

VARIATION IN THE EDUCATED SPOKEN ARABIC  
OF JORDAN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO  
ASPECT IN THE VERB PHRASE

by

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### Abstract

In a theoretical framework where variation is accorded a central role in language analysis, the educated spoken Arabic of Jordan (ESAJ) is recognized as a viable variety in the Arabic continuum, intersecting with modern standard Arabic (MSA) and the colloquials. The recognition of ESAJ raises serious questions against the concept of diglossia in its application to Arabic. Evidence is adduced to show that diglossia is insufficiently sensitive to the facts of language; in particular, its functional basis of definition is in places mistaken. By the same token, such related concepts as 'well-defined' versus 'ill-defined' applied to vernacular Arabic and MSA are shown to be ill-conceived. The more recent work of, say, W. Labov, C-J. Bailey, D. DeCamp, D. Bickerton and J.R. Ross provides on the whole a more satisfactory conceptual framework for dealing with variability in ESAJ.

The present study is in two parts. Part I deals with diglossia and related concepts, educated spoken Arabic and its place in the Arabic continuum, and the demonstrative system as an example of variation in ESAJ. Part II is devoted to a systematic analysis of 'aspect' in the verbal phrase in ESAJ, and also to the extent and regularity of aspectual variation and the aptness of 'variable rules' to the analysis of Arabic.

The thesis concludes that aspect in ESAJ exhibits a fairly extensive range of variation. Aspectual rules can

indeed be formulated, but unless variation is given serious consideration such rules will fall short of satisfactorily accounting for the facts of language. The evidence presented, to quote Mitchell (1978b) 'supports a theoretical view of language, the object of the linguist's study, as simultaneously embodying continuity and change, stability and flux ...; it is not the homogeneous tightly organized affair in which many wish to believe.'

The study of variation necessarily involves facts and figures. The percentages and averages that are introduced in the analysis are not empty statistics. Without them one cannot do justice to the linguistic facts.

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## READING CONVENTIONS

The following symbols and reading conventions are used in the thesis.

### I. Consonants:

Consonants are divided into two categories: non-emphatic and emphatic. The feature of emphasis is in fact prosodic and is never restricted to one segment. It is treated as if it were so, however, for the practical purposes of these reading conventions. In the articulation of non-emphatic consonants (i) the tongue is laterally contracted along its length and its 'front' is raised towards the hard palate, and (ii) there is usually some lip-spreading. During the articulation of emphatic consonants, on the other hand, (i) the tongue is laterally expanded along its length and is much flatter in the mouth, with a consequent reduction of the pharyngeal volume, and (ii) the lips are typically neutral or slightly rounded.

#### (a) Non-emphatic Consonants

##### (i) Plosives:

- b   voiced bilabial plosive, e.g. /bayt/ 'a house'
- t   voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, e.g. /taab/  
      'he repented'
- d   voiced denti-alveolar plosive, e.g. /damm/ 'blood'
- k   voiceless velar plosive, e.g. /kiis/ 'a bag'
- g   voiced velar plosive, e.g. /gaaḡid/ '(He is) sitting'
- q   voiceless uvular plosive, e.g. /qarya/ 'village'
- ʕ   glottal plosive, e.g. /ʕana/ 'I'

(ii) Fricatives:

- f voiceless labio-dental fricative, e.g. /fuul/ 'beans'
- θ voiceless inter-dental non-sulcal fricative, e.g.  
/θumma/ 'then'
- ð voiced inter-dental non-sulcal fricative, e.g.  
/ðanab/ 'a tail'
- s voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal fricative, e.g.  
/saam/ 'he bargained'
- z voiced denti-alveolar sulcal fricative, e.g. /zeet/  
'oil'
- ʃ voiceless palato-alveolar sulcal fricative, e.g.  
/ʃaaf/ 'he saw'
- x voiceless uvular fricative, e.g. /xoof/ 'fear'
- ɣ voiced uvular fricative, e.g. /ɣariib/ 'stranger'
- ħ voiceless pharyngal fricative, e.g. /ħass/ 'he felt'
- ʕ voiced pharyngal fricative, e.g. /ʕilm/ 'science'
- h glottal fricative, e.g. /haaða/ 'this' (masc. sing.)

(iii) Affricates:

- c voiceless palato-alveolar affricate, e.g. /ceef/ 'how'
- j voiced palato-alveolar affricate, e.g. /jamal/ 'a camel'

(iv) Nasals:

- m voiced bilabial nasal, e.g. /maal/ 'money'
- n voiced denti-alveolar nasal, e.g. /naam/ 'he slept'

(v) Laterals:

- l voiced denti-alveolar lateral, e.g. /lamas/ 'he touched'

(vi) Flaps:

- r voiced alveolar flap (trill when geminate), e.g.  
/ɣirif/ 'he knew' and /ɣarrif/ 'introduce'

(vii) Semi-vowels:

- w voiced labio-velar semi-vowel, e.g. /walad/ 'a boy'  
 y voiced palatal semi-vowel, e.g. /yoom/ 'a day'

(b) Emphatic Consonants(i) Plosives:

- T voiceless denti-alveolar emphatic plosive (the emphatic correlative of /t/), e.g. /Taab/ 'he recovered'  
 D voiced denti-alveolar emphatic plosive (the emphatic correlative of /d/), e.g. /Darab/ 'he hit'

(ii) Fricatives:

- Ḍ voiced inter-dental non-sulcal emphatic fricative (the emphatic correlative of /ð/) e.g. /Ḍulum/ 'injustice'  
 S voiceless denti-alveolar sulcal emphatic fricative (the emphatic correlative of /s/) e.g. /Saḡb/ 'difficult'.  
 Z voiced denti-alveolar sulcal emphatic fricative (the emphatic correlative of /z/) e.g. /ZaabiT/ 'officer'

- (iii) Lateral: L voiced denti-alveolar emphatic lateral, e.g. /SaLLaah/ 'God'

II. Vowels

Each vowel symbol stands for a range of vocalic sounds of the type indicated. Long vowels are shown by doubled letters, e.g. /aa/ stands for a long front open vowel.

- i front, close, spread  
 e mid, front, spread  
 a front, open, neutral

a back, open, neutral  
 o mid, back, rounded  
 u back, close, rounded

ABBREVIATIONS AND OTHER SYMBOLS USED

ESA Educated Spoken Arabic.  
 ESAJ The Educated Spoken Arabic of Jordan.  
 MSA Modern Standard Arabic  
 masc. masculine  
 fem. feminine  
 sing. singular  
 pl. plural  
 N noun  
 Adj. adjective  
 V verb  
 NP noun phrase  
 VP verb phrase  
 ⊃ "implies"  
 > "more than"  
 S stigmatized  
 P prestigious  
 t.s. temporal specifier  
 lit. literally

An asterisk \* precedes an unacceptable/ungrammatical string.



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PART I: Introductory

CHAPTER 1

Diglossia and related concepts in the  
light of current theories of variation\*

1.1. A critical review of diglossia and related concepts.  
Copious literature exists on Classical Arabic (CA) and what has been called Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Not as much, but certainly a great deal, has been written about Arabic dialects or vernaculars, mainly by non-Arab linguists and Arabists, and in the form of theses for research degrees by students from the Arab world in departments of Linguistics and/or Phonetics in the universities of Europe and America (cf. Bakalla (1975)). By contrast, very little is known about educated spoken Arabic (ESA) as it is used in particular Arab countries and 'inter-nationally' between them. There are, to be sure, allusions to ESA in a number of works, but these are little more than skin deep. The best that we have to date on the subject is to be found in:

1. 'Style variations in spoken Arabic: a sample of interdialectal educated conversation' by Haim Blanc, in Contributions to Arabic Linguistics, ed. C.A. Ferguson (1960).

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\* Most of the material in this chapter appeared under the title 'Educated spoken Arabic in Egypt and the Levant: a critical review of diglossia and related concepts' in Archivum Linguisticum, VIII (new series), 2, 1977 pp. 112-132.

2. Mustawayaat ilḡarabiyya lmuḡaaSira fii MiSr  
(levels of Contemporary Egyptian Arabic')  
by Al-Said Badawi (1973).
3. Intelligibility among Arabic Dialects by  
Ali Ezzat (1974).

But before examining these works and in order to put them in proper perspective, it is first necessary to consider the two articles by C.A. Ferguson ('Diglossia', in Word 15, 1959) and A.S. Kaye ('Remarks on diglossia in Arabic: well-defined versus ill-defined', in Linguistics 81, 1972).

Virtually all linguistic literature on Arabic to date is informed by the concept of 'linguistic duality' (in Arabic: ṡizdiwaajiyyat lluyā), i.e. the coexistence of 'standard' and colloquial varieties of Arabic. The French term diglossie was used to refer to this duality nearly fifty years ago, when the French Arabist William Marçais wrote his paper entitled 'La diglossie arabe'. C.A. Ferguson, who borrowed the term 'diglossia' from the French in 1959, is responsible for spreading it in the English-speaking world. The early Arab grammarians and philologists, however, were well aware of this phenomenon. 'Arabic diglossia', writes S.J. Altoma (1969: 4) 'can be traced as far back as the Pre-Islamic period (i.e. to a period preceding the seventh century A.D.), and a number of its facets has been the subject of many philological and literary studies which began in the ninth century and continued up to the present.'

In his influential paper, which - to quote Haim Blanc (1960: 160) is 'a tentative and not wholly successful attempt to incorporate the Arabic Classical-Colloquial dichotomy into a more general linguistic theory, using Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole as homologous cases' Ferguson has recognised two forms of Arabic: a high form (H) and a low form (L). It is not, however, clear what it is that belongs to each of these categories. Although he is not unaware of the spoken language of the educated Arab, Ferguson does not give it explicit recognition; in fact, he implicitly considers it to be part of L. He writes, 'The communicative tensions which arise in the diglossia situation may be resolved by the use of relatively uncodified, unstable, intermediate forms of the language (ʕalluḡa lwuSTa) and repeated borrowing of vocabulary items from H to L' (Ferguson (1959: 332)). ~~III~~

He goes beyond simply alluding to this 'intermediate form' (ʕalluḡa lwuSTa) and specifies it, albeit in rather impressionistic terms, as 'a kind of spoken Arabic much used in certain semi-formal and cross-dialectal situations [which] has a highly classical vocabulary with few or no inflectional endings, with certain features of Classical syntax, but with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax, and a generous admixture of colloquial vocabulary' (Ferguson (op. cit. 332)). Neither of the preceding quotations makes it unequivocally clear to which of the two 'extremes' (H/L) ESA (ʕalluḡa lwuSTa) belongs. But it is surely implicit in the following quotation that ESA is seen as part of L: '... if words are cited in their L



form, what kind of L should be chosen? ... for Arabic ... the choice must be arbitrary, and the ordinary conversational language of educated people of Cairo ... will be used here' (Ferguson (op. cit. 327)). This is not only an arbitrary decision which cannot be formally justified, it is also misleading because colloquial Arabic and educated (spoken) Arabic can, and indeed should, be distinguished analytically as will be shown in the present study.

But even if we tentatively assume that educated spoken Arabic is subsumed under L, much of what Ferguson says about Arabic in his article cannot be validated by empirical language data. Consider, for instance, what he says under 'Function', which presumably is the main, determining criterion for keeping H and L apart. 'One of the most important features of diglossia is the specialization of function for H and L. In one set of situations only H is appropriate and in another only L, with the two over-lapping only very slightly' (Ferguson (op. cit. 328)). This is a very strong claim which cannot be maintained, partly because language is a fuzzy phenomenon which defies rigidity, and partly because of the failure to recognise educated spoken Arabic as a 'level' separate from H and L. Thus, a 'sermon in a mosque' (Ferguson H) is quite often (in fact, more often than not) given in educated spoken Arabic, or even in 'pure' colloquial, depending on the type of audience listening to the sermon. An extract from a sermon given by (Sheikh) Abderrahim Ibrahim in a mosque in Upper Egypt illustrates the point.

sammaahu nnabiyyu SaLLaLLaahu ḡalayhi wasallam ḡabduLLaah. kamaa kaana yuTLaqu ḡalayhi ḡismu ḡatiiq. lee? faqiila liḡusni wajhih. wiḡju kan ḡilu kida. waqiila liḡannahu lam yakun fii nasabihi ḡayḡun yuḡaabu ḡalayh. nasabu Taahir. waqiila liḡanna rasuula LLaahi SaLLaLLaahu ḡalayhi wasallam qaala lahu 'ḡanta ḡatiiqu LLaahi min annaar' ḡinnabi gallu 'ḡinta yaa ḡabu bakr ḡatiiq aLLaah min annaar.' ... waraymi zaalik gaal 'laa ḡaḡman limakr illaah. law ḡiḡdaa qadamayya fijjanna, wa ḡuxraa xaarijaha.' ... wanaḡaḡa ḡabuu bakr iSSiddiiq raDiya LLaahu ḡanh kariimu nnafs, kariimu lxuluq, jammu ḡjamaaḡil; raajil mawzuun ḡattaa qabla liḡislaam. maḡdinu Tayyib. lam yasjud liḡanam lam yaḡtarik fii ḡaḡmaal iljaahiliyyah kamaa naḡrif. ḡaxraja bnu ḡasaakir, raDiya LLaahu ḡanh, qaala: 'qiila liḡabii bakr iSSiddiiq (winnabi smaḡu-ḡawziin nismaḡ; ilḡitta diyya ḡilwa gawi, gawi, gawi) fii majmaḡin min ḡaḡḡaab innabiyyi SaLLaLLaahu ḡalayhi wasallam 'hal ḡaribta lxamra filjaahiliyyah ...' waḡḡad milḡulamaaḡ gallak inni lbiira matsakkarḡ ... yaa raajil ḡeeb ḡaleek; laazim waaxiḡ girḡeen min ḡirkit stella, walla ḡirkit ilbiira. da ḡaraam 'maa ḡaskara kaḡiiruh, faqaliiluh ḡaraam'. ... faqaala 'ḡaḡuuzu billah'. yaa salaam! juuf: ḡilli biḡrab xamra da lu giimah biyimḡi fiḡjaariḡ ... biyitḡaxlaḡ, yifakkar ilḡamara mayya wixawwaD wiḡitḡarra; ma yiḡraḡḡ ummu mn uxtu min muraatu min bintu.

'The prophet, peace be upon him, called him Abdullah. He was also called Atiq. Why? Perhaps because he was good looking. He had a handsome face. It was also said that this was due to the fact that there was nothing in his lineage which was liable to criticism. His lineage was pure. And it was said that this (i.e. the title "Atiq") was because the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, once said to him: "Abu Bakr, you will be spared by God from hellfire". Yet, in spite of that, he (i.e. Abu Bakr) said, 'Even with one foot in Paradise, I can never be secure against God's wrath'.

'Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, may God be pleased with him, grew up as a generous person. His conduct was good and he had good qualities. He had ... a balanced personality even before Islam. His origin was good. He never prostrated himself before an idol, and never indulged in the Pre-Islamic (bad) habits, as we know.

'Ibn Asakir, may God be pleased with him, reports

that Abu Bakr was once asked - for the Prophet's sake listen, we need to listen, this bit is very, very interesting - in the presence of the companions of the Prophet, peace be upon him: 'Did you drink any alcoholic drinks (in the Pre-Islamic period)? ... "

'One of the learned men of Islam tells us that beer does not intoxicate. Man, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. He must have received a bribe from Stella - the beer company. 'This is forbidden (in Islam). (The general rule in this connection is the prophet's saying): "It is forbidden to take even a little amount of something which intoxicates if taken in large quantity".

'(Abu Bakr) answered: "I seek refuge with God." (Meaning that he had never drunk any alcohol.)

'How wonderful! See! Does a man who drinks alcohol have values? He would walk in the street and stagger. He would take the moonlight for water and would wade through and take off his clothes. He would not be able to tell his mother from his sister or from his wife or his daughter'.

1\*) This passage in toto constitutes an example of educated spoken Arabic. Some sentences and phrases in it can, without hesitation, be allocated to Ferguson's H. For instance:

kamaa kaana yuTLaqu ḡalayhi smu ḡatiiq.faqiila  
liḡusni wajhih ... waqiila liḡannahu lam  
yakun fii nasabihi ḡayfun yuḡaabu ḡalayh.

Other sentences and phrases can, though with much less certainty, be allocated to Ferguson's L, e.g.

'waraymi zaalik', and 'maḡdinu Tayyib'  
and 'ḡinta yaa ḡabu bakr ḡatiiq aLLaah min annaar'

After all, it is utterances like these which are typical of what Ferguson (op. cit.: 327) calls 'the ordinary conversational language of educated people'. Moreover, since these and their like are not H (cf. CA 'warayma ḡaalik(a)', and 'maḡdinuhu Tayyib(un)' and 'ḡanta yaa ḡabaa bakr(in) ḡatiiqu

LLaahi min annaar(i), they must, by elimination, be L.

But what, then is to become of phrases like:

'wiſſu kan ħilu kida', and 'yaa raajil ġeeb  
 ġaleek' and 'biyimſi fiſſaariġ, biyitſaxlaġ,  
 yifakkar ilgamara mayya wixawwad wiyitġarra'?

That they do not belong to H is indisputable, but nor do they belong to 'the ordinary conversational language of educated people' of Upper Egypt - notwithstanding the fact that they were used by an educated person from Upper Egypt. Such phrases belong rather to the ordinary conversational language of the illiterate people of Upper Egypt and consequently are typical of a level below L which Ferguson does not explicitly recognise. In fact, Ferguson cites examples of speech ascribing them to L which must, strictly speaking, be ascribed to this infra-L 'level'. At all events, a sermon in a mosque is not categorically H as Ferguson has asserted.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly a speech in parliament, or a political speech elsewhere (Ferguson H) is usually given in educated spoken Arabic and sometimes in pure colloquial. Nasser's political speeches are a case in point. Nor is it true to say, as Ferguson does, that a university lecture is given in H invariably. To be sure all depends on what is meant by a university lecture. If by this, Ferguson refers to the language generally used by an instructor of, say, maths,

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1. One is not referring to a Friday /xuTba/ 'sermon', which is usually scripted and read aloud (in H). More and more preachers are now avoiding writing out their /xuTba/ in full, thus allowing for style shifting.

engineering, history, etc. when addressing a class of university students, then it is not nearly correct to say categorically that the instructor uses H. Part of the lecture may be given in H, but the main body of it will almost certainly be in ESA. In fact, we have evidence on Tape 28 of the Leeds ESA corpus of a lecture on Arabic Linguistics at the University of Kuwait where the lecturer, an Egyptian and specialist in Arabic addressing students reading Arabic, used educated spoken Arabic as his medium of instruction with a good deal of style-shifting spanning the whole spectrum of the continuum of spoken Arabic, e.g.

maḡaleeji; Siḡna mina lḡaan fa Saḡḡidan ya(a)  
 jamaaḡa miḡ ḡaawziin niḡtaḡmil kilmit ḡuruuf.  
 Siḡḡuruuf tumaḡḡil - laa wala ḡaḡruf wala  
 ḡuruuf - Siḡḡuruuf tumaḡḡil iljaanib ilkitaabi  
 liḡḡoot. Siḡna ḡanistaḡmil kilmit ḡaḡwaat  
 liḡanna ḡna bnidris ḡilm il-ḡaḡwaat miḡḡilm  
 il ... ḡilmi liḡimlaaḡ maḡalan ḡaw ḡilm ilkitaaba.  
 fa Siḡḡuruuf haaḡiḡi murtabiḡa bilkitaaba ḡaw  
 bilḡimlaaḡ

'Never mind! From now on, everybody, we do not want to use the word /ḡuruuf/ nor /ḡaḡruf/ "letters". Letters are orthographic representations of sound. We will use the term /ḡaḡwaat/ "sounds" because we are studying phonology, not the art of spelling or writing. Letters are associated with orthography and spelling.'

However, if by a university lecture Ferguson means one that is written in full and recited to the audience, then he must be right.

The same objection applies to 'personal letters' (Ferguson H). It is true that a personal letter is supposed, by virtue of the fact that it is written, to be in H, but all too often parts of a personal letter are in L.

One may take issue with every item of the list of functions which Ferguson correlates with his H and L constructs. But enough has been said to point out the illusory nature of the H/L dichotomy. 'It may, of course, be convenient to posit a one-for-one correlation between a set of linguistic forms and a situation', write Crystal and Davy (1969: 63) 'but while this relation does sometimes genuinely exist, it would be a mistake to assume that it always exists, and to talk rigidly in terms of "one language one situation". It is more meaningful instead to talk of ranges of appropriateness and acceptability of various uses of language to given situations.'

Before discussing Blanc's paper, which recapitulates Ferguson's somewhat impressionistic generalizations, we should do well to review the following articles by Alan S. Kaye: 'Modern Standard Arabic and the colloquials' in Lingua 24, 1970, pp. 374-91, and 'Remarks on diglossia in Arabic: well-defined versus ill-defined' in Linguistics 81, 1972, pp. 32-48. Kaye's two articles are essentially the same - indeed almost identical in places. 'The hypothesis to be advanced', says Kaye (1972: 35), 'is that C (i.e. colloquial) is always a well-defined system of language, whereas MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) is ill-defined. If a Cairene is asked to supply the word for "bread" in his colloquial (his native language) the answer is INVARIABLY /ʕeeʃ/. Similar responses would include "I will write" /ħaktib/, "the name of Mohammed" /maħammad/, "man" /raagil/, "house" /beet/, "what do you

want? (masc. sg.)" /ɣaawiz eeh/ or /ɣaayiz eeh/, etc., etc. All the forms and all the sentences which one would elicit must (and do) conform to well-defined rules of phonology, morphology and syntax'.

But this deterministic model of language advanced by Kaye is odd; it does not tally with the realities of the language. For in Cairene /ɣeeʃ/ may also occur as /xubz/; /ħaktib/ as /haktib/; /maħammad/ as /muħammad/; /beet/ as /bayt/ or perhaps /daar/. To sweep variation of this sort under the carpet for the sake of producing a neat statement makes the analysis superficial and obscures the facts.

The range of variation is even greater at the level of multi-word utterances. Thus /ɣaawiz (ɣaayiz) eeh/ which is claimed by Kaye to be INVARIABLE in Cairene is, as he himself paradoxically recognizes, only one of many options open to a Cairene. Subject to biographical and situational constraints the same Cairene may also use /ʃuu biddak/, /ʃuu bitriid/ (both of which are cited by Kaye himself) and /maaḥaa turiid/, /maazaa turiid/, /mallaḥii turiid/, /mallazii turiid/ or even /ɣaawiz (ɣaayiz) ee/, /ɣaawiz (ɣaayiz) ʃee(ʃeeh)/ or possibly /ʃee(h) ɣaawiz (ɣaayiz)/.

Other possible - even probable - Cairene phrases for the same question are /ʃayyi xidma(h)/ and /ʃayyi xadamaat (ya(a) beeh)/. In fact, it is expressions like these which are more frequent than any of the ones mentioned by Kaye. Consider for example what a Cairene shopkeeper or hotel receptionist or bank or telegraph officer or school

headmaster etc. might use when a customer or stranger is standing face to face with them. In these situations /ḡaawiz (ḡaayiz) eeh/ would not only be inappropriate, it would also sound downright rude! ✱

Kaye's objection to expressions other than the ones he prescribes for Cairene, namely 'They are, statistically speaking, extremely rare in comparison to normal /ḡaawiz (ḡaayiz) eeh/ and have embedded in them, so to speak, extra-linguistic materials' (op. cit.: 36) is simply meaningless. To say that they are extremely rare is not true - if anything, some of them, e.g. /ḡayyi xidma(h) (ya(a) beeh)/, are much more frequent than Kaye's favourite /ḡaawiz (ḡaayiz) eeh/. And to throw them in the waste-paper basket on the assumption that they 'have embedded in them, so to speak, extra-linguistic materials' is like throwing out the baby with the bath water. After all it is such meaningful variation which makes the study of language in its 'social context' interesting and worthwhile. Kaye's suggestion that 'frequency should be our guide in all matters' pertaining to the question of determining what is Cairene and what is not is not very helpful because it says nothing of how to measure 'frequency', and, moreover, it entails a good deal of arbitrariness as to the critical number of occurrences of a form in order to make it Cairene. Besides, the probability of occurrence of one form or another largely depends on establishable 'extra-linguistic' - situational and stylistic - constraint



This is not to say that there is a categorical co-occurrence relationship between language form and situational-cum-stylistic constraints; only to say that there is a probabilistic relationship. In the words of Gillian Sankoff (1973: 45) 'Briefly, I posit that linguistic behaviour, like other behaviour, is subject to statistical variation which can best be accounted for by an underlying model which is probabilistic rather than deterministic.'

In short, one searches in vain for a miraculously homogeneous and well-defined Cairene that is spoken in an INVARIABLE way by old and young, educated and uneducated, Muslim and Christian, male and female, Azhar and AUC graduates, of urban and rural origin, in a multiplicity of situations ranging from an informal domestic chit chat to a formal talk at the Arab Socialist Union, say.

Arabic vernaculars - Cairene included - cannot be considered as homogeneous and static varieties of language. They are, and always have been, undergoing change - albeit slow change - and a number of factors like education, urbanization, the mass media, the mosque and so on are, and have been for some time, contributory to this change. It is unrealistic therefore to assume that all members of the speech community in Cairo share the same language rules, notably at the level of performance.

This brings us to the second part of Kaye's hypothesis,

namely that MSA is ill-defined! Again, it is the futile search for homogeneity in MSA, and consequently the intolerance of heterogeneity, which must have led Kaye to consider MSA ill-defined. The form /katabataa/ 'they (fem. dual) wrote' will have more than one phonological realization depending on who says it where and under what socio-stylistic constraints. Similarly, the pausal phrase /fii madaaris / 'in schools' is attested, contextually, as /fii madaarisi .../ and /fii madaarisiin .../, as well as /fii madaarisa .../. Educated Arabs who have not mastered - at the performance level - the prescriptive conventions of standard Arabic grammar are likely to say /fii madaarisi jadiidah/ or /fii madaarisiin jadiidah/ 'in new schools', both of which are unacceptable to the orthodox grammarians of Arabic who would only accept /fii madaarisa jadiidah/ - the form /madaaris/ being 'mamnuuġ min aSSarf', i.e. it takes an a-ending when it is the object of a transitive verb and when it follows a preposition.

But this type of variation does not warrant sticking the label 'ill-defined' on MSA. It is by no means peculiar to MSA, all living languages have it. Analogous examples could be cited for Modern Standard English. For instance, the words 'hurt', 'box', 'either', 'fast' and 'often' cannot be said to have the same phonetic realization irrespective of the biography and origin of the native performer. Similarly, lexical variation is exemplified by the occurrence of pairs of items like 'side-walk' (U.S.A.) and 'pavement' (Britain), 'railroad' and 'railway', 'fall'

and 'autumn', and so on. Nor, of course, are English spelling rules the same in America and Britain; compare, for instance 'color' and 'colour', 'leveled' and 'levelled', 'center' and 'centre', and so forth. Standard English is not free from variations at the grammatical level, either.

Consider:

I have got/gotten a new car.

None of the students know/knows the answer.

This horse is different from/to (?than) that one.

One should know what one/he is talking about.

(Where the alternative 'he' has the same referent as the subject 'one'.)

Or consider this quotation from R. Quirk's essay on 'Acceptability in Language' (1968: 185).

But the assumption we have begun to criticize was not merely that the English teacher made rules but that he had no usage problems himself. How justified is this latter part? I have recently been reading the proofs of a book by a man who has been a professor of English for over 30 years: twice on one galley I found him using 'false concords' of the type discussed by Professor B.M.H. Strang in a paper presented to the International Association of University Professors of English at the Venice Conference of August 1965 and published in the Proceedings of the Conference:

'... the language and sentence-structure of the story is completely native. Inevitably the language and style is simple and direct.'

He has accepted my correction is to are without demur, but the fact remains that is had seemed perfectly natural to him when he had written these sentences or rather that no clear rule dominated his choice of grammatical forms in this instance.

The above are only a few illustrative examples of variability in Modern Standard English. Some of these

are regionally bound, others cut across regional boundaries. They are of the same types and orders of variability attested in MSA. But nobody has ever said, on the basis of such variability, that Modern Standard English is 'ill-defined'!

Let us now return to the three works mentioned at the beginning of this review. Blanc's article is by far the most detailed of these, and, quite naturally, Badawi and Ezzat acknowledge it and include it in their bibliography. The paper by Blanc is based on a single 'recording made by four Arabic speakers employed at the Army Language School in Monterey, California' (Blanc, op. cit.: 86 ). As such it has its own limitations. The writer of the article himself is indeed mindful of these limitations. 'The reader', he says (op. cit.: 86) 'may be shocked to discover that the recording was done with all the customary safe-guards thrown to the winds: not only are all four of the speakers teachers of Arabic, but a good half of their conversation centres upon the "language of the educated"'.

We must pay tribute to Blanc for his pioneering contribution to educated spoken Arabic. His analysis of the sample he obtained under the circumstances he describes is not only interesting, but also penetrating. But as the analysis is based on this extremely limited sample of educated spoken interdialectal Arabic, the conclusions he draws - although quite pertinent to his data - are not borne out by a richer and more varied corpus of educated spoken Arabic.

Blanc's article is of course informed by Ferguson's diglossia. But Blanc makes a fairly significant departure from Ferguson: Blanc soon realized that any such dichotomy as the proposed diglossic one was insensitive to the facts. His paper is entitled 'Style variations in spoken Arabic: a sample of interdialectal educated conversation'. He proposes to analyse spoken Arabic not just in terms of what Ferguson called H and L forms, but in a rather more sophisticated framework of stylistic variation. He recognizes five stylistic levels, namely, 'plain colloquial', 'koineized colloquial', 'semi-literary', 'modified classical' and 'standard classical'.

Stylistic modifications in Spoken Arabic are attributed by Blanc to two devices: 'levelling' and 'classicizing'. 'In general, levelling often takes place not so much in imitation of a specific dialect as in an attempt to suppress localisms in favor of features which are simply more common, more well known; these may be region-wide dialect features (Aleppine /ʃiʃʃu/ "what" replaced by "general Syrian" /ʃuu/), features shared by many dialects and classical (/maɣ/ "with", for Baghdadi /wiya/) or widely understood classicisms (Baghdadi /laax/ 'other', replaced by classical /ʃaaxar/). The last two are clear and common instances of overlapping between levelling and classicization' (op. cit.: 82).

(My emphasis.) By 'classicizing' Blanc means the use of forms like /maɣ/ and /ʃaaxar/ instead of the more 'genuinely dialectal' forms, e.g. /wiyya/ and /laax/.

It is very difficult for educated native speakers of Arabic to accept Blanc's five stylistic levels. Perhaps levels 5 and 1, i.e. 'standard classical', and 'plain colloquial' respectively are fairly easy to establish in terms of formal linguistic features; but the other three levels can hardly, if at all, be verified. For level 2, i.e. 'koineized colloquial' is presumably distinguished from level 3, i.e. 'semi-literary', by the claim that the former is marked by levelling devices while the latter is characterized by classicizing devices. But since the boundaries between the so-called 'levelling' and 'classicizing' devices are not clearly drawn in the first place (cf. Blanc's acceptance of 'overlapping between leveling and classicization' above) it is not clear how these processes are recognized.

At any rate, Blanc's attempt is a welcome addition to the literature on Arabic linguistics. One might even say it constitutes a turning point in the history of Arabic linguistics. For the first time, variability in spoken Arabic is recognized and an attempt is made to systematize it without sacrificing inappropriate data. Blanc's article should have served as a warning for those who some ten years later were still talking of 'well-defined' and 'ill-defined' languages or forms of the same language - a prescriptive approach typical of almost all the literature on Arabic linguistics which has failed to come to terms with variation. Blanc's article therefore merits a more detailed scrutiny, not

so much to discredit it as to expose the linguistic statements it contains to further illumination.

These general linguistic statements will be considered in the light of a sizeable corpus of educated spoken Arabic collected during January, February and March of 1976 in four Arab countries, namely, Egypt, Syria, Jordan (including the West Bank) and Kuwait.

Altogether we have recorded fifty-two tapes of educated spoken Arabic in the above-mentioned Arab countries. This large body of data comprises unscripted, unprepared conversations and discussions based on a wide range of inter-personal relationships. The informants are native speakers of Arabic - men and women - whose ages range from 17 to 60 years. Occupationally, they fall into the following categories:

- i. Students (at high school, teacher training college and university).
- ii. Teachers and lecturers.
- iii. Civil servants from many departments, e.g. Health, Islamic Affairs, Telecommunications, Income Tax, as well as Radio and Television services.
- iv. Private business employees.
- v. Singers, musicians and actors.
- vi. Writers and journalists.
- vii. Politicians and diplomats.
- viii. Doctors.
- ix. Engineers.

A random sample of about ten of our tapes will be used for demonstrating that Blanc's statement is inadequate.

In order to be both brief and to the point, we will limit the discussion to Blanc's description of morphology and syntax - the area where Blanc's data are extremely impoverished. We will try to show that Blanc's conclusions do not have any predictive validity outside the small body of data from which they emerged. In fact, most of his conclusions fall short of approaching the status of general tendencies, let alone rules, of educated spoken Arabic.

At the levels of morphology and syntax we will be particularly concerned with the following features of educated spoken Arabic: (a) ṣiḡraab, i.e. case endings, (b) negation, (c) the passive, (d) numerals, (e) complex sentences, and (f) word order.

(a) ṣiḡraab (case endings)

Blanc (op. cit.: 101) says that in his sample of spoken Arabic 'There is no trace of ṣiḡraab, except (a) in the one proverb quoted in Classical Arabic; (b) in the phrase /ḡakullin/ 'in any case', which is widespread in many colloquials and not peculiar to semi-literary style; (c) in the /-an/ ending of many adverbs'. It is a mistake to assume that such is also the case in any sample of educated spoken Arabic. Consider the following counter-evidence - the relevant endings are underlined.



1. lluya lğarabiyye yağni lahaa waðğ xaaSS  
 řannahaa luyatu lqurřaan, wa hunaaka  
 rtibaaT bayna lřislaam wa bayna lluyā  
 lğarabiyye ... illuyā lğarabiyye taħmil  
 turaaθ řarbağata ġařara qarnan. (Tape  
 4: The speaker is an Arabic specialist  
 (like Blanc's informants) talking to a  
 group of listeners about the role of  
 Arabic in the school curriculum).

'Arabic has a special position in that it is the language of the Koran. And there is a connection between Islam and the Arabic language. The Arabic language is the vehicle of fourteen centuries of heritage.'

Note that the underlined endings fully conform to the system of case endings of Classical Arabic (and MSA). Of particular interest in this example of educated, spoken, unscripted, unprepared Arabic is the occurrence of the phrase řarbağata ġařara qarnan 'fourteen centuries', which not only nicely illustrates the use of the 'right' case endings, but also exemplifies the Classical concordial relationship between the so-called 'compound number' řarbağata ġařara and the noun qarn.

2. řahlan fiik wa filřurdun wa fii řahl  
 ilřurdun wa mustamiğii lřurdun. (With  
 final -n of mustamiğiin deleted by the  
 rules of řiğraab.) (Tape 17: A  
 Lebanese actor interviewed on Radio  
 Jordan; unscripted speech).

'You are welcome and so are Jordan and the Jordanians and the listeners.'

3. biħayθ yakuun qarař mina lkutub, wa  
 ġarafa maa fiihaa. (Tape 27: An  
 Egyptian proof-reader (Arabic muħaqiq  
 'verifier') of new editions of classic  
 books on Arabic talks to the interviewers  
 about his job at the Ministry of  
 Information in Kuwait.)

'Such that he will have read some books and known what is in them.'

4. wa laa qiimata lahaa. (Tape 27)

'And it has no value.'

5. kuntu Suriid san Saquul Sanna lxaliig ilgarabii rayma Sannahu iguzfun min SarDi lwaTani lgarabii ... (Tape 31: An Egyptian journalist - English specialist - talks about his job and hobbies to an interviewer on Radio Jordan.)

'I was going to say that the Arabian Gulf, although it is part of the Arab land ...'

6. btuTlub Sajyaaſ yaſni ma ttufiqq galayha nihaaſiyyan. (Tape 20: A Syrian fourth-year maths student at Damascus University talking to a group of eight people (men and women) about his ex-fiancée's unrealistic demands).

'She demands things which were never agreed on.'

The conclusion to be drawn from the above illustrations of educated usage is that, although a good deal of educated spoken Arabic exhibits no case endings, it is nonetheless wrong to claim that 'There are no occurrences of classical ſiſraab other than such as also occur in plain colloquial'. A fairly large proportion of educated spoken Arabic does carry full marks of Classical ſiſraab which in no sense can be said to be restricted to what Blanc calls 'set phrases' and 'proverbs'.

It is also worth noting that speakers who know the 'rules' of Classical ſiſraab are not consistent in applying these rules to their speech. This is reminiscent

of what William Labov (1972b: 93) has called 'inherent variability', i.e. variation in the speech of the same person which is without (or seems without) any apparent motivation (cf. Bickerton (1971: 458)). Perhaps such variation is after all controlled by a set of variable linguistic and extralinguistic constraints. To determine the exact nature of these constraints would require a more systematic investigation than the present rather sketchy account. But one thing is clear from the corpus of data on the tapes we have collected, namely, that such inherent variability is indeed characteristic of many features (phonological, grammatical and lexical) in the speech of educated Arabs in contradistinction to the speech of illiterate, older Arabs (notably women) who, by sheer necessity rather than design, tend to be committed to a fairly homogeneous colloquial which exhibits little or no variation at any one time.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Negative Particles

According to Blanc (op. cit.: 105), 'Negative particles are entirely dialectal, except for the fixed expression /la baas/.' In general, any such categorical statements about language are either misleading or too simplistic, or both.

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1. This statement must not be taken to contradict what was said earlier on when discussing Kaye's 'well-defined' concept of colloquial Arabic. Here I am talking about the speech habits of a certain sector of the community, whereas Kaye was referring to a very broad front of 'well-defined' colloquial.

But since Blanc's description relates specifically to his own corpus of data, one cannot take issue with him on that score. However, anybody who reads Blanc's article might unwittingly be led to thinking that his (i.e. Blanc's) conclusions apply to educated spoken Arabic at large. That this is not the case can be illustrated by the following examples. (The relevant particles are underlined.)

1. yaḡni bihimna ṡinnuykuun Taalib mubtakir yaḡr muḡallid. (Tape 4: A Palestinian art specialist (female) talks to a group of six people about the aims of art teaching in schools.) (cf. colloquial miḡ, which she does not use.)

'It is important to us that he be a student with originality - not a mimic.'

2. haaḡihi ṡadawaat laa yastaynii ḡanha ṡinsaana. (Tape 4: An Arabic specialist (male) talks to a group of six people about the aims of teaching Arabic in schools).

'These are devices which no one can do without.'

3. baṡaali ḡawaali sabiḡ siniin lam ṡaḡraṡ naḡrit ṡaxbaar. (Tape 17: A Lebanese actor talks about his experience in broadcasting to an interviewer on Radio Jordan).

'For nearly seven years I have not read a news bulletin.'

4. tatawaḡḡaḡ ḡala ljaah wa laysa ḡala lkafaaṡah. (Tape 23: An accountant from Jordan talks about the attitudes of the management of the firm where he works; four other participants (three being his colleagues) are listening to him.)

'This depends on prestige, not qualifications.'

5. raḡiis ilqisim hoon laa yatamattaḡ ...  
(Tape 23) (See ex. 4)

'The head of the department here does not enjoy ...'

(c) Classical Passive Forms

In Blanc's words (op. cit.: 104), 'Classical passive forms occur three times, all in B; two of these occurrences are in the set phrase /maa yusamma/, /maa tusamma/... and one in an inflected perfect which, however, comes close to being a fixed technical expression in educated discussions of this sort /tustagmal/ ...' Taken to its logical conclusion, this statement means, in effect, that 'Classical passive forms' are not attested in educated spoken Arabic, apart from a few stereotyped 'set phrases'. This claim by Blanc, in fact, echoes what he says about ṡiḡraab and negative particles - Blanc is very consistent. But the corpus of educated spoken Arabic that we possess - contrary to what Blanc might expect - abounds in what he calls classical passive forms. Consider the following examples in support of a very strong counter-claim - the relevant passive forms are underlined.

1. kaan yuṡawwar ḡala lhawaaḡ (Tape 17: A Lebanese actor talks about his experience to an interviewer from Radio Jordan).

