkììlha wàlá dòòozha hàkkam
182.

G- is'ilim Qunmaq

E- Tájjib áfu bi'rílá / ?áda laglITTarafeen wánsa / lagilhum 
boodzištum / Wallahá mahannán hačtu / law jiltagl 
kul sulamáa? iddínja / Tánlama lagilhum tars / ma' bittisgul wllir 
bišir beenhum màllabbe / ?ána vànli tšílimtén guhl / ma al jibál // 
tíddal ilbijnit titámarrat / badálal ma tíś?al lan gráajtu u zan 
laázánítu / tíś?al zan másslaku u zan ixláagu //

G- zan ixláagu //

E- tíś?al zanúlmu / hárám lála rásí w 7ěeni / hárátin bas 
mír tíś?al galünühá flaan gáásid bifúkk ilmaktúub / xálas 
ja háláali ja máali //

H- gáari haró bišir

G- laázim tíšrif ixláagu

E- táfáíal jánaba / ?áhtá kilme

G- ja hásérti man háda laáda / ilkúll zálfgíir / ma háda bSófí / //

E- ?ajj illi máíídu xála jziídu jnafálíha / ilfágar Bítúbbí

Ánnás Tabb / / innás ilí biTúbbu zálfgar
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, liaj //

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 Zaban //

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, Uaj //

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 (MM5), Senheiser) mounted inside the mask in front of the speaker's mouth. The tape recorder used was a Bang and Olufsen 2000T. A Minograph 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 Minograph incorporates four channels which display air flows as follows:

1. Channel I (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:-

| 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>duration in centi-sec.</th>
<th>Unemphatic</th>
<th>duration in centi-seconds</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(jaa) CVV</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>(ja) CV</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>(baj) CVC</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(bajj) CVCC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(ma) CV</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(?al) CVC</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(?am) CVC</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>(ha) CV</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentence (2): jaa bajj su btitharwad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>duration</th>
<th>Unemphatic</th>
<th>duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(jaa) CVV</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>(ja) CV</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>(bajj) CVCC</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>(baj) CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(sub) CVC</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>(sub) CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>(tit) CVC</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>(tit) CVC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
<th>Unemphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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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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