'It used to be photographed and transmitted direct.'

2. da yugraḡ filmaktabaat. (Tape 27: An Egyptian proof-reader of new editions of classical books on Arabic talks to two interviewers about his job at the Kuwaiti Ministry of Information).

'This is read in libraries'

3. biiḡaxafrij ilkuweet. (Tape 27)  
'It was sold outside Kuwait'
4. wa min hunaa tursam Ṣahyaanan ...  
(Tape 31: Egyptian journalist)  
'Hence it is sometimes pictured ...'
5. wa ṢuḡTiyat haqq ilmuḥaamaat.  
(Tape 20: Syrian college student)  
'And she was given the right to become a lawyer'
6. ḡindamaa qubilt muḡiid. (Tape 20:  
Syrian Graduate Assistant)  
'When I was accepted as a demonstrator'
7. law Ṣutiiḥat Ṣili ḌBuruuf. (Tape 11:  
A Palestinian student reading English  
at Ein Shams University in Cairo, talk-  
ing to a group of five persons - all  
men - about his future plans)  
'If I was given the opportunity'
8. liṢannahaa ṢunḡiṢat bixadamaat ...  
(Tape 23: An accountant from Jordan)  
'Because it was established by the  
service of ...'
9. Ṣintudibt lilmuraafḡa fii qaDiiyyi.  
(Tape 22: An Egyptian female barrister  
interviewed on Radio Cairo)  
'I was commissioned to defend a case'
10. ilmasraḡ ijamaahiiri lam yuulaḍ baḡḍ.  
(Tape 23: A Syrian English-supervisor  
participating in a discussion on 'The

Cinema and the Theatre in the Arab World'. Four other participants are involved: two men and two women)

'The public theatre has not been "born" yet'

(d) Numerals

'The numbers above "one" remain entirely colloquial", says Blanc (op. cit.: 107) (my emphasis). Once more, Blanc is being very categorical! The phrase 'entirely colloquial' is not compatible with the title of Blanc's article: 'Style Variations in Spoken Arabic', for such categorical claims leave no room for variation. Even if we accept it as a fact that all the examples of numerals in Blanc's corpus happened to be 'entirely colloquial', we should still be unhappy about his inflexible claim.

It would have been different if Blanc had just said that all the occurrences of numerals in his corpus were entirely colloquial. This would have been appropriate. But it is obvious from the way he actually puts it that he is claiming more than just that. Reading Blanc's paper one cannot help feeling that his statements are intended to have a wider and more encompassing applicability. If so, then he is wrong, as the following examples will illustrate. (The relevant numerals are underlined.)

1. ... taḥmil turaaθ ṣarbaḡata ḡajara qarnan. (Tape 4: An Arabic specialist (male) talks to a group of six people about the aims of teaching Arabic at

schools) Note that in this example - as has been mentioned - the numeral occurs in a form which is 'entirely classical'!

'... transmits the culture of fourteen centuries'

2. ... lam tazal kamaa kaanat munḏu xamsiina ḡaaman. (Tape 20: Syrian graduate assistant)

'... is still as it used to be 50 years ago'

3. yaḡni Ṣaflaam ilxamsiinaat. (Tape 23: Syrian English-supervisor)

'I mean the films of the 50s'

4. Taalbeh Ṣinjaaf maḡhad lirraqṢ iṣṣarqi maḡ ilbaaleeh ilḡaalami yaḡni waṣattaan maa bayn ilṢiṠnayn yaḡni. (Tape 23: A Syrian woman-student at the University of Damascus participating in a group discussion on 'The Cinema and the Theatre in the Arab World'. Total number of participants five: three men and two women)

'She has asked to be allowed to establish an institute for Oriental dancing along with the international ballet, and how different the two types are!'

5. min sanat Ṣuula Ṣibidaafi. (Tape 23: A Lebanese book-agent in Kuwait telling two Egyptians about his early experience with co-education)

'From the first elementary class'

The above examples show that numerals in educated spoken Arabic are not 'entirely colloquial'. However, in fairness to Blanc, it must be added that in the speech of even highly educated Arabs numerals tend to occur much more frequently in colloquial forms than classical forms. And yet the restricted



occurrence of classical numerals in educated spoken Arabic is very interesting from a linguist's point of view and almost certainly has implications for such factors as the speaker's curriculum vitae, his attitudes to language usage and the formality of the situation. For it is usually the Arabic specialist who is aware of, loyal to, and proud of the classical norms who, in formal (or even semi-formal) situations, tends to abide by these norms. In a Labovian quantitative analysis of educated spoken Arabic, the language habits of these 'classicalists' are bound to raise the proportion of prestigious to stigmatized forms.

(e) Complex Sentences

Blanc is very brief on this point. He observes that his informants tend to use long sentences with embedded clauses. 'While not strictly a feature of classicization', writes Blanc (op. cit.: 109), 'the notable tendency, especially in B, to use long-winded sentences with many subordinate clauses ... may be regarded as a feature characteristic of elevated style'. Blanc mentions only one very popular type of subordinate clause which his informants tended to use, namely the relative clause. He adds that one of the consequences of this tendency is that the antecedent of the relative pronoun, i.e. *ʕalḡaaʕid* gets 'lost in the shuffle'.

One might add that it is not only relative clauses that are very frequent in educated spoken Arabic. As frequent, if not more frequent, are the following, where

the relevant clauses are underlined:

1. noun-clauses introduced by  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{inn(u)}$ , e.g.

yağni bihimma  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{innu ykuun Taalib mubtakir}$   
yağr muqallid. (Tape 4).

'It is important that he be a student of original thinking, not a mimic.'

2. adverbial clauses of 'circumstance' introduced by  $/\text{wa}/$ , e.g.

badağt ilfann wana sinni Zyir yağni. (Tape 17).

'I started art in early childhood.'

3. adverbial clauses of time, e.g.

bisannt issittawxamsiin lammaa safalat  
 $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{ijjarq ilfadnaa}$  ... tağaağadat maği  
 $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{alfiđaağa ssağuuđiyye.$  (Tape 17).

'In 1956, when the Near East (Broadcasting Corporation) was closed, the Saudi Broadcasting Corporation and I signed a contract.'

4. Conditional clauses introduced by  $/\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{iđa(a)}/$  or one of its allomorphs, e.g.

wa qabla kulli  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{ayf}$ ,  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{innamaa tufliħu}$   
lmağğalatu filmaği  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{iđaa Saadafat hawan}$   
filfuğadi; (Tape 20).

'And first of all, a statement about a person will be pertinent if it is genuinely felt.'

5. adjectival clauses, e.g.

wibtuğlub mağağaliib maa  $\text{\textcircled{S}}\text{anzala LLaahu}$   
biħaa min SuğŁaan.

'And she demands things (which) "God has not authorized".'

It is worth noting that very often educated Arabs spontaneously complicate their syntax by using too many embedded clauses which amount to a mere display of

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verbosity (Cf. Labov (1969a:11-19)). Not only does this vacuous verbosity complicate the utterance; it also obscures the meaning. As Labov (op. cit.: 19) puts it, 'The accumulating flow of words buries rather than strikes the target'. The following example from Tape 3 illustrates this point.

kamaan binnisbe lalmahaasiil iSseefiyye haaði  
 ſahamm ... yağni muhimme jiddan ſinnu raah  
 itsaagid ſilſamtaar haay ġalaa ziraagit  
 ilmaħaaSiil iSseefiyye wa xaaSSatan ilmaħaaSiil  
 ilbağliyye ... wa kaðaalik ... ġalaa tsaagid  
 ġalaa ... ziraagt ilſaſjaar ilmuθmira wa  
 liſannu fii ... qisim kabiir min ilſaſjaar  
 ilmuθmira miθl izzeetuun willooziiyyaat ſuu  
 yeeru nzarağ haaði ... lſamtaar Tabğan bitsaagid  
 ġalaa numuww haaði lſaſjaar illi nzarağat.  
 (Tape 3: An agriculture specialist responding  
 spontaneously to a live question on radio Amman).

The gist of the above display of words is that 'the recent rain will help summer crops and fruit trees (like olives and almonds) grow'.

(f) Word Order

This is the last of the features we arbitrarily selected from Blanc's article for discussion in this brief survey. Here again - in his typical style - Blanc states at the outset that 'The dialectal word order is essentially retained, except that classical morphemes may come either at the place required in classical or at that required for the equivalent dialectal morpheme. Thus /faθTarreet ſana ſan ſaſtuɣul ſayðan/ "so I had to work also" (B<sub>2</sub>...) has /ſayðan/ in its proper classical place, ... Similarly, /faqaT/ "only" is in its classical position in /bilğammiiya faqaT/ "in colloquial only" (B<sub>2</sub>...), but the same speaker puts it where colloquial /bass/ would occur in /faqaT billuɣa lğammiiɣa/ "only in colloquial" ...'

(op. cit.: 107).

Blanc says very little about word order, and what little he says is neither informative nor accurate. For in Classical Arabic the word /ʕayDan/ is not confined to sentence-final position. Thus in the classical equivalent of Blanc's example, i.e. in

faDTurirtu ʕan ʕaʕtayil, 'I was forced to work'  
the word /ʕayDan/ can occur either after ʕaʕtayil, viz:

1. faDTurirtu ʕan ʕaʕtayila ʕayDan,  
or between the first two words, viz:

2. faDTurirtu ʕayDan ʕan ʕaʕtayil.

Similarly, the word /faqaT/ has no invariable position in Classical Arabic. Consider:

3. haaða rrajulu faqaT muSaabun biljadarii.

4. haaða rrajulu muSaabun biljadarii faqaT.

Of course, the meaning of sentence 1 is not the same as that of sentence 2, and the meaning of 3 is not the same as that of 4. But Blanc does not seem to be interested in meaning; he is only concerned with distribution.

Blanc's article has influenced the above-mentioned two works by Badawi and Ezzat. The first of these - Badawi's book - owes to Blanc its main theme and details of technique, although naturally the writer contributes a great deal of his own, notably in connection with the mutual interaction between language, on the one hand, and society and culture on the other.

Like Blanc, Badawi recognizes five levels in contemporary Egyptian Arabic. However, as mentioned above, Blanc's

corpus is restricted, whereas Badawi's is much more flexible. Badawi takes into consideration data arising from various real-life situations of language use - greetings, buying and selling, lectures, political discussions, and so on. Moreover, Badawi claims that, whereas Blanc's five stylistic 'levels' are recognised on the basis of formal linguistic criteria, his own five levels are established, in the first place, in terms of socio-linguistic criteria. \*

Badawi's five 'levels' are defined as follows:

1. fuṣḥa tturāqā (i.e. Classical Arabic): Traditional, literary (language) relatively uninfluenced by anything.
2. fuṣḥa lḡāṣir (i.e. Contemporary or Neo-Classical Arabic): Literary (language) influenced by contemporary civilization.
3. ḡaammiyyatu lmuṯaqqāfiin (Vernacular of the educated): colloquial (language) influenced by both the literary (language) and contemporary civilization.
4. ḡaammiyyatu lmutanawwiriin (Vernacular of the enlightened): colloquial (language) influenced by contemporary civilization.
5. ḡaammiyyatu lṣummiyyiin (Vernacular of the illiterate): colloquial (language) relatively free from the influence of both the literary (language) and contemporary civilization.

The first of these five 'levels' is, according to Badawi almost exclusively the prerogative of Azharites in their religious talks. The second level is the vehicle of discussing a variety of contemporary topics which call

for the use of literary Arabic. The third level is the language of the educated and is used for talks and discussions concerning abstract topics and contemporary cultural issues in the domains of science, politics, art and social problems. The richness of this level's lexicon and expression and its flexibility have made it the vehicle of Egyptian culture and scientific discourse. The fourth level is used by literate people in such practical daily affairs as buying and selling and, for example, relating the news. It is also the medium of family talk about daily observations, friends, neighbours, food and clothing. The fifth level is associated with illiterate speakers of Egyptian Arabic. It is the language of comic plays and country folk.

The arbitrariness of these functions and the considerable amount of overlapping between them make it extremely difficult to accept this stratification of contemporary Egyptian Arabic. The author of the book recognises this difficulty of correlating topics with language levels, which, incidentally, is reminiscent of what Ferguson has unsuccessfully tried to do.

At all events, Badawi attempts to associate with each of his five levels a set of phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical features. Once more, his argument is not very convincing and many of his decisions are arbitrary. Take, for example, his account of the distribution of the so-called verbal (as against the nominal) sentence over the five levels of contemporary

Egyptian Arabic. (pp. 102-103):

- in level 1, 'The verbal sentence takes precedence .... the nominal sentence comes next' (in terms of frequency of occurrence in usage).
- in level 2, 'The nominal sentence is preferred to the verbal sentence by contemporary writers.'
- in level 3, 'The verbal sentence loses ground and almost disappears ... except in e.g. sentences beginning with a passive verbal form.'
- in level 4, 'The verbal sentence is curtailed even further, and occurs only in cases comprising answers to questions in which the verb plays an important role,  
e.g.  
- miin jaafak hinaak? 'Who saw you there?'  
- jafni naas kitiiir 'Many people saw me'.'
- in level 5, 'The verbal sentence occurs only in common expressions and ready-made sentences,  
e.g.  
/yismaḡ minnak rabbina/  
'May our Lord respond (lit. 'listen') to you!'

Now, a linguistic statement capturing the distribution of the verbal sentence over the 'social dialects' of Egyptian Arabic requires a more scientifically orientated survey of the speech community - something along the lines followed recently by, for instance, Labov (1972b). The scanning of radio speeches and the impressions of the native speaker - important though they might be - are hardly sufficient for making a statement of this type. The same criticism applies to the asserted distribution of other language features on the five levels.

Nonetheless, Badawi's third level, i.e. *ḡaammiyyatu lmuḡaqqafiin*, is of special interest to us because it has some relevance to the study of educated spoken Arabic. Badawi attributes the emergence of this level in Egyptian Arabic to the spread and impact of European civilization, on the one hand, and to the inadequacy of the colloquial (of the illiterate and even enlightened Egyptians) to cope with the rising tide of western culture, as well as the failure of the majority of Egyptians to use the literary language in their spontaneous discussions of all that relates to modern life, on the other hand.

As for the general linguistic characteristics of this level, Badawi mentions the following:

(a) Phonology

This (third) level is the richest of all five levels in respect of the phonemic inventory, which derives from three sources:

1. the literary language
2. the colloquial
3. a few foreign languages.

Thus, for instance, a speaker of *ḡaammiyyatu lmuḡaqqafiin* addressing his equals might use any one of the following three forms of the same word:

/ḡ-q-b/, /s-q-b/ /t-ḡ-b/ 'hole'.

This choice, Badawi claims, is not available on any of the other four levels, because the classical (i.e. level 1) admits the form /ḡ-q-b/ only, the neo-classical (i.e. level 2) admits /s-q-b/ and /ḡ-q-b/ only, and the vernacular of



the enlightened and the illiterate (i.e. levels 4 and 5) admit /t-ʕ-b/ only. Badawi does not say what determines the choice between /θ-q-b/, /s-q-b/, and /t-ʕ-b/ in the 'vernacular of the educated', corresponding to a single written form. This is a very interesting area in the morphophonemics of Egyptian Arabic and indeed of educated spoken Arabic in general. As the example shows:

1.  $\theta \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \theta \\ s \\ t \end{array} \right\}$
2.  $q \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{c} q \\ ʕ \end{array} \right\}$

The above variants, however, are not in free variation. It should be possible and well worthwhile to investigate linguistic and socio-cultural constraints determining the probability of occurrence of one or other of these variants.

(b) Morphology

Since this 'level' is at the centre of the continuum, it comes under the influence of the upper and the lower strata. Badawi regards the vernacular of the educated as an 'entrance' (particularly) into the upper levels. Therefore, classical morphemes undergo considerable change as they get to this intermediate level. For example, the 13-term demonstrative system of the literary language is, according to Badawi, reduced to a 5-term system for this level; [da] (sing. masc.) [di] (sing. fem.), [dool] (pl. masc. & fem.), [hina] (near spatial reference) and

[hinaak] (far spatial reference).

Like Blanc, Badawi provides interesting details of the phonological and morphological features characteristic of the vernacular of the educated. These details may lack precision but they make a useful guide for researchers interested in describing educated spoken Arabic in Egypt.

To turn now to Ali Ezzat's monograph: Intelligibility among Arab Dialects. This is a study of the mutual intelligibility of some dialects of Arabic, carried out while the author was lecturing in linguistics at Beirut Arab University. 'This University is attended by students of various Arab nationalities: Lebanese, Syrians, Jordanians, Palestinians, Kuwaitis, Bahrainis, Iraqis, Algerians, and Egyptians. The question of lack of reciprocal intelligibility has not been raised among these students who conduct their daily affairs in their own dialects. Thus, it occurred to me to investigate the common features that help towards this mutual understanding' (Ezzat (op. cit.: 9)). It is almost certainly untrue to say that students of different origins 'conduct their daily affairs in their own national dialects'. For, while it may seem that they are using their national dialects a closer investigation would show that they in fact resort to a common koineized variety of Arabic - ESA. Although Ezzat himself elsewhere recognizes this fact, it is irreconcilable with the preceding claim.

Ezzat's study is based on (1) a tape-recorded natural conversation in which five Arab students from Egypt, the West Bank of Jordan, the East Bank of Jordan, Bahrain and Algeria took part, (2) the author's own observations over a period of three years of the Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian dialects, (3) some literature pertinent to the dialects in question, (4) intuitions of native speakers of these dialects.

Among the author's observations are two, by now familiar ones, namely, that educated Arabs use 'hosts of classical words and expressions', and make adjustments whereby a speaker replaces some of his own dialectal features with their equivalents in the dialect of another speaker in a particular situation. Thus, the East Bank Jordanian informant who took part in the recorded conversation mentioned above is quoted by Ezzat (op. cit.: 12) to have said:

'Sinta txalliina nʕuul gaamʕa ... liʕannu  
Sinta-lli ʕam btisʕal ... law waahid taani  
byisʕal yeerak ma baʕul gaamʕa ... '

(You are making me say [gaamʕa] ... because you are the one that is asking (me) ... If somebody else was asking I wouldn't have said [gaamʕa].) <sup>1</sup>

The author considers the recorded conversation mentioned above as 'a fair representative of educated spoken Arabic (henceforth referred to as ESA) which is the subject of the present paper' (Ezzat (op. cit.: 9)).

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1. The point here is that the Jordanian informant concerned usually says /jaamʕa/ not /gaamʕa/.

صلى الله عليه وسلم  
 لابن مسعود عليه السلام  
 ليعرفوا الله  
 واليه المرجع

Ezzat gives a brief account of the 'points of similarity and difference in ESA varieties' at the levels of phonology, grammar and lexis. His approach is similar to that of Blanc and Badawi in the sense that he takes a particular feature, e.g. 'Negation of verbs', and examines how it is employed by the dialects under consideration. However, there is a fundamental difference between Ezzat's approach, on the one hand, and that of Blanc and Badawi, on the other hand. Ezzat has tried to describe ESA in its own terms without resorting too often to the classical and colloquial for frames of reference. To illustrate this approach, consider how he deals with, for instance, the grammatical feature: 'Negation of verbs' (op. cit.: 26).

'The particles ma(a), ma ... ʃ(i) and miʃ are used for the negation of verbs in ESA, but they are distributed as follows: 1. In Egyptian Arabic the particle ma ... ʃ is affixed to perfect, simple prefix imperfect and bi-prefix imperfect verbs, e.g.

ma kalʃi ktiiir (He didn't eat much)

The particle miʃ is affixed to ʃa-prefix verbs, e.g.

miʃʃayzurna-nniharda (He is not going to visit us today.)'

Having done this for Egyptian Arabic, the author goes on to describe the distribution of the negative particles in the other varieties of Arabic. Not once does he mention Classical Arabic or Colloquial Arabic as frames of reference for his description of this grammatical feature. In so doing Ezzat saves himself the trouble of having to force the facts of ESA into the strait-jacket of the Classi-

cal and the Colloquial. However, Ezzat's monograph is rather disturbing for two main reasons: (1) the author sets out to describe the intelligibility of ESA, but he seems to have confused ESA with the colloquials, (2) the author's statement is surprisingly inadequate.

Let us consider point one first. Reading Ezzat's monograph one gets the impression that he is not actually addressing himself to ESA; rather he is talking about the intelligibility of the dialects. In other words, he has confused ESA with the dialects. His opening sentences when discussing the features he has selected for analysis will illustrate what is meant by this confusion.

Consider:

' "Negation of Verbs": The particles ma(a), ma ... j(i) and mi j are used for the negation of words in ESA ... '

'Adverbs: Adverbs in ESA may be classified ...'

'Use of Prepositions: A large number of prepositions used in the colloquials are identical ... ' (Ezzat (op. cit.: 26, 27, 33)

It would seem from the above that the author is using ESA and Colloquial(s) (or dialect(s)) interchangeably, which is unjustifiable.

In regard to the second point, it may be noted that once the author has chosen a particular feature for analysis, e.g. 'Negation of Verbs', he satisfies himself with a very brief discussion of only a few of the elements of that feature. Thus, under negation of verbs, for instance, Ezzat discusses the following relevant particles only:

ma(a), ma ... j(i), and mi j

But surely there are other relevant negative particles in ESA which should have been mentioned under this category, e.g. lam, laa, lan, etc. The author undoubtedly does not do justice to the subject, but there is a mitigating circumstance, namely, his warning that 'This study, however, is not meant to be either extensive or comprehensive.' (op. cit.: 12). Ezzat's remarks on some of the features of ESA are very interesting. For example, in his discussion of the use of prepositions he observes that 'different relations obtain between certain verbs/nouns and some of these prepositions in the different Colloquials. This cannot be accounted for on a grammatical basis. They can best be regarded as a matter of collocation in the colloquials concerned. For example, in Lebanese and Syrian Arabic certain verbs collocate with the preposition /fi/, whereas the same verbs collocate with the preposition /bi/ in the same place in Egyptian Arabic. The following attested examples (Ezzat, op. cit.: 33) illustrate this point:

<u>Lebanese</u>	<u>Egyptian</u>	<u>Translation</u>
yitṣayyid fiiha	yitṣayyid biiha	(He is bound by it)

But Ezzat also notes that with certain other forms the distribution of /fi/ and /bi/ is reversed. Thus, whereas in Lebanese, '100%' is translated as /miyya bilmiyya/, in Egyptian Arabic the same phrase occurs as /miyya filmiyya/.

In his monograph, Ali Ezzat succeeded in establishing two important things: (1) there are more similarities than differences between the educated varieties of the five Arabic dialects he studied, (2) there is no lack of

intelligibility among the educated speakers of these dialects.

This review has in the main been critical of the works discussed but, it is hoped, not carpingly so or without some justification. The objective has not at any time been to underestimate the value of previous work - on the contrary, the contribution to Arabic linguistics of Ferguson and Blanc, to name only two of the scholars whose work has been reviewed, is and will certainly continue to be highly regarded. The basic difficulty has been that the view of language 'variation' hitherto adopted is not particularly apt to the analysis of ESA. The more recent work of, say, Labov, C-J. Bailey, and Bickerton provides on the whole a more satisfactory conceptual framework for dealing with the facts of ESA, as will be shown in the present study.

### 1.2. Current theories of variation

Variation is a controversial issue in contemporary linguistics. Opinion is divided between:

1. those who regard variation as irrelevant to language study and consequently ignore it by abstracting away from it (e.g. Chomsky)
2. those who give it marginal recognition and attempt to graft variability onto some form of core-grammar (e.g. Klima (1964) and Butters (1971a)).

3. those who regard variation as the core of language study (e.g. Labov, C-J. Bailey and Bickerton). The following quotations will illustrate the point.

(a) 'Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker-listener, in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors (random or characteristic) in applying his knowledge of the language in actual performance.'

(Chomsky, 1965: 3)

(b) 'In the present study the relationship between systems as well as the nature of their differences will be approached in the following way. The syntactic structure of each system will be considered revealed by the set of rules which most economically generates the sentences of the system. That set of rules will be designated as its grammar (G). The relationship between one style ( $L_1$ ) and another ( $L_2$ ) will be thought of in terms of the rules ( $E_{1-2}$ ) that it is necessary to add as an extension to the grammar ( $G_1$ ) of  $L_1$  in order to account for the sentences of  $L_2$ .



A convention will be adopted regarding the place where extension rules may be added to the grammar. They may not be added just anywhere, but must come at the end of certain sets of rules; e.g. extension rules dealing with the case forms of pronouns must come after the set of grammar rules for case in the previous system. By this convention, extension rules are prevented from superseding previous rules." (Klima, 1964: 2)

(c) "It should also be said that my position is not that of some 'socio-linguists' - viz. that the study of variation is simply a valuable adjunct to linguistics - but rather that the study of patterned language variation in its communicative life cannot be omitted from linguistic theory and practice without invalidating them." (C.J. Bailey, 1973: 23)

While agreeing that variation should form the core - not the periphery - of language study, committed variationists however, seem to disagree on how variation is to be incorporated into the grammar of a language. Basically, there exists (at present) some kind of rivalry between two branches of variationism. On the one hand, Labov's model proposes to incorporate variability into the grammar by means of variable rules of a quantificational-cum-probabilistic type: in environment  $E_1$  use the alternative  $a_1$  x% of the time. On the other hand, C.J. Bailey's dynamic (i.e.

time-based) model seeks to incorporate variation into the grammar by means of polylectal, implicational rules: if a variant X occurs in a less favourable (i.e. lighter weighted) Environment  $E_2$ , it will also occur in a more favourable (i.e. heavier-weighted) Environment  $E_1$ , etc.

The Labovian quantitative model appears to assume a kind of isomorphism of individual- and group-grammars. Thus, for example, H. Cedergren and D. Sankoff, who subscribe to this model, are quoted in Bickerton (1973a: 25) as saying

We have written our rules in terms of individual speakers' grammars, and not in terms of group or social grammars; but these constructs can be attained if desired by appropriate adjustments of input probabilities [emphasis added]

Commenting on this issue Bickerton (1973a: 25) says:

At first sight, this might seem to deny the isomorphism of communal and individual grammars; but in fact the basic principle is preserved. As between the two, only relative PROBABILITIES of rule-application are seen as varying; the actual rules that are applied are shared by both.

On the other hand Bailey's dynamic model suggests that different individuals in the same speech-community may have different grammars; variability is related to the spreading in time and space of language change, so that at a given time, a particular change will not have reached some speakers, will be just reaching some, and will have passed others. Language variability in this model means language change which begins (variably or otherwise) in a limited environment and spreads like a wave to other environments. This kind of model allows for

inter-speaker variability, as well as (where appropriate) intra-speaker variability. If the outputs of all the individual speakers are arranged sequentially, it is usually the case (notably where speech is unmonitored) that implicational patterns manifest themselves which are valid for the various outputs of any speaker. The matrix on an implicational (polylectal) scale portrays what Bailey has termed isolects, which are varieties of language with only a minimal difference (i.e. change) between otherwise identical forms. It is a dynamic - time-based - model where an 'earlier-later' relationship holds valid for isolects in the polylectal sequence.

Bailey (1973: 27-28) claims that such a polylectal grammar has psychological validity. He says:

It should be obvious that a polylectal grammar can be a psychologically real one, even though no single language-user has all of it internalized, if every pair of adjacent subsystems which are attested are unified in some language-user's internalized competence. In such a case, there is no risk in positing that the whole grammar is potentially internalizable for a given language-user exposed to all the subsystems of the language.

But since Bailey's model does not envisage two competences: one for speaking and one for understanding, the assumption must be that the rules induced from outputs are identical with the hearers' and understanders' internalized ones (Cf. Bickerton, 1975: 19).

## CHAPTER 2

### Definition of ESA and its place in the Arabic continuum

#### 2.1 Towards a definition of Educated Spoken Arabic

We have so far used the term ESA without defining it. An attempt will be made in this chapter to give ESA a tentative, working definition - a precise definition entails a full description of the forms and functions of ESA, and this can only be achieved in retrospect.

We should do well to try and distinguish ESA from two related varieties of Arabic: (1) Classical Arabic (and its modern offshoot, Modern Standard Arabic) henceforth MSA, (2) Colloquial Arabic. The first of the two subdivisions of this chapter is devoted to this topic, the second, consists of an attempt to show that MSA, ESA and Colloquial Arabic constitute a continuum.

##### 2.1.1 ESA vis-a-vis MSA and Colloquial Arabic

At the very outset it should be emphasized that ESA is not an easily identifiable form of language. It is not a variety of Arabic that is acquired in full, if at all, by any speakers in early childhood; rather the greater bulk of it, if not all of it, is acquired later on in life principally through literacy and education via Arabic.

Education, as is well-known, comprises processes and activities that help change the behaviour of individuals

and groups - usually in culturally desirable directions. We are chiefly concerned with those aspects of education which are connected with language behaviour. As conceived of here, education consists not only of formal schooling, but also covers the influence of such institutions as clubs, societies, peer groups and the mass media of communication. So, when we speak of educated Arabs we mean those who have been to school and college as well as those whose linguistic behaviour has been appreciably influenced by any social, cultural and professional institutions, whether or not the latter group has undergone any course of formal instruction.

Now ESA may be regarded as some form of Arabic representing the spontaneous, unscripted speech patterns of educated Arabs in a variety of social contexts. This variety of spoken Arabic is recognized (at least impressionistically) by educated native speakers of Arabic as representing their own spontaneous speech patterns<sup>1</sup>; but, understandably, the average educated Arab is incapable of describing the formal and functional characteristics of ESA. The evident circularity of the above working

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1. Even uneducated Arabs can tell when someone is not speaking their colloquial. He is speaking /naḥawi/ 'grammatical', they would say. But /naḥawi/ for an illiterate Arab is a general label for all the noncolloquial forms of Arabic he might hear. It is not possible for him to distinguish within the category of Arabic he calls /naḥawi/ between MSA and ESA.

definition of ESA should not be a cause for concern at this stage. Faced with the very similar question of defining 'Educated English', Randolph Quirk (1968: 79) puts it as follows:

'A working definition like 'Educated English' is English that is recognised as such by educated native English speakers is not as valueless as its circularity would suggest; it can be made the basis of reaction tests and in any case draws frank attention to the social basis on which such concepts as 'standard language' uneasily rest.'

ESA is not coextensive with MSA; while the latter is essentially a written form of Arabic which is highly codified, the former is a spoken variety of Arabic, not nearly as codified. The freedom from rigid standardization enjoyed by ESA allows the speakers of this variety a fairly wide range of choice - by no means random choice - at the levels of phonology, grammar and lexis, as can be gleaned from the sporadic evidence adduced below. This characteristic of ESA makes it a powerful and flexible instrument whose use, being relatively free from the complications of rigid prescriptivism and the attendant inhibitions experienced by speakers, is not confined to a few privileged specialists in the community. On the contrary, all educated Arabs are cordially 'invited' to make use of this variety, and are assured that their usage is the sole arbiter as to acceptability. To illustrate what is meant here, consider the following example of ESA taken from a sample contributed by Speaker 4 (cf. appendix 2(i)) who is a Jordanian college principal ex-

plaining at a staff meeting some of the regulations for Final Examinations.

1(a) /ʕu maa fii maaniɣ ʕinnu yuwaDDaḥ haaða  
 lhaki liTTuLLaab filqaagaat min qibalna  
 ʕiḥna/ 'and there is no objection that  
 this speech (i.e. these deliberations)  
 be explained to the students by us'.

The corresponding text in MSA would read - or be read aloud as follows:

1(b) /wa laa maaniɣa min ʕan yuwaDDaḥa haaða  
 lkalaamu liTTuLLaabi filqaagaat/

A comparison of 1(a) and 1(b) shows the following (among others):

1. The speaker has not used any case endings<sup>1</sup>,  
 cf. for instance, /liTTuLLaab/ 1(a) and  
 /liTTuLLaabi/ 1(b);
2. The speaker has used the string /ʕu maa  
 fii maaniɣ/ which MSA does not allow in  
 this surface structure form for two reasons:  
 (i) the formative /ʕu/ in the surface structure  
 of this string is not generated by MSA rules -  
 the corresponding realization in MSA is  
 /wa/, as in 1(b);  
 (ii) the 'existential' formative /fii/ does

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1. But one should not prematurely hasten to generalize this point; the same speaker does in fact insert some case-endings elsewhere in the speech sample.

not occur in MSA at all - the nearest equivalent to it being the verb-form /yuujad/ 'there is/are' from the root  $\sqrt{wjd}$ , which can appear in a stylistically different version of 1(b), viz:

1(b):

/wa laa yuujadu maaniḡun ... etc./.

3. The speaker has used the passive form of  $\sqrt{wDh}$  as indeed would also be appropriate in MSA. But he has, in addition, used the so-called 'agentive phrase' /min qibalna ṡiḡna/, which, quite apart from morphophonemic considerations (cf. /min qibalina naḡn/), would be regarded as either odd or unacceptable in MSA because the latter has a rule which obligatorily deletes agentive phrases in passive constructions.
4. The speaker has used the form /ṡinnu/ which consists of the particle /ṡinn/ plus the third person singular pronominal suffix /-uh/ realized elsewhere than prepausally as /-u/ in this variety of spoken Arabic. This form /ṡinnu/, which does not, indeed cannot, appear in the MSA version 1(b)<sup>1</sup>, is very common in ESA.

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1. Elsewhere, an MSA form 'equivalent' to /ṡinnu/ can occur, cf: ESA: /qaalat ṡinnu jaay/ 'She said he was coming'.  
MSA: /qaalat ṡinnahu qaadim/ 'She said he was coming'.



5. The speaker has used the verbal noun /ḥaki/ 'talk, deliberations, etc.'. Although MSA has the root  $\sqrt{\text{ḥky}}$  and the derived nominal /ḥikaaya/ 'tale', yet the form /ḥaki/, or even the more likely form /ḥaky(un)/, is not in the lexicon of MSA; Lisanu l'arab, the well-known and comprehensive Arabic Lexicon does not gloss this form. Semantically the nearest MSA form to /ḥaki/ is perhaps /kalaam/, which derives from the root  $\sqrt{\text{klm}}$ .

The above example shows that while ESA and MSA intersect, i.e. have features in common, they are by no means coextensive. Among the features shared by 1(a) and 1(b) are the following:

- ✓ 1. same word order, at least with regard to certain elements of structure - cf. verb and complements in:  
/yuwaDDaḥ liTTuLLaab filqaaḡaat/.
2. verb-particle accompaniment as exemplified by /yuwaDDaḥ/ - /li-/.
3. use of the passive form /yufaḡḡal/ exemplified by /yuwaDDaḥ/ (the backness of the vowel in this form can be accounted for by the phonological rules of Arabic).
4. use of the demonstrative form /haaḡa/ for [+ masculine, + singular, + near] reference.

5. use of the voiceless uvular plosive /q/  
 where appropriate as in /qaaɣaat/.

In addition, most of the lexical items are common to both 1(a) and 1(b) cf. /maaniɣ/, /yuwaDDaḥ/, /TuLLaab/, /qaaɣaat/.

But these similarities must not obscure the differences between ESA and MSA. Some of the differences exhibited by 1(a) and 1(b) have been dealt with above, and need not be repeated here. But it is important to note that, in spite of similarities that exist between 1(a) and 1(b), a considerable amount of editing - at the morphological, syntactical, phonological and lexical levels - is required for converting 1(a) into 1(b). This is hardly surprising! ESA is a spoken variety of Arabic which MSA is essentially not, 'and the man who wants to talk at all times like a book or a newspaper is a decided oddity' as Mitchell (1975a: 70) says. The distance between ESA and MSA is, in general, far greater than that between educated spoken English and written standard English. To quote Mitchell (1975a: 71) once more,

'... the distance is much greater between the written standard and a spoken regional vernacular, cultured or not. Proof of this is the amount of editing necessary of a lexico-grammatical kind in order to prepare for written publication a radio discussion programme between educated speakers in, say, the Lebanon.'

It must be added that while, as mentioned above, ESA is a spoken variety, it does, in fact, lend itself to writing in a slightly modified form of the normal Arabic orthography. It is doubtful whether in the foreseeable

future ESA will become a fully written variety on a par with MSA. Committing ESA to writing would help stabilize it and lead ultimately to its codification (standardization), but if ESA should become codified, it might thereby lose a good deal of the flexibility it enjoys by virtue of being essentially a spoken variety of Arabic.

ESA is not, however, the only variety of Arabic which is spoken, for it shares this aspect with Colloquial Arabic. Indeed the position to date in the Arab world is such that a spoken colloquial (or vernacular) is the first form of Arabic children acquire. In a sense, therefore, colloquial Arabic - whatever it entails - is the nucleus from which ESA emerges under certain conditions of education and acculturation. But Colloquial Arabic varies from one Arab country to another, and even from one area to another in the same country. This variation is reflected in some measure in ESA as it is spoken at the intra- and inter- country levels. Moreover, of the diverse colloquial varieties that exist in the Arab world at present none can be properly claimed to be 'pure' or 'well-defined' as pointed out in Chapter 1. The improved means of transport which have facilitated and speeded-up contact, the telephone services, and the mass media of communication which expose the old and the young to all sorts of spoken utterance are only a few of the instruments which contribute to an ongoing process of change in the Arabic colloquial itself. The colloquial a father learned in

his childhood some 40 years ago cannot be the same as the one his children are learning now, in the same region.

But in spite of this fact linguists do 'idealize' and speak of this colloquial or that as though it were homogeneous and possessing discrete boundaries. For the sake of argument let us define as 'pure' colloquial the speech patterns of native speakers of Arabic

1. who are illiterate,
2. whose speech is relatively free from the influence of educated Arabic.

It is reasonable to claim that speech communities in the Arab world satisfy these two conditions to varying degrees on a scale ranging from 0% to 100%. For instance, the spoken language of rural and bedouin regions, by and large, comes closer to the pure colloquial end than, say, the spoken language of urban regions in the same country. In fact, middle-aged and elderly illiterate persons, notably women, in a rural or bedouin area, who do not have occasion to travel far and are taken up with the daily routine of life at the settlement, are not, at present merely hypothetical entities. In spite of the fact that their numbers are fast diminishing, such persons exist; and it is their language patterns that meet the above definition of pure colloquial Arabic.

Yet even in a small restricted village population there are educated people, e.g. the Sheikh of the village mosque, the school teacher, the health clinic staff, as

well as the new generation of pupils and students. Hence, even within a small group there will be at least two grammars of spoken Arabic<sup>1</sup>: one pertaining to the educated, i.e. ESA grammar, and one pertaining to the pure colloquial. But the colloquial is 'historically', i.e. developmentally, a forerunner of ESA; in other words, the grammar of the colloquial comprises, in theory at least, a subset of the grammar of the speaker of ESA. It is also the case that ESA (1) is more flexible and more complex phonologically, grammatically and lexically than the colloquial, (2) serves a host of functions which the colloquial falls short of being able to handle. Suffice it to say, at this point, that while the colloquial, unlike ESA, is excellent for a domestic chit-chat, it is hopelessly unsuitable for such functions as, for instance, a scientific discussion on radio or television. This should not be taken to imply that the situation envisaged is diglossic; for one reason we are not dividing linguistic features into L. and H. - there are more categories than two involved, and, in any case, we are dealing with a continuum (as will be illustrated below) of a kind that calls the whole theoretical basis of diglossia into serious question.

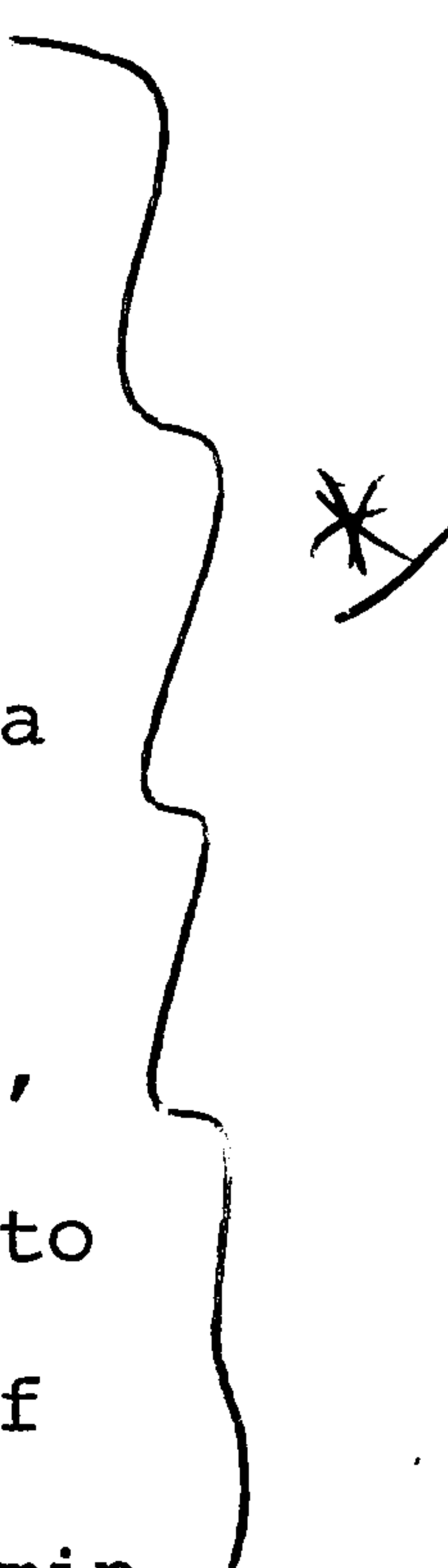
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1. To say this is to assume, as Labovians do, that members of the group share the same grammar; but cf. C-J. Bailey's and Bickerton's views on this matter. We are also, for the moment at any rate, not taking into consideration the possibility that in extremely rare cases a particular individual might, on occasion, use in his speech MSA grammar only.

Nor should it be thought that reflexes of colloquial Arabic must necessarily be overtly present in a particular utterance of a particular ESA speaker. However, in principle, it remains possible to convert utterances of an educated Arab into a colloquial form having more or less the same meaning. This is not a question of translation from one language into another; after all, we are dealing with varieties of the same language, and indeed - once the conversion is made - then similarities of the linguistic features involved will be discernible even at the surface structure level. Consider, for instance, the same example of speaker 4 quoted above (and repeated here):

1(a) /ʕu maa fii maaniʕ ʕinnu yuwaDDaḥ  
 haaða lḥaki liTTuLLaab filqaʕaʕaat  
 min qibalna ʕiḥna/

First of all, the probability of this utterance being used by an uneducated speaker, i.e. by a speaker of a colloquial only, is virtually zero. This is so because the utterance was said by a College Principal, in a staff meeting, authorizing the members of staff to explain to students in examination halls principles of some significance for the smooth running of final examinations. This very specialized context of the utterance obviously makes it inappropriate for an uneducated speaker. However, an uneducated speaker from the same region as that of Speaker 4 might conceivably use one or the other of the



following utterances, whose similarity to 1(a) is remarkable.

2(a) /ʕu maa fii(j) maaniɣ (ʕ)innu yitbayyan  
 haada lhaci lalɣummaal bilɣamra/<sup>1</sup>  
 (Rural)

'And there is no objection that this talk  
 be explained (clarified) to the workers at  
 the construction-site.'

(b) /ʕu maa fii(j) maaniɣ (ʕ)innu yitbayyan  
 haada lhaki lalɣummaal bilɣamra/  
 (Urban: same meaning as in 2(a))

Now 2(a) or (b) might be used by the owner of a business, say a landlord, authorising his interlocutors - who might be his sons, brothers, foremen, etc. - in a 'staff' meeting to explain to workers at a particular construction site principles (or regulations) of some significance to the smooth running of the business.

It may of course be objected that while 1(a) is a "real" utterance, 2(a), (b), which are 'invented' to match 1(a) in order that a comparison can be made, are not so. Such an objection, if it should arise, can only be met by appealing to the judgement of native speakers of the varieties of Arabic under consideration. If these

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1. One can imagine an uneducated speaker reporting what the college Pincipal said as in: /ʕu maa fii(j) maaniɣ (ʕ)innu yitbayyan haada lhaci (haada lhaki) laTTuLLaab bilɣuwað/, which retains the original meaning as well as the phrase /laTTuLLaab/.

native speakers do agree that 2(a) and (b) are,  
 (1) admissible outputs generated by the rules of the colloquials in question, and (2) the closest match to 1(a) - notwithstanding the existence (or otherwise) of other possible outputs - then that should provide justification for treating 2(a), (b) as acceptable utterances which, for purposes of analysis, can legitimately be compared with 1(a).

Chief among the similarities and differences between 1(a) and 2(a)/(b) are the following

1. The string /ʕu maa fii maaniɣ ʕinnu/ is common to 1(a) and 2(a)/(b), allowing for the possibility in 2(a),(b) of attaching the (apparently semantically empty) suffix {-j} to the form /fii/ thus producing the form /fiij/.
2. The word order in 1(a) and 2(a)/(b) is remarkably similar. The only difference in this regard is that 1(a) has the string /min qibalna ʕihna/ - the agentive phrase - which is missing in 2(a)/(b), because it is inadmissible in the grammar of the colloquials concerned.
3. The passive forms /yuwaDDah/ and /yitbayyan/ in 1(a) and 2 respectively are not without interest. The form in 1(a) is derived from the root  $\sqrt{wDh}$ , and almost certainly does not



belong to either the grammar or the lexicon of the colloquials under consideration.

Hence a form derived from another grammar and the totally different  $\sqrt{\text{byn}}$  root is used in 2. Thus, in 1(a) the nonpast passive is of the generalized form /yufaɣɣal/ (cf. the generalized root  $\sqrt{\text{fɣl}}$ ) whereas in 2 the nonpast passive takes a different form generalizable as /yitfaɣɣal/, which typifies the colloquial nonpast passive of the sub-class of verbs with geminate middle radical: e g.

/yitgaddam/ 'to be offered' (  $\sqrt{\text{gdm}}$  )

/yityabbas/ 'to be dried' (  $\sqrt{\text{ybs}}$  )

/yitxaffaf/ 'to be made lighter' (  $\sqrt{\text{xff}}$  )

It is noteworthy that in 1(a) and 2 the verb forms derived from the roots  $\sqrt{\text{wDh}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{byn}}$  take a prepositional NP as indirect object viz:

yuwaDDah liTTuLLaab (1a)

yitbayyan lalgummaal (2a, b)

However, the surface structure realization of the preposition is not quite the same in these related constructions: in 1(a) it is realized as /li-/, but in 2 it is realized as /la-/. In the environment of [—Noun] i.e. before a noun, not a pronoun, the former realization, that is to say, /li-/, is more formal and more prestigious than the latter. The choice of the one or the other of these slightly

different variants carries implications with regard to the biographies of the speakers, so that /li-/ indicates that the speaker is educated whereas /la-/ indicates that the speaker might be<sup>1</sup> uneducated. In this environment, /li-/ is, so to speak, the 'marked' form of the two. However, in the environment of [—Pronominal suffix], with the exception of the first person singular pronoun, the same preposition is realized as /la-/ and /lee-/ or /il-/, cf.

/yuwaDDaḥ la-hum/ (prestigious)

/yitbayyan lee-hum/ ilhum/ (stigmatized)

In this case the form /la-/ is the marked one, i.e. the one indicating that the speaker is educated; the other forms /lee-/ and /ʕil-/ are stigmatized and indicate that the speaker might be uneducated.

4. The choice of the lexical items /TuLLaab/ and /ḡummaal/ is of no consequence to the comparison we are making. Both items are in the lexicons of ESA and the colloquial. But the lexical item /qaḡḡaat/ 'halls' does not belong to the colloquial - the nearest

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1. The uncertainty is due to the fact that in Jordan /la-/ is used by educated and uneducated speakers.



semantic equivalent is /ʕuwaD/ (or /yuraf/). In addition, the voiceless uvular plosive in this region (though not elsewhere) is itself a marker of education. The collocational dependency between, on the one hand, /liTTuLLaab filqaʕaʕaat/, and on the other, /lalɣummaal bilɣamra/ is worthy of notice. In fact, the syntagmatic relationships and dependencies obtaining at the lexical (i.e. collocational), grammatical and phonological levels between the various elements of structure in each of these two constructions, i.e. in liTTuLLaab filqaʕaʕaat/ and /lalɣummaal bilɣamra/, are systematic and fairly predictable. Consider, for instance, the cooccurrence in the former of a series of contiguous prestige markers: /li-/ ... /fi-/ ... and the choice of the lexical item /qaʕaʕaat/ with a voiceless uvular plosive /q/ as against the corresponding stigmatized elements in the latter, namely, /la-/, /bi-/ and the absence of uvular plosion.

5. Finally, it is instructive to observe that l(a) contains the [+ masculine, + singular, + near] demonstrative form /haaʕa/, which is formal and prestigious, and therefore corroborates the evidence elsewhere that the speaker is educated. In contrast, both /haaʕa/ and /haada/ are stigmatized variants occurring in contiguity with a set of similarly stigmatized forms

(in 2(a) and 2(b)) all of which indicate that the speaker(s) of these utterances are likely to be uneducated.)

The foregoing discussion indicates that ESA is the child of constant interplay between MSA and colloquial Arabic. Consequently it is unwise to push the separateness of MSA and colloquial Arabic too far, for ESA 'provides evidence enough of their inseparability', as Mitchell (1975a: 73) puts it. The question, now, is whether ESA is entirely contained in the two bases: MSA and colloquial Arabic! In other words, can ESA be regarded as a 'universal set' containing only two sub-sets of features:  $(x_1, x_2, x_3 \dots x_n)$  and  $(y_1, y_2, y_3 \dots y_n)$ , such that the sub-set of all the x-features is reproduced in MSA and the sub-set of all the y-features is reproduced in colloquial Arabic (in the same region)? This seems to be an important question. If the answer is in the affirmative, then ESA must be seen as a systematic (not random) blending of features from the two bases; if the answer is negative, it follows that ESA has features of its own, as well as features assignable to MSA and colloquial Arabic. Either way, it seems that the recognition of ESA as a 'separate' variety of Arabic is not in jeopardy. Of course, the status of ESA, vis-à-vis other recognized varieties of Arabic, would rest on firmer ground if ESA can be shown to possess linguistic features that are peculiarly its own.

An answer to the question will be attempted presently.

But there is a small point relating to 'jargon' which we should do well to clarify briefly, for it happens to be relevant to the issue. We have rather deliberately been using the non-committal term 'variety of Arabic' to refer to ESA. We have not decided yet whether it is appropriate to consider ESA as a 'dialect' (regional/social), a 'lect' (see below), a 'koine', or even a 'language'. Mitchell (1975a: 71) refers to it variously as 'koine', or 'standard spoken Arabic' and, at least in one or two places, as a 'language':

It is this 'inter-Arabic' koine (emphasis original) or 'standard spoken Arabic' (emphasis added), together with the processes of 'koineization'/standardization, that need to be investigated in the depth they merit. It is a language (emphasis not original), it might perhaps be added that foreigners are at present left to 'pick up' as best they may in the absence of teaching and reference materials; it is one (presumably a 'language') the Arabs themselves are today strongly motivated to employ and extend.

It is futile to make a case for differentiating rigorously between 'language', 'dialect' and 'koine'; such a task is simply not achievable since all of the criteria, e.g. mutual intelligibility, isoglosses, etc., that have been used by linguists for this purpose leak. However, it seems that ESA cannot be considered a 'language', for to do so would put it on a par with Arabic, Hebrew, Amharic, or even English. It is probably much safer to regard ESA as a 'lect' (cf. mesolect, below); but let us tentatively - if arbitrarily - settle for 'social dialect'.

The recognition of ESA as a 'social dialect' is justifiable to the extent that it can be shown:

1. to combine linguistic features systematically in ways peculiar to its structure and function vis-à-vis other recognized social dialects of Arabic, e.g. "pure" colloquial Arabic.
2. to exhibit frequencies of occurrence of linguistic features significantly different from the frequencies of occurrence of these features in other social dialects.

In this connection, R.W. Fasold (1970: 551) says:

Social dialects are not differentiated from each other by discrete sets of features present in the speech of people at one social level but completely absent in the speech of people at another level. Rather, they are distinguished by differences in the combinations of features, and by variations in the frequency of occurrence of features which are present in everyone's speech.

In fact features of the sort envisaged are attestable in ESA. Some of these are briefly discussed here.

#### 1. Agentive Phrase in Passive Constructions

It will be remembered that the example taken from the recorded sample of Speaker 4 contains the so-called 'agentive phrase' /min qibalna ũiḥna/ 'by us' in a passive construction. The use of an 'agentive phrase' like this one is not attested in MSA or the colloquial.

However, the phonological, lexical and grammatical features of this phrase - qua phrase - are divisible between MSA and the colloquial. Thus, for instance,

/min/ 'from' occurs in both MSA and Colloquial Arabic.

/qibal/ (lit.) 'via' occurs in MSA only.

The pronominal suffix /-na/ occurs in MSA and colloquial Arabic.

/q/ (as in /qibal/) occurs in MSA, but not in the colloquial of this region.

/ʕihna/ 'we' occurs in the colloquial, but not in MSA.

Nonetheless, what makes the phrase strictly a feature of ESA is the syntactic function it performs in the utterance, i.e. a surface structure agentive phrase in a passive construction.

2. The use of an MSA lexical item with a different consonant and/or vowel arrangement: For instance, compare the word for 'frog' in the three varieties of Arabic (as typical of North-Jordan practice):

MSA	ESA	Colloquial
/Difdiɣ/ or	/ʔufdaɣ/	/kurrit mayy/
/Dafdaɣ/ (as in		or
<u>Lisanu l'Arab</u>		/kurra/

Note, in passing, that, unlike MSA and ESA, the colloquial does not have a form for a male-frog, i.e. \*/kurr mayy/ - the attested colloquial form is feminine. In contrast, MSA and ESA have both masculine and feminine forms viz:

MSA	ESA
/Difdiɣ/(masc.)	/Ḑufdaɣ/ (masc.)
/Difdiɣah/(fem)	/Ḑufdaɣa/(fem.)
/Dafdaɣ/(masc.)	
/Dafdaɣah/(fem.)	

As shown by the example, the MSA masculine forms contain either two 'close' (front) vowels, /Difdiɣ/, or two 'open' vowels (a back, and a front one respectively), /Dafdaɣ/. In the ESA form, on the other hand, the vowels are 'close' (back) and 'open' (front) respectively. In respect of consonants, the only differences between the MSA and ESA forms pertain to the first consonant: in MSA this consonant is a voiced, denti-alveolar emphatic plosive, whereas in ESA it is a voiced, inter-dental, non-sulcal emphatic fricative.

3. The use of an MSA root to derive an ESA form not sanctioned by MSA rules: For instance, ESA contains an active participle - not a passive participle - form derived from the root  $\sqrt{w\dot{g}k}$  'to be/feel ill', whereas MSA contains the passive participle form only.

MSA	ESA	Colloquial
/mawɣuuk/	/mitwaɣɣik/	variously:
	or	/Siḥtu taɣbaane/,
	/mutawaɣɣik/	/mgaʃɣir/
		etc.



It can be seen that in this case ESA has two variants of the active participle: one built after a colloquial model /mitwaʕʕik/ (in spite of the fact that  $\sqrt{wʕk}$  is not in the lexicon of the colloquial) and the other based on an MSA model /mutawaʕʕik/ (in spite of the fact that MSA, as already mentioned, does not have this particular form).

#### 4. Concord

Concordial relationships in ESA exhibit features not shared in toto by MSA or colloquial Arabic. Consider, for instance, concord in Noun-Adjective constructions where, to impose a further limitation, the Noun is [+ singular, + feminine].

Examples:

(i) /ʃuu ʕantajt fiihum/ /kammiyya maḥduude/

'What have I achieved in them? A limited amount.'

(Speaker 86)

We are concerned with the NP: /kammiyya maḥduude/, particularly with the Noun-Adjective agreement in respect of endings, i.e. the vowel pattern of Noun and Adjective. To see this concordial relationship in proper perspective it will help if this Speaker's output - which is typical of ESA - is displayed together with the MSA and the colloquial forms the utterance takes.

form of utterance	variety of Arabic	concordial pattern N - - - - Adj
a. /kammiyya maḥduude <sup>n</sup> /	ESA (Speaker 86)	a - - - - e
b. /kammiyyatan maḥduudah/	MSA	an - - - - ah
c. /kammiyye maḥduude/	Colloquial	e - - - - e

As can be seen, the speaker has used a pattern of endings, (a - - - e), which is neither that of MSA, (an - - - ah), nor that of her regional colloquial, (e - - - e). The pattern used by the speaker contains dissimilar vowel endings whereas the other two patterns contain similar vowels, in spite of the fact that the two patterns in (b) and (c) are not identical.

The form /kammiyya/ which the speaker used is quite interesting. It is an MSA pausal-form. The speaker presumably deemed it appropriate to use this prestigious form, but allowed herself the liberty of using it in a non-pausal position. However, the speaker's choice of the adjectival ending /e/ seems to indicate that (to the extent that she was self-conscious) she did not wish to sever all her connections with the regional colloquial.

Be that as it may, the point we wish to press is that ESA tends to combine MSA and colloquial elements in ways peculiar to its own structure. Other corroborating evidence is presented in the examples cited below, where, it is hoped, it is not necessary to repeat the above linguistic argument. The relevant NP is underlined.

(i) ʕilʕasʕila ljaarye (Speaker 4)

(lit.) 'the current questions'

(ii) ʕilʕazma llubnaaniyye (Speaker 18)

'the Lebanese crisis'

(iii) min xaamaat ilbiifa lmaḥalliyye (Speaker 5).

'from the raw materials of the local environment.'

Before we move on to discuss another feature, it must

be pointed out that the above concordial pattern is not the only one educated speakers of Jordanian Arabic employ; both MSA and Colloquial patterns are also used by educated Jordanians. For instance, Speaker 5, who used the concordial pattern (a — e) in example (iii), also used (in the same encounter) the 'MSA' pattern (a<sup>h</sup> — a<sup>h</sup>) in /... ittārbiya lfanniyya<sup>h</sup>/, 'art education', as well as the colloquial pattern /e— e) in /ʃayle haamme/ 'an important matter'. This confirms the view (see below) that ESA is characterised by more variability than the other varieties mentioned.

5. The use of the prefix /ka-/ in adverbial phrases is an 'invention' of educated speakers of Arabic - probably a borrowing from foreign languages, say, English - which is not applicable to either MSA or Colloquial Arabic.

Examples are the following:

kafiliSTiini, ʃana ʃaʃʒur ...

'As a Palestinian, I feel ...'

ʃeeʃ ʃuʒuurak kaʒarabi?

'How do you feel, as an Arab?'

6. Special use of 'the definite article' /ʃal-/:

It was McLoughlin (1972: 64) who made the interesting observation that occasionally educated speakers of Arabic in Lebanon prefixed the definite article /ʃal-/ to the first Noun of the so-called 'construct phrase' in Arabic grammar. Consider:

(i) /ʃal-rubʒ qarn/ 'the quarter-century',

(ii) /ʃal-niʃf lubnaan/ 'the half of Lebanon'.

Examples like these are not at all frequent (at the present time, at any rate) in ESA but they are important because they illustrate this peculiarity of usage which runs counter to the accepted norms of MSA and colloquial Arabic. (cf. MSA: /rubḡu lqarn/. The phrase is not in the lexicon of the colloquial.)

In the speech of educated Jordanians, the definite article is very often prefixed to the negative particles /yaqr/, /yeer/ and /laa/, a practice which is peculiar to ESA. Consider:

(iii) ilqafazaat illaa maḡquule (Speaker 78)

'the incredible jumps',

(iv) ilqafazaat ilyeer maḡquule (Speaker 78)

'the incredible jumps'

Both of these examples are rendered as:

ʔalqafazaatu yaqrulmaḡquulah in MSA; but

neither of them occurs in the colloquial.

## 7. Loan Words

Unintegrated loan words from English and other languages are one of the distinguishing landmarks of ESA (cf. Mitchell (1975a: 76-77), Badawi (1973: 110-115)). The frequency of such loans in ESA is understandable, since clearly the majority of typical ESA speakers are the élite and bureaucrats of the Arab world, who will have had varying degrees of contact (direct or indirect) with foreign languages and cultures. Practically all of these ESA speakers claim or pretend to speak at least one foreign language - variously English, French, German

or Russian.

Needless to say, the "pure colloquial" speakers do not employ loan words, except perhaps in the case of a few proprietary names (and makes) of e.g. medical and cosmetic commodities like /bansaliin/ 'penicillin' and /manaakiir/ 'manicure'. Significantly, such loan words as these are assimilated into the structure (phonological, morphological and syntactic) of the colloquial, which is not the case in most ESA borrowings from other languages. Similarly, MSA usage is almost free from unassimilated loan words.

The following are illustrative examples of loan words in ESA:

- (i)  $\text{\textcircled{S}iTTaaliibaat}$   $\text{\textcircled{g}am}$   $\text{\textcircled{bi}gaamluu}$  (rather carelessly).  
(Speaker 79)  
'The students are treating him rather carelessly.'
- (ii)  $\text{\textcircled{ha}ada}$   $\text{\textcircled{lik}taab}$   $\text{\textcircled{h}aTTu}$   $\text{\textcircled{fil}}$  (reading list). (Speaker 86)  
'He put this book on the reading list.'
- (iii) ...  $\text{\textcircled{bi}hay\textcircled{\theta}}$   $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}innu}}$   $\text{\textcircled{l}maadde}$   $\text{\textcircled{ha}ay}$   $\text{\textcircled{i}tkuun}$  (very stiff).  
(Speaker 69)  
'So that this material be very stiff.'
- (iv)  $\text{\textcircled{j}iib}$   $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}i}ji}$   $\text{\textcircled{j}diid}$ ;  $\text{\textcircled{ha}a\textcircled{\text{a}}i}$   $\text{\textcircled{g}adiime}$ ;  $\text{\textcircled{ha}adi}$  (old age).  
(Speaker 46)  
'Bring something new; this is outdated; this is old age (i.e. old fashioned).'
- (v)  $\text{\textcircled{ha}a\textcircled{\text{a}}}$   $\text{\textcircled{n}noo\textcircled{g}}$   $\text{\textcircled{min}}$   $\text{\textcircled{i}l}$  (problems) ... (Speaker 30)  
'This kind of problems ...'
- (vi)  $\text{\textcircled{li}fannu}$   $\text{\textcircled{hu}wa}$   $\text{\textcircled{b}}$ (section)  $\text{\textcircled{u}}$   $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}ana}$   $\text{\textcircled{b}}$ (section)  
(Speaker 11).  
'because he is in one section, and I am in another.'
- (vii)  $\text{\textcircled{ba}yname}$   $\text{\textcircled{l}gilm}$   $\text{\textcircled{i}lhadii\textcircled{\theta}}$   $\text{\textcircled{i}lyoom}$   $\text{\textcircled{taw}a\textcircled{\text{S}SaL}}$   $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}ila}$   
 $\text{\textcircled{l}}$ (prefabricated houses)  $\text{\textcircled{\text{S}aw}}$   $\text{\textcircled{maa}}$   $\text{\textcircled{yu}amma}$   $\text{\textcircled{l}buyuut}$

iljaahiza. (Speaker 18).

'Whereas modern technology has made it possible to have prefabricated houses, i.e. what is known as ready-made homes.'

The motivation for using such loan words as the above must be interesting to investigate. For instance, an educated speaker of Arabic, say, a scientist, talking in technical terms might very often be obliged to borrow a lexical item from a foreign language simply because Arabic might not have an equivalent; the motive, in cases like this, is clear. However, the examples of loan words quoted above (i-vii) do not respond to this need; \* 'equivalents' of all of them exist in MSA and even in colloquial Arabic. To an outside observer - though evidently not to the speakers concerned - such borrowings are frivolous, even distasteful. But there must be some other (social psychological) force which motivates these speakers to introduce such loan words into their speech. It is possible - even probable - that by using such borrowings the speakers seek to communicate something meaningful over and above the ordinary, conceptual meaning of the utterance. For example, it may be the case that such loan words identify the speaker and, at any rate, his immediate collocutors as educated/cultured; they comprise markers of an in-group, as it were, and imply attitudinal expectancies of, not only sharing, but also approval of the usage. (cf. 'solidarity' and 'power' in the sociolinguistic literature).

8. Frequent usage of certain phrases:

Educated speakers of Arabic are very fond of using a few phrases with a frequency unmatched in MSA or colloquial Arabic. The following appear to be among the commonest of such phrases.

1. /ʕilwaaqiɣ/ or /filwaaqiɣ/ 'actually'.

Note that the 'status' of these two functionally equivalent variants is not the same. The former begins with /ʕil-/, which is a stigmatized (colloquial) form of the definite article, while the form /waaqiɣ/ is not in the lexicon of the colloquial<sup>1</sup>. Incidentally, this is an example of a 'defined' nominal form where ESA combines elements of colloquial Arabic and MSA in a manner peculiar to itself. The latter, i.e. /filwaaqiɣ/ is attested as a phrase in MSA as well as in ESA - the difference is partly accounted for in terms of frequency of occurrence and partly in terms of the functions the phrase performs in ESA, namely, it is much more frequent in ESA than in MSA, and it normally functions in ESA as an initiator of speech; it is repeated by the speaker at various stages of the discourse.

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1. The form /waaqiɣ/, which is in the lexicon of the colloquial means 'falling', and is not synonymous with /waaqiɣ/, nor does it colligate with /fil/ 'in the', i.e. /\*fil-waaqiɣ/ is unacceptable.

Related to /ʕilwaaqiɣ/ and /filwaaqiɣ/ is the parallel and functionally equivalent pair /ʕilḥaqiiqa/ and /filḥaqiiqa/ 'in fact'. What was said about the former pair equally applies to the latter pair.

2. /maa fii jakk/ 'There is no doubt'

This phrase occurs in MSA chiefly as /maa min jakk(in)/ or /laa jakk(a)/, and in colloquial Arabic, if at all, as /maa bihaaʃ jakk/. Its frequency of occurrence is, however, much higher in ESA than in the other two varieties.

3. /ɣibaara ɣan/ '(lit) expression about/for'

This phrase is often used by educated speakers of Arabic when they define something in terms of something else. For instance,

/ʕilʕinsaan ɣibaara ɣan ḥayawaan naaʔTiq/ 'Man is merely a speaking animal'.

Its use is idiomatic, meaning 'merely, or, a mere'. The phrase /ɣibaara ɣan/ is redundant, for the utterance is complete without it; the function of the phrase, therefore, seems to be decorative only. Occasionally it infiltrates into written Arabic, but in spite of the prestige it acquires on the printed page, self-conscious native speakers still find it rather improper to use. It remains to be added that this phrase is not used in MSA and Colloquial Arabic.



In summary, the evidence adduced above - which is inevitably disparate and is meant to be illustrative, rather than either exhaustive or comprehensive - supports the recognition of ESA as a 'social dialect' which meets Fasold's two criteria - 'differences in the combinations of features and ... variations in the frequency of occurrence of features'. Moreover, the evidence also suggests that ESA has systematic and recurrent features which (in form and/or in function) are peculiar to itself (cf. surface structure agentive phrases in passive constructions; unassimilated loan words; typical 'hybrid forms', and so forth.) In theory ESA could be studied without reference to other co-existing systems like that of MSA and that of Colloquial Arabic. But to do so would submerge interrelationships between all three varieties, and would almost certainly induce a false discreteness symptomatic of 'static' language - models, with the inevitable consequence of obscuring the on-going interplay between these related varieties of the Arabic continuum.

## 2.2. The Arabic Continuum

The idea that varieties of the same language constitute a continuum is of course not new, but a good deal of credit goes to creolists like DeCamp, and to variationists like D. Bickerton and C-J. Bailey for giving it serious consideration in the light of recent developments in linguistic theory, notably the study of systematic variability in language and the implicational nature of this phenomenon.

With regard to Arabic it may not be unreasonable to assert that the present state of the continuum is the result of the on-going interplay between a complex of linguistic and socio-cultural elements. First, the existence of a written highly codified and influential standard (MSA) side by side with powerful, insistent colloquials. Secondly, social, educational and cultural forces which have acted on the Arabs for centuries, with concomitant opportunities for social mobility, motivate, even compel members of an Arabic-speaking community to modify their speech in the direction of the written standard. As DeCamp (1971) points out in connection with the fairly similar creole situations, these forces and pressures do not operate uniformly on all speakers of Arabic; for, if they did, the outcome would be merely a uniform narrowing of the gap between colloquial Arabic and MSA not a linguistic continuum. 'Rather these acculturative influences impinge on different speakers with varying degrees of effectiveness, drawing some of them more than others towards the standard. The degree of acculturation varies with such factors as age, poverty and isolation from urban centres.' (DeCamp, op. cit.: 351)

The linguistic situation in regard to Arabic is not literally a continuum for the following reasons (cf. DeCamp, op. cit.: 354)

- i. the number of speakers is finite.

- ii. the number of (recognised) grammatical, phonological and lexical categories is finite.
- iii. the number of 'variable' language features at any given time is limited; the significance of 'variability' to the issue lies in its implicational patterning which relates (and integrates) the sub-systems of the continuum. (See below.)

However, Arabic has a claim to the concept of continuum for the following reasons.

(i) All the sub-systems (or lects) that can be recognised by the linguist turn out to be interrelated. For example, lects (at least adjacent ones) intersect, and the union of all the lects makes the overall (pan-lectal) system of Arabic. (cf. Bickerton (1975) and C-J. Bailey (1973)).

(ii) A corollary of (i) is that there is no cleavage between the sub-systems. Given a very large and representative sample of speakers' output, it is not possible, barring arbitrary decisions, to assign these outputs in terms of any set of linguistic variables to two, three, four, five - or any other number - of discrete varieties. Nonetheless, it remains possible to arrange the outputs of all the speakers along a scale or interrelated hierarchy of lects whose number (hopefully manageable) is not to be determined aprioristically. Moreover, these putative

lects normally pattern in an implicational order (see below).

(iii) A speaker may seem to be talking at his most standard (i.e. MSA) level, yet the possibility cannot be ruled out (assuming the availability of techniques for adequate sampling of a speaker's productive range) that in, say, a job interview he might produce features even closer to the standard. Similarly, a speaker is quite likely to beat his own record, so to say, in talking 'downward' in the direction of colloquial Arabic, for instance, a quarrel with a neighbour is likely to be more colloquial than an ordinary chat with the same neighbour (cf. Bickerton, (1975: 186-187)).

(iv) In an Arabic-speaking community, each Arab commands a limited span of the lects that make the continuum. He can actively style-shift within these lects only, notwithstanding the fact that his 'understanding competence' (the term is used in Bailey (1973: 24)) extends to lects on the continuum that are outside the ones available to the speaker for active production. To quote DeCamp (op. cit.: 350) again in respect of Jamaican creole:

'Many Jamaicans persist in the myth that there are only two varieties: the patois and the standard. But one speaker's attempt at the broad patois may be closer to the standard end of the spectrum than is another's attempt at the standard ... Each Jamaican speaker commands a span of this continuum, the breadth of the span depending on the breadth of his social contacts; a labor leader, for example, commands a greater span of varieties than does a suburban middle-class housewife.'

style-shifting  
or  
code-switching

To illustrate the above abstract claims, consider first some Jordanian- Arabic answers to the question: /ʕeeʃ biɣmal ɣali/? 'What is Ali doing?', and suppose that Ali is writing something. Among the attestable answers are the following.

1. /buktub/
2. /biktub/
3. /biktib/
4. /byiktib/
5. /byuktub/
6. /yiktib/
7. /yaktib/
8. /yaktub/

These eight forms in a comparatively small region of the Arabic-speaking world constitute the cumulate realizations of the following grammatical categories:

+ verb
+ 3rd person
+ singular
+ active
+ nonpast
+ progressive

The eight forms might suggest that the above set of grammatical categories generates eight lects. This conclusion is, however, not borne out by the attested 'corresponding' forms in respect of another verb root,

say,  $\sqrt{\text{I}\xi\text{b}}$ : 'to play'.

- (i) /bilξab/
- (ii) /byilξab/
- (iii) /yilξab/
- (iv) /yalξab/

The number of acceptable varieties is determined inter alia by the vowel patterning admissible in various subclasses of verbs.

We might, therefore, try to arrange the attested answers referable to a subclass of tri-radical roots exemplified by  $\sqrt{\text{ktb}}$  on a scale ranging from farthest-from-MSA to nearest-to-MSA. To achieve this we need a set of criteria. Let these be worked out in terms of the prefix, the vowel in the first syllable and the vowel in the second syllable (cf. B. Bailey, 1971: 342) :

1. A prefix with /y/ in it is nearer to the MSA form than a prefix without /y/.
2. A front vowel in the first syllable is nearer to the MSA form than a back vowel in the same syllable. Moreover, an open (front) vowel in this first syllable brings it closer to (in fact makes it identical with) the corresponding syllable in the MSA form.
3. A back vowel in the second syllable is nearer to the MSA form than a front vowel in this syllable.

These features of the criteria are all morphophonological,

so let us give them equal weight, viz:

- (a) Subtract one point for /b/ in the prefix;
- (b) add one point for /y/ in the prefix;
- (c) subtract one point for a back nucleus of the first syllable;
- (d) add one point if the nucleus of the first syllable is  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{front} \\ +\text{close} \end{bmatrix}$  and two points if the nucleus is  $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{front} \\ +\text{open} \end{bmatrix}$ ;
- (e) subtract one point for a front nucleus in the second syllable;
- (f) add one point for a back nucleus in the second syllable.

The earlier eight forms can now be arranged, in terms of 'distance' from MSA, as follows:

Far	(i)	/buktub/, /biktib/	(each with a weight of -1)
	(ii)	/byuktub/, /byiktib/	( " " " " " 0)
	(iii)	/biktub/, /yiktib/	( " " " " " +1)
	(iv)	/yaktib/	( " " " " " +2)
Near	(v)	/yaktub/	( " " " " " +3),

which is the MSA form.

But none of the paired forms in (i), (ii) and (iii) alternate in the speech of any primary (social or regional) group in Jordan. For instance, one of the forms in (i) - supposedly equidistant from MSA - namely /buktub/, is rural, whereas the other, namely /biktib/, is urban. It is possible that there are individuals who might conceivably alternate these two forms, but the majority of speakers in any group would not do so. The same objection applies to the pairs in (ii) and (iii).

Perhaps - and this is at present merely conjecture - the sub-systems (i), (ii) and (v), on the one hand, and

(iii), (iv) and (v) on the other hand, have psychological validity, in the sense that the forms are acquired by native speakers in that order. For example, the forms /buktub/ and /biktib/ - albeit in different regions - are acquired first; the forms /byuktub/ and /byiktub/ are acquired next; and the form /yaktub/ is acquired last of all, if at all. This statement may be true, allowing, of course, for transitional stages of variability where, say, /buktub/ and /byuktub/ alternate in the speech of some individuals and groups, before the change from the former to the latter reaches completion (assuming it does). However, this argument does not hold good if the entire 'hierarchy' (i-v) is taken into consideration, i.e. native speakers who first acquire (i) /buktub/, might as suggested above next acquire (ii) /byuktub/ but do not thereafter acquire /yiktib/ and /yaktib/ in that order - nor indeed in any other order. The stage following (ii) /byuktub/ is (v) /yaktub/, again allowing for transitional periods of variability.

The weaknesses observed in the previous 'hierarchy' based on the alleged distance of the forms from MSA prompt us to consider another way of categorizing the data.

Let us therefore divide the same eight forms in terms of combinations of the criteria of Habitat (H) and Education (E). Let H be subdivided into  $H_1$ ,  $H_2$  and  $H_3$  which respectively stand for Bedouin, Rural and Urban origin; and let m stand for 'marked' and u for 'unmarked'



H and E as the case may be. We now get the following lects:

1. [mH<sub>1</sub>, uE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /yiktib/ and /yaktib/
2. [mH<sub>1</sub>, mE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /yaktub/, /yiktib/ and /yaktib/
3. [mH<sub>2</sub>, uE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /buktub/, /biktub/
4. [mH<sub>2</sub>, mE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /yaktub/, /buktub/, /biktub/ and /byuktub/
5. [mH<sub>3</sub>, uE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /biktib/ and /byiktib/
6. [mH<sub>3</sub>, mE], whose speakers are capable of alternating /yaktub/, /biktib/ and /byiktib/
7. [uH, mE], whose speakers are capable of using /yaktub/ systematically.

This arrangement has the advantage (over the preceding one) of intra-lectal consistency, in the sense that all the forms that come together in one lect occur in the speech of some primary group - H<sub>1</sub> or H<sub>2</sub> or H<sub>3</sub>. But it must be pointed out that

- (i) not all the variants in each of these lects have equal probability of occurrence. For instance, the variant /buktub/ in lect (3) is by far the commonest of the two in this lect. More significantly, while there are some H<sub>2</sub> speakers who alternate /buktub/ and /biktub/ the majority tend to use /buktub/ almost invariably.

- (ii) this arrangement of lects does not account for individuals in, say,  $H_2$  who might produce a form belonging to  $H_1$  or  $H_3$ ; for instance, a teacher originally from  $H_2$ , and therefore a native speaker of lect 3, might if he takes up a job in an  $H_1$ -school be motivated to produce /yiktib/ or /yaktib/ (lect 1). In fact many native speakers of  $H_1$  and  $H_2$  find it convenient at times to produce a form belonging to  $H_3$  - not to mention the many who, under the impact of urbanization, deliberately set out to change their speaking habits in order to conform to the practice of a new environment. Such people often have to work hard not to give themselves away (cf. Burling (1973: 24)).
- (iii) while few Jordanian speakers, if any, actively produce all the variants in all the lects, all Jordanians understand all of these outputs. As Bickerton (1975: 14) puts it:

Thus, while a co-existent systems model might ... approximate to a model of speaker competence, it could not possibly serve as a model of hearer competence.

To say this is not to advocate two competences: one for speaking and one for understanding. Despite some asymmetry between the two, speaking and hearing can be interpreted as manifestations of the same

competence. Moreover, for both speakers and hearers there are always constraints on the formulations that are tolerated. (cf. C.J. Bailey (1973: 27). Thus, for instance, in connection with the above-mentioned forms derivable from the root  $\sqrt{ktb}$ , should the forms \*/buktib/, \*/byuktib/ and \*/yuktib/ occur in somebody's speech, they would hardly be tolerated by native speakers.

- (iv) the linguistic constraints that determine which of several covariants occur in which environment need to be specified. For instance, which of the variants in question occur in the environment:

[ $\xi$ am ———]

where / $\xi$ am/ is a particle of progressive aspect in ESAJ (cf. Chapter 4). In this environment, the writer (a native speaker of Jordanian Arabic) would insert, inter alia, the form /yuktub/, which would be unacceptable to him in the absence of / $\xi$ am/ as an answer to the question / $\xi$ eej bi $\xi$ mal  $\xi$ ali/ 'What is Ali doing?'

The foregoing seven putative lects may serve as a tactical device for studying the Arabic continuum.

They can be regrouped as follows:

- I. Colloquial (spoken) Arabic, covering lects 1, 3 and 5.
- II. Educated spoken Arabic, covering lects 2, 4 and 6.

III. Modern Standard Arabic, covering lect 7.

Let us call these respectively the basilect, the mesolect and the acrolect, keeping in mind that they are not discrete, homogeneous entities. 'They are named in this way solely for convenience of reference; they blend into one another in such a way that no non-arbitrary division is possible.' (Bickerton, 1975: 24). The new set of terms are adopted because they fit in nicely with the variationistic-polylectal study of the demonstrative system in ESA which is attempted in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

The demonstrative system as an example  
of variation in ESAJ\*

3.1 Introduction

Demonstratives in Arabic comprise a 'closed system' of 'definite' forms which in reference to persons or things indicate their proximity to, or remoteness from the speaker. In this respect demonstratives belong to a category of deixis as the meaning of a demonstrative form is determined in relation to the particular spatio-temporal disposition of persons and objects in a typological context of situation.

Arabic demonstratives inflect for gender<sup>1</sup> and number. Compare, for example,

(1) the following acrolectal forms:

/haaða/ 'this' [masculine, singular, near]

/haaðihi/ 'this' [feminine, singular, near]<sup>2</sup>

/haafulaafi/ 'these' [masculine/feminine, plural, near]

\* The material in this chapter has been incorporated in a more comprehensive paper - 'Variation in the demonstrative system in educated spoken Arabic' - covering Egypt and the Levant, which will appear in Archivum Linguisticum, Vol. IX (new series), Number 1.

1. Gender may not be an appropriate term to use in respect of Arabic. Mitchell (1975b: 137-153) suggests an alternative framework for dealing with what are traditionally called 'gender' relationships. He recognizes different concordial patterns in both singular and plural syntagms, but, as he says, 'they are not aptly spoken of as gender distinctions at all.'

2. This demonstrative form also colligates with plural nouns of non-human reference, e.g. /haaðihi dduruus/ 'these lessons'.

(2) the following basilectal forms (common in Jordanian rural regions):

/haaḐ(a)/ 'this' [masculine, singular, near]

/haay/ 'this' [feminine, singular, near]<sup>1</sup>

/haḐool(a)/ 'these' [masculine/feminine, plural, near]

They are uninflected for case, with the exception of acrolectal dual forms. Cf:

(1) the following acrolectal utterances:

(a) /haaḏa kitaabii/ 'This is my book' where /haaḏa/ is subject-of-sentence.

(b) laa min haaḏa wala min ḏaalik/ 'Neither from this nor from that', where /haaḏa/ is object-of-preposition.

(c) /xuḏ haaḏa/ 'Take this', where /haaḏa/ is object-of-transitive verb.

(2) the following basilectal forms which correspond to the acrolectal forms just mentioned:

(a) /haaḐ iktaabi/ 'This is my book'.

(b) /laa min haaḐ wala min haḐaak / 'Neither from this, nor from that'.

(c) /ḥuxuḐ haaḐ/ 'Take this'.

The Arabic demonstratives might conveniently be divided into three types recognized in terms of the syntagmatic relationships they accrete with other elements of sentence structure.

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1. This demonstrative form also colligates with plural nouns of non-human reference, e.g. /haay iddruus/ 'these lessons'.

## I. Pronominal Demonstratives

These occur without an accompanying 'definite' noun in the same Noun Phrase (NP). Examples:

<u>Acrolectal</u>	<u>Basilectal</u>	
i. /haaḏa kitaabuk/	/haaḐ iktaabak/	'This is your book'
ii. /ʒufaDDilu haaḏa ɣalaa ḏaalik/	/bafaḐḐil haaḐ ɣala haḐaak/	'I prefer this to that'

## II. Determiners

These colligate with a definite noun in the same NP and precede this noun. Examples:

<u>Acrolectal</u>	<u>Basilectal</u>	
i. /haaḏa lkitaabu lak/	/haaḐ liktaab (ʒ)ilak/	'This book is for you'
ii. /haaʒulaaʒi lbanaatu jaaʒigaat/	/haḐool ilbanaat jaʒaanaat/	'These girls are hungry'

## III. Adjectives

These, too, colligate with a definite noun in the same NP but, unlike the preceding category, they follow the noun with which they are associated.

<u>Acrolectal</u>	<u>Basilectal</u>	
i. /ʒaljawaabu filkitaabi haaḏaa/	/ʒiljawaab biliktaab haaḐ/	'The answer is in this book' (lit. in the book this).
ii. /ʒaTTabiibu filɣiyaadati tilk/	/ʒiTTabiib bilɣiyaade haḏiik/	'The doctor is in that clinic' (lit. in the clinic that).

The above sub-classification of the Arabic demonstratives provides a convenient framework for studying the distribution of demonstratives.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.2 The data

Research is based on a corpus of unscripted, predominantly unprepared conversations and discussions covering a wide range of topics and inter-personal relationships recorded in 1976 in Jordan, Syria and Egypt. The thirty-nine Jordanian-Palestinian<sup>2</sup> speakers involved are men and women, from the age of 17 to 60, falling occupationally into the following groups: students, teachers, civil servants from different departments, media-personnel, diplomats, barristers, accountants, and housewives (cf. appendix 2(i)).

Basically, the speakers were encouraged to speak freely about themselves, their work and area of specialisation. But, as can be expected, the free discussion often diversified to cover several topics concerning the problems facing the Arab world, particularly cultural problems. No attempt was made by the researcher to control the ramifications of the discussions. This was deemed

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1. We shall be referring to these subclasses of the demonstrative as environments or positions; for instance, 'in pronominal position/environment', should mean 'as a pronoun'.

2. Henceforth 'Jordanian' includes 'Palestinian'.



necessary, first to ensure that the participants talked as freely and spontaneously as was possible under the circumstances, and, secondly, to reduce to a bare minimum the influence of the researcher on the nature of the speakers' contributions. So it can be claimed that the speakers set for themselves the pace and the style.

The recorded conversations in question run into twelve hours of continuous speech, of which nearly 2 hours comprise recordings of unscripted radio and television discussions. Speakers' contributions range from 10 to 75 minutes of recorded speech - the majority falling in the range of 15 to 20 minutes.

### 3.3 The Procedure

Having randomly selected an apparently representative sample of ESAJ, the writer set out to listen systematically to each tape. The speakers were given arbitrary numbers (cf. appendix 2(i))<sup>1</sup>. For each speaker all the tokens of demonstratives he (or she) used were transcribed 'phonemically' together with the immediately neighbouring words of the utterance in which the demonstrative had occurred. The demonstratives used by every speaker were then systematically sorted out in terms of the types I, II and III recognised above. These facts were then used

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1. In the present study, we have retained for the Jordanian speakers the same numbers they were given in the above-mentioned wider study which covers Egypt and the Levant.

in the analysis, for instance, to compute the relative frequency of occurrence of each demonstrative form.

Certain forms had to be excluded and were not used in the following statement. These fall into the following two categories:

1. Non-demonstrative deictics, e.g. /fa hayyna minraggiḡ waradhūm/ 'So here we are; we are (lit.) darning (holes) left behind them.' In examples like this, /hayy/ should not be confused with a homophonous demonstrative used for feminine reference. Unlike demonstrative forms, deictic /hayy/ inflects neither for number nor for gender as the examples below illustrate.

/hayy-u jaay/ 'There he comes'

/hayy-ha jaayyi/ 'There she comes'

/hayy-hum jaayyiin/ 'There they come'

2. A few doubtful cases (not exceeding half a dozen in the entire sample) where the pronunciation of the demonstrative token was not clear, i.e. where it was not possible to decide whether to transcribe it as e.g. /haaḏa/, /haada/, /haaza/, or some other form.

### 3.4 The Findings

#### 3.4.1 Relative frequency of occurrence of the various demonstrative forms

##### A. [+masc., +sing., +near]

Table 1 (page 94) shows that /haaḏa/ occurs 60 times as Determiner, 5 times as Adjective and 48 times as Pronoun in the speech of educated Jordanians talking

TABLE 1

[+masc. +sing. +near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated Jordanians

Speakers	haaḏa			haada			haaḐa			haaḐ			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
4	27	19	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
26	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	-	-	-	
27	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
29	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
31	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
32	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
46	7	6	1	9	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	
71	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
72	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
73	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
74	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
77	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
78	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
79	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
80	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	48	60	5	16	4	3	6	1	1	-	-	1	=145

with other educated Jordanians. In all /haaḏa/ occurs 113 times in the table whereas all the remaining [+ masc., + sing., + near] forms between them occur 32 times. This result is not surprising in view of the fact that all the speakers are educated.

If the form /haaḏa/ is considered as prestigious and the other forms in the table as stigmatized, the percentage of prestigious tokens is nearly as high as 75%. The table is heavily weighted in the direction of prestigious forms; stigmatized tokens do occur in ESAJ but their frequency is much lower than that of the prestigious tokens. If the speakers were uneducated (or perhaps educated talking with non-educated) the frequency bias would most probably be in the opposite direction.

It is worth noting that the most stigmatized, rural forms /haaḏa/ and /haaḏ/ occur only 9 times (in this table) 6 of which are contributed by Speaker 26, 2 by Speaker 25, and 1 by Speaker 28. The less stigmatized, urban form /haada/ occurs 23 times contributed by six speakers. This confirms Fasold's observation that '... within any dialect which has more than one stigmatized feature, the less stigmatized features are present at higher frequency levels than features which are more stigmatized.' (Fasold, 1970: 554).

Note that the linguistic environment is relevant to the distribution of the forms. In general, educated

Jordanians tend to use demonstratives as Determiners and Pronouns quite frequently, but infrequently as Adjectives. Moreover, the prestigious tokens are more frequent as Determiners than as Pronominals, whereas the stigmatized forms reverse this relative tendency.

It is noteworthy that ESAJ is not a homogeneous variety, as the table shows, and the occurrence of prestigious as well as non-prestigious forms confirms the variability of this social dialect.

It may make sense to suggest - by way of what is essentially post hoc rationalization - that a multiplicity of social factors have influenced in varying degrees the selection by a particular speaker of one form or another. The three speakers who have used the heavily stigmatized, rural forms /haaða/ and /haað/ are of rural origin, from east and west of the River Jordan. They are in their early forties. The situation in which the recording was made can be described as a discussion nearer to the informal end of the formality - informality cline, and the style casual, as is appropriate among colleagues working in the same institution. The topics were also of the daily type, e.g. talking about one's main problems notably financial difficulties resulting from a high rate of inflation. The speakers were aware that they were being recorded, but the tape-recorder was not conspicuous and the microphone was placed on a small table in the middle of the group, and was left there until the discussion closed.

These facts are not put forward to explain the speakers' choice of demonstrative forms in an unequivocal way - rather, they are intended to throw light on the social context of the utterance as a whole, and consequently to show that a correlation exists between language forms and context of situation, without necessarily saying which determines which. (cf. DeCamp, 1971: 354, Bickerton, 1975: 184-185, and C-J. Bailey 1973: 104). One can never be certain if these three speakers were (consciously or otherwise) asserting their loyalty to their rural origin. Nor if they belonged to the category of speakers described by McIntosh (1961: 85-86) as the 'Resistant type'.

In contrast, consider the context of situation in respect of, on the one hand, Speaker 4, and on the other hand Speakers 76, 77 and 78.

First, Speaker 4 is the Principal of a teacher training college. He has an M.A. in 'Education'. He is approximately 37 years old. The other interlocutors in the context of situation are members of the teaching staff only. The meeting is announced in advance, and the situation is nearer to the formal end of the formality - informality cline. Consequently the style is 'Careful' speech (cf. Labov, 1972a: 86). The participants knew that their speech was being recorded; the tape-recorder and the microphone being on a small table near the Principal. (Unfortunately, only the Principal's

utterances are audible; the contributions of the members of staff are inaudible). The topic is a serious one: it concerns the college final examinations. The meeting lasted for nearly 75 minutes. The researcher did not attend the meeting.

Under these circumstances, the [+ masc., + sing., + near] demonstrative tokens used by the Principal are - not surprisingly - categorically of the /haaða/ - form, i.e. categorically prestigious. As far as the language environment is concerned, these forms are fairly in line with the general group-pattern, i.e. tend to favour Pronominal and Determiner position; only a single token occurs in Adjective position. However, this particular speaker has used more Pronominal tokens than Determiner tokens - which deviates from the over-all group-pattern. Whether this deviation is significant or accidental is extremely difficult to say.

Secondly, Speakers 76, 77 and 78 are middle-aged Jordanians (in their 50's) and hold key positions in the occupational strata - they are, respectively, Head of the Land Registration Department, Director of the Housing Bank, and Head of the Income Tax Department. The three are discussing the soaring prices of land in Jordan. The channel is Jordanian Television. The discussion lasted nearly 40 minutes.

It can be seen that Speakers 76 and 77 have used exclusively prestigious forms of the [+ masc., + sing.

+ near] demonstrative. Speaker 78, however, has used 4 tokens of this demonstrative, one of which is comparatively stigmatized, i.e. /haada/, but not so stigmatized as /haaθ(a)/, which judging by his origin, the Speaker should have in his grammar.

This evidence suggests that Jordanian educated speakers tend in formal situations to use what they regard as correct and prestigious forms, and, conversely, in informal situations, the tendency is to use non-prestigious forms.

Sociolinguists have for a long time busied themselves with the study of such tendencies; hence, from this point of view these tendencies add little that can be called new to the literature, i.e. they carry no 'information', in one sense of the term. In a way, these tendencies are essentially group-averages, i.e. approximations which hold to view a static model of language, and serve to obliterate variability and change which are characteristic of a dynamic model of language. If one considers the same facts in Table 1 from a dynamic, i.e. time-based viewpoint, an entirely different picture will emerge. In this respect, ESAJ exhibits inter-speaker, as well as intra-speaker variability. Some speakers are (or seem to be) invariable users of stigmatized forms (e.g. Speakers 25 and 28); others (seem to) alternate stigmatized and prestigious forms (e.g. Speakers 46, 29 and 78); while others still are (or seem to be)



invariable users of prestigious forms (e.g. Speakers 4, 76 and 77). This kind of variability strikingly portrays the on-going process of language change. To see if the data in Table 1 admits of implicational patterning, let us first rearrange the positions of the speakers as in Table 1a (page 101). A glance at Table 1a shows that far from being homogeneous, this area of ESAJ is made up of several layers, i.e. lects. The following lects are discernible, and are ordered from the most stigmatized to the most prestigious:

Lect 1 contains Speakers 25 and 28.

Lect 2 contains Speaker 26.

Lect 3 contains Speakers 79, 5 and 80.

Lect 4 contains Speakers 46, 29 and 78.

Lect 5 contains all the remaining speakers (4, 6, 8, 27, 30, 31, 32, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76 and 77).

Note that in Table 1a (disregarding for the moment the relevance of environments I, II and III) the patterning of the speakers' output appears to branch off and form blocs. This sample exhibits no speakers who alternate Lects 1 and 3, i.e. /haaḐ(a)/ and /haada/. The transition is from 1 to 2 to 5, and similarly from 3 to 4 to 5 (cf. Chapter 2).

Now let us take into consideration the categories I, II and III, and let us divide the [+ masc., + sing., + near] demonstrative forms into Stigmatized (S) covering /haaḐ(a)/ and /haada/ and Prestigious (P) covering /haaḑa/. The results are shown in Table 1b (page 102).

TABLE 1a

Demonstrative forms →

Speakers	haaḏa			haada			haaḐ(a)			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	Lect 1
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
26	1	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	1	Lect 2
79	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	Lect 3
5	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
80	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
46	7	6	1	9	-	3	-	-	-	Lect 4
29	4	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
78	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
4	27	19	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lect 5
6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
27	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
31	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
32	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
71	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
72	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
73	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
74	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
77	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Distribution of [+ masc. + sing. + near] demonstrative forms in terms of the categories I, II and III, i.e. Pronominal, Determiner and Adjectival, respectively.

Table 1b

Speakers	III Adjective	II Determiner	I Pronominal
25	S	-	S
79	-	S	S
28	-	-	S
5	-	-	S
80	-	-	S
26	S	S	S/P
29	-	S/P	P
78	-	P	S/P
46	S/P	P	S/P
6	-	P	P
8	-	P	-
27	-	P	P
30	-	P	-
31	-	-	P
32	-	P	-
71	-	P	-
72	P	-	P
73	P	P	-
74	P	-	-
76	-	P	P
77	-	P	P
4	P	P	P

Implicational sequence of the prestigious (P) and stigmatized (S) forms of the [+ masc., + sing., + near] demonstrative subcategory in ESAJ.

That implicational (polylectal) patterning obtains in Table 1b is clear: some speakers are invariable users of the earlier feature S, others are invariable users of the later feature P, while a third group of speakers alternate S and P. Moreover, and this is really the test of implicational scaling, where alternation of S and P is attested S occurs to the left of P (in the table), as in the case of Speakers 26 and 29, but in order for implicational scaling to hold valid, once S occurs to the left of P, it should not later reappear to the right of P. However, no grammar is perfect; there is always a 'residue of inconsistency'. The performance of Speakers 46 and 78 is a case in point. The inconsistency of these two speakers may be due to their attempt for particular effect, to use widely spaced styles.

Finally, it is worth noting that the change from S to P starts (variably) in Pronominal category and spreads to the other two categories (i.e. Determiner and Adjectival) moving in time and space through the speech community, so that at a given time, the change will not have reached some group of speakers, will have just reached another group and will have passed a third group. The three categories (I, II and III) are of course differently weighted in connection with the change from S to P. I (i.e. Pronominal) is the most heavily weighted in favour of the change; II (i.e. Determiner) is lighter-weighted than I, but heavier-weighted than III. The implicational patterning depicted in Table 1b means that,

anomalies apart, a P in a lighter-weighted position, say II, implies a P in the heavier-weighted position I. Therefore P in III implies P in II, implies P in I. This type of relationship is expressed as

III  $\supset$  II  $\supset$  I (where " $\supset$ " = "implies"). The converse is not true.

It remains to be added that our data comes from what might be called the mid-mesolect, as it is the outcome of educated Jordanians talking with educated Jordanians. If the sample were more representative of the speech community, e.g. if it contained educated speakers talking with uneducated speakers, and consequently if it were a larger sample than that on which Table 1b is based, the implications would most probably be better portrayed, and a greater amount of variation would manifest itself.

Now consider Table 2 (page 105) which shows the distribution of the same demonstrative subcategory, i.e. [+ masc., + sing., + near] in the speech of educated Jordanians talking with educated persons from other Arab countries. It can be seen that in this case /haaða/ accounts for 39 out of a total of 58 occurrences. That is to say, the percentage of prestige tokens is

$$\frac{39}{58} \times 100\% = 67\%$$

So, although these speakers have used more prestige than stigmatized forms, yet the percentage of prestige tokens is not so high as the corresponding percentage in Table 1 - where all the interlocutors are Jordanian (cf. 75%).

TABLE 2

[+ masc. + sing. + near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated non-Jordanians

Speakers	haaḏa			haada			haad			haaBa			haaB			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
11	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
14	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
19	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
33	-	3	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
69	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
70	2	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
81	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
82	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
83	1	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
86	-	-	-	7	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	11	25	3	9	4	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	=58

This means that educated Jordanians tend to use more prestige tokens when talking with educated persons from the same country than when talking with educated persons from other Arab countries. Such a conclusion is at variance with one's expectation: common sense suggests that this tendency should be reversed. But common sense does not always make sense.

It seems that in general there are two major 'forces' which operate on an educated Jordanian speaker:

- (i) the desire to sound like a Jordanian, and
- (ii) the desire to sound educated.

If the above percentages are reliable<sup>1</sup>, it may be correct to conclude that the former desire is called into action in situations where there are non-Jordanian interlocutors with the consequence of frequent occurrence of the stigmatized (regional) tokens which give the utterance a typical Jordanian 'colour'. Thus, the speakers use language - consciously or unconsciously - as a vehicle of asserting their loyalty to their own country<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, in situations where all the interlocutors are Jordanians the first desire remains latent - the speakers do not have to demonstrate their oneness with their own

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1. Note that a similar tendency is manifest in the speech of educated Egyptians (cf. El-Hassan, 1978).

2. Cf. the opposite conclusion arrived at by Blanc (1960: 82-83) who talks about 'levelling' or pruning the regional forms in favour of koineized or classicized forms!

folk in circumstances like these - while the desire to sound educated triggers off more tokens of the prestigious type.

In terms of linguistic constraints, the distribution of the prestige tokens in Table 2 is very similar to the corresponding distribution portrayed in Table 1, i.e.

Determiners > Pronominals > Adjectivals,  
 where " > " → "more than".

B. [+ fem., + sing., + near]

Table 3 (page 108) shows the distribution of the [+ fem., + sing., + near] demonstrative forms in the speech of educated Jordanians talking to educated Jordanians. It can be seen that the percentage of prestigious tokens in this case, i.e. /haađihi/ and /haađi/, is  $\frac{101}{138} \times 100\% = 73\%$ , which is of the same order as the corresponding 75% computed for the [+ masc., + sing., + near] subcategory (Table 1).

There is, however, a significant difference between the frequency of occurrence of stigmatized feminine and stigmatized masculine forms. Contrary to what one might have expected, the stigmatized form /haay/ is not marginal to the grammar of ESA. Altogether, 31 tokens of /haay/ (i.e. 23% of all the feminine tokens) are recorded. Moreover, the 31 tokens are contributed by 13 out of the 24 speakers in the table. So, the status of /haay/ in ESAJ is significantly different from the status of the heavily stigmatized masculine forms /haaĐ/ and



TABLE 3

[+ fem. + sing. + near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated Jordanians

Speakers	haađihi			haađi			haadi			haay			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
4	8	15	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	7	2	-	
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
26	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	2	1	
27	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
29	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	
32	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
46	-	3	-	2	7	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	
71	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
72	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
75	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	-	12	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
77	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
78	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
Total	11	52	2	14	19	3	3	3	-	17	7	7	= 138

/haaḐa/. These heavily stigmatized, rural, masculine forms, /haaḐ/ and /haaḐa/, do not have replicates in the feminine subcategory. In other words, the masculine subcategory contains more variants than the corresponding feminine subcategory. That is why the former is a rather more sensitive socio-linguistic indicator than the latter.

In terms of linguistic environment, the overall distribution of the feminine forms is very similar to that of the masculine forms. In other words, educated Jordanians tend to use these forms much more frequently in Determiner (and Pronominal) positions than in Adjectival position. Furthermore, and in line with the distributions of the masculine forms, the prestigious feminine tokens are more frequent in Determiner than in Pronominal position, whereas the non-prestigious tokens, again as in the case of masculine non-prestigious tokens, reverse this tendency. But note that /haay/ is relatively frequent in Adjectival position.

Table 3 (like Table 1) shows that women are less (not more) sensitive than men to the choice of prestige forms (cf. women speakers 5, 8, 79 and 80 in both tables).

Table 4 (page 110) shows the frequency of occurrence and distribution of the [+ fem., + sing., + near] demonstrative forms in the speech of educated Jordanians talking with educated non-Jordanian Arabs. The prestigious tokens in this table account for  $(\frac{39}{73} \times 100\% =)$  54%, which is not as high as the corresponding percentage in Table 3.

TABLE 4

[+ fem. + sing. + near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated non-Jordanians

Speakers	haađihi			haađi			haadi			haay			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
11	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	
13	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
14	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
19	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	
24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
33	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	2	4	3	
69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9	
70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	
81	2	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
82	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
83	1	13	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	
Total	5	27	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	8	7	14	=73

This confirms the foregoing conclusion that educated Jordanians tend, on average, to use more prestige tokens (at least in respect of the [+ sing., + near] subcategory) when talking to educated persons from the same country than when talking to educated persons from another Arab country. But it must be added that individuals vary in this respect: not every speaker exhibits the same tendency.

It is rather unfortunate that there is only one woman in the group of speakers in Table 4, namely speaker 86. If her performance can be considered as typical of educated female output, it can be seen that in no sense are women more sensitive than men (or even as sensitive as men) to prestige forms.

### C. [+ sing., + far]

Tables 5 and 6 (pages 112 and 113) display the frequency of occurrence and distribution of [+ masc., + sing., + far] and [+ fem., + sing., + far] demonstrative forms (respectively) in the speech of educated Jordanians talking with educated persons from the same country. The percentages of prestige forms in these tables are as follows:

$$a) \text{ [+ masc. + sing. + far]: } \frac{16}{20} \times 100\% = 80\% \text{ (Table 5)}$$

$$b) \text{ [+ fem. + sing. + far]: } \frac{0}{3} \times 100\% = 0\% \text{ (Table 6)}$$

Both masculine and feminine forms are very infrequent. In fact, the occurrences of these forms are outnumbered

TABLE 5

[+ masc. + sing. + far]

Educated Jordanians to Educated Jordanians

Speakers	šaalik(a)			zaalik			hašaak(a)			hadaak(a)			haḌaak(a)			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
27	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
46	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	
71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
72	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
79	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	16	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	= 20



by the speakers. There are 24 speakers, but only 20 masculine tokens and 3 feminine ones. Moreover, the three feminine tokens are repetitions of the same phrase: /haḏiik (hadiik) ilyoom/ 'that day' which is a rather 'odd' expression as /ilyoom/ elsewhere collocates with masculine forms and therefore one should expect /haḏaak ilyoom/ rather than /haḏiik ilyoom/.

The masculine (as opposed to feminine) demonstrative forms in Table 5, which are predominantly prestigious, exhibit a wide range of lexico-grammatical accompaniment. Consider, for instance, these examples:

- /maa zaada ḡan ḏaalik/ 'whatever exceeds that'
- /baḡda (/qabla/) ḏaalik/ 'after (before) that'
- /wa maḡ ḏaalik/ 'and with that' or 'in spite of that'
- /ḡaksa ḏaalik/ 'the opposite of that'
- /fa maḡnaa ḏaalik/ 'consequently that means ...'
- /wa liḡajil ḏaalik/ 'for the sake of that ...'
- /yeer qaadir ḡala ḏaalik/ 'incapable of that'

Tables 7 and 8 (pages 116 and 117) show the distribution and frequency of occurrence of the [+ masc. + sing. + far] and [+ fem. + sing. + far] demonstrative forms (respectively) in the speech of educated Jordanians talking with educated persons from other Arab countries.

These tables give rise to the following percentages of prestigious forms:

- a) [+ masc. + sing. + far]:  $\frac{17}{17} \times 100\% = 100\%$  (Table 7)
- b) [+ fem. + sing. + far]:  $\frac{2}{3} \times 100\% = 67\%$  (Table 8).

This means that the speakers of ESAJ tend to avoid the use of stigmatized forms of the demonstrative subcategory [+ sing., + far].

It can be seen that Speakers 14 and 83 have contributed 10 of the tokens in Table 7, and 2 out of the 3 tokens in Table 8. It remains to be added that 14 and 83 are in fact the same speaker recorded on two different occasions, one live, the other on T.V. Evidently this speaker is consistent in his usage of prestigious forms in both Tables 7 and 8; he is, in fact, an Arabic specialist.

If the tokens contributed by this speaker are put aside for a moment, the remaining tokens of the masculine and feminine forms in these two tables turn out to be outnumbered by the remaining 14 speakers. (There are 15 speakers in each table.) Therefore, it may be correct to claim that, on the basis of the evidence presented in Tables 7, 8 (and 5 and 6) educated Jordanians strongly tend to avoid using [+ fem., + far] demonstrative forms and, though to a lesser extent, they also tend to avoid using [+ masc., + far] demonstrative forms.

#### D. [+ plural]

Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12 (pages 118, 119, 120 and 121) display the frequency of occurrence and distribution of the plural demonstrative forms (both [+ near] and [+ far]) in educated Jordanian speech. These four tables reveal the following:







TABLE 9

[+ plural + near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated Jordanians

Speakers	haafulaaf(i)			haʕool (a)			hadool (a)			haʕool(a)			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
4	-	-	-	10	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
27	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
29	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
46	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
71	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
75	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
77	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
78	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	1	4	-	13	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	= 22

TABLE 10

[+ plural + near]

Educated Jordanians to Educated non-Jordanians

Speakers	haʃulaaʃ(i)			haʃool(a)			hadool(a)			haʃool(a)			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
23		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
69	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
81	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
82	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
83	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
86	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
Total	3	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	=7





1. % of prestigious tokens in the speech of Jordanians talking with educated Jordanians:

a) [+ plural + near]:  $\frac{5}{22} \times 100\% = 23\%$  (Table 9)

b) [+ plural + far]:  $\frac{0}{0} \times 100\% = 0\%$  (Table 11)

2. % of prestigious forms in the speech of Jordanians talking with Arabs from other countries:

a) [+ plural + near]:  $\frac{4}{7} \times 100\% = 57\%$  (Table 10)

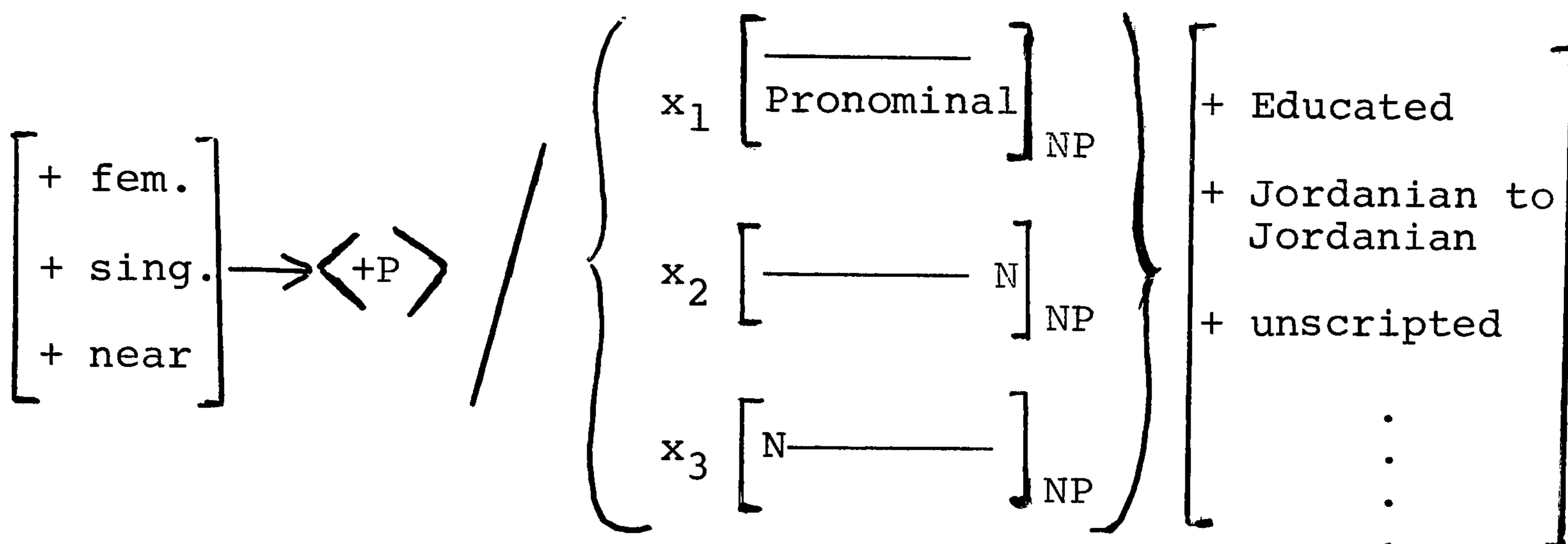
b) [+ plural + far]:  $\frac{0}{0} \times 100\% = 0\%$  (Table 12)

The conclusion is that educated Jordanians tend to avoid the use of plural, demonstrative forms, notably so in respect of [+ far] demonstrative forms, where not even a single token occurs in the sample. The [+ near] plural demonstrative tokens that occur are certainly outnumbered by the speakers - a fact which compels one to exercise caution in drawing conclusions. This reservation in mind, it may be noted that the [+ far] tokens that do occur are virtually all prestigious.

3.4.2. Variation in the data

The evidence adduced above with regard to the frequency of occurrence and distribution of the various demonstrative forms in ESAJ supports both Labov's and Bailey's models, which were outlined in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.2). This claim can be substantiated by examining, for instance, the data in Table 3 (page 108). Thus, in

terms of Labov's quantitative (probabilistic) model, the prestige, [+P], and non-prestige, [-P], variants of the [+ fem., + sing., + near] demonstrative subcategory are generated by the following variable rule:



where  $x_1$ ,  $x_2$  and  $x_3$  are output probabilities whose approximate values are:

$$x_1 = \frac{11 + 14}{138} = 0.18$$

$$x_2 = \frac{52 + 19}{138} = 0.51$$

$$x_3 = \frac{2 + 3}{138} = 0.03$$

This variable rule states that demonstrative tokens of the subcategory in question variably occur as [+P] subject to the linguistic and socio-cultural constraints specified. Thus, assuming a demonstrative form of the subcategory under consideration occurs in the speech of educated Jordanians talking with educated persons from the same country, this form will be [+P] or [-P] depending on the following linguistic constraints:

1. in environment I, i.e. in Pronominal position, approximately 18% of the tokens will be [+P],



2. in environment II, i.e. in Determiner position, approximately 51% of the tokens will be [+P],
3. in environment III, i.e. in Adjectival position, approximately 3% of the tokens will be [+P].

Ironically, the above variable rule is based in the first place on the performance of individuals, but it depicts the behaviour of the entire group, not that of any particular individual in the group. Individual performance and individual differences are submerged in the overall group pattern. The variable rule is the same for the individual and the group, except that the relative probabilities of rule operation are seen as requiring adjustment (cf. Chapter 1)<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, and notwithstanding the fact that Labov does not explicitly say so, this model

assumes that the human mind has the power to handle variability on a very large scale, and in particular is able to maintain proportional relationships between competing phenomena over long periods of time. (Bickerton, 1973a: 25)

The question is what keeps the percentages within certain limits? What mechanism rehearses environments and keeps an accumulative record of percentages and prompts the speaker to control the frequency of different variants of the same variable in his output? (cf. Butters, 1971b: 307-315).

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1. Labov (1969b: 759) believes that 'the grammar of the speech community is more regular and systematic than the behaviour of any one individual ... Unless the individual speech pattern is studied within the over-all system of the community, it will appear as a mosaic of unaccountable and sporadic variation.'

Bailey's model, on the other hand, is not concerned with group-averages and probabilities, but rather with 'before-and-after relations among outputs, i.e. with generating all of the linguistic patterns of the language in the implicational sequence that holds valid for any speaker' (C.-J. Bailey, 1973: 81). We have pointed out that Labov's model obscures individual performance and individual differences. But it is precisely the performance of individuals seen in relation to one another that remarkably reveals the systematicity of the linguistic continuum, whence variability becomes more meaningful as it reflects the ongoing process of language change. To illustrate these points, consider the polylectal (implicational) grammar entailed in the primary data of the same table (Table 3).

Let us first of all examine the over-all lectal (not isolectal) patterning of these data in order to get a rough idea about the lectal variability exhibited by the data, and to see the directionality of lectal change. Table 3a (page 126) illustrates what is meant here.

Seven lects are discernible in Table 3a. These lects show that the grammar in question is dynamic - moving progressively away from the basilectal form /haay/ to the prestige form /haaʔi/ and ultimately to the most prestigious form of all, /haaʔihi/. The seven, putative lects exhibited in Table 3a are indicative of the extent of variation in ESAJ as well as of the continuity and

TABLE 3(a)

Speakers	haađihi			haađi			haadi			haay			
	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	I	II	III	
73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
80	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	Lect 1
31	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	
5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
32	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
30	-	-	-	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	Lect 2
27	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
72	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	
26	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	2	1	Lect 3
4	8	15	2	-	2	1	-	-	-	7	2	-	
77	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	Lect 4
71	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	
46	-	3	-	2	7	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	Lect 5
75	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lect 6
7	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
76	-	12	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
78	-	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lect 7
8	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lect 8
29	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Total	11	52	2	14	19	3	3	3	-	17	7	7	

Lectal patterning of the demonstrative subcategory  
 [+ fem., + sing., + near] in ESAJ.

change which are ever-present in this variety of Arabic.

It is interesting to note that the form /haadi/ is very rare in ESAJ - only one speaker, namely 46, has used it. Moreover, none of the speakers alternate the forms /haay/ and /haadi/. In effect, this reduces the stigmatized representation of the [+ fem., + sing., + near] demonstrative subcategory in the grammar of ESAJ to one, fairly frequent form, /haay/, as against two fairly frequent prestige forms /haađi/ and /haađihi/.

Now, if a vertical line is drawn in Table 3(a) to separate the prestigious from the stigmatized forms it becomes clear that:

1. the output of speakers 73, 28, 80, 31 and 5 is exclusively stigmatized (S).
2. that of speakers 75, 7, 76, 78, 8, 6 and 29 is exclusively prestigious (P), and
3. that of the remaining speakers is variable, i.e. alternating between S and P.

If we now consider the distribution of S and P in respect of the three linguistic environments I, II and III (i.e. Pronominal, Determiner and Adjectival), we will get the picture displayed in Table 3(b) (page 128).

As can be seen the change from S to P starts simultaneously in environments I and II, and later spreads to environment III. Thus, a P-form in Adjectival position implies a P-form in both Determiner and Pronominal positions.

TABLE 3(b)

Speaker	Adjectival (III)	Determiner (II)	Pronominal (I)
73	S	-	-
28	-	S	-
80	-	S	-
31	-	-	S
5	-	-	S
32	S	P	P
30	S	P	P
27	S	P	-
72	P	-	S/P
26	S	S/P	S/P
4	P	S/P	S/P
77	S	P	-
71	-	S/P	-
46	S/P	S/P	-
75	-	P	-
7	-	-	P
76	P	P	P
78	-	P	P
8	-	P	P
6	-	P	P
29	-	-	P

Implicational (polylectal) patterning of the S and P forms of the [+ fem., + sing., + near] demonstrative subcategory in ESAJ.

In order to ascertain which of environments I and II is the more heavily weighted in favour of the change from S to P, more data are required - the available data are inconclusive on this issue. However, if the distribution of the corresponding [+ masc., + sing., + near] forms is anything to go by (cf. Table 1(b), page 102), it is not unreasonable to suggest that  $II \supset I$ , so that the common implicational sequence is:

$$III \supset II \supset I.$$

But it would be wrong to claim that Speaker 76, for instance, is unlikely to use S-forms at all. It may be the case that on the occasion when he was recorded, the situation (including his own feelings, and evaluation of it) must have conditioned his performance in such a way as to make him use only P-forms. However, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the basilect is part of the passive knowledge of almost all speakers of ESAJ and, as Bickerton (1973b: 657) points out in regard to the Guyanese creole continuum, it (i.e. the basilect) does remain

'available to them in rather varying degrees for such stylistic effects as the telling of folk tales, the signalling of emotions as diverse as intimacy and deprecation, the reporting of the speech of those they consider beneath themselves socially, and so on.'

It follows that the change from S to P in ESAJ can never go to completion, if completion means the categorical selection of P in all possible contexts of situation.

To say this is not to reject the concept of categorical rules; only to point out that not every variable rule necessarily becomes categorical in time.

What Labov has called 'inherent variability' seems to be relevant to this question. Examples which illustrate this phenomenon are given below. These examples are interesting because the variability they exhibit cannot be explained in terms of socio-stylistic constraints. This kind of variability occurs in spite of the fact that no perceptible changes take place in the context of situation - the conditions pertaining to the participants, the topic, the channel, etc., are as far as can be objectively determined, unaltered. Nor are Labov's 'channel-cues' e.g. laughter, changes in tempo, pitch range, volume and rate of breathing in evidence when this kind of variability takes place. Consider the underlined:

1. /wa haađihi [+ fem., + sing., + near] min  
 assimaat ilbaarize lihaađa lɣaam, yaɣni  
haay [+ fem., + sing., + near] simat ilɣaSr/  
 'And this is (one) of the prominent characteristics of the year; I mean, this is the characteristic of the (present) time.'
2. /haadi [+ fem., + sing., + near] qadiime  
 Saarat, jiib iji jdiid, haađi [+ fem., +  
 sing., + near] qadiime, haadi [+ fem., +  
 sing., + near] (old age)/ (Speaker 46)

'This is out of date; bring something new; this is out of date; this is old fashioned.'

Such examples of 'inherent variability' pose a problem for sociolinguistic approaches which suggest that situational matrices determine the form of language used. It is not enough to say that the underlined in 1 and 2 are instances of code-switching or style-shifting. One would like to know what motivates the speakers to alternate such variants if the conditions of the context of situation remain unchanged. On the other hand, it does not make sense to regard this kind of alternation as an example of 'free variation'; the speakers of ESAJ know that /haay/ and /haadi/ are stigmatized forms whereas /haađi/ is prestigious (cf. Labov, 1972a: 188-189).

Quantificational variable rules stop short of explaining inherent variability. Such rules are merely concerned with predicting the probability of selecting one variant or the other under certain linguistic and socio-stylistic constraints.

Bailey's model would probably ascribe the occurrence of such variants as the above to the progression of change through space and time, so that the speakers who alternate, say, /haađihi/ and /haay/ are undergoing an intermediate phase of the change which has not reached completion yet, i.e. has not become categorical.

However, as already stated, what is in doubt in



respect of ESAJ is whether the categorically acrolectal phase of change (in all possible contexts) is attainable by any speakers. As Mitchell says, nobody talks like a book at all times, and this is precisely what a categorically acrolectal phase of change entails.

We are suggesting that variability in connection with S- and P-forms is more persistent than Bailey's model seems to be proposing. In fact, Bailey's attention has been drawn to this 'phenomenon' by Fasold (1973: 193) who speaks of 'stagnant rules which become arrested at the variable stage'. It is true that such rules do not invalidate implicational patterning (and this is a point on which Bailey (1973: 82-86) leans for defending his model), but if it can be proved that virtually all the variable rules in ESAJ are 'arrested at the variable stage', i.e. do not go to completion, then a Labovian probabilistic model might better handle these rules than an implicational one (cf. Trudgill, 1973: 158).

### 3.5. Conclusion

The following are some important conclusions drawn from the foregoing analysis of variation in the demonstrative system in ESAJ.

#### 1. Variability

ESAJ is not a static, homogeneous variety of Arabic. It is characterized by systematic variation, which may be regarded as a reflection of ongoing processes of language change.

## 2. Prestigious vs. stigmatized forms

Prestigious and stigmatized forms are used by speakers of ESAJ, but the proportion of the prestige forms is, as a rule, much higher than that of stigmatized forms. This observation, among others, provides some justification for recognizing ESAJ as a social dialect (cf. Fasold 1970: 551). Of course, this claim rests on the assumption that uneducated Jordanians tend not to use prestigious (acrolectal) forms.

Furthermore, speakers of ESAJ tend to avoid the heavily stigmatized forms, e.g. /haaθ(a)/; such forms are indeed underrepresented in all the above tables. This confirms what variationists have found in other language communities (cf. Fasold, 1970: 554).

However, it is by no means true, in general, to say that speakers of ESAJ suppress regional forms in favour of koineized and classicized ones. In situations where all the interlocutors are Jordanian the percentage of regional, stigmatized forms used is lower than in situations involving non-Jordanian interlocutors. This observation is thought to be related to the speakers' desire to assert their regional loyalty where non-Jordanian interlocutors are present; otherwise, the desire to sound educated predominates thereby resulting in a high incidence of prestige tokens.

## 3. 'Dual' forms

Dual forms of the demonstrative system are not present in the sample of ESAJ considered, except for a single

occurrence of /haaḏayn/, [+ masc., + dual, + near], contributed by Speaker 46 in the utterance:

/lilfiSLaaḥ bayna haaḏayn izzawjayn/

'for the reconciliation of these two spouses.'

#### 4. Men's usage vs. women's usage

It is not without interest to compare the relative contribution of Jordanian men versus women as agents in promoting change from stigmatized (vernacular) forms to prestige (MSA) forms.

In several European and English-speaking communities, linguists have found that women are more sensitive to prestige patterns in their own speech than men. Labov (1972a: 301) sums it up as follows:

'Gauchat's elegant and convincing study established the variability of Charmey patois, the existence of change in progress, and the role of women in furthering linguistic change. In case after case, Gauchat discovered that women used more of the newer linguistic forms than men did .... Gauchat reinforced his finding by citing other examples from the history of French in which the women of Paris were portrayed as initiators of linguistic changes. We can point to similar behaviour in the evolution of New York City English, and here the pattern of sex differences is even richer. In case after case, we find that women use the most advanced forms in their own casual speech, and correct more sharply to the other extreme in their formal speech.'

While sex differences in speech exist in ESAJ, the evidence presented above suggests that educated Jordanian women are by no means initiators of linguistic change. In almost every case, it is the men - not the women - who use 'the most advanced forms' and 'correct more sharply' towards the acrolectal<sup>1</sup> end of the continuum.

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1. cf. the pioneering role of women in respect of changes from rural to urban forms (Chapter 5).

PART II

Aspect and aspectual variation

in the educated spoken

Arabic of Jordan

CHAPTER 4Aspect in ESAJ4.1. A general survey of Aspect as a grammatical category

There is a large and heterogeneous literature on aspect in a number of languages and it would not be appropriate to attempt to summarize it here. Suffice it to say that as a rule aspect - plausibly regarded by some as a sentential category, by others as appertaining to the verb phrase only - is seen as in close contrastive relation with tense, both concerned with correlation between grammatical form and concepts of time, tense perhaps first and foremost with location in time, aspect with continuity in time. Rather than attempt a comprehensive summary of work in this field it has seemed more appropriate for present purposes to give a brief account of the views of some prominent contemporary linguists. It will be clear from it how remarkably little agreement there is on the term and concept of aspect.

Paul Friedrich (1974: 2) says that 'The place of aspect in transformational syntax was sketched during the 1960s, and for Chomsky, aspect was crucial in explaining evaluation procedures and "generalization". Yet these transformationalist studies were skewed by a preoccupation with the mathematical "power" of a purely formal syntax, and the aspect features that they dealt with were

utterly rudimentary in terms of markedness relations and inherent meanings ... In short, American descriptivists and the early transformationalists left largely unexplored the underlying subcategories of inherent aspectual categories ...'

The shallowness of the work devoted to aspect in the transformationalist tradition contrasts with a deep and thorough-going European interest in this area. Slavists, Classicists and linguists of diverse persuasions in Europe have demonstrated a serious commitment to the study of aspect. Nonetheless, the term 'aspect' is still a 'nomen confusum' as will be shown presently.

F.R. Palmer (1971: 93) says that 'In many languages there is what is called "aspect" as well as, or instead of, tense, tense supposedly referring to time and aspect to completion, duration and similar concepts.' It is not stated how duration, for instance, supposedly does not "refer to time". As far as the morphology of the English verbal phrase is concerned, Palmer (1974: 34) states that '... a distinction in terms of aspect, progressive and non-progressive, may be made, progressive forms being those that contain both a form of BE and an -ing form ... The terms "continuous" and "non-continuous" are sometimes used. So too are "habitual" and non-habitual" (habitual = non-progressive) but these are to be rejected as quite misleading.' Palmer, following Joos (1964), treats, for example, "perfect/non-perfect"

under a category labelled "phase", not generally employed elsewhere. Joos's (1964: 108-112) use of the term "aspect" has to do with the validity of predications at given times. Thus he recognises what he calls a "temporary aspect" and a "generic aspect" in English. The temporary aspect 'signifies something about the validity of the predication, and specifically it says that the probability of its validity diminishes smoothly from a maximum of perfect validity, both ways into the past and the future towards perfect irrelevance or falsity'. The generic aspect 'has no meaning of its own. It gets its meaning entirely from the context'.

John Lyons (1968: 313) tells us that 'The term aspect (which is a translation of the Russian vid) was first used to refer to the distinction of "perfective" and "imperfective" in the inflexion of verbs in Russian and other Slavonic languages. The term "perfective" (or "perfect") is reminiscent of that used by the Stoic grammarians for the somewhat similar notion of "completion" found in Greek'. With regard to English, Lyons (op. cit.: 315) says

English has two aspects which combine fairly freely with tense and mood: the "perfect" ... and the "progressive" ... There are a number of other aspectual distinctions in English of more limited distribution, including the "habitual" (which occurs only with the past tense: I used to read) and the "mutative" (which is restricted to the passive: I got killed).

It is clear that Palmer and Lyons do not see eye to

eye with respect to aspect; nor does either of them conceive of it as Joos does. J.M. Anderson (1973: 5) sees things differently yet again; he proposes 'a localist theory of aspect, in that various aspectual distinctions are interpreted as involving crucially the notions of location and direction'. Anderson's view is partly endorsed by D. Bolinger (1971a).

B. Comrie (1976: 3) for his part, defines aspect differently from any of the foregoing as 'different ways of viewing the internal<sup>~</sup> temporal constituency of a situation'. He recognises (op. cit.: 16) two principal aspects, perfective and imperfective, attributable to a number of natural languages so that 'perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up the situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation'. In contrast with Lyons, Comrie's "perfect" is defined in wholly different terms from "perfective". He makes no mention virtually of the particles (up, on, out, etc.) which are an important aspectual category of English; Bolinger (1971b), on the other hand, devotes a whole chapter to these aspectual particles (cf. Mitchell, 1978b).

The most widely occurring aspectual oppositions are summed up by Lyons (1977: 708) as follows:

- (i) stative vs. nonstative



- (ii) dynamic vs. nondynamic
- (iii) stative vs. dynamic
- (iv) durative vs. nondurative
- (v) punctual vs. nonpunctual
- (vi) durative vs. punctual
- (vii) progressive vs. nonprogressive

Different languages grammaticalize one or more of these potential oppositions. But according to Lyons (op. cit.) the oppositions at

(iv), (v) and (vii) would seem to be quite common. English ... is but one of the several European languages that exemplifies (vii); French, and many other languages, exemplify (iv) in the past tense at least; and, according to what is probably the standard analysis these days, Russian exemplifies (v), in that the so-called perfective positively represents a situation as an event, whereas the corresponding imperfective, being the unmarked term, simply fails to represent it as an event and therefore only negatively, as it were, has anything to do with durativity.

It is interesting that Lyons' list does not (explicitly) include the perfective/imperfective opposition which seems to be the major aspectual contrast recognised in Slavonic languages by leading "aspectologists" like the Russianists Forsyth (1970) and Comrie (1976), to mention only two of these who write in English about this controversial topic. Lyons' position appears to be similar to that of P. Friedrich (op. cit.: 35-36) who, after discussing several possible typological aspectual contrasts, singles out three as relating to the most useful and relevant "basic features"

for analytical purposes:

1. durative/nondurative
2. completive/noncompletive
3. stative/nonstative

Concerning the perfective/imperfective opposition, Friedrich (op. cit.: 29) has this to say:

Slavic aspect does resemble that of Homeric Greek, but also differs from it significantly in its morphology and semantics, and in the corresponding technical terminology. First of all, the conventional Latinate labels of "perfective" and "imperfective" which are used for Slavic aspect are infelicitous and have engendered no little misunderstanding, partly because they are often used for what in other languages have become tense categories ...

Little has been written on aspect in Arabic and, unfortunately, the category is all too often confused with the category of tense, which, in practically the whole literature on Arabic, subsumes the two terms (elsewhere attributed to aspect): "perfect(ive)" and "imperfect(ive)". Consider, for instance, how Comrie (op. cit.: 80) puts things (and note especially the confusion arising from the use of the terms "perfective" and "imperfective" to refer simultaneously to tense and aspect):

... we may say that the Perfective indicates both perfective meaning and relative past time reference, while the Imperfective indicates everything else (i.e. either imperfective meaning or relative nonpast tense). The Arabic opposition Imperfective/Perfective incorporates both aspect and (relative) tense.

All reference to the important part played by the Arabic "active participle" in this area is absent, though Comrie, as a Russianist, is hardly to be blamed for the singular

failure of western Arabists in their published work to heed the distinctions between participle and tenses.

In contrast with Comrie, J. Kuryłowicz (1973: 117) has it that aspect cannot be posited for Arabic, rather as Zandvoort (1962: 19) had felt for English. Kuryłowicz quotes examples which, in his opinion, 'show how far we are from attributing aspect to Semitic, especially to Arabic'. However, one cannot help feeling that Kuryłowicz' view is a typical reflection of what Friedrich (1974: 1) calls 'an excessive concern with overt morphemics'. On the other hand, if one is primarily concerned with establishing aspectual comparisons and contrasts in this language or that, having regard to the available formal devices that make these contrasts possible, it is of no consequence to the justification of aspect whether such devices are morphological or syntactic or both. In other words, if one takes the view that aspect is a semantic-syntactic category encoded either by a system of inflectional/derivational morphemes, and/or by a system of syntactic signals pertaining primarily to the verbal phrase and including, inter alia, preverb auxiliaries, verb stems, verbal complements as well as temporal specifiers, aspect, then, becomes a more meaningful and more salient grammatical category which can be justifiably posited for almost all natural languages. As Lyons (1977: 705) says:

'It is ... largely a matter of historical accident that the notion of aspect does not figure as

prominently in traditional grammar as does the notion of tense. Aspect is, in fact, far more commonly to be found throughout the languages of the world than tense is: there are many languages that do not have tense, but very few, if any, that do not have aspect.'

Kuryłowicz' denial of the presence of aspect in Semitic languages, notably Arabic, should be seen in contrast with a diametrically opposed view held by E. Benveniste (1962: 260) as quoted in Fleisch (1974: 11):

'Après cette analyse qui nous a fait constater que l'aspect primait le temps, nous avons abordé, dans ses termes les plus généraux, le problème de l'aspect. Il nous est apparu que, dans la tradition des études linguistiques, la notion d'aspect était généralement définie par rapport aux données slaves. C'est le verbe slave qui a fourni à la théorie de l'aspect son cadre et ses oppositions. Or, quand on envisage les systèmes aspectuels hors du monde indo-européen, on s'aperçoit que le slave ne représente nullement un type commun; au contraire c'est un type exceptionnel, fortement grammaticalisé, où aspect et temps sont étroitement associés. La réalité de l'aspect se voit bien plus clairement en sémitique où les classes formelles du verbe représentent des modes d'action, admettent toutes la distinction d'aspect, dont elles sont formellement indépendantes, et cette distinction d'aspect, non encore temporalisée, se réalise comme une corrélation.'

'After this analysis which led us to note that aspect took precedence over tense (in the Amerindian Uto-Aztec family), we approached the problem of aspect in the most general terms. It became apparent that, in traditional general linguistics, the notion of aspect was generally defined by reference to the facts of Slavonic data. The Slavonic verb is what has provided the theory of aspect with its framework and its system of oppositions (i.e. paradigmatic constraints). Now when aspectual systems from outside the Indo-European world are examined, it is found that Slavonic is in no way representative; on the contrary, it is an exceptional type, highly grammaticalised, in which aspect and tense are

closely linked. The real nature of aspect is to be seen much more clearly in Semitic where the formal paradigms of the verb represent modes of action, all admitting distinction of aspect, from which they are formally independent, and that distinction of aspect, which is still connected with tense, is realized as a correlation.'

Aspectual oppositions in ESAJ will be investigated at some length in the present study; but it may not be out of order at this juncture to give a few examples which illustrate the capability of ESAJ to express a whole range of aspectual distinctions, for instance by means of contrasts within the verb phrase. Thus,

1. (a)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  katab (past tense) risaala  
'The teacher wrote a letter'.
- (b)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  buktub (nonpast tense) risaala  
'The teacher is writing a letter'.
- (c)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  kaatib (active participle) risaala  
'The teacher has written a letter'.
2. (a)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  simiḡ (past tense) Soot  
'The teacher heard a sound'.
- (b)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  bismaḡ (nonpast tense) Soot.  
'The teacher hears a sound (now)'.
- (c)  $\text{\textcircled{S}il\text{\textcircled{S}ustaa\text{\textcircled{S}}}$  saamiḡ (active participle) Soot.  
'The teacher hears a sound (now)' or 'The teacher has heard a sound'.

Not only noteworthy are the parallel aspectual contrasts between (a) and (b) under both 1 and 2, as well as the contrast in both cases between the tenses at (a) and (b) and the participle at (c), but also the

non-ambiguity of 1(c) which interestingly contrasts with the ambiguity of 2(c) variously interpretable as durative or completive in response to the difference of verb class involved. But consider, too, the case of the replacement of singular /risaala/ 'letter' and /Soot/ 'sound' by their plural counterparts /rasaañil/ 'letters' and /ñaaSwaat/ 'sounds'. It is now found that the (b) examples also become ambiguous, i.e.

3. (b) ñilñustaað buktub rasaañil

'The teacher is writing letters (now)' or

'The teacher writes letters (habitually)'.

4. (b) ñilñustaað bismağ ñaaSwaat

'The teacher hears sounds (now)' or 'The

teacher hears sounds (habitually)'.

These simple examples alone show that it will be necessary to make a number of aspectual distinctions with respect to verb form but also that it is not just verbal forms that contribute to such distinctions. Elsewhere ESAJ also has its 'aspectual verbs' among numerous devices for the making of relevant contrasts. In fact, the whole area of aspect in ESAJ is one of considerable theoretical and descriptive interest. So far it is to all intents and purposes untrodden.

#### 4.2 Aspect, tense and time in language analysis

Aspect must be distinguished from tense. These two terms are often confused; the main source of confusion being that both categories relate verbal form to concepts

of time. Like aspect, tense has for a long time remained a controversial issue. As Lyons (1968: 306) says:

'... the analysis of tense, even in English, is a matter of considerable controversy'. The number of different theories of tense at present in circulation is indicative of the lack of precision as to what the category of tense entails. Some of these theories, or conceptions, of tense can be regarded as idiosyncratic since they do not seem to have acquired substantial support from linguists. Examples of these are the proposals put forward by P. Kiparsky (1968), R. Huddleston (1969) and H. Weinrich (1970).

However, it is generally agreed, explicitly or tacitly, that tense, in languages which have this category, e.g. English, is a verbal inflexion which locates the action/state expressed by the verb at a time relative to the moment of speaking. Cf. J. Lyons (1968: 304-305), E. Traugott (1972: 43), R. Quirk and S. Greenbaum (1973: 40), F. Palmer (1974: 43), B. Comrie (1976: 1-2), R.P. Stockwell (1977: 39). In the words of Lyons (1968: 305):

The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of the action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance (the time of utterance being 'now'). Tense is therefore a deictic category, ...

One must quickly add that time is of course a non-linguistic concept which is usually thought of in terms of the subdivisions past, present and future. In the traditional analysis of the grammatical category of tense

it is often asserted that the notion of tense encodes distinctions parallel to the three subdivisions of time, i.e. past, present and future. In contrast to the old (i.e. traditional) grammarians, almost all modern linguists, notably those referred to in the previous paragraph, divide tense into two sub-categories commonly designated past and nonpast. Thus, for example, Traugott (op. cit.) says:

Conceptually, we think of time relations as a three-way system of past, present, and future. As far as the syntactic structure of English is concerned, however, there is a two-way distinction. As expressed by the so-called "tense-inflections", which are attached to the verb (or to the auxiliary verb, depending on the structure of the sentence), the distinction is between past (for example, He ran) and nonpast (for example, He runs).

Normally, the past-tense in a simple sentence locates the action/state expressed by the verb in the past time with regard to the moment of speaking as in e.g. She opened the door. However, there is no inherent one-to-one correspondence between past-tense and past time as the following examples illustrate:

1. If he came tomorrow, I would be glad to receive him.
2. I wish he knew they were coming next week.
3. 'Men were deceivers ever'.<sup>1</sup>

Nor does the use of a nonpast tense generally locate the action/state expressed by the verb at a time contemporaneous

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1. Shakespeare, quoted in Jespersen (1968: 259).



with the moment of speaking. Examples are:

4. John likes apples.
5. The earth goes round the sun.
6. Dogs bark.

Time is usually specified by linguistic forms other than those of verbal tense, e.g. by temporal adverbs.

Indeed, as Otto Jespersen (1968: 254) says:

... time is often indicated by means of other words than verbs, and this way of indicating time is often much more precise than that effected by means of verbal forms can ever be, as when we say "on the third of February, 1923, at 11.23 p.m."

Perhaps it is fair to say that whereas the two tense-subcategories, as shown above, do not signal time references in a consistent way, aspectual subcategories, on the other hand, by virtue of being concerned with the continuity of the action/state in time, exhibit a consistent set of temporal relationships. To quote Friedrich (1974: 2) once more:

Despite differences of opinion regarding the definition, structure and historical role of aspect, many scholars today would agree with the position masterfully explicated by Holt [J. Holt, "Etude d'aspect", Acta Jutlandica 15, 2, 1943] which, greatly simplified, may be summed up as saying that aspect is "a way of conceiving the passage of action".

Or, if that does not spell it out, aspect, in the words of E. Sapir (1921: 108, footnote 22) 'indicates the lapse of action, its nature from the standpoint of continuity.'

W.H. Hirtle (1975: 18, 134) distinguishes between tense and aspect in much the same terms as those in the previous paragraph. Thus, as he puts things, tense

situates an event in its place in universe time, which, in regard to tense, constitutes a container for the event, whereas aspect involves

not the time that contains the event, but the time contained in the event. This opposition between a universe time which contains and an event time which is contained - an opposition which corresponds to a difference not of nature (time is always time), but as position (time in the position of container and time in the position of content) - is the key to all problems of aspect .

On the same issue (of distinguishing between tense and aspect) and to much the same effect Comrie (1976: 5) sums things up as follows:

As noted above, tense is a deictic category, i.e. locates situations in time, usually with reference to the present moment, though also with reference to other situations. Aspect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation; one could state the difference as one between situation-internal time (aspect) and situation-external time (tense).

#### 4.3 Aspect, tense and time in ESAJ

In the present study of ESAJ, tense and aspect are recognized as grammatical categories pertaining to the verb and the verbal phrase respectively. The formal justification for the recognition of these two categories follows presently.

Tense, but not aspect, in ESAJ is largely a matter of morphological paradigms closely associated with the category of 'person' and for practical purposes congruent with the system of personal pronouns (cf. Mitchell, 1962:

70). In contrast with aspect, tense is subject to a two-fold distinction of paradigms, e.g. /ʃarah/ 'he explained' and /yiʃrah/ (or biʃrah) 'he explains', which are usually referred to by Arabists and linguists as perfect(ive) and imperfect(ive), in that order (Cf. Gardiner (1957: 219), Haywood et al. (1962: 95-97), Bateson (1967: 23), Johnstone (1967: 42-43), Mitchell (1962: 70)). In the present study, the term perfective will be used in an aspectual sense as the equivalent of nondurative. The terms 'past' and 'nonpast' will be used as the two subcategories of tense in ESAJ, and these are not congruent with divisions of clock-time, as will be shown below.

#### 4.3.1 Tense and time in ESAJ

As illustrated by examples (i) and (ii) below, the basic function of tense is to locate the action/state designated by the verb at a time relative to the moment of utterance; hence, tense in ESAJ, as in English, is regarded as a deictic category.

- (i) ʃilmudarris ʃarah iddars (ilʃusbuuʒ ilmaaʔi)  
 'The teacher explained the lesson (last week).'  
 (ii) ʃilmudarris biʃrah iddars.  
 'The teacher explains the lesson' or 'The teacher will explain the lesson'.

The past-tense /ʃarah/ 'he explained' in (i) places the action expressed by the verb at a time prior to the moment of utterance. On the other hand, the non-past

form /biʃrah/ 'he explains/will explain' places the action at a time best described negatively as not prior to the moment of utterance. It must be emphasized that the non-past form /biʃrah/ in (ii) does not assign the action to a time contemporaneous with the moment of speaking, and therefore it is misleading to call /biʃrah/ 'present' with implications of contemporaneity (cf. Lyons, 1977: 678). It is only in 'situations' of immediate report or their like, e.g. a radio commentary on some ongoing activity, that the nonpast tense can be said to locate the action at a time 'contemporaneous' with the time of utterance as in (iii) and (iv) below (cf. Crystal, 1966: 24).

(iii) samiir  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bi}\underline{\text{D}}\text{iif} \\ \text{yu}\underline{\text{D}}\text{iif} \end{array} \right\} \text{il}\underline{\text{h}}\text{aami}\underline{\text{D}} \text{ʃila lmaaf.}$

'Sameer adds the acid to the water.'

(iv) samiir  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{bi}\underline{\text{D}}\text{rib} \\ \text{ya}\underline{\text{D}}\text{rib} \end{array} \right\} \text{iTTaaba bittijaah ilmarma.}$

'Sameer kicks the ball towards the goal.'

In general it can be said that in simple, affirmative, declarative sentences like (i-iv) inclusive, past- and nonpast-tense regularly place the action/state expressed by the verb, at a time prior-to and not-prior-to the moment of utterance respectively. The phrase 'not-prior-to the moment of utterance' designates a present or future time as the case may be. However, this kind of regularity which obtains between tense and time in ESAJ is restricted to simple, affirmative, declarative sentences. Cf. (v) and (vi) with (i-iv).

(v) taSawwar yaa ʃaxi ʃinnu lmudarris

biʃraḥ (nonpast tense) iddars imbaariḥ  
 ʃu biḡTi (nonpast tense) TTullaab imtiḥaan  
 fi ʔyaabi

'Imagine, comrade, that the teacher explains  
 the lesson yesterday and gives the students  
 a test in my absence.'

(vi) ʃiḏa lmudarris ʃaraḥ (past tense) iddars  
 (bukra), ʃarjuuk tsajjlu ʃili

'If the teacher explains the lesson (tomorrow),  
 please tape-record it for me.'

In (v) the nonpast tense forms /biʃraḥ/ and /biḡTi/  
 (both instances of the so-called historic present) locate  
 the actions in the past time vis-à-vis the moment of  
 speaking. Note the occurrence in this sentence of the  
 temporal specifier /ʃimbaariḥ/ 'yesterday'. On the other  
 hand, the past-tense form /ʃaraḥ/ in (vi), which comprises  
 a complex conditional sentence, locates the action in  
 the future vis-à-vis the moment of speaking, whether or  
 not the temporal specifier /bukra/ 'tomorrow' is used  
 (cf. Palmer, 1971: 194-195; 1974: 47-49). This lack of  
 correspondence between past-tense and past time is typical  
 of utterances involving proverbs, and invocations (of  
 God), as in (vii) and (viii).

(vii) jalla (past-tense) man laa yashuu  
 (lit. 'Exalted who not forget')  
 'Only the high One does not forget'.

(viii) waffaqaka (past-tense + suffix -ka) LLaah.  
 (lit. 'granted you success God')  
 'May God grant you success!'

Thus, the past tense /jalla/ in (vii) does not locate the event in the past time; to be sure, /jalla/, in this kind of proposition, spans all time: past, present and future. Its temporal status is not deictic. However, the use of the past-tense in such 'gnomic' propositions (cf. Lyons 1977: 681) in ESAJ (and other varieties of Arabic including MSA) probably has something to do with basing the assertion on past experience: in this case on an article of faith or belief forming part of the cultural heritage of the speaker.

To recapitulate, it is only in simple, affirmative, declarative sentences that tense in ESAJ manifests a regular correlation with universe time such that past-tense locates the action/state in the past time vis-à-vis the moment of utterance, and nonpast tense locates the action/state in a nonpast time (present or future) vis-à-vis the moment of utterance; in this sense, tense becomes truly deictic, having nothing to do with the 'internal temporal constituency' of the action/state - the latter is the domain of aspect. This is the position adopted in the present study concerning the relationships which the categories of tense and aspect accrete with the non-linguistic category of time.

#### 4.3.2 How aspect is recognized in ESAJ

The justification for recognizing a whole system of aspectual oppositions in ESAJ is presented in detail in section 4.5 below. However, as a preview of the

coming details, an illustrative example is given at this juncture of the type of aspectual oppositions that will be systematically dealt with later on. Consider:

1. samiir buktub (nonpast tense) mawDuuḡ šinjaaš.  
'Sameer is writing a composition.'
2. samiir katab (past tense) mawDuuḡ šinjaaš.  
'Sameer wrote a composition'.

The first of these two sentences asserts that Sameer is busy writing a composition; the action of writing is therefore in progress, and the composition is not yet complete. The second sentence, on the other hand, asserts that Sameer wrote a composition, and that the composition was completed prior to the moment of utterance. Evidently, this kind of notional paraphrase involves both the categories of aspect and tense as defined above. But if the discussion is limited to considerations of the internal temporal constituency of the action, one can say that sentence (1) presents the act of writing, or to be precise one 'phase' of it, as being stretched out in time, i.e. as having duration, whereas sentence (2) presents the act of writing (its beginning, middle and end) as a single, compressed, un-analysable, completed whole. Thus, from a strictly notional point of view, these two examples purport to illustrate an aspectual opposition between duration and absence of duration. But one cannot stop there and assume that a durative/nondurative aspectual contrast has been established; the contrast must be shown to be formally justifiable.

Now (1) is compatible with the aspectual particle ( $\xi$ am(maalu)/, whereas (2) is not; hence (3) is grammatical while (4) is not.

3. samiir  $\xi$ am(maalu) buktub mawDuug  $\xi$ injaa $\xi$   
 'Sameer is writing a composition (now)'.

4. \*samiir  $\xi$ am(maalu) katab mawDuug  $\xi$ injaa $\xi$ .

Similarly, (1) cooccurs acceptably with the aspectual phrase /maa zaal/ 'is still', but (2) does not; hence (5) is grammatical but (6) is not.

5. samiir maa zaal buktub mawDuug  $\xi$ injaa $\xi$   
 'Sameer is still writing a composition'.

6. \*samiir maa zaal katab mawDuug  $\xi$ injaa $\xi$   
 \*'Sameer is still wrote a composition'.

It is on the basis of such formal contrasts, and the underlying semantic contrasts, that the justification rests for recognizing the aspectual opposition durative/nondurative in ESAJ. The domain of these contrasts, moreover, is the verbal phrase, as all the other elements of the sentence are kept constant while ringing the changes that bring out the relevant contrasts.

Within the verbal phrase, the elements that are of particular relevance to aspect are the following:

1. tense
2. the verb stem
3. preverbal 'auxiliaries', e.g. /kaan/,  $\xi$ all/
4. preverbal 'particles' like / $\xi$ am(maal)/
5. Complements of the verb, including the so-called 'strict subcategorization' features of the NP,



if any, which is immediately dominated by the VP node.

These contribute in varying degrees to the systematic analysis of aspect in ESAJ. The relationship between aspect and tense is perhaps the most intricate. Whatever the case may be in other languages, tense and aspect in ESAJ (indeed in all varieties of Arabic) can, and should be kept apart.<sup>1</sup> This question was raised and dealt with above. Suffice it to say at this point that neither in form, nor in function, do the categories of tense and aspect in ESAJ overlap. Insofar as form is concerned, the subcategories of tense (past and nonpast) are inflexionally determined, whereas the subcategories of aspect (e.g. durative/nondurative) are determined in terms of syntactico-semantic regularities pertaining to the entire structure of the verbal phrase. In the second place, the function of tense is deictic: it locates the action/state expressed by the verb at a time relative to the time of utterance, while the function of aspect is non-deictic and concerns the internal temporal constituency of the action/state expressed by the verb. So tense and aspect in ESAJ do not overlap; yet they are interdependent in that considerations of tense have a bearing on the systematic analysis of aspect. As is shown below (cf. section 4.5) aspectual generalizations in ESAJ cannot be captured without having regard to tense.

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1. It is very misleading to argue as many French Arabists have done (e.g. Cantineau et al., 1953: 25) that tenses in Arabic are really aspects.

In conclusion, aspect in ESAJ is here regarded as a syntactic-semantic property of the verbal phrase. The elements which serve to signal the appropriate aspectual oppositions within the verbal phrase include the verb stem and a set of preverbal auxiliaries and particles as well as features of the NP, if any, which is immediately dominated by the VP node. In this variety of Arabic, aspectual distinctions, unlike tense distinctions, are not overtly reflected in the morphology, i.e. there are no inflectional or derivational morphemes to signal aspectual contrasts. But ESAJ is capable of coding aspectual distinctions of the type which in, say, Slavonic languages are accounted for in terms of a system of verbal inflections. Perhaps the crucial criterion for aspects, as Friedrich (1974: 4) says, is the 'possibility of cooccurrence (or selectional combination), between verbal and adverbial subcategories.'

#### 4.4 Scope of the present study of aspect

This study is confined to an investigation of the basic aspectual contrasts recognizable in the verbal phrase in ESAJ. It may well be the case that elements of sentence structure outside the verbal phrase are relevant to some, probably marginal, aspectual distinctions. Cf.

1. \*ʕiDDeef bada yiSa1  
\*'The guest began to arrive.'
2. ʕiljumhuur bada yiSa1  
'The crowd began to arrive.'

where a collective (inherently plural) but not a singular subject cooccurs acceptably with the verbal phrase /bada yiSal/ 'began to arrive.' The aspectual feature exhibited in 2 may be described as 'inceptive-iterative' because 'the continuity in time' pertains to a series of events rather than to a single event. This example illustrates that the category of 'number' (i.e. singularity vs. plurality) is one of the many factors that need to be considered in a comprehensive discussion of aspect. Even within the verbal phrase constituency, the category of number will be shown to be of particular relevance to almost all the subcategories of the durative aspect, namely, progressiveness, iterativeness and habituality (see below).

Finally, it must be pointed out that aspect is here distinguished from such 'modes of action' as 'intensive', 'causative', 'reciprocal' and so forth, which are attributable to the so-called 'derived' verbal forms (cf. M.W. Cowell (1964: 233-257), M.C. Bateson (1967: 32-33), A.F.L. Beeston (1970: 72-75), T.F. Mitchell (1962: 65-69), H. Wise (1975: 45-54)). It is probably appropriate to refer to such types of action by the German term Aktionsarten with the implication that they are not aspects. Consider:

1. ʕilwalad kasar ilqalam.

'The boy broke the pencil.'

2. ʕilwalad kassar ilqalam.

'The boy smashed the pencil.'

The verb forms /kasar/ and /kassar/ in the above sentences derive from the same root,  $\sqrt{\text{ksr}}$ . Aspectually both verbal

phrases are nondurative, to be precise completive (see below). Neither is compatible with the recognized durative tests, e.g. /ḡam(maalu)/ and /maa zaal/, as the ungrammaticality of the extensions below indicates.

1. (a) \*ʕilwalad ḡam(maalu) kasar ilqalam.  
      (b) \*ʕilwalad maa zaal kasar ilqalam.
2. (a) \*ʕilwalad ḡam(maalu) kassar ilqalam.  
      (b) \*ʕilwalad maa zaal kassar ilqalam.

However, the morphological difference between /kasar/ and /kassar/, exhibited by the nongeminate versus geminate middle radical, is associated with a difference in meaning (pertaining to Aktionsart), namely, the former (the simple form) implies that the shape of the object subjected to the action is as a consequence deformed, and that, normally, the whole is broken into two pieces; on the other hand, the 'intensive' form /kassar/ implies that the action results in several pieces. Nuances of meaning associated with 'Aktionsart' in ESAJ are not regarded here as aspectual, and will not be pursued in this study.

#### 4.5 The basic aspectual oppositions in ESAJ

##### 4.5.1: Durative vs Nondurative (or Durative vs. Perfective)

An action/state is considered durative if it lasts in time. Consider:

1. ʕiljeeʃ bitqaddam naḥw mawaaqiḡ ilḡaduww.  
    'The army is advancing towards the positions of the enemy.'
2. ʕiljeeʃ kaan bitqaddam naḥw mawaaqiḡ ilḡaduww.

'The army was advancing towards the positions of the enemy.'

3. Siljeeſ biſrif mawaaqiſ ilſaduww.

'The army knows the positions of the enemy.'

4. samiir kaan mariiD

'Sameer was ill.'

In the first example, the verb (strictly speaking the verbal phrase, i.e. the predication) expresses an action in progress; it asserts that the army is in process of advancing towards the positions of the enemy at the moment of speaking. Alternatively, it indicates that the state of affairs is such that the army is advancing towards the positions of the enemy - in actual fact, the army may be having lunch at the moment of speaking. Example 2 expresses an action that was in progress at a time prior to the moment of speaking. Example 3 expresses a state which obtains at the moment of speaking, while example 4 expresses a state that obtained for some time prior to the moment of speaking.

If an action/state is seen as consisting of three stages: the beginning, the middle and the end, it is clear that these 4 examples make explicit reference only to the middle portion of the action/state, and this portion is viewed as being stretched out in time. Such an action/state is regarded as being aspectually durative.

Nondurative (i.e. Perfective) predications, on the other hand, are illustrated by examples 5 and 6.

5. samiir katab ittaqriir.

'Sameer wrote the report.'

6.  $\xi$ ilfaras maatat.

'The horse died.'

As the last two examples illustrate, nondurative predications express actions that are not seen as being stretched out in time.

In order to justify these notional assertions linguistically, the following 'tests' will be used for establishing the durative/nondurative aspectual contrasts.

(A) Collocability with the phrase /maa zaal/ 'is still':

Durative verb phrases collocate with /maa zaal/ whereas nondurative verb phrases do not; hence examples 7-10 are grammatical, but 11-12 are not.

7.  $\xi$ iljeej maa zaal bitqaddam nahw mawaaqi $\xi$  il $\xi$ aduww.

'The army is still advancing towards the positions of the enemy.'

8.  $\xi$ iljeej kaan maa zaal bitqaddam nahw mawaaqi $\xi$  il $\xi$ aduww.

'The army was still advancing towards the positions of the enemy.'

9.  $\xi$ iljeej maa zaal bi $\xi$ rif mawaqaaqi $\xi$  il $\xi$ aduww.

'The army still knows the positions of the enemy.'

10. samiir kaan maa zaal mariiD.

'Sameer was still ill.'

But compare:

11. \*samiir maa zaal katab ittaqriir.

12. \* $\xi$ ilfaras maa zaalat maatat.

(B) Collocability with

Saar + {1 + pronominal suffix + temporal specifier

like 'ḡusbuuḡ', 'ḡusbuuḡeen' etc.}

Durative verb phrases cooccur acceptably with e.g. /Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ/ 'has been ... for a week', hence examples 13-16 are grammatical.

13. ḡiljeeḡ Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ bitqaddam naḡw mawaaqiḡ ilḡaduww.

'The army has been advancing towards the positions of the enemy for a week.'

14. ḡiljeeḡ kaan Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ bitqaddam naḡw mawaaqiḡ ilḡaduww.

'The army had been advancing towards the positions of the enemy for a week.'

15. ḡiljeeḡ Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ biḡrif mawaaqiḡ ilḡaduww.

'The army has known the positions of the enemy for a week.'

16. Samiir kaan Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ mariid.

'Sameer had been ill for a week.'

In contrast, nondurative verb phrases are unacceptable in this context, hence the ungrammaticality of 17-18.

17. \*samiir Saarlū ḡusbuuḡ katab ittaqriir.

18. \*ḡilfaras Saarilha ḡusbuuḡ maatat.

Durative in ESAJ is a superordinate category which can be subdivided into the following:

(i) Progressive aspect, e.g.

/samiir ḡam(maalu) buktub/

'Sameer is writing.'

(ii) Habitual aspect, e.g.

/samiir bizuurna kull ḡusbuuḡ/

'Sameer visits us every week.'

(iii) Stative aspect, e.g.

/samiir biɣrif taariix ilɣarab/

'Sameer knows the history of the Arabs.'

(iv) Gnomic aspect, e.g.

/ɣilɣarD bitduur ɣawl iɣɣams/

'The earth revolves round the sun.'

Details of these aspectual subcategories of the durative follow presently.

#### 4.5.1.1 The Progressive

A verb phrase characterized by the progressive aspect expresses an action in progress either at the time of utterance (cf. example 1) or at some other time chosen by the speaker (cf. examples 2 and 3). Examples:

1. samiir bitkallam maɣha min rooma

'Samiir is speaking to her from Rome.'

2. samiira kaanat btiɣraɣ lamma nqaTaɣ ittayyaar.

'Sameera was reading when the (electric) current was cut off.'

3. ɣissikirteera bitkuun btiTbaɣ bittaaɣriir lamma yiɣal ilmufattiɣ.

'The secretary will be typing the report when the inspector arrives.'

These examples of the progressive are of course compatible with the tests of durativity discussed above in 4.5.1. For instance,

2. (a) samiira kaanat maa zaalat btiɣraɣ lamma nqaTaɣ ittayyaar.



'Sameera was still reading when the  
(electric) current was cut off.'

- (b) samiira kaanat Saarilha giddit saagaat  
btiqraŋ lamma nqataŋ ittayyaar.

'Sameera had been reading for several hours  
when the (electric) current was cut off.'

The test for progressive verb phrases in ESAJ is  
that they cooccur acceptably with the aspectual particles  
/ŋaaɣid/<sup>1</sup> and ɣam(maal)/ as illustrated by examples 4-6.

4. (a) samiir ŋaaɣid bitkallam maɣha min rooma.

- (b) samiir ɣam bitkallam maɣha min rooma.

'Sameer is speaking to her from Rome.'

5. (a) samiira kaanat ŋaaɣde btiqraŋ lamma nqataŋ  
ittayyaar.

- (b) samiira kaanat ɣam btiqraŋ lamma nqataŋ ittayyaar.

'Sameera was reading when the (electric)  
current was cut off.'

6. (a) ŋissikirteera bitkuun ŋaaɣde btiTbaɣ  
bittaqriir lamma yiSɔl ilmufattiŋ.

- (b) ŋissikirteera bitkuun ɣam btiTbaɣ bittaqriir  
lamma yiSɔl ilmufattiŋ.

'The secretary will be typing the report when  
the inspector arrives.'

The English translation of 1 and 4(a, b) is the same, but  
this fact should not obscure the meaningful contribution of the  
particles /ŋaaɣid/ and /ɣam(maal)/. In fact 1 out of context  
is ambiguous in the sense that it admits of three interpretations:

- (i) it may be interpreted as [habitual] (see 4.5.1.2

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1. This particle is also attested as /gaɣid/ and /qaɣid/.

below) in which case the meaning is 'Sameer normally speaks to her from Rome.'

- (ii) it may be interpreted as a 'promise' in which case it would collocate with a future-auxiliary like /raayih/ 'is going to' as in:

samiir raayih yitkallam maḡha min rooma.

'Sameer will/is going to speak to her from Rome.'

- (iii) it may be interpreted as progressive in which case it would colligate with the particles /ṣaaḡid/ and /ḡam(maal)/ as in 4(a, b).

Therefore the insertion of the particle /ṣaaḡid/ or /ḡam(maal)/ in 1 serves to disambiguate the utterance; it triggers off one aspectual meaning, i.e. the progressive, and obliterates all the other interpretations. Indeed, the progressive aspect is grammaticalized in ESAJ such that:

7.  $V \rightarrow$  Progressive/ ṣaaḡid (or ḡam(maal))  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{nonpast} \\ \text{tense} \end{array} \right]$

which reads as follows: the particle /ṣaaḡid/ (or /ḡam(maal)/) plus a verbal form in the nonpast tense make the verbal phrase aspectually progressive.<sup>1</sup>

Progressive aspect implies that the happening is incomplete, still developing, transitory and of limited duration (cf. Twaddell, 1963: 2). Thus, when someone says, for example,

8. ṣilwalad ḡam biyraq

'The boy is drowning.'

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1. However, cf. 4.5.1.2.

he is in effect emphasizing all of these related features, i.e. that the action of drowning is not yet complete, that it is in progress, and that it will have a limited duration; consequently, any rescue operation will have to be attempted immediately or else it will soon be too late, as the extended collocation in 9 illustrates:

9.  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilwalad  $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}}}$ am biyraq;  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ inzil yaa samiir  
bsur $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}}}$ a winqi $\text{\textcircled{\text{d}}}$ u.

'The boy is drowning; jump quickly, Sameer, and rescue him.'

In contrast, example 10 which is aspectually perfective (see below) does not admit of a similar extension: hence 11 is deviant.

10.  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilwalad yiriq<sup>1</sup>

'The boy drowned.'

11. \* $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ilwalad yiriq;  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ inzil yaa samiir bsur $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}}}$ a  
winqi $\text{\textcircled{\text{d}}}$ u

\*'The boy drowned; jump quickly, Sameer, and rescue him.'

Of course, not all verbs in ESAJ meet the requirements of the generalization at 7. For instance, the so-called stative verbs (see below) will not admit the restriction on duration that 7 entails. Consider:

12. / $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ana ba $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}}}$ rif taariix il $\text{\textcircled{\text{g}}}$ arab/

'I know the history of the Arabs.'

13. /samiir bikrah<sup>h</sup> irriyaaDiyyaat/

'Sameer hates mathematics.'

The verbal phrases in 12 and 13 are aspectually durative;

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1. Cf. Leech (1971: 16).

they are compatible with /maa zaal/ and [/Saar/ + {1 + pronominal suffix} + a temporal specifier like /ʕusbuuɣ/, /ʃahr/, etc.]. (Cf. 4.5.1 above). However, the same verb phrases are incompatible with either of the particles /ʕaaɣid/ and /ɣam(maal)/, which, as mentioned above, restrict the duration of verb phrases that do cooccur with them. Thus 12(a) and 13(a) are ungrammatical.

12. (a) \*ʕana ʕaaɣid/ɣam baɣrif taariix ilɣarab.

\*'I am knowing the history of the Arabs.'

13. (a) \*samiir ʕaaɣid/ɣam bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat.

\*'Sameer is hating mathematics.'

In addition to the generalization at 7 (above), ESAJ grammaticalizes progressive aspect as in 14:

14.  $V \rightarrow \text{Progressive/} (\sqrt{\text{kwn}}) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{nonpast} \\ \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{bi + NP} \end{array} \right]$

i.e. a verbal phrase is progressive just in case it contains a verb in the nonpast tense form, followed by the preposition {bi-} and a noun phrase - whether or not an auxiliary form derived from the root  $\sqrt{\text{kwn}}$  precedes the head verb. Consider examples (15-19):

15. samiir bilbas bilbadle.

'Sameer is putting on the suit.'

16. samiir kaan yilbas bilbadle.

'Sameer was putting on the suit.'

17. hiyaam btiqraʕ bilkitaab.

'Hiyam is reading the book.'

18. ɣaazim biSalliɣ bittalivizyoon.

'Hazim is repairing the television.'

19. ḥaazim kaayin (y)iSallih bittalivizyoon.

'Hazim had been repairing the television.'

As the English translation shows, the verbal phrases are progressive in all of these examples. Now compare 15-19 with their counterparts in (15(a)-19(a)) where the preposition {bi-} is left out.

15. (a) samiir bilbas ilbadle.

'Sameer wears/would (like to) wear/will wear the suit.'

16. (a) samiir kaan yilbas ilbadle.

'Sameer used to wear the suit.'

17. (a) hiyaam btiqraʔ ilkitaab.

'Hiyam reads/would (like to) read/will read the book.'

18. (a) ḥaazim biSallih ittalivizyoon.

'Hazim repairs/would (like to) repair/will repair the television.'

19. (a) ḥaazim kaayin (y)iSallih ittalivizyoon.

'Hazim used to repair the television.'

Examples (15-19) contrast with (15(a)-19(a)) in that none of the verb phrases in the latter set are characterized by the progressive aspect. However, in both sets of examples the 'case frame' of the verbs in question is as in 20 (cf. Fillmore, 1968):

20.  $v \rightarrow [+ \text{ — } OA]$ , where O and A stand for

'Objective' and 'Agentive' case respectively. The presence/absence of the preposition {bi-} in this 'case frame' corresponds to the aspectual opposition progressive/non-

progressive.

Now compare (15-19) with the superficially similar examples (21-22).

21. samiir bilbas biyurfit innoom.

'Sameer dresses (himself) in the bedroom.' or

'Sameer is dressing (himself) in the bedroom!'

22. hiyaam btiqraʕ bilmaktabe.

'Hiyam reads in the library', or

'Hiyam is reading in the library.'

Each of the last two examples allows two readings (at least): one habitual (see below) and the other progressive, as reflected in the English translation. Now the case frames of the verbs in these two examples, are as in 23.

23.  $V \rightarrow [+ \text{---}LA]$ , where L stands for 'Locative' case. Thus, the preposition {bi-} in 21 and 22 is locative, and, unlike the case in (15-19), can be replaced by the preposition /fii/ without altering the structure or the meaning of schema 23. Compare 21 and 22 with 21(a) and 22(a).

21. (a) samiir bilbas fii yurfit innoom.

'Sameer dresses (himself) in the bedroom.'

or 'Sameer is dressing (himself) in the bedroom.'

22. (a) hiyaam btiqraʕ fi lmaktabe.

'Hiyam reads in the library.' or

'Hiyam is reading in the library.'

However, it can be seen that 21 and 22 respond to schema 14 just as (15-19) do. But since 21 and 22 are not

progressive (at any rate, not uniquely progressive), 14 must be modified in order that it generates (15-19) and does not generate 21 and 22. The necessary modification is given in 14(a), which is simply a merger of 14 and 20 in contradistinction to a corresponding merger of 14 and 23.

$$14(a): V \rightarrow \text{Progressive} / [NP]_A (\sqrt{kwn}) \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{nonpast} \\ \text{tense} \end{array} \right] [bi + NP]_O$$

where A and O stand for 'Agentive' and 'Objective' respectively. This generalization applies whether or not an auxiliary deriving from  $\sqrt{kwn}$  precedes the head verb as illustrated by, say, examples 15 and 16. If a tensed-form of  $\sqrt{kwn}$  is used (cf. non-tensed forms of  $\sqrt{kwn}$ , e.g. /kaayin/, which is the active participle, and /koon/, which is the verbal noun form) it will locate the action at the appropriate time; so one can speak, for instance, of a progressive aspect located in the past as in example 16. The absence of a verbal auxiliary leaves the task of locating the action in time to the tense of the head verb itself, which, insofar as the progressive aspect is concerned, is invariably nonpast (as in 14(a)) and invariably locates the progressive in the present time (i.e. now) as in examples 15, 17, and 18. The same applies to the generalization of the progressive in 7 above.

However, non-tensed verbal forms in ESAJ are capable of signalling aspectual meaning. That aspectual oppositions are separate from tense distinctions can be

illustrated by the use of the active participle, which is formally nontensed. Consider the following examples where the active participle (A.P.) expresses progressive aspect (cf. Mitchell, 1952, 1978a).

23. /miin hadaak illi maafi (A.P.) fi fjaariɣ/?  
lit. 'Who that who walking in the street?'  
'Who is that who is walking in the street?'
24. /jaayif (A.P.) hadaak ilwalad illi haamil (A.P.)  
ilkutub/?  
lit. 'Seeing that boy who carrying the books?'  
'Do you see that boy who is carrying the books?'
25. /fiSSaaruux munTaliq (A.P.) bisurɣa naḥw  
iTaaɣira/  
lit. 'The missile setting out with speed  
toward the aircraft.'  
'The missile is setting out at a (high) speed  
toward the aircraft.'

In these three examples the active participles /maafi/, /jaayif/, /haamil/ and /munTaliq/ express actions in progress, i.e. actions which are incomplete, developing, and of limited duration. Therefore, these active participles might be considered as grammatical exponents of progressive aspect. In fact a paraphrase relationship holds between, e.g., sentence 23 and 23(a), where the active participle is replaced by [ $\gamma$ am + the nonpast tense of the root  $\sqrt{m}jy$  (from which the active participle /maafi/ is derived)].

23. (a) /miin hadaak illi  $\gamma$ am bimfi fi fjaariɣ?

'Who is that who is walking in the street?'

But of course one must recognize the contribution of the



'context of situation' in assigning to the active participle in each of the above sentences a uniquely progressive reading. The context of situation in 23, for example, involves a speaker and one or more addressees in a face-to-face encounter, as well as a third person at some distance actually performing an act of walking. The utterance is introduced by a question-word /miin/ 'who' and its immediacy and contemporaneousness are reinforced by the demonstrative pronoun /hadaak/ 'that' and an implicit act of pointing out by the questioner. In this context, the active participle /maaji/ 'walking' admits of one reading only - the progressive.

Thus the close comparability of meaning of 23 and 23(a) must not be taken to imply that the active participle is as regular a signal of progressive aspect as [ $\xi$ am + nonpast] (cf. generalization 7 above). For while [ $\xi$ am + nonpast] is a reliable criterion of progressive aspect,<sup>1</sup> the active participle is progressive only if the context makes it so. Compare:

24. (a) /samiir  $\xi$ am bimji fi  $\int$ jaari $\xi$ /

'Sameer is walking in the street.'

(b) /samiir maaji fi  $\int$ jaari $\xi$ /

'Sameer is walking/has walked in the street.'

where 24(a) with [ $\xi$ am + nonpast] is unambiguously progressive in contrast with 24(b) which is ambiguous as between a progressive and a perfective interpretation.

Moreover, it is not always the case that the active

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1. Cf. 4.5.1.2, however.

participle of every verb in ESAJ behaves like /maaji/ 'walking', which, as in 24(b), admits of two aspectual readings. The fact is that the active participles in ESAJ fall into three categories:

- (a) those which are invariably perfective (cf. 25-27),
- (b) those which are invariably progressive (cf. 28),
- (c) those which, like /maaji/ 'walking', are potentially capable of expressing more than one aspectual value (cf. 29-30).

Examples are given below, where (25-27) respond to (a), 28 responds to (b) and (29-30) respond to (c).

- 25. /samiir kaatib (A.P.) ittaqriir/ [perfective only]  
'Sameer wrote the report.'
- 26. /ḥasan laaḡib (A.P.) tanis ilyoom [perfective only]  
'Hasan has played tennis today.'
- 27. /haazim qaariṡ (A.P.) ḡiddit kutub/ [perfective only]  
'Hazim has read several books.'
- 28. /ṡiḡḡurTi masak illiṡṡ mutalabbis (A.P.)  
biljariime/ [progressive only]  
'The policeman caught the thief (lit. committing the crime) red-handed.'
- 29. /samiir naazil (A.P.) [progressive or perfective]  
'Sameer is going/has gone down.'
- 30. /ṡilḡuṡfuur Taayir(A.P.) [progressive or perfective]  
'The sparrow is flying/has flown.'

#### 4.5.1.2 The Habitual

An action with more or less regular recurrence over an extended period of time is regarded as habitual<sup>1</sup>.

Consider:

1.  $\xi$ ilmaTar binzil biyazaara fii jbaaT  
'Rain falls heavily in February.'
2. hiyaam btijlis hunaak  
'Hiyam sits there.'
3. samiir biruuḥ lalmadruse maḥi  
'Sameer goes to school on foot.'

Examples (1-3) comprise what Twaddell (1963: 7) calls 'pure description implicitly justified by a past record and a presumption of future continuation.' The verbal phrase in each of these examples expresses an action/event which is not viewed as being incidental, but rather as being of regular recurrence over an extended period of time (cf. Comrie, 1976: 27-28).

In ESAJ the habituality exhibited by these examples can be limited to an extended period of the past time exclusively by using the past-tense of the auxiliary  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' as in (1a-3a):

1. (a)  $\xi$ ilmaTar kaan yinzil biyazaara  
fii jbaaT  
'Rain used to fall heavily in  
February.'

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1. 'Habitual' is related to 'iterative' (see below)

2. (a) hiyaam kaanat tijlis hunaak  
'Hiyam used to sit there.'
3. (a) samiir kaan yiruuḥ lalmadrāse  
maji  
'Sameer used to go to school  
on foot.'

That habitual aspect is a subcategory of durative aspect can be shown by extending the above examples with, say, /maa zaal/, which, it will be remembered from 4.5.1. is one of the tests of durativeness. For instance, 1 and 1(a) collocate with /maa zaal/ as in 4 and 5 respectively.

4. ṣilmaṭar maa zaal binzil biyazaara fii  
ḵbaaṭ  
'Rain still falls heavily in February.'
5. ṣilmaṭar kaan maa zaal yinzil biyazaara  
fii ḵbaaṭ  
'Rain still fell (lit. used to fall)  
heavily in February.'

Note that the verbal phrases in (1-3) do not express progressive aspect; they do not collocate with /ṣaaḡid/ or /ḡam(maal)/. Thus, for instance, 6, which is an expansion of 1 by the insertion of /ḡam/, is ungrammatical.

6. \*ṣilmaṭar ḡam binzil biyazaara fii ḵbaaṭ  
'Rain is falling heavily in February.'

However, 6(a) qualifies as progressive and responds to schema 7 in 4.5.1.1 above:

6. (a) ʕilmaʕar ɣam binzil biyazaara

'Rain is falling heavily.'

where the verbal phrase /ɣam binzil/ asserts that the action is in progress at the moment of speaking, i.e. now.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that, owing to the fuzziness of language, and most probably due to the influence of Syrian practice, [ɣam + nonpast tense] is accepted and, to a lesser extent used, in ESAJ as a grammaticalised signal for habitual aspect. At present, this use is subject to a great deal of variation: some educated Jordanians do not use it at all, others alternate between using it and not using it depending on a number of socio-stylistic constraints, while a few tend to use it fairly consistently. The question of variation with regard to aspect is dealt with in the next chapter, but it is in order to mention here that while educated Jordanians would almost categorically reject 6, some might accept, even use, 7, which relates to 3 in the same way as 6 relates to 1.

7. samiir ɣam biruuḥ lalmadruse maʕi

'Sameer is going to school on foot

(regularly).'

Why should 6 be rejected by all and 7 be endorsed by at least some educated Jordanians has to do with the fact that 6 contains what might be called a 'restrictive' temporal specifier, namely, /fii ʕbaaʕ/ 'in February',

while 7 does not. The class of 'restrictive' temporal specifiers which block the use of the device [ $\xi$ am + nonpast tense] for the expression of habitual aspect includes / $\xi$ il $\xi$ aan/ 'now', /bukra/ 'tomorrow', /fii/ + specific week/month/year, etc. e.g. /fii jbaaT/ 'in February'.

These observations can be economically expressed by the 'variable - rule' at 8.

$$8. \quad v \rightarrow \langle + \text{Habitual} \rangle / \left[ + \xi \text{am} \right] \left[ + \overline{\text{nonpast}} \text{tense} \right] \left[ -\text{restrictive} \text{temporal specifier} \right]$$

The angled-brackets symbolize the variable applicability of the rule which, in addition to the given linguistic constraints, is also subject to socio-stylistic ones of the type

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Jordanian} \\ + \text{Educated} \\ + \text{Urban} \\ + \text{Informal} \\ + \text{Unscripted} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right]$$

The relationship depicted in 8 calls for a slight modification of the claim in 4.5.1.1 that [ $\xi$ am + nonpast tense] is a reliable criterion of progressive aspect. The presence of a 'restrictive' temporal specifier, e.g. / $\xi$ il $\xi$ aan/ 'now' in schema 7 of 4.5.1.1 would block 8 and render the former generalization (i.e. 7 of 4.5.1.1) applicable across the board.

Tests of habitual aspect in the verbal phrase in ESAJ include the following two:

- (a) collocability with the adverbial /ḡaadatan/ 'usually',
- (b) collocability with: /kull/ 'every' + numeral including zero and fractions + temporal specifier, like /yoom/ 'day', /ḡahr/ 'month', /sana/ 'year' etc.

(a) Collocability with /ḡaadatan/

Any verbal phrase which is potentially habitual in ESAJ will collocate with the adverbial /ḡaadatan/ 'usually'. Applied to examples (1-3) above, this 'test' gives sentences (9-11) which are grammatical.

9. ḡilmaṭar binzil biḡazaara fii ḡbaaṭ  
ḡaadatan.

'Rain usually falls heavily in February.'

10. hiyaam btijlis hunaak ḡaadatan

'Hiyam usually sits there.'

11. samiir biruuhḡ lalmadrāse maḡi ḡaadatan

'Sameer usually goes to school on foot.'

(b) Collocability with e.g. /kull sane/ 'every year', /kull yoom/ 'every day' etc.

Verbal phrases which potentially express habitual aspect in ESAJ cooccur acceptably with /kull/ 'every' + /yoom/ḡahr/sane/ 'day/month/year'. Applied to examples (1-3) above, this test gives sentences (12-14) which are grammatical.

12.  $\xi$ ilmaTar binzil biyazaara fii jbaaT  
kull sane  
'Rain falls heavily in February every  
year.'
13. hiyaam btijlis hunaak kull yoom  
'Hiyam sits there every day.'
14. samiir biruuḥ lalmadruse maḥi kull yoom  
'Sameer goes to school on foot every day.'

In contrast, verbal phrases which are not potentially habitual do not collocate with either of the test-items in (a) and (b). For instance, 6(a), in which the verbal phrase is progressive, does not accept these tests of the habitual aspect as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of 15 and 16.

15. \* $\xi$ ilmaTar ḡam binzil biyazaara ḡaadatan  
'\*Rain is falling heavily usually.'
16. \* $\xi$ ilmaTar ḡam binzil biyazaara kull  
 $\xi$ usbuuḡ  
'\*Rain is falling heavily every week.'

The reason why 15 and 16 are not acceptable is that the verbal phrase in them, i.e. /ḡam binzil/ 'is falling', expresses an action in progress at the moment of speaking, and therefore implicitly contains a restrictive temporal specifier / $\xi$ ilḡaan/ 'now', which is incompatible with habitual aspect.

It is interesting to study the aspectual behaviour



of (matrix) verbal phrases containing a nonpast tense form of a main verb preceded by a past-tense form of the auxiliary  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' as in

17. *kunt aktub*

'I was writing/used to write.'

which is ambiguous as between progressive and habitual.

Now consider 18 where */kunt aktub/* is contextualized.

18. (a) *kunt aktub lamma daxal ilfustaað*

'I was writing when the teacher entered.'

(b) *kunt aktub lamma yudxul ilfustaað*

'I used to (begin to) write whenever the teacher entered.'

(c) *kunt aktub kullamaa daxal ilfustaað*

'I used to (begin to) write whenever the teacher entered.'

In 18(a), the verb phrase in the matrix sentence, i.e. */kunt aktub/*, is progressive: it expresses an action in progress at a certain time in the past. The embedded clause */lamma daxal ilfustaað/* 'when the teacher entered' provides a point of reference, in this case a moment in the past-time, at which the relevant stretch of the progressive action in the matrix sentence is held to view, so to say. The verb phrase in 18(b) contrasts with that in 18(a) in the sense that */kunt aktub/* in 18(b) expresses a habitual action, and the embedded clause provides the appropriate, recurring event with which the past habit is correlated. Insofar as surface structure is concerned,

18(a) and 18(b) contrast only in respect of the tense of the verb  $\sqrt{dxl}$  'to enter' in the embedded clause; the tense is past in the former, but nonpast in the latter. This difference in tense seems to be vital for the aspectual oppositions of progressiveness and habituality respectively which the verbal phrase in the matrix sentence denotes. The past tense in 18(a) is the exponent of a single event (of entering) with the syntagmatic effect, it seems of making the verb phrase in the matrix sentence progressive. On the other hand, the nonpast tense in 18(b) is the exponent of repeated events (of entering) and appears to be responsible for the association of habitual aspect with the verb phrase of the matrix sentence. At any rate, the syntagmatic dependencies between aspect and tense are so complex that it is difficult to say in non-arbitrary terms whether for example in 18(b) the aspect is the cause or the effect of the tense. Indeed the habitual aspect in 18(b) seems to have its effect on the deictic reference of the nonpast tense, for the latter has nothing to do with nonpast time in this context - it denotes past events. In this respect 18(b) is paraphrasable by 18(c), where, following /kullamaa/ 'whenever', the past tense of  $\sqrt{dxl}$  'to enter' is used for denoting the repeated past-time events (of entering) concomitant with the habitual aspect expressed by the verb phrase in the matrix sentence.

Now, if a punctual verb (see below), e.g.  $\sqrt{jfl}$  'to start, jump with fright', is substituted for  $\sqrt{ktb}$  'to

write' in the matrix sentences of 18, it turns out, not surprisingly, that the sentence corresponding to 18(a), i.e. the one with the progressive aspect, is ungrammatical, whereas the aspectually habitual ones corresponding to 18(b) and 18(c) are grammatical. Compare:

19. (a) \*kunt ajful lamma daxal ilɤustaað  
 '\*I was starting (i.e. jumping with  
 fright) when the teacher entered.'
- (b) kunt ajful lamma yudxul ilɤustaað  
 'I used to start (i.e. jump with  
 fright) whenever the teacher  
 entered.'
- (c) kunt ajful kullamaa daxal ilɤustaað  
 'I used to start (i.e. jump with fright)  
 whenever the teacher entered.'

Among other things, the examples at 18 and 19 illustrate the relevance of aspect to the recognition of subclasses of verbs in ESAJ. Thus,  $\sqrt{jfl}$  'to start, jump with fear' and  $\sqrt{ktb}$  'to write' belong to two subclasses of verbs because their aspectual behaviour is different, as shown above. These two subclasses may be called 'punctual' and 'nonpunctual' respectively; but it is nearly impossible to rely on notional or logical criteria for distinguishing between punctual verbs and nonpunctual verbs. Yet there is linguistic justification for recognizing a  $\sqrt{jfl}$  subclass of verbs in contrast with a  $\sqrt{ktb}$  subclass, and there should be no objections to using the terms 'punctual' and 'nonpunctual' as convenient labels for

these two subclasses.

A third subclass of verbs can be established in ESAJ having regard to habitual aspect, notably in verb phrases containing a nonpast tense form of a main verb preceded by a past tense form of the auxiliary  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be', as in 17 above. Consider:

20. (a) samiir kaan yiḡrif taariix  
 ilḡarab  
 'Sameer used to know the history  
 of the Arabs.'
- (b) Ṣibni kaan yiḡbih xaalu  
 'My son used to resemble his  
 (maternal) uncle.'

As a nonpast form of a main verb preceded by a past form of  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' elsewhere may express habitual aspect, e.g.

21. samiir kaan yizuurna  
 'Sameer used to visit us '

it may be wrongly assumed that the examples at 20 express habitual aspect, too. The English translation of the sentence at 20 might also misleadingly be taken to support this assumption. However, closer examination will reveal that 20(a) and 20(b) are not at all compatible with the tests of habituality as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of 22.

22. (a) \*samiir kaan yiḡrif taariix  
 ilḡarabkull ṣusbuuḡ  
 'Sameer used to know the history

of the Arabs every week.'

(b) \*ʕibni kaan yiʕbih xaalu kull sane

'\*My son used to resemble his  
(maternal) uncle every year.'

(c) \*samiir kaan yiʕrif taariix ilʕarb

lamma yudxul ilʕustaað

(cf. 18(b) and 19(b))

'\*Sameer used to know the history  
of the Arabs whenever the teacher  
entered.'

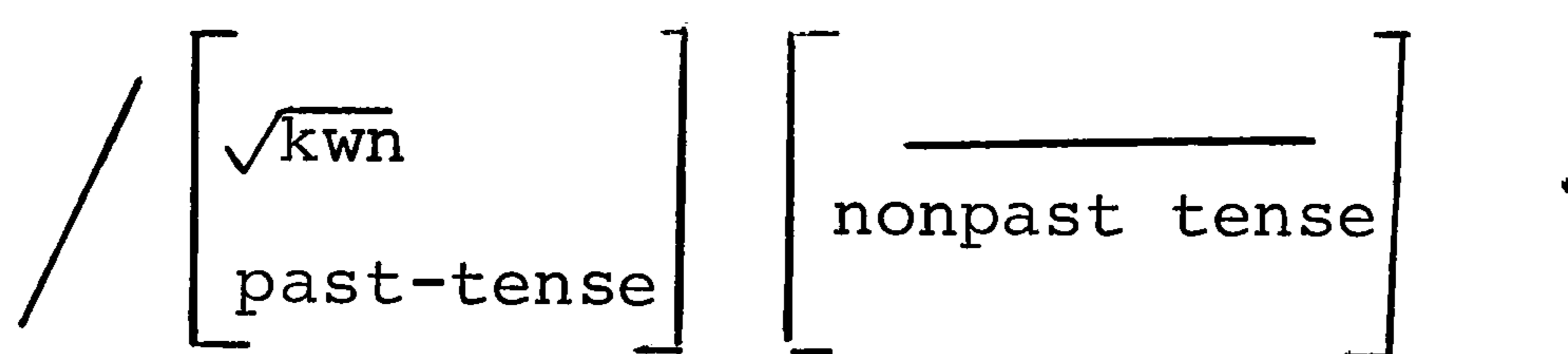
(d) \*ʕibni kaan yiʕbih xaala lamma

yudxul ilʕustaað

(cf. 18(b) and 19(b))

'\*My son used to resemble his  
(maternal) uncle whenever the  
teacher entered.'

Thus, the verbs  $\sqrt{\text{ʕrf}}$  'to know' and  $\sqrt{\text{ʕbh}}$  'to resemble' contrast with the subclasses  $\sqrt{\text{kwb}}$  'to write' and  $\sqrt{\text{jfl}}$  'to start, jump with fright' established above within a similar framework, i.e. in the environment of



The verbs  $\sqrt{\text{ʕrf}}$  'to know' and  $\sqrt{\text{ʕbh}}$  'to resemble' belong to a subclass which may conveniently be labelled 'stative' (see below) establishable on the basis of shared aspectual characteristics in contrast with other subclasses similarly

recognized.

The above discussion implies that habituality entails repetition (i.e. iterativeness) over an extended span of time. That iterativeness is an essential component of habitual aspect is implicit in the test criteria proposed above for the recognition of habitual aspect in the verbal phrase of ESAJ, namely, collocability with the frequency adverbs /ɣaadatan/ 'usually' and (e.g.) /kull yoom/ 'every day' which are inherently iterative. This view is not shared by Comrie (1976: 27) who claims that

a situation can be referred to by a habitual form without there being any iterativity at all. In a sentence like the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus, there is no necessary implication that there were several occasions on each of which this temple stood at Ephesus, with intervening periods when it did not; with this particular sentence, the natural interpretation is precisely that the temple stood at Ephesus throughout a certain single period, without intermission. The same is true of the following sentences: Simon used to believe in ghosts, Jones used to live in Patagonia, and of the Russian sentence ja ego znaval 'I used to know him'.

Now consider sentences (23-26) which, in ESAJ, are the equivalents of Comrie's sentences in the last paragraph.

23. timθaal ilqaaʕid kaan yaqif fii madxal  
ilmadiine

'The statue of the leader used to stand  
at the town's entrance.'

24. samiir kaan yuskun fii suuriyya

'Sameer used to live in Syria.'

25. hiyaam kaanat tuṣmin biljinniyyaat

'Hiyam used to believe in fairies.'

26. kunt ṣaḡirfu

'I used to know him.'

Irrespective of the superficial and quite misleading presence of 'used to' in the English translation of (23-26) the verb phrases in them do not express habitual aspect. As mentioned earlier on (cf. the examples at 22) the grammatical device

[kaan + nonpast tense verbal form]

in all of these sentences, i.e. /kaan yaqif/, /kaan yuskun/, /kaanat tuṣmin/ and /kunt ṣaḡrif/, is a signal of a stative predication (cf. stative aspect below), not of a habitual aspect. There is no recurring event in any of these sentences. As Comrie rightly says there is no iterativity in them; but, contrary to what Comrie claims, these sentences do not express habitual aspect either. They do not collocate with the habituality tests /ḡaadatan/ 'usually' and e.g. /kull ṣusbuuḡ/ 'every week'. Hence (27-30) are ungrammatical.

27. (a) \*timṠaal ilqaaṣid kaan yaqif

fii madxal ilmadiine ḡaadatan

'\*The statue of the leader used to stand at the town's entrance usually.'

(b) \*timṠaal ilqaaṣid kaan yaqif fii

madxal ilmadiine kull ṣusbuuḡ

- '\*The statue of the leader used to stand at the town's entrance every week.'
28. (a) \*samiir kaan yuskun fii suuriyya  
gaadatan  
'\*Sameer used to live in Syria usually.'
- (b) \*samiir kaan yuskun fii surriyya  
kull fusbuuḡ  
'\*Sameer used to live in Syria every week.'
29. (a) \*hiyaam kaanat tuṣmin biljinniyyaat  
gaadatan  
'\*Hiyam used to believe in fairies usually.'
- (b) \*hiyaam kaanat tuṣmin biljinniyyaat  
kull fusbuuḡ  
'\*Hiyam used to believe in fairies every week.'
30. (a) \*kunt aḡirfu gaadatan  
'\*I used to know him usually.'
- (b) \*kunt aḡirfu kull fusbuuḡ  
'\*I used to know him every week.'

These stative predications are of course durative, but they are not iterative, and consequently not habitual. It is interesting to compare 23 with 31.

31. ṢiḡḡurTi kaan yaqif fii madxal ilmadiine



'The policeman used to stand (on duty)  
at the town's entrance.'

This sentence contains a verb phrase which does express habitual aspect. The iterativity of [kaan yaqif] in this case is in no doubt at all, hence the validity of a habitual interpretation. This is confirmed by the fact that 31(a,b), unlike 27(a,b), are grammatical.

31. (a) ŞifjurTi kaan yaqif fii madxal  
ilmadiine ġaadatan

'The policeman used to stand at  
the town's entrance usually.'

31. (b) ŞifjurTi kaan yaqif fii madxal  
ilmadiine kull Şusbuuġ (marra)

'The policeman used to stand at  
the town's entrance (once)  
every week.'

The above discussion might lead to the conclusion that iterativity is both necessary and sufficient for a verb phrase to express habitual aspect. In fact this is not quite right; for while iterativity is necessary for habituality, it is not sufficient for iterative verb phrases to be habitual at the same time. The iterativity that is needed to make a verb phrase habitual is of the type that makes the event expressed by the verb phrase recur fairly regularly over an extended period of time. Examples of iterative, but not habitual, events are the following:

32. daxalt maktab ilmudiiir ḡiddit marraat  
ilyoom  
'I entered the director's office several  
times today.'
33. Ṣiljaras jaljal  
'The bell rang loudly (several times).'
34. ṢiSSuxuur ḡam btitSaaqaT ḡaleehum min  
issaaga sitte  
'Boulders have been falling on them since  
six o'clock.'
35. nabiil bikassir bilfanaajiin  
'Nabeel is breaking the cups.'

In the last four examples, the events are characterized by repetition or iterativity, but none of them qualify as habitual: none accept the tests of habituality. For instance, 35 does not cooccur acceptably with /ḡaadatan/ or /kull yoom/: 35(a and b) are ungrammatical.

35. (a) \*nabiil bikassir bilfanaajiin<sup>1</sup>  
ḡaadatan  
'\*Nabeel is breaking the cups  
usually.'
- (b) \*nabiil bikassir bilfanaajiin  
kull yoom  
'\*Nabeel is breaking the cups  
every day.'

---

1. Note that /nabiil bikassir bilfanaajiin/ is progressive; it responds to the generalization at 14(a) of 4.5.1.1 above.

Before closing this section it is worth noting that the category of 'number' (i.e. singularity/plurality) in certain contexts of situation has a bearing on habitual aspect. Compare the (a) and (b) examples in 36 and 37.

36. (a)  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ ilmadani buktub istid $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ ga

'Al-Madani (nick-name) is writing a petition.'

(b)  $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ ilmadani buktub istid $\text{\textcircled{A}}$ gaayaat

'Al-Madani writes petitions.'

37. (a) nabiil biSalli $\text{\textcircled{h}}$  talivizyoon

'Nabeel is repairing a television set.'

(b) nabiil biSalli $\text{\textcircled{h}}$  talivizyoonaat

'Nabeel repairs television sets.'

Admittedly it may be possible to attach other readings to the (a) and (b) sentences in (36-37) in addition to those suggested by the English translation, namely progressive and habitual with regard to (a) and (b) respectively. But the progressive and habitual readings in (a) and (b) respectively are by far the most probable readings educated Jordanians immediately and readily recognize in these contexts. This aspectual contrast of progressive versus habitual in the (a) and (b) sentences corresponds to a singularity versus plurality distinction in the object of the verb, i.e. in the NP which is immediately dominated by the VP node. In other words, the habitual aspect in the (b) sentences of 36 and 37 is

generated by a concomitant plurality feature pertaining to the noun phrase functioning as object-of-verb. One of the speech 'functions' of the habituality so encoded pertains to situations where a person's job/profession/hobby etc. is being referred to. Examples are the following:

38.  $\xi$ ilmadani buktub istid $\xi$ aayaat  
'Al-Madani writes petitions.'
39. samiir biSalli $\eta$  talivizyoonaat  
'Sameer repairs televisions.'
40.  $\eta$ aazim bijma $\xi$  Tawaabi $\xi$   
'Hazim collects stamps.'
41. ba $\xi$ jaar bi $\xi$ allif riwaayaat  
'Bashar writes novels.'

Of course all of these sentences are compatible with the tests of habituality.

#### 4.5.1.3 Stativity

Stative verb phrases express a type of durativity which is illustrated in (1-4).

1.  $\xi$ ana ba $\xi$ rif taariix il $\xi$ arab  
'I know the history of the Arabs.'
2.  $\xi$ ibni bi $\xi$ bih xaalu  
'My son resembles his (maternal) uncle.'
3. nabiil bi $\eta$ ibb iTtuyuur  
'Nabeel loves birds.'

4. saalim bifham biɟɟuɟuun ilmaaliyye

'Salim understands financial affairs.'

That the above verb phrases are durative can be seen from the following acceptable extensions with /maa zaal/ 'is still' (cf. 2.1):

1. (a) ɟana maa zilt baɟrif taariix  
ilɟarab

'I still know the history of  
the Arabs.'

2. (a) ɟibni maa zaal biɟbih xaalu

'My son still resembles his  
(maternal) uncle.'

3. (a) nabiil maa zaal biɟibb iTTuyuur

'Nabeel still loves birds.'

4. (a) saalim maa zaal bifham biɟɟuɟuun  
ilmaaliyye

'Salim still understands financial  
affairs.'

But the verb phrases in (1-4) are not progressive; there are no activities in them which can be said to be in progress. Extended by /ɟam/ (cf. 4.5.1.1), they are rendered ungrammatical as in 1(b)-4(b).

1. (b) \*ɟana ɟam baɟrif taariix ilɟarab

'\*I am knowing the history of the  
Arabs.'

2. (b) \*ɟibni ɟam biɟbih xaalu

'\*My son is resembling his

- (maternal) uncle.'
3. (b) \*nabiil ɣam biħibb iTTuyuur  
'\*Nabeel is loving birds.'
4. (b) \*saalim ɣam bifham biɟɟuɟuun  
ilmaaliyye  
'\*Salim is understanding financial  
affairs.'

Nor are (1-4) compatible with the tests of habitual aspect;  
hence 1(c)-4(c) are ungrammatical.

1. (c) \*ɣana baɣrif taariix ilɣarab  
kull yoom  
'\*I know the history of the Arabs  
every day.'
2. (c) \*ɣibni biɟbih xaaɭu kull yoom  
'\*My son resembles his (maternal)  
uncle every day.'
3. (c) \*nabiil biħibb iTTuyuur kull  
yoom  
'\*Nabeel loves birds every day.'
4. (c) \*saalim bifham biɟɟuɟuun ilmaaliyye  
kull yoom  
'\*Salim understands financial affairs  
every day.'

The verb phrases in (1-4) denote states which obtain  
at the moment of speaking. As such they can be said  
to express a stative aspect, which appears to be  
mutually exclusive with the progressive and the habitual

aspects<sup>1</sup>. Nonetheless, the stative, the progressive and the habitual aspects in ESAJ share the feature of durativity.

A paraphrase relationship, i.e. one of synonymy, holds between stative verb phrases and an appropriate subclass of adjectival (including participial) predications, where the adjectival usually derives from the same root as the stative head-verb. Thus, (1-4) above are synonymous, respectively, with 1(d)-4(d).

1. (d)  $\xi$ ana  $\xi$ aarif (A.P.) taariix  
il $\xi$ arab  
'I know (am in a state of knowing)  
the history of the Arabs.'
2. (d)  $\xi$ ibni  $\xi$ abiih (adj.) laxaalu  
'My son is a ressembler of his  
(maternal) uncle.'
3. (d) nabiil mu $\xi$ ram biTTuyuur<sup>2</sup>  
'Nabeel is fond of birds.'
4. (d) saalim fahmaan (adj.) bi $\xi$ ju $\xi$ uun  
ilmaaliyye  
'Salim understands (is in a state  
of understanding) financial affairs.'

The same kind of paraphrase relationship does not obtain in the case of nonstative verb phrases. Compare the (a)

1. However, cf. next chapter.

2. Also: /nabiil mu $\xi$ ibb liTTuyuur/ where /mu $\xi$ ibb/ is the A.P. that derives from  $\sqrt{hbb}$ .

with the (b) sentences in 5 and 6, where (a) is not synonymous with (b).

5. (a) ḥaazim bilbas bilbadle.  
'Hazim is putting on the suit.'
- (b) ḥaazim laabis (A.P.) ilbadle.  
'Hazim is wearing/has put on the suit.'
6. (a) ṣayman biḡTaḥ (lamma biSuum).  
'Ayman becomes/feels thirsty (when he fasts).'
- (b) ṣayman ḡaTjaan (adj.)<sup>1</sup>  
'Ayman is thirsty.'

The insertion in (1-4) and in their corresponding paraphrases (1(d)-4(d)) of either of the auxiliaries  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' and  $\sqrt{\text{D}ll}$  'to continue' leaves unaltered the stativity of the predication, notwithstanding any expected changes in respect of tense, i.e. location of the state at different universe-times corresponding to the tense of the auxiliary. Compare, for instance, 4 with 7, and 4(d) with 8.

7. (a) saalim kaan yifham biḥḥuḥuun ilmaaliyye.  
'Salim used to understand (i.e. was in the state of understanding) financial affairs.'
- (b) saalim Ḍa'll yifham biḥḥuḥuun ilmaaliyye.  
'Salim continued to understand (i.e. remained in the state of understanding) financial affairs.'

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1. Note that /\*ṣayman ḡaTjaan lamma biSuum/ is ungrammatical.



8. (a) saalim kaan fahmaan biŋŋuŋuun ilmaaliyye.

'Salim was in the state of understanding financial affairs.'

(b) saalim Ɓall fahmaan biŋŋuŋuun ilmaaliyye.

'Salim continued to be (i.e. remained) in the state of understanding financial affairs.'

The foregoing observations on stative aspect can be systematized as in 9.

$$9. \quad V \longrightarrow \left[ +\text{Stative} \right] / (\sqrt{\text{kwn}} / \sqrt{\text{Ɓll}}) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{nonpast} \\ \text{tense} \end{array} \right] \\ \left[ \text{Adj1.} \right] \end{array} \right\}$$

provided that the alternants in braces, i.e. the nonpast tense form of the verb and the corresponding adjectival form, are synonymous.

The underlined condition secures the recognition of stativity in respect of the verb phrases in, e.g., (1-4) and blocks the recognition of stativity in, e.g. 10(a), since 10(a) is not synonymous with 10(b).

10. (a) kunt aktub bittaaqriir.

'I was writing the report.'

(b) kunt kaatib ittaqriir.

'I had written the report.'

In addition to (9), several other tests are available for recognizing stative verb phrases in ESAJ<sup>1</sup>. Two of these tests have been mentioned earlier on, namely the fact that stative predications are incompatible with (i) the progressive, and (ii) the habitual test-items recognized

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1. Cf. Lakoff (1966: 1-16), Miller (1970: 488-504), Newmeyer (1975: 14).

in 4.5.1.1 and 4.5.1.2. Just one more test of stative verb phrases in ESAJ deserves to be mentioned here. This particular test pertains to 'case frames' in Fillmore's sense (cf. Miller 1970: 501). A stative verb phrase responds to the case frame in 11:

11.  $V \longrightarrow [+ \text{Stative}] / [+ \text{---} (0) \text{E}]$

where O and E stand for 'Objective' and 'Experiencer' case as defined in Fillmore (1971: 376). Thus, a verb phrase in ESAJ expresses a stative aspect if it cooccurs obligatorily with an NP in the 'Experiencer' case, and, optionally, with an NP in the 'Objective' case. Compare:

12. samir biḡrif iljawaab.

'Sameer knows the answer.'

13. samir binsax biljawaab.

'Sameer is copying the answer.'

In 12, the verb phrase is stative as it responds to the case frame in 11. The verb phrase in 13, however, is not stative and it responds not to 11, but to 14.

14.  $V \longrightarrow [-\text{Stative}] / [+ \text{---} \text{OA}]$

where 'A' stands for 'Agent'.

It may happen that what seems like the same verb phrase in surface structure occurs now as stative, now as nonstative. In such a case one is likely to be dealing with homophonous forms. Consider 15 and 16.

15. laa ṣaḏkur ismak; (mutaṣassif, nsiitu).

'I do not remember your name; (sorry, I forgot it.)'

16. lan ṣaḏkur ismak; (laa txaaf).

'I won't mention your name; (do not be afraid.)'

The verb phrases in 16 and 17 are only superficially alike; the former is stative and it responds to 11, the latter is nonstative, and it responds to 14.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of verb phrases that express a stative aspect is that the past-tense of the head-verb, elsewhere associable with perfective aspect, does not imply perfective meaning.<sup>1</sup> Cf.

17. ḥasan nasax ilḥall.

'Hasan copied the solution.'

18. ḥasan fihim ilḥall.

'Hasan understood the solution.'

Example 17, which contains a nonstative verb phrase whose head-verb is in the past-tense, implies that the action was completed in the past time and that Hasan is no longer copying the solution at the moment of utterance. But 18, with a stative verb phrase whose head-verb, like that of 17, is in the past-tense, too, does not imply that Hasan no longer knows the solution at the moment of utterance. In other words, while /nasax/ in 17 denotes completion of the action, /fihim/ in 18 denotes entry into a state (of understanding).<sup>2</sup>

One is therefore surprised to read in Cowell (1964: 272) that 'Arabic verbs of perception, cognition, affect

1. Cf. completive aspect below (2.2.2).

2. In Russian where aspect is inflectionally marked, stative verbs, according to Miller (1970: 491) 'have no perfective aspect.'

and the like are predominantly punctual while the corresponding English verbs are predominantly durative. Compare, for instance, Arabic /ǧirif/ 'to find out, to recognize, to become acquainted with' with the English verb to know.<sup>1</sup> But as demonstrated above, Arabic /ǧirif/ is not punctual at all. To say

19. samiir ǧirif ilḥall qabl saāḡa

'Sameer knew (found) the solution an hour ago' is not to imply that Sameer does not know the solution now. The fact is that /ǧirif/ 'he knew' is stative and necessarily implies duration. Any notions of punctuality ascribed to /ǧirif/ and similar verbs must be erroneously prompted by the fact that, e.g. /ǧirif/ indicates an entry into a state of /maǧrifa/ 'knowledge'. To say that /ǧirif/ is punctual is to obscure its significant implications of stative durativity in time subsequent to the inception of the state in question. Similarly in

20. fhimt irriyaadDiyyaat ḡala yadd ilḡustaaḏ  
yaraaybe.

'I understood mathematics (lit.) at the hand  
of Mr. Gharaybeh'

the state of my understanding mathematics began some time in the past, but I have not ceased to understand mathematics since; i.e. the state is durative - not punctual - in spite of the past-tense of the stative verb.

#### 4.5.1.4 Gnomonic aspect

Gnomonic<sup>1</sup> aspect is a term used in this study to describe

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1. Cf. Longacre (1976: 239), Lyons (1977: 681).

the temporal continuity in predications such as (1-4).

1. ʕilʕarḐ bitduur ḥawl iʕʕams.

'The earth revolves round the sun.'

2. nahr ilʕurdun biSubb fi lbaḥr ilmayyit.

'The River Jordan flows into the Dead Sea.'

3. ʕizzeet biTfu ɣala lmayy.

'Oil floats on water.'

4. ʕilɣeen maa btiɣla ɣala lḥaajib.

(lit.) 'The eye does not rise above the eye-brow.'

(Proverbial expression said to flatter a recognized superior, or even an equal).

The verb phrases in (1-4) are characterized by a particular type of duration which is rather different from the duration discussed under progressive, habitual and, even, stative aspect. This type of duration is unlimited, omnitemporal. It is appropriate for propositions pertaining to e.g. the so-called 'general truths', scientific properties/relations as well as proverbial expressions. Such propositions embrace the entire temporal spectrum; their validity extends rather indefinitely over past, present and future time.

Gnomic predications are immune to any modification that interferes with their omnitemporal character. Indeed they seem to be incompatible with any temporal specifiers, or aspectual particles or verbal auxiliaries. Even the most plausible temporal specifier /daaʕiman/ 'always' does not collocate with gnomic predications. Thus, for instance, 5 is unacceptable; it does not have the implication of utterance.

5. \* $\xi$ il $\xi$ ar $\emptyset$  bitduur  $\eta$ awl i $\xi$ jams daa $\xi$ iman.

'The earth revolves round the sun always.'

In some cases, /daa $\xi$ iman/ might seem to be just tolerable in association with a gnomonic proposition; but even in these dubious cases (cf. 6) /daa $\xi$ iman/ skews the meaning in the direction of futurity, and possibly modality.

6. ?  $\xi$ izzeet biTfu  $\xi$ ala lmayy daa $\xi$ iman.

'Oil floats on water always.'

Now compare:

7.  $\xi$ il $\xi$ ar $\emptyset$  bitduur  $\eta$ awl i $\xi$ jams.

'The earth revolves round the sun.'

8.  $\xi$ iTTaa $\xi$ ira bitduur  $\eta$ awl ilmaTaar.

'The plane is revolving round (i.e. circling) the airport.'

Sentence 7 is gnomonic, while 8 is progressive. Of these two sentences only the latter collocates with the progressive particle / $\xi$ am/. Consider:

7. (a) \* $\xi$ il $\xi$ ar $\emptyset$   $\xi$ am bitduur  $\eta$ awl i $\xi$ jams.

'The earth is revolving round the sun.'

8. (a)  $\xi$ iTTaa $\xi$ ira  $\xi$ am bitduur  $\eta$ awl ilmaTaar.

'The plane is circling the airport.'

It is of course possible to imagine a situation where 7(a) has the implication of utterance, i.e. is acceptable: for instance, in a planetarium where models of the earth and the sun are being viewed in motion; but in such a context, 7(a) cannot be said to express a gnomonic proposition.

Even the negative particle /maa/, 'not', or some other form of it, is not tolerated by a gnomonic sentence.

Cf. 7(b) and 8(b):

7. (b) \*ſilſarḐ maa bitduur ḥawl iſſams.

'The earth does not revolve round the sun.'

8. (b) ſiTṬaaſira maa bitduur ḥawl ilmaṬaar.

'The plane is not circling the airport.'

The deviance of 7(b) is understandable: a universal fact cannot be negated; and that is why affirmative gnomonic propositions block the negative transformation.

In the foregoing examples, gnomonic aspect is expressed by the use of a verb form in the nonpast tense (cf. 1-4). The nonpast, it will be remembered, is the tense typically - but not exclusively - used in the expression of the rest of the durative aspects: the progressive, the habitual and the stative. But while the latter group of aspects (i.e. the progressive, the habitual and the stative) can be projected into the past time or the future time by using an appropriate auxiliary, e.g.  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' and  $\sqrt{\text{Ḑll}}$  'to continue', the gnomonic aspect resists projection into the past time or the future time. Cf:

1. (a) ḥaazim buktub bittaqriir. (Progressive, located by the nonpast tense at the time of utterance)

'Hazim is writing the report.'

(b) ḥaazim kaan/Ḑall yuktub bittaqriir.

(Progressive, located by the past-tense form of the auxiliary at a time prior to the time of utterance)

'Hazim was/continued writing the report.'

(c) ḥaazim bikuun yuktub bittaaqriir (Progressive, located by the nonpast tense of the auxiliary at a time posterior to the time of utterance).

'Hazim will be writing the report.'

2. (a) Ṣizzeet biTfu ḡala lmayy (Gnomic)

'Oil floats on water.'

(b) \*Ṣizzeet kaan/Ḑall yiTfu ḡala lmayy.<sup>1</sup>

(c) \*Ṣizzeet bikuun yiTfu ḡala lmayy.<sup>1</sup>

It should have become clear by now that gnomicity in ESAJ is a fossilized form of expression comprising a particularized collocational, even idiomatic, regularity with little provision for extension or modification. The verb phrases denoting gnomic aspect in ESAJ typically employ a nonpast tense, but occasionally the past-tense is employed to the same effect, notably in some proverbial utterances as illustrated by examples 9 and 10:

9. man ḡaaḡ maat.

(lit.) 'Who lived died.'

'Whoever lives will die.'

10. man xallaf maa maat.

(lit.) 'Who had children not died.'

'Whoever has children never dies.'

#### 4.5.2 Non-durative (i.e. Perfective) aspect

The internal temporal reference of a verb phrase is

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1. This sentence is unacceptable if intended to be gnomic. However, it may be acceptable if used in regard to a particular occasion, in which case it would not qualify as gnomic.



regarded as perfective if it is presented as a single point on the linear axis of time, i.e. if the beginning, middle and end of what the verb phrase denotes are compressed together as though to appear as an indivisible whole. In the words of Comrie (1976: 16):

Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation.

Consider:

1.  $\text{\textcircled{a}na \text{\textcircled{a}ftart qabl i\text{\textcircled{w}ayy.}}$

'I had breakfast a short while ago.'

Although conventionally it is known that eating breakfast takes time, the speaker of 1 is not interested in the linear constituency of the action, so he presents it as an indivisible whole occupying only a point on the linear axis of time. On the other hand, if the speaker wishes to expose to view a particular phase, e.g. the middle phase, of the action he would, for instance, say

2.  $\text{kunt aftir lamma jabb ilhariiq.}$

'I was having breakfast when the fire broke out', where the verb phrase /kunt aftir/ 'I was having breakfast' expresses an action in progress at a particular moment in the past time.

Nondurative, i.e. perfective, aspect in ESAJ is defined negatively as being incompatible with the tests of durative aspect discussed above, e.g. /maa zaal/'is still', /kull yoom/ 'every day', / $\text{\textcircled{g}am/}$ , / $\text{\textcircled{a}a $\text{\textcircled{g}id/}$$ , etc. Thus 1(a)-1(c) are ungrammatical.

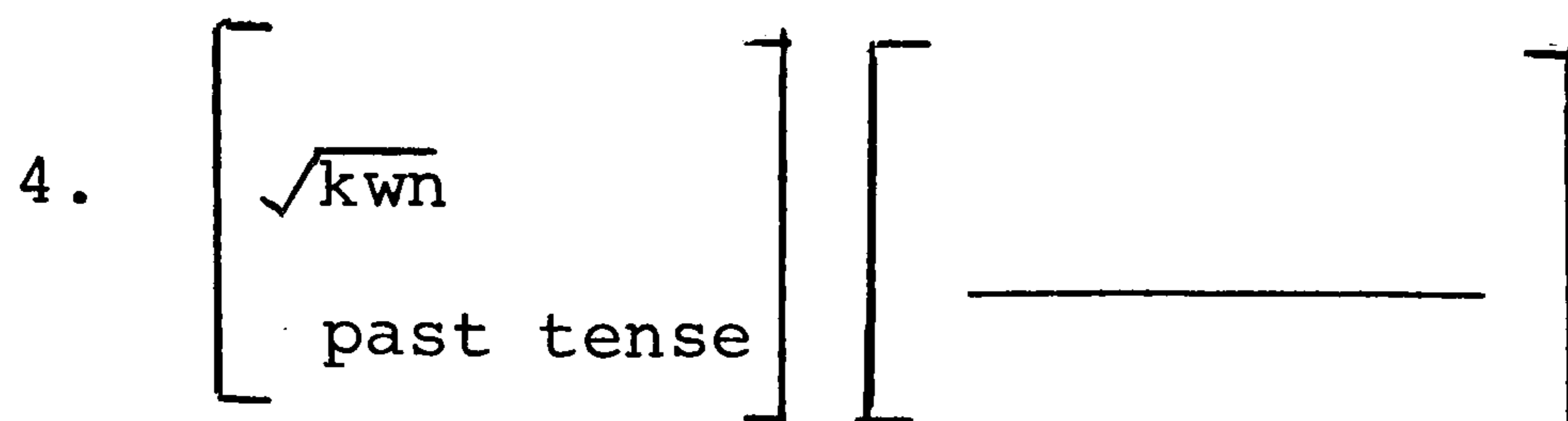
1. (a) \*ʕana maʕa zilt ʕaftart qabl  
iʕwayy.
- (b) \*ʕana ɣam ʕaftart.
- (c) \*ʕana ʕaftart kull yoom qabl  
iʕwayy.

It was shown above that the active participle plays an important role in signalling progressive aspect and stative aspect. It is also the case in ESAJ that the active participle serves as a device for signalling perfective aspect, having regard to the relevant subclasses of verbs. Compare 3(a) and 3(b):

3. (a) nabiil katab irrisaale qabl iʕwayy.  
'Nabeel wrote the letter a short  
while ago.'
- (b) nabiil kaatib irrisaale qabl iʕwayy.  
'Nabeel wrote the letter a short  
while ago.'

It can be seen in example (3) that the past-tense and the active participle alternate and might therefore seem to be in free variation. However, as will be shown in Chapter 5, educated Jordanians tend consistently to use 3(a), i.e. the alternative with the past-tense, when the speaker is an eye-witness of the action, or when he is committed to the authenticity of the proposition.

However, in the environment



the past-tense and the active participle do not constitute alternative variants: of the two possibilities, only the active participle is an admissible constituent of this perfective verb phrase. Hence 5 is grammatical, but 6 is not.

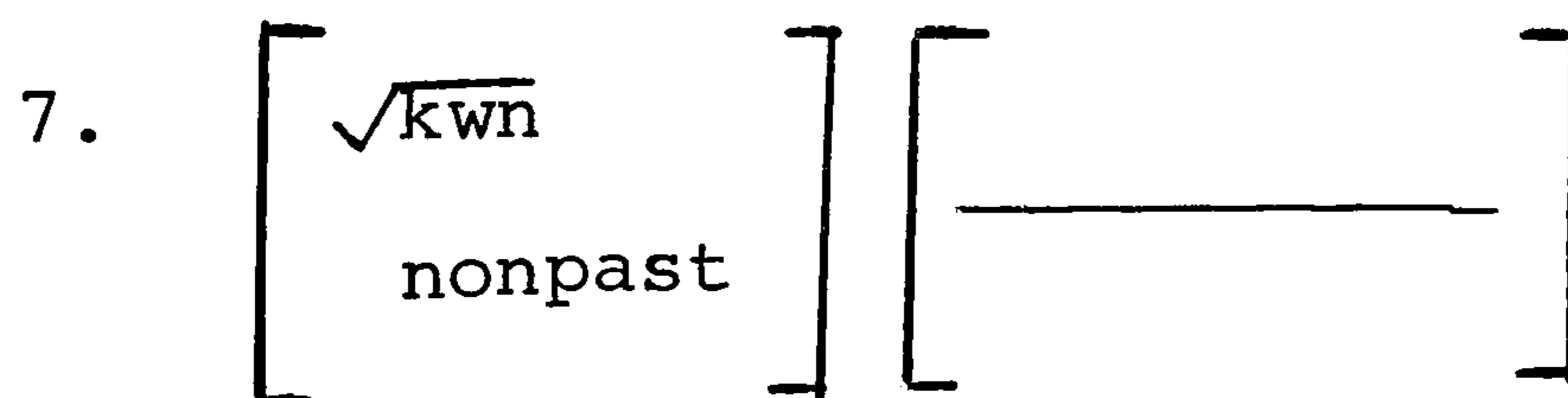
5. nabiil kaan kaatib irrisaale lamma jabba ilhariiq.

'Nabeel had written the letter when the fire broke out.'

6. \*nabiil kaan katab irrisaale lamma jabba ilhariiq.

'Nabeel had written the letter when the fire broke out.'

On the other hand, both the active participle and the past-tense alternate as constituents of the perfective verb phrase described in 7.



Compare:

8. (a) lamma tiiji bikuun nabiil kaatib irrisaale.

'When you come, Nabeel will have written the letter.'

(b) lamma tiiji bikuun nabiil katab irrisalle.

'When you come, Nabeel will have  
written the letter.'

A distinction must be drawn between active participles which denote durative aspect (stative or progressive) and active participles which are perfective. Compare the underlined:

9.  $\text{\$ayman}$  mi $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ akif filmasjid yoomen. [Perfective]

'Ayman had secluded himself in the mosque  
for two days.'

10.  $\text{\$ayman}$  mi $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ akif filmasjid min yoom  
ilxamiis. [Durative]

'Ayman has been living in seclusion in the  
mosque since Thursday.'

11.  $\text{\$ayman}$  mi $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ akif filmasjid min yoom ilxamiis  
layoom issabt. [Perfective]

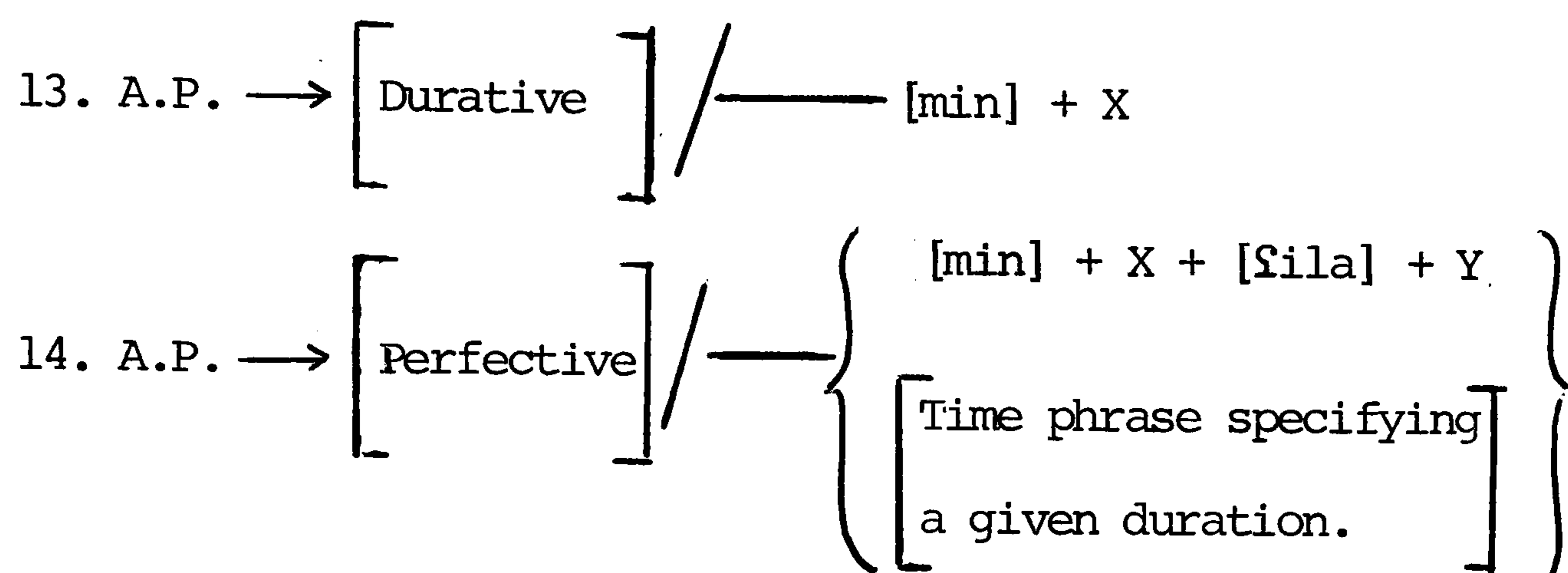
'Ayman had secluded himself in the mosque  
from Thursday till Saturday.'

It can be seen from (9 & 11) that if, in an acceptable sentence, the active participle is associated with a temporal phrase specifying a period whose duration, or beginning and end, are given, the predication will be perfective. However, if the active participle is associated with a temporal phrase specifying the beginning of a period only, the predication will be durative as in 10. If no temporal phrase cooccurs with an appropriate active participle, e.g. /mi $\text{\textcircled{t}}$ akif/ 'secluding oneself', the predication is ambiguous as in 12.

12.  $\text{\textcircled{A}yman mi\textcircled{g}takif filmasjid. [Durative \underline{or} Perfective]}$

'Ayman is secluding/had secluded himself in the mosque.'

The above observations can be systemized as in



Where X and Y are points on the linear axis of time, and [min] 'from' and [\textcircled{I}ila] 'to' are prepositions with variable surface realization.

Two subcategories of perfective aspect will be discussed below, namely, completive aspect and punctual aspect.

#### 4.5.2.1 Completive Aspect

A perfective verb phrase is considered as completive if the action it denotes is over and done with. Examples:

1. qara\textcircled{t} ilkitaab \textcircled{S}ams.  
'I read the book yesterday.'
2. samiir katab ittaqriir qabl saaga  
'Sameer wrote the report an hour ago.'
3. samiir kaan kaatib ittaqriir lamma wa\textcircled{S}alt.

'Sameer had written the report when I arrived.'

In examples 1 and 2 the verb phrases are not only perfective in the sense described above, but also indicate that the actions of 'reading the book' and 'writing the report' were completed at a time prior to the time of utterance. Similarly, in 3 the two verb phrases /kaan kaatib ittaqriir/ and /waSalt/ both express actions completed at times anterior to the time of utterance and indicate the order in which the two actions were completed such that in this case the act of writing the report was completed before the act of arrival.

It may be thought that perfective aspect and completive aspect are coextensive; but this is not so. The relationship between perfective and completive aspect is one of inclusion; completive implies perfective, but not conversely. Consider:

4. ʕissaaga sitti min Sabaah ilxamiis  
 ilqaadim btitharraku min ʕammaan.  
 btiwSalu dimaʕq issaaga tisʕa taqriiban.  
 ʕala Tool bitruuʕu ʕala funduq ilfayhaaʕ,  
 bitsajjlu ʕasmaaʕku ʕumma btifiTru.  
 baʕd ilfaTuur btijtamʕu fii qaʕat  
 ilmuhaaDaraat.

'At six o'clock next Thursday morning you leave Amman. You arrive in Damascus at about nine o'clock. You go straight to the Fayhaa hotel; you check in and then you eat breakfast. After breakfast you assemble in the lecture-room.'

This text contains a set of instructions to be carried out. The verb phrases in the text are all perfective, but not completive: nothing as yet has been

completed<sup>1</sup>. It will be noticed that the tense is nonpast in all of the verb phrases at 4. On the other hand, the tense in (1-3), which are regarded here as completive, is past. The question is whether it is always the case that completive aspect is invariably associated with past-tense in ESAJ, as opposed to the superordinate, perfective aspect, which is compatible with both tenses (cf. (1-3) and 4). The so-called historic present suggests a negative answer to this question. Consider:

5. ... fa bizzuurhum (nonpast tense)  
 nabiil ſams ſu bixabbirhum (nonpast tense)  
 ɣan kull maa jara.

'... so Nabeel visits them yesterday and informs them of all that had happened,'

where the tense in the verb phrases /bizzuurhum/ 'he visits them' and /bixabbirhum/ 'he informs them' is nonpast collocating with the temporal specifier /ſams/ 'yesterday' thus locating the narrative in the past time. Now compare 5 with 6.

6. ... fa zaarhum (past-tense) nabiil ſams  
 ſu xabbarhum (past-tense) ɣan kull maa  
 jara.

'... so Nabeel visited them yesterday

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1. Note, however, that it has been suggested by Teslar (1941: 244) that 'The perfective expresses an action which is finished or complete either in the past, or in the future. It anticipates the completion of the action before it actually takes place.'

and informed them of all that had happened.'

The verb phrases in 5 and 6 denote actions which are over and done with. Aspectually therefore both 5 and 6 are completive, but they are not synonymous: there are differences between them which mainly concern the category of modality, i.e. the involvement of the narrator, as 6 implies that the narrator is more committed to the authenticity of the assertion than 5 does.

In addition, completive aspect in ESAJ can be signalled by the active participle, e.g.

7. řayman kaatib (A.P.) irrisaale qabl  
iřwayy.

'Ayman wrote the letter a short while ago.'

which indicates that the writing of the letter is over, and that the letter is completed.

Now completive verb phrases in ESAJ often, but by no means always, denote an 'accomplished' result<sup>1</sup>.

Consider:

8. řasan qarař ilkitaab.

'Hasan read the book.'

9. řaazim rasam mueallaæ.

'Hazim drew a triangle.'

10. řinnajjaar řimil xazaane.

'The carpenter made a wardrobe.'

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1. Cf. Vendler (1967: 100-104), Comrie (1976: 44), Lyons (1977: 711), Fleisch (1974: 14-15).



Each of the last three examples entails a finished product. Thus, for instance, if the reading of the book referred to in 8 is interrupted at time ( $t_i$ ), Hasan cannot be said to have read the book, and 8 would be inappropriate in this situation. Now compare 8 with 11.

11. ḥasan qaraḥ filmaktabe.

'Hasan read in the library.'

Unlike 8, the last sentence (i.e. 11) does not lead to an 'accomplished result', and remains appropriate even though the reading might be interrupted at any time subsequent to its inception. Note that 8(a) does not imply 8, whereas 11(a) implies 11.

8. (a) ḥasan ḡam biqraḥ bilkitaab.

'Hasan is reading the book.'

11. (a) ḥasan ḡam biqraḥ filmaktabe.

'Hasan is reading in the library.'

It is interesting to compare this type of completive aspect, i.e. the accomplished result type, with what Dillon (1973: 271-273) calls [+ completive] aspect in a locative-directional framework.

In what follows, I will argue that we do need a [completive] semantic feature, but that it should be introduced into Anderson's subcategorization rules (1971: 211) and is only peripherally related to the readings assigned (have en) .... Anderson's discussion of motional clauses (+ locative, + directional) is confined to 'complete' movements - the object moving is understood to have arrived at the place indicated by the locative expression. Clauses with 'incomplete' movements ('movement toward' rather than 'movement to') are not discussed

in The Grammar of Case. Jeffrey Gruber developed one means of representing this alternation: the preposition marking Goal is toward rather than to .... Within Anderson's framework we may introduce a subcategorization feature [ $\pm$  completive] that governs, among other things, this alternation. This feature can only be selected for  $\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ directional} \\ + \text{ locative} \end{array} \right]$  clauses and if selected would introduce to. It may also be realized as all the way, or up, completely, down (the so-called 'perfective adverbs').

Thus according to Dillon 'went to' and 'went toward' are regarded as [+ completive] and [- completive] respectively. Now compare the following examples in ESAJ.

12. samiir maʃa min ʒammaan ʃila ʒaraʃ.

'Sameer walked from Amman to Jarash.'

13. samiir maʃa min ʒammaan naħw ʒaraʃ.

'Sameer 'walked'<sup>1</sup> from Amman toward Jarash.'

Of these two examples, only the former would be regarded by Dillon as [+ completive], which is congruent with what, in the present study (as elsewhere), is referred to as an accomplishment. In ESAJ, /maʃa/ in 12 does not exhibit the same reading as /maʃa/ in 13. The former, in its context, denotes an act of walking from a source to a goal; the latter, in its context, merely refers to the inceptive phase of the act of walking, and should, therefore, be

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1. This reading will be modified presently.

translated into English as 'set out/off', rather than as walked'<sup>1</sup>, so that 13 means:

'Sameer set out from Amman for Jarash.'

In a sense therefore both 12 and 13 are completive: the entire act of walking in the former, and the initial phase of the act of walking, i.e. the phase of setting out, are over and finished.

It is worthy of notice that completive predications lend themselves to extension by a time-phrase like /((fii) ʕarbaʕ saʕaat/ '(in) four hours' as illustrated in examples (14-17).

14. ʕasan qaraʕ ilkitaab fii ʕarbaʕ  
saʕaat.

'Hasan read the book in four hours.'

15. ʕinnajjaar fataḥ ilmaʕyal ʕaʕar  
saʕaat.

'The carpenter opened the workshop ten hours.'

16. samiir katab irriwaʕye fii sanateen.

'Sameer wrote the novel in two years.'

17. nabiil saḥab ilʕaraba ʕiddit saʕat.

'Nabeel pulled the cart several hours.'

Such predications as (14-17) may, on logical grounds, appear to express duration. But this apparent duration is, or seems to be linguistically hard to justify. The

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1. One wonders if in Dillon's own examples (p. 273): 'The letter went (all the way) from N.Y. to London', 'The letter went from N.Y. toward London', the verb form 'went' has one and the same reading in both these sentences.

actions expressed by the verb phrases in (14-17) are not seen by the speaker, or the hearer, to be stretched out; on the contrary, these actions are viewed as being compressed into integral wholes. In spite of the temporal specifiers in them, (14-17) are plot-advancing rather than detaining. This kind of predication is not concerned with the unfolding of the action in time. More significantly, (14-17) do not pass the tests of durativity presented in 4.5.1 above, hence 14(a)-17(a), for instance, are unacceptable.

14. (a) \*ḥasan maa zaal qaraʔ ilkitaab  
fii ʔarbaʕ saʕaat.  
(Lit.) \*'Hasan is still read the  
book in four hours.'
15. (a) \*ʕinnajjaar maa zaal fataḥ ilmaʕyal  
ʕaʕar saʕaat.  
(Lit.) \*'The carpenter is still  
opened the workshop ten hours.'
16. (a) \*samiir maa zaal katab irriwaaye  
fii sanateen.  
(Lit.) \*'Sameer is still wrote  
the novel in two years.'
17. (a) \*nabiil maa zaal saḥab ilʕaraba  
ʕiddit saʕaat.  
(Lit.) \*'Nabeel is still pulled  
the cart several hours.'

It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that, notwithstanding the presence of the time-phrase, predications such as (14-17) are perfective (to be precise, completive),

not durative.

Thus, it is misleading to claim that any verb phrase collocating with a temporal specifier like /limuddat fusbuuḡ/ 'for a week', /ḡiddit saḡaat/ 'for several hours' is durative. This is precisely what Verkuyl (1972) has done. He argues that durative aspect is 'composed' of

$$\text{VP} \left[ \text{V} \left[ \text{Verb} \right]_{\text{V}} + \text{NP} \left[ \text{Unspecified Quantity of X} \right]_{\text{NP}} \right]_{\text{VP}}$$

(Verkuyl, op. cit.: 96). His test of durativity is collocability of the verb phrase with a temporal specifier like /limuddat fusbuuḡ/ 'for a week', /ḡiddit saḡaat/ 'for several hours', as illustrated by his example (op. cit.: 50),

'28(c) Koos en Robby aten urenlang boterhammen.

Koos and Robby ate sandwiches for hours.'

The inadequacy of such a view, at any rate in respect of Arabic, is clear from consideration of the fact that, like examples 14-17 above, the ESAJ equivalent of Verkuyl's example at 28(c), namely:

18. samiir wa hiyaam ṡakalu sandwiḡaat ḡiddit saḡaat.

'Sameer and Hiyam ate sandwiches for hours'

does not pass the tests of durativity, as shown by the ungrammaticality of 18(a).

18. (a) \*samiir wa hiyaam maa zaalu ṡakalu sandwiḡaat ḡiddit saḡaat.

(Lit.) \*'Sameer and Hiyam are still ate sandwiches for hours.'

Before closing this section on completive aspect in ESAJ it is necessary to remind the reader of what was

mentioned earlier on (cf. 4.5.1.3) that stative verb phrases like that in 19 are incompatible with completive meaning as here defined. Consider, for instance,

19. Sayman fihim irriyaaDiyyaat filjaamiḡa.

'Ayman understood mathematics at the university.'

The verb phrase in 19 denotes entry into a state of understanding which remains unbroken for a long (though limited) period of time subsequently. Hence 19 does not imply 19(a).

19. (a) Sayman maa bifham irriyaaDiyyaat ilḡaan.

'Ayman does not understand mathematics now.'

If 19 were completive, it would have to imply 19(a).

#### 4.5.2.2 Punctuality

Punctual aspect in ESAJ is lexically determined. It pertains to verb phrases which, in their single-event reading, are inherently momentary and cannot be stretched out in time. Thus, punctuality is a subcategory of perfectivity. Consider 1-5.

1. Silwalad jafal

'The boy started (i.e. jumped with fright).'

2. Silfaras maatat

'The horse died.'

3. baḡḡaar istayqaḌ

'Bashar woke up.'

4. Silqunbule nfajrat

'The bomb exploded.'

5. ḡaazim kasar ilfunjaan.

'Hazim broke the cup.'

Subject to the condition of a single-event reading, i.e. barring iterativity, punctual verb phrases are incompatible with the aspectual auxiliaries  $\sqrt{\text{bd}\Omega}$  'to begin' and  $\sqrt{\text{bll}}$  'to continue, to remain.' Hence, for instance, 1(i), (ii) and 2(i), (ii) are ungrammatical.

1. (i) \* $\text{\textcircled{S}ilwalad bada yujful}$   
\*'The boy began to start.'
- (ii) \* $\text{\textcircled{S}ilwalad \textcircled{B}all yujful}$   
\*'The boy continued to start.'
2. (i) \* $\text{\textcircled{S}ilfaras badat itmuut}$   
\*'The horse began to die.'
- (ii) \* $\text{\textcircled{S}ilfaras \textcircled{B}allat itmuut}$   
\*'The horse continued to die.'

Non-punctual verb phrases, on the other hand, cooccur acceptably with the aspectual auxiliaries  $\sqrt{\text{bd}\Omega}$  'to begin' and  $\sqrt{\text{bll}}$  'to continue, to remain', cf. 6 and 6(i), (ii).

6.  $\text{\textcircled{S}issikirteera Tab\textcircled{g}at ittaqriir.}$   
'The secretary typed the report.'
6. (i)  $\text{\textcircled{S}issikirteera badat tiTba\textcircled{g} bittaaqriir.}$   
'The secretary began to type/typing the report.'
- (ii)  $\text{\textcircled{S}issikirteera \textcircled{B}allat tiTba\textcircled{g} bittaaqriir.}$   
'The secretary continued to type/typing the report.'

Note that with an iterative reading each of the punctual verb phrases in (1-5) will cooccur acceptably with the above aspectual auxiliaries, provided that in the case of 2, 4 and 5 plurality is a feature of the subject and/or the object. Thus 1(a)-5(a) are grammatical.

1. (a)  $\xi$ ilwalad bada/ $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ all yujful (min yoom maa  
[aaf film irru**g**b).  
'The boy began/continued to twitch (from  
the day he saw the horror film).'
2. (a)  $\xi$ ilxeel badat/ $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ allat itmuut (ba**g**d  $\xi$ afart iyyaam  
min  $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ uhuur ilmar**a** $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  fiiha).<sup>1</sup>  
'The horses began/continued to die (ten  
days after the appearance of the disease  
among them).'
3. (a) ba**j**aar bada/ $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ all yistayqi**\text{\textcircled{D}} (badri kull  
yoom).  
 $\text{\textcircled{D}}$   $\text{\textcircled{D}}$   $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  'Bashar began/continued to wake up (early  
every day).'**
4. (a)  $\xi$ ilqanaabil badat/ $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ allat tinfajir (min  
issa**a** $\xi$ a tis**\xi**a).<sup>1</sup>  
'The bombs began/continued to explode (from  
nine o'clock).'
5. (a)  $\xi$ aa**z**im bada/ $\text{\textcircled{D}}$ all yiksir ilfanajiin.  
'Hazim began/continued to break the cups.'

It must be pointed out that the expression

$[[\sqrt{\text{bd}\xi} / \sqrt{\text{D}\text{\textcircled{D}}}] + [\text{nonpast tense}]]$  defines a durative verb  
phrase in ESAJ. (Cf. [maa zaal] + [nonpast] in 4.5.1), i.e.

7.  $v \rightarrow \text{Durative} / [\sqrt{\text{bd}\xi} / \sqrt{\text{D}\text{\textcircled{D}}}] [\text{nonpast tense}]$

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1. Note that examples like this one support the view  
that aspect is a sentential category; such a view is not  
pursued in the present study (cf. 4.4 above).

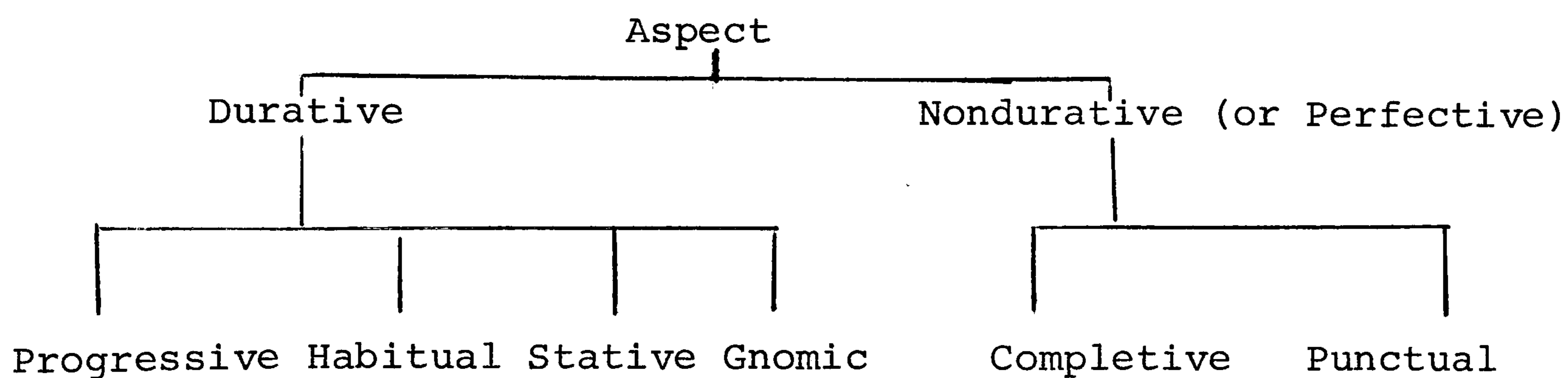


Now, examples 1(a)-5(a) show that inherently punctual verb phrases do respond to 7, subject to storable linguistic constraints, and the durativity they denote in this context is essentially iterative, i.e.

$$8. \left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{ Punctual} \\ + \text{ Iterative} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[ \text{Durative} \right]^1.$$

#### 4.5.3 Summary

The major aspectual oppositions recognizable within the verb phrase in ESAJ are shown in the diagram below.




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1. Cf. Fillmore (1971: 372-373), Dillon (1973: 276-277).

CHAPTER 5Aspectual variation in ESAJ5.1 Questionnaire

Students of language normally rely on their own native intuition to provide the raw material required for linguistic analysis. Inevitably they find themselves cutting corners and sacrificing seemingly awkward data on the assumption that it is marginal to the task in hand. But all too often important details are overlooked which, if processed in the framework of an appropriate theoretical model, might significantly alter the outcome of the analysis.

There are means of ensuring that the linguist's own intuitions are validated against those of other members of the language community. A questionnaire is just one of the techniques that can be used to achieve this objective.

The foregoing Chapter on aspect in ESAJ will have served an important function in the present study if it has provided common ground for the ramifications that will follow presently. Cross references and allusions were made at the appropriate places above to the phenomenon of variation in aspect. The immediate task is thus to investigate variation in aspect with the aid of a questionnaire designed for the purpose.<sup>1</sup> The investigation is primarily

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1. Cf. appendix 1.

addressed to the following areas of inquiry, where variation is predominant:

1. the compatibility of stative verb phrases with progressive and habitual aspect - in particular, with the aspectual particles /ḡam/ and /ṣaaḡid/.
2. native speakers' preference between the active participle and the nonpast tense to express durative aspect.
3. the acceptability of the particles /ḡam/ and /ṣaaḡid/ in predications expressing progressiveness and/or habituality.
4. native speakers' preference, where applicable, between the active participle and the past tense to express perfective predications.

The questionnaire was written in Arabic script.

The 'expression', i.e. the form of the test items, was that of ESAJ, not MSA.<sup>1</sup> The questionnaire was given to the respondents in booklet form. As a precaution against routine, and to eliminate the possible effect of the sequence of items on the respondents, half the subjects were given booklets which reversed the order of presentation of the parts of the questionnaire; though in any one session, the subjects - usually in groups of 2 to 5 - had booklets with the same item order.

The subjects were urged to cooperate and were told

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1. The instructions, however, were in MSA.

that the questionnaire dealt with important matters for writing English language textbooks for Jordanian high schools. The test sentences were tape-recorded beforehand by the writer and the informants were instructed to open the booklet at the appropriate page, listen to the first sentence replayed on tape, then read the transcribed form of the same sentence and react to it as instructed. For instance, in parts 1 and 4 of the questionnaire, the informants were required to assess the acceptability or otherwise of each sentence on a three-point scale comprising: a tick (✓) if they considered the sentence to be acceptable, a query (?) in case of uncertainty, and a cross (X) if they regarded the sentence as unacceptable. All the sentences were presented in a similar way, always ensuring that the informants listened to the sentence before reading its transcription. In the remaining parts of the questionnaire, the informants were required to choose the most suitable sentence from a number of alternatives, or to fill in a blank in a sentence by choosing one from a number of alternatives. In other words, the questionnaire was an objective, as opposed to subjective, type of test. Another point worth mentioning is that not every sentence in the questionnaire is intended to be a genuine test item. Thus, for example, of the twelve sentences in part one, only four are intended as test items, namely numbers 3, 6, 9 and 10. The remainder are interspersed among them so as to act as distractors.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Only the relevant sentences appear in the appended form of the questionnaire.

The respondents were required to supply certain essential biographical information about themselves on the first page of the questionnaire, covering their age, sex, place of residence (village/town), where they spent the first seven years of their life (village/town) and their academic qualifications (high school/college of education/university). The 48 informants whose age ranged from 18 to 30 years are distributed as follows:

(a) female, villager, college graduate (f.v.c.):	11
(b) female, town dweller, college graduate (f.t.c.):	12
(c) male, villager, high school graduate (m.v.h.):	2
(d) male, villager, college graduate (m.v.c.):	6
(e) male, town dweller, high school graduate (m.t.h.):	9
(f) male, town dweller, college graduate (m.t.c.):	3
(g) male, town dweller, university graduate (m.t.u.):	5
	48
TOTAL	48

## 5.2 The compatibility of stative verb phrases with progressive and habitual aspect.

### 5.2.1 Stativity and Progressiveness

In the discussion of stative aspect (4.5.1.3 above) it was claimed, on the basis of the writer's own intuition, that stative verb phrases of the type illustrated by examples 1-4 were incompatible with the particles of progressive aspect /ɣam/ and /ʃaaɣid/

1. ʃana baɣrif taariix ilɣarab

'I know the history of the Arabs.'

2. ʃibni biʃbih xaalu

'My son resembles his (maternal) uncle.'

3. samiir bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat.

'Sameer hates mathematics.'

4. samiir biṣaamin billaah

'Sameer believes in God.'

This claim meant that, for instance, 1(a) was regarded as unacceptable.

1. (a) \*Ṣana ḡam/Ṣaaḡid baḡrif taariix ilḡarab

(lit.) \*'I am knowing the history of the Arabs.'

But in order to test the validity of the writer's intuition in this respect, these four sentences were administered to 48 native speakers of ESAJ in part one of the above mentioned questionnaire. These sentences were given the numbers 3, 6, 9 and 10 respectively in part one of the questionnaire with eight irrelevant sentences interspersed. Each of the twelve sentences occurred in two environments:

a. /[ḡam] — [haaḏihi llaḡḏa]

b. /[Ṣaaḡid] — [haaḏihi llaḡḏa]

Thus, sentence 3, for instance, occurred as:

3. (a) ḡam baḡrif taariix ilḡarab haaḏihi llaḡḏa

(b) Ṣaaḡid baḡrif taariix ilḡarab haaḏihi llaḡḏa

(lit.) 'I am knowing the history of the Arabs now.'

The informants were required to indicate the acceptability or otherwise of each sentence by using one, and only one, of the signs (✓), (?), (X) as described above (5.1). Tables 1 and 2 show the results of this section of the questionnaire.

Table 1

Environment (a) [ɣam] — [haaʃihi llaḥɓa]		Responses			
		✓	?	X	Total
3(a)		9	2	37	48
6(a)		8	5	35	48
9(a)		9	9	30	48
10(a)		14	2	32	48
TOTAL		40	18	134	192

Table 2

Environment (b) [ɣaagid] — [haaʃihi llaḥɓa]		Responses			
		✓	?	X	Total
3(b)		8	2	38	48
6(b)		2	5	41	48
9(b)		10	7	31	48
10(b)		4	3	41	48
TOTAL		24	17	151	192

These figures justify the following conclusions.

1. The respondents are not entirely in agreement where acceptability judgments are concerned. This first observation confirms the central theme of the present

study, namely that ESAJ is characterized by variation and is far from homogeneous.

2. The overwhelming majority of the respondents consider the test sentences to be unacceptable. For instance, the percentages of rejections (i.e. crosses) in connexion with 3(a) and 3(b) are respectively

$$\frac{37}{48} \times 100\% = 77\% \text{ (Table 1), and}$$

$$\frac{38}{48} \times 100\% = 79\% \text{ (Table 2).}$$

This indicates that, by and large, the particles of progressiveness /ɣam/ and /ʕaaɣid/ tend not to tolerate stative verb phrases. Put another way, stative verb phrases exhibit a strong tendency not to cooccur with the particles of progressiveness.

3. The b-sentences are less acceptable than the a-sentences, which means that although both /ɣam/ and /ʕaaɣid/ are inhospitable to stative verb phrases, yet the latter, i.e. /ʕaaɣid/ is slightly more repellent than the former.

The information in tables 1 and 2 gives rise to the following variable rule:

$$\text{I. } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ +\text{Stative} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \langle +\text{Prog.} \rangle / \left[ \begin{array}{c} x_1 [\text{ɣam}] \\ x_2 [\text{ʕaaɣid}] \end{array} \right] \text{ — } \left[ \text{haaḏihi llaḥḐa} \right]$$

which reads as follows:

a stative verb phrase is variably assigned a progressive reading in the environments specified. The probabilities



of such a reading being selected,  $x_1$  and  $x_2$ , are functions of the linguistic environments given above as well as a set of socio-stylistic parameters of the type

$$\begin{bmatrix} + \text{ Jordanian} \\ + \text{ Educated} \\ + \text{ Informal} \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \end{bmatrix}$$

The approximate values of  $x_1$  and  $x_2$ , calculable as the ratio of the total number of positive responses (i.e. ticks) to the grand total of all the responses in tables 1 and 2 respectively are:

$$x_1 = \frac{40}{192} \times 100\% = 21\%$$

$$x_2 = \frac{24}{192} \times 100\% = 13\%$$

### 5.2.2 Stativity and Habituality

In part 4 of the questionnaire, the informants were asked to indicate the acceptability of sentences (1-3), among others, using, as in part 1, the 3-term system of symbols ( $\checkmark$ ), (?), and (X).

1. samiir ɣaadatan biɣrif taariix ilɣarab  
(lit.) 'Sameer usually knows the history of the Arabs.'
2. hiyaam tuɣmin biljinniyyaat ɣaadatan  
(lit.) 'Hiyam usually believes in fairies.'
3. samiir biɣbih xaalu ɣaadatan  
(lit.) 'Sameer usually resembles his (maternal) uncle.'

These three sentences, which contain stative verb phrases in juxtaposition with the marker of habituality /ɣaadatan/, occur as numbers 12, 13 and 15 in part 4 of the questionnaire together with 39 other sentences.

The speakers' responses to the above three sentences are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1

Sentences in environ. of /ɣaadatan/	Responses			Total
	✓	?	X	
1 (no. 12, part 4)	8	2	38	48
2 (no. 13, " ")	19	1	28	48
3 (no. 15, " ")	5	5	38	48
TOTAL	32	8	104	144

Before discussing these results it is convenient to tabulate the responses to sentences 4 and 5 below, which, likewise, contain the same stative verb phrases as in 2 and 3 above in juxtaposition, this time, with the marker of habituality [/kull/ + temporal specifier].

4. hiyaam tuɕmin biljinniyyaat kull ɕusbuuɕ  
(lit.) 'Hiyam believes in fairies every week.'
5. samiir biɕbih xaalu kull sane.  
(lit.) 'Sameer resembles his (maternal) uncle every year.'

Table 2 displays the responses of the same informants to sentences 4 and 5.

Table 2

Sentences in environ. of /kull + t.s./	Responses			Total
	✓	?	X	
4 (no. 14, part 4)	5	0	43	48
5 (no. 16, " ")	1	1	46	48
TOTAL	6	1	89	96

Tables 1 and 2 permit the following conclusions.

1. The variable judgments in regard to the acceptability of the test-sentences indicate that the respondents do not seem to have the same grammar. The majority of these speakers have demonstrated a very strong tendency to reject the association of stative verb phrases with markers of habituality. Thus, for instance, with respect to

/samiir biɣbih xaalu/

'Sameer resembles his (maternal) uncle'

(cf. numbers 3 in Table 1 and 5 in Table 2) the percentage of responses opposed to the association of this sentence with /ɣaadatan/ and /kull + t.s./ are respectively:

$$(a) \frac{38}{48} \times 100\% = 79\% \text{ (Table 1)}$$

$$(b) \frac{46}{48} \times 100\% = 96\% \text{ (Table 2).}$$

2. It is interesting, however, to note that sentence 2 in Table 1, i.e.

/hiyaam tuɣmin biljinniyyaat ɣaadatan/

'Hiyam believes in fairies usually'

has attracted as many as 19 endorsements out of a possible total of 48, i.e. nearly 40% of the respondents regard

this sentence as acceptable. Now, compare the reaction of the informants to sentence 4 in Table 2, which is identical to sentence 2 in Table 1 except that the marker of habituality in 4 is /kull + t.s./ as opposed to /ɣaadatan/. Only 5 out of the 48 informants (i.e. about 10%) have accepted sentence 4. This shows that the signals of habituality /ɣaadatan/ and /kull + t.s./ are differently weighted in respect of their compatibility with, at any rate, some stative verb phrases. The latter device, i.e. /kull + t.s./, appears to be far more inhibitive than the former.

The above observations suggest that only variable rules would account for the cooccurrence, in the same utterance, of a stative verb phrase together with a grammatical signal of habitual aspect. In such a situation, invariable rules are decidedly misleading as none of the above variation would be reflected in them. Thus, the foregoing details are covered by the variable rule at II.

$$\text{II. } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ +\text{Stative} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \langle +\text{Habitual} \rangle / \left[ \begin{array}{c} y_1 [\text{ɣaadatan}] \\ y_2 [\text{kull} + \text{t.s.}] \end{array} \right]$$

where  $y_1$  and  $y_2$  are output probabilities whose approximate values can be worked out, having regard to the relevant linguistic and non-linguistic factors.

### 5.2.3 Stative-Progressive Squish

The above discussion (5.2.1 and 5.2.2) shows that stative verb phrases in ESAJ admit, in varying degrees, associability with progressive and habitual aspect.

Such findings are at variance with the categorical results obtained by linguists who do not subscribe to variationism. The latter tend to take it for granted that only nonstative verb phrases are compatible with progressive aspect. Those who take this view can always satisfy themselves by adducing evidence in support of their claim. The evidence usually consists in citing a few examples of stative verb phrases which, if combined with a grammatical device of progressive aspect, produce what is then regarded as starred, unacceptable strings. However, when the judgments of an adequate sample of native speakers are taken into consideration, a different set of systematic regularities emerge, which have a stronger claim to descriptive adequacy than any generalizations imposed by a hypothetical, ideal native-speaker. What would otherwise look like a clean, clear-cut system of categorization turns out to be not so clean, not so discrete, on closer examination, but rather 'squishy' (cf. Ross, 1972 and Sag, 1973). The behaviour of stative verb phrases in respect of combinability with markers of progressive and habitual aspect is a case in point as will be shown immediately.

Part one of the questionnaire provides information concerning the behaviour of four stative verb phrases in four environments. The verb phrases in question occur in sentences 3, 6, 9 and 10. The four environments are given below, (the first of these

environments was partly discussed in section 5.2.1).

- I. [ɣam/ʕaaɣid] ——— [haaðihi llaḥḐa]
- II. [ɣam/ʕaaɣid] ——— [halʕayyaam]
- III. [Saarlu sane] [ɣam/ʕaaɣid] ———
- IV. [ɣam/ʕaaɣid] ——— [ʕakθar faʕakθar]

Thus, for example, sentence 3, i.e.

/baɣrif taariix ilɣarab/

'I know the history of the Arabs '

occurs in the following extended sentences:

1. ɣam/ʕaaɣid baɣrif taariix ilɣarab haaðihi  
llaḥḐa  
(lit.) 'I am knowing the history of the  
Arabs this moment.'
2. ɣam/ʕaaɣid baɣrif taariix ilɣarab  
halʕayyaam  
(lit.) 'I am knowing the history of the  
Arabs these days.'
3. Saarlu sanateen ɣam/ʕaaɣid biɣrif taariix  
ilɣarab  
(lit.) 'For two years, he has been knowing  
the history of the Arabs.'
4. ɣam/ʕaaɣid baɣrif taariix ilɣarab ʕakθar  
faʕakθar  
(lit.) 'I am knowing the history of the Arabs  
more and more.'

Tables 1(a), (b) show the judgments of the 48 informants in regard to the acceptability of this sentence in the given environments (a and b differ only in respect of ɣam and ʕaaɣid).

TABLE 1

Speakers	(a) [ɣam] —				(b) [ʃaagid] —			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1 (m.v.h.)	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
2 (m.t.h.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
3 (m.t.h.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
4 (m.t.h.)	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
5 (m.t.h.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
6 (m.t.h.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
7 (m.t.h.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	?
8 (m.t.h.)	X	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	✓
9 (m.t.u.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
10 (m.t.h.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓
11 (m.v.h.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12 (m.t.u.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
13 (m.t.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14 (m.v.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
15 (m.v.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
16 (m.v.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
17 (f.v.c.)	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
18 (f.v.c.)	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
19 (f.v.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20 (f.v.c.)	X	✓	?	✓	X	✓	?	✓
21 (m.v.c.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
22 (m.t.u.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
23 (m.t.u.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
24 (m.t.u.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
25 (m.t.c.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
26 (m.t.h.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
27 (m.v.c.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓

Table 1 continued

Speakers	(a) [ɣam] —				(b) [ʁaaɣid] —			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
28 (m.v.c.)	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓
29 (f.t.c.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
30 (f.t.c.)	X	✓	X	?	✓	X	X	X
31 (f.t.c.)	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓
32 (f.t.c.)	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
33 (f.t.c.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓
34 (f.t.c.)	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X
35 (f.t.c.)	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓
36 (f.t.c.)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
37 (f.t.c.)	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓
38 (m.t.c.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
39 (f.v.c.)	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
40 (f.v.c.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓
41 (f.v.c.)	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓
42 (f.v.c.)	?	✓	X	?	?	X	X	?
43 (f.v.c.)	✓	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓
44 (f.v.c.)	?	?	✓	✓	?	?	✓	✓
45 (f.v.c.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
46 (f.t.c.)	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
47 (f.t.c.)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48 (f.t.c.)	X	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓
Accept- ability totals	9	16	20	31	9	11	10	30



It can be seen from Table 1(a) that, first, the informants' responses are not randomly distributed, and, secondly, the four environments are differently weighted with regard to the admissibility of the stative verb phrase

/bağrif taariix ilğarab/.

From most to least favourable the four environments take the following order: IV, III, II, I. This means that if a particular informant regards the sentence in question as acceptable in III, he will also accept it in IV; and if he accepts it in II, he will accept it in both III and IV; and if he accepts it in I, he will accept it in II, III and IV. The implicational hierarchy is therefore:

I  $\supset$  II  $\supset$  III  $\supset$  IV

In order for implications to hold true in Table 1(a), a cross (X) should not occur to the right of a query(?) or a tick (✓), and a query should not occur to the right of a tick. The number of patterns which satisfy this condition in the four environments is 15, viz:

I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
✓	✓	✓	✓	X	?	?	?	X	X	?	✓
?	✓	✓	✓	X	?	?	✓	X	X	✓	✓
?	?	✓	✓	X	?	✓	✓	X	X	X	?
?	?	?	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
?	?	?	?	X	X	?	?	X	X	X	X

The total number of possible 'permutations' of (X), (?) and

(✓) in the four environments is  $3 \times 3 \times 3 \times 3 = 81$ . Hence the probability of obtaining one implicationally valid pattern by chance is  $\frac{15}{81} = 19\%$ . But there are 34 informants in Table 1(a) who have conformed to the implicational sequence. The probability of this happening by chance is zero<sup>1</sup>. This indicates that the responses of the informants are indeed rule-governed, and the variation exhibited is far from random.

Now consider Table 1(b) where the facts are strikingly similar to those in Table 1(a), except for a slight difference concerning the hierarchical order of the 4 environments. Table 1(b) suggests that the implicational sequence which maximizes the regularity of observed patterns is

$$IV \supset II \supset III \supset I$$

as against

$$IV \supset III \supset II \supset I .$$

As will be shown presently, consideration of the facts which pertain to the behaviour of stative verbs in the remaining sentences, i.e. sentences 6, 9 and 10 (cf. Tables 2(a), (b), 3(a), (b), and 4(a), (b) at the end of this chapter) confirms the implicational sequence suggested by

1. The mathematical operation is rather complicated and the answer cannot be easily worked out without the help of a calculating machine. The probability  $P_n$  of any number  $n$  of the 48 informants conforming by chance to the implicational sequence is given by the equation

$$P_n = \frac{48!}{n! (48-n)!} \left(\frac{15}{81}\right)^n \left(1 - \frac{15}{81}\right)^{48-n} . \text{ For } n = 34, P_n = 3.4 \times 10^{-15}$$

Table 1(b). Moreover, it will also be shown later that when on the one hand Tables (1(a)-4(a)), and, on the other hand, Tables (1(b)-4(b)) are taken into consideration, the gap between environments II and III tends to be so small that, without much loss, the two can be combined into one.

It has been suggested that synchronic variation in language is a reflection of diachronic change (cf. (Bailey, 1973: 67-69), Bickerton & Givon, 1976: 14)). If so, it is not unreasonable to claim that stative verb phrases in ESAJ are undergoing a process of change with regard to their colligability with markers of progressive aspect, and that, as far as the linguistic environments discussed above are concerned, the change seems to start in environment IV and subsequently proceed slowly to environments II, III and I in that order. For some speakers (e.g. 47) the change seems to have reached completion, i.e. seems to have become categorical, in all four environments; for others (e.g. 11 in Tables 1(a), (b)) the change does not seem to have begun yet, not even in the most favourable of the four environments; and for a third, fairly large group of speakers, the change has started in environments IV and is spreading to the other environments. Moreover, there are in each table informants whose responses are inconsistent in the sense that they deviate, in greater or lesser degree, from the regularities manifest in the behaviour of the

overwhelming majority (e.g. 20 in Tables 1(a), (b)).

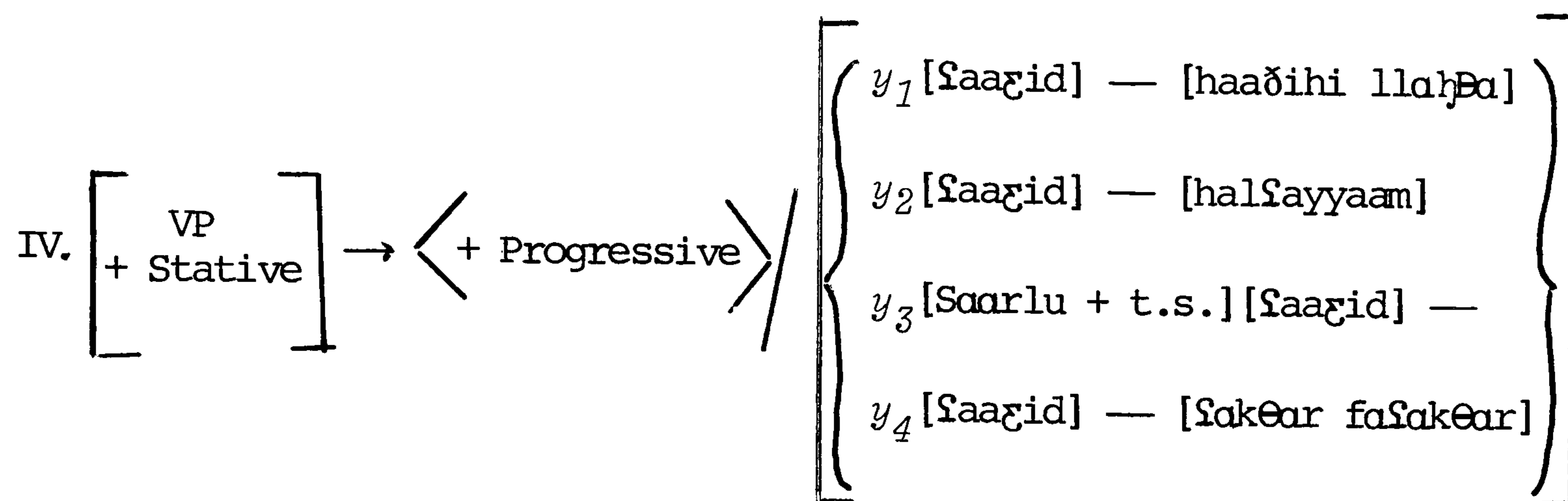
It may be that such deviance is caused by uncertainties amidst the flux of change which the speakers concerned are experiencing; the confusion as to the relative weight of the relevant environments may be temporary - sooner or later, most of these speakers will probably learn to conform to the communal norm. On the other hand, a 'residue of inconsistency' is perhaps inevitable in language behaviour.

In Labovian terms the details in Tables 1(a), (b) are accounted for by the variable rules at III and IV.

$$\text{III. } \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{VP} \\ + \text{ Stative} \end{array} \right] \rightarrow \langle + \text{ Progressive} \rangle / \left[ \begin{array}{l} x_1 [\xi\text{am}] - [\text{haa}\check{\text{d}}\text{ihi lla}\check{\text{h}}\text{Ba}] \\ x_2 [\xi\text{am}] - [\text{hal}\text{fayyaam}] \\ x_3 [\text{Saarl}\text{u} + \text{t.s.}] [\xi\text{am}] - \\ x_4 [\xi\text{am}] - [\text{fak}\check{\text{e}}\text{ar fafak}\check{\text{e}}\text{ar}] \end{array} \right]$$

where  $x_1$ ,  $x_2$ ,  $x_3$  and  $x_4$  are probabilities of the rule's operation. The approximate values of  $x_1$ ,  $x_2$ ,  $x_3$  and  $x_4$  are calculable from the statistics in Table 1(a) as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} x_1 &= \frac{9}{48} \times 100\% = 19\% \\ x_2 &= \frac{16}{48} \times 100\% = 33\% \\ x_3 &= \frac{20}{48} \times 100\% = 42\% \\ x_4 &= \frac{31}{48} \times 100\% = 65\% \end{aligned}$$



where the approximate values of the output probabilities are calculable from the statistics in Table 1(b) as follows:

$$y_1 = \frac{9}{48} \times 100\% = 19\%$$

$$y_2 = \frac{11}{48} \times 100\% = 23\%$$

$$y_3 = \frac{10}{48} \times 100\% = 21\%$$

$$y_4 = \frac{30}{48} \times 100\% = 63\%$$

It must be added that, like any variable rules in the present study, the last two presuppose a set of non-linguistic constraints of the kind

$$\left[ \begin{array}{c} + \text{ Jordanian} \\ + \text{ Educated} \\ + \text{ Informal} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right]$$

The patterns and regularities discernible in Tables 1(a), (b) are reproduced in Tables 2(a), (b), 3(a), (b) and 4(a), (b) which respectively picture the reactions of the 48 speakers to sentences 6, 9 and 10 (in part 1 of

the questionnaire)<sup>1</sup>. As above, the stative verb phrases in these sentences occur in the 4 environments under discussion. The tables are presented without comment; it is quite unnecessary to duplicate the analysis. However, as this section of the discussion is primarily addressed to the behaviour of stative verb phrases, qua category, in contexts of progressive-cum-habitual aspect (cf. environment II, which is progressive-habitual), it is necessary to write variable rules which take care of the details in the entire set of tables (1(a), (b)-4(a), (b)).

Fortunately, the variable rules at III and IV do account for all the details as they stand, except that the output probabilities require adjustment. The task is simple, and the new set of values of the  $x$ 's and  $y$ 's that permit variable rules III and IV to apply to the category of stative verb phrases (as sampled by the sentences 3, 6, 9 and 10) are as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 x_{(i)} &= \frac{9 + 8 + 9 + 15}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 21\% \\
 x_{(ii)} &= \frac{16 + 13 + 16 + 33}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 40\% \\
 x_{(iii)} &= \frac{20 + 10 + 15 + 28}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 38\% \\
 x_{(iv)} &= \frac{31 + 29 + 41 + 40}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 73\%
 \end{aligned}$$

---

1. These three tables appear at the end of this chapter.

$$y_{(i)} = \frac{9 + 2 + 10 + 4}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 13\%$$

$$y_{(ii)} = \frac{11 + 4 + 14 + 10}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 20\%$$

$$y_{(iii)} = \frac{10 + 3 + 13 + 9}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 18\%$$

$$y_{(iv)} = \frac{30 + 15 + 30 + 25}{48 \times 4} \times 100\% = 52\%$$

A comparison of the range of values of  $x_{(ii)}$  and  $x_{(iii)}$ , on the one hand, and  $y_{(ii)}$  and  $y_{(iii)}$ , on the other hand, reveals that environments II and III exhibit virtually the same degree of sensitiveness to the admissibility of stative verb phrases. It is, therefore, possible to eliminate one of them without prejudicing the facts.

The foregoing discussion shows that the category of stative verb phrases in ESAJ (represented by the head verbs  $\sqrt{\text{grf}}$  'to know',  $\sqrt{\text{jbh}}$  'to resemble',  $\sqrt{\text{mn}}$  'to believe' and  $\sqrt{\text{krh}}$  'to hate') do not stand in sharp contrast with nonstative verb phrases (e.g.  $\sqrt{\text{ktb}}$  'to write') in regard to colligability with the grammatical indicators of progressiveness and habituality, as claimed in Chapter 4 of the present study. The foregoing evidence suggests that the distinction between stative and nonstative verb phrases - a distinction which it is tempting to think of as being discrete - should be modified. It is more realistic to conceive of it in statistical terms, whereby stative and nonstative verb

phrases are seen as forming a squish, a quasi-continuum. Verb phrases which are most stative-like tend to cluster towards one end of the squish, whereas those which are least stative-like would cluster towards the other end.

#### 5.2.3.1 Variation within the category of stative verb phrases

Having dealt with the phenomenon of variation in the category of stative verb phrases in contexts of progressive and habitual aspect, let us turn now to a brief examination of intra-category variability.

Consider Table 1 (below), which shows the cumulate total of endorsements as to acceptability of each of the four sentences discussed above, namely 3, 6, 9 and 10 in part 1 of the questionnaire, in each of the four environments with [ɛam].

Table 1

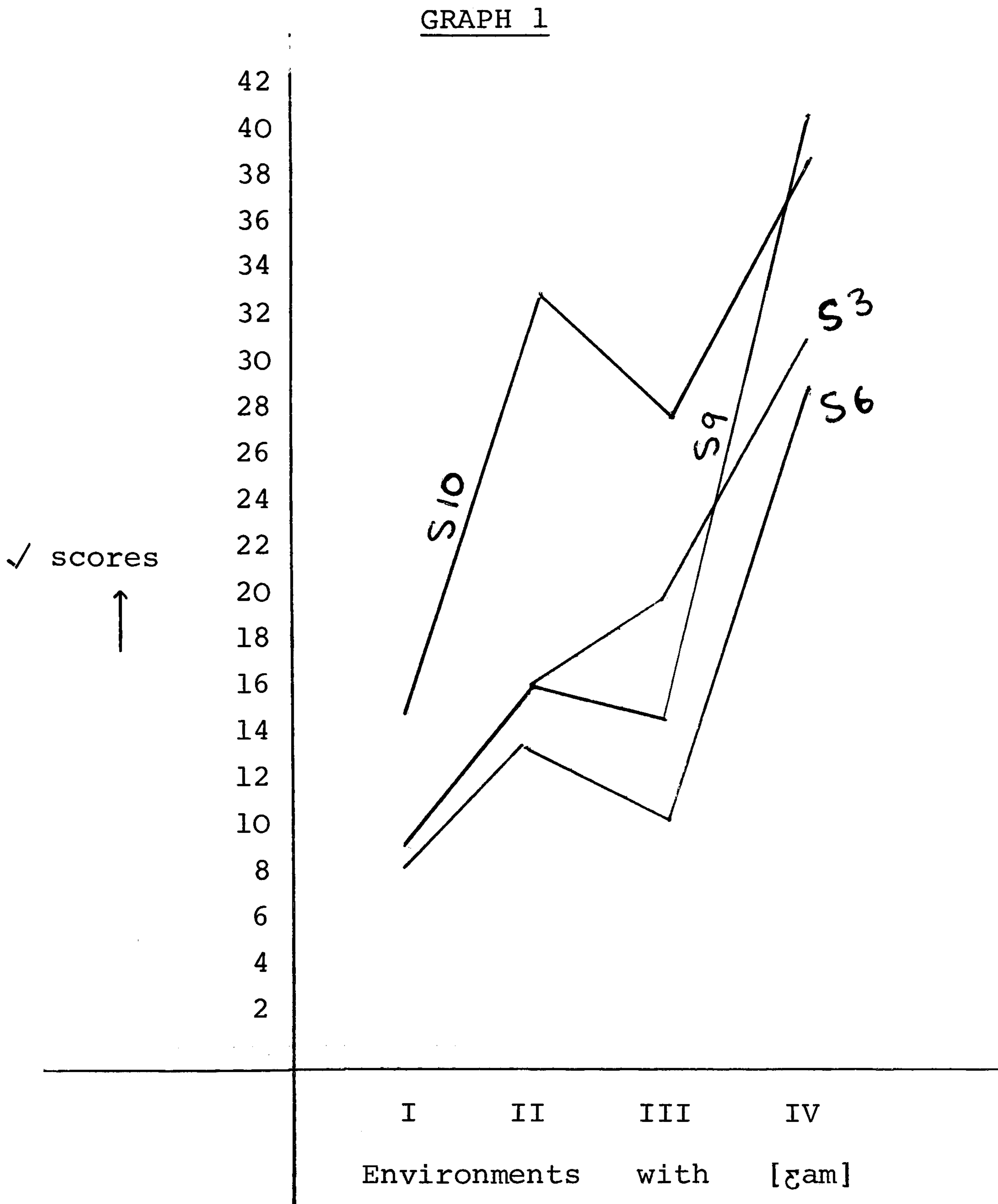
Serial no. of sentence in part 1	Acceptability				difference IV-I
	in environ. I	in environ. II	in environ. III	in environ. IV	
3	9	16	20	31	22
6	8	13	10	29	21
9	9	16	15	41	32
10	15	33	28	40	25

The figures in this table constitute a fairly accurate index of the freedom of occurrence of each sentence in



the four environments. In other words, the figures reflect aspects of the relative variability exhibited by the stative verb phrases in question. Graph 1 (p. 244) converts into a clear, global picture the relationship implicit in Table 1. It can be seen that, notwithstanding the shared tendencies discussed in the previous section, the syntactic behaviour of these stative verb phrases reflects the following differences:

1. In environments I and II there is little difference between the acceptability of the stative verb phrases in S3, S6 and S9. But in contrast with all of these, the stative verb phrase in S10 seems to be much more acceptable.
2. In environment III, S3, S6 and S9 remain fairly close together and stand in contrast with S10 as before
3. In environment IV, the picture changes in that S3 and S6 remain very close together; but S9 shoots upwards in this environment and reaches an acceptability score as high as that pertaining to S10.
4. A rough and ready indicator of the fluctuation in the behaviour of the individual verb phrases is given by the difference between the number of endorsements in environment IV and, say, I. The higher



Graph 1

[Fluctuations of acceptability judgments with regard to the sentences: S3, S6, S9, S10]

The sentences contain the following stative verbs:

- S3:  $\sqrt{\text{ɣrf}}$  'to know'  
 S6:  $\sqrt{\text{ɣbh}}$  'to resemble'  
 S9:  $\sqrt{\text{ɣmn}}$  'to believe'  
 S10:  $\sqrt{\text{krh}}$  'to hate'

the difference the greater the range of variation. As can be seen in the right-hand column of Table 1, the relative distributional variability of the four verb phrases may be expressed as

$$S9 > S10 > S3 > S6$$

where '>' means 'more variable than'.

5. A glance at the graph reveals that the greatest difference in the acceptability judgments pertains to S10 and S6.

This suggests that the verb  $\sqrt{krh}$ , 'to hate' does not behave like  $\sqrt{fbh}$  'to resemble' in ESAJ. The latter is (or appears to be) much more stative-like than the former - assuming, of course, that the criteria advanced above, i.e. the four environments, are valid, in the sense that they measure what it is thought they measure.

#### 5.2.4. Relative frequency of occurrence of the aspectual particles / $\xi$ am/ and / $\xi$ aa $\xi$ id/ in stative verb phrases

Native speakers of Jordanian Arabic will no doubt agree that whereas / $\xi$ am/ belongs to urban speech, / $\xi$ aa $\xi$ id/, or its variant / $\xi$ aa $\xi$ id/, is a mark of rural origin. But since villagers and town dwellers meet and converse with one another in the course of their daily transactions, not to mention the influence of the media on narrowing

the gap between rural and urban speech, it is inescapable that both particles should be used, and of course understood, by speakers of both origins. Nonetheless, one expects to find differences in the relative frequency of occurrence of these particles in the speech of educated persons from the village and the town. This section is devoted to an investigation of the sociolinguistic constraints which facilitate or restrict the use of either particle in stative verb phrases. It is based on the information in part 1 of the questionnaire in reference to S3, S6, S9 and S10, having regard to the biographies of the informants, notably their sex, residence and level of education. It will be remembered that each of the above sentences occurs once with [ɣam] and once with [ʃaaɣid] in each of the four environments. The focus here is on the relationship between the biography of the informants and the relative frequency of acceptability judgements in respect of [ɣam] and [ʃaaɣid] - other variables being constant.

The relevant information is displayed in Tables 1A, 1B, 2A, and 2B. Opposite each informant are plotted the total number of endorsements he/she provided for S3, S6, S9 and S10 in the contexts of [ɣam] and [ʃaaɣid] separately.

Table 1A

Total endorsements of S3, S6, S9, S10 (out of a possible maximum of 16, available to each informant)

Informants	Context [ $\xi\alpha\mu$ ]	Context [ $\xi\alpha\alpha\xi\iota\delta$ ]
1 (m.v.h.)	3	0
11 (m.v.h.)	3	0
14 (m.v.c.)	2	0
15 (m.v.c.)	4	0
16 (m.v.c.)	3	1
21 (m.v.c.)	5	3
27 (m.v.c.)	15	9
28 (m.v.c.)	10	6
TOTAL	45	19

$$\text{Average } \frac{45}{8} = 5.6$$

$$\frac{19}{8} = 2.4$$

m = male, v = villager, c = college graduate

Table 1B

Total endorsements of S3, S6, S9, S10 (out of a possible maximum of 16, available to each informant)

Informants	Context [ɣam]	Context [ʃaaɣid]
2 (m.t.h.)	7	6
3 (m.t.h.)	6	3
4 (m.t.h.)	5	5
5 (m.t.h.)	7	4
6 (m.t.h.)	5	1
7 (m.t.h.)	4	0
8 (m.t.h.)	6	8
10 (m.t.h.)	5	5
26 (m.t.h.)	6	3
13 (m.t.c.)	2	0
25 (m.t.c.)	6	3
38 (m.t.c.)	4	1
9 (m.t.u.)	4	1
12 (m.t.u.)	4	2
22 (m.t.u.)	6	4
23 (m.t.u.)	4	4
24 (m.t.u.)	6	3
TOTAL	87	53
Average	$\frac{87}{17} = 5.1$	$\frac{53}{17} = 3.1$

m = male, t = town dweller, h = high school graduate,  
c = college graduate, u = university graduate.

Table 2A

Total endorsements of S3, S6, S9, S10 (out of a possible maximum of 16, available to each informant)

Informants	Context [ $\xi$ am]	Context [ $\xi$ aa $\xi$ id]
17 (f.v.c.)	7	11
18 (f.v.c.)	9	7
19 (f.v.c.)	4	0
20 (f.v.c.)	7	7
39 (f.v.c.)	9	5
40 (f.v.c.)	13	6
41 (f.v.c.)	9	3
42 (f.v.c.)	7	0
43 (f.v.c.)	8	7
44 (f.v.c.)	9	9
45 (f.v.c.)	12	6
TOTAL	94	61
Average	$\frac{94}{11} = 8.5$	$\frac{61}{11} = 5.5$

f = female, v = villager, c = college graduate

Table 2B

Total endorsements of S3, S6, S9, S10 (out of a possible maximum of 16, available to each informant)

Informants	Context [gam]	Context [faagid]
29 (f.t.c.)	6	0
30 (f.t.c.)	3	1
31 (f.t.c.)	7	7
32 (f.t.c.)	6	0
33 (f.t.c.)	16	9
34 (f.t.c.)	7	2
35 (f.t.c.)	10	8
36 (f.t.c.)	5	2
37 (f.t.c.)	10	11
46 (f.t.c.)	9	5
47 (f.t.c.)	16	16
48 (f.t.c.)	12	5
TOTAL	107	66
Average	$\frac{107}{12} = 9$	$\frac{66}{12} = 5.5$

f = female, t = town dweller, c = college graduate



It follows from these four tables that

1. the average endorsements with respect to [ɣam] are:

a) male and female villagers:

$$\frac{45}{8} + \frac{94}{11} = 7.3 \text{ (1A, 2A)}$$

b) male and female town dwellers:

$$\frac{87}{17} + \frac{107}{12} = 6.7 \text{ (1B, 2B)}$$

2. the average endorsements with respect to [ʃaaɣid] are:

a) male and female villagers:

$$\frac{19}{8} + \frac{61}{11} = 4.2 \text{ (1A, 2A)}$$

b) male and female town dwellers:

$$\frac{53}{17} + \frac{66}{12} = 4.1 \text{ (1B, 2B)}$$

The implications of these figures can be summarized as follows:

1. Informants from rural regions find stative verb phrases with [ɣam] more acceptable than with [ʃaaɣid]; the average endorsements are respectively 7.3 and 4.2.
2. The same conclusion also holds with respect to the urban informants, except that this group exhibit more moderation than the rural group concerning the average endorsements of [ɣam] - cf. 6.7 (urban) with 7.3 (rural).

These results will probably shock the native speaker who would expect the averages to be biased in favour of [ɣam] in urban regions, and in favour of [ʃaaɣid] in rural regions. However, it is not without interest that the results should run counter to expectation. Perhaps the different prestige values of [ɣam] and [ʃaaɣid] have contributed to the observed facts. Educated speakers of rural origin are usually aware that some forms/features of their speech are regarded as stigmatized. As often happens, these speakers would correct or even overcorrect their forms of speech in the direction of more prestigious urban forms, unless, of course, there are reasons which motivate them to retain their own forms, intact or with some minor modification.

The phenomenon of (hyper-) correcting one's speech in a prestige direction is, of course, very well known, and, as observed by e.g. Labov (1972a: 39-40), comprises one aspect of social pressure on language structure. So it seems that the rural informants in the above tables are anxious to demonstrate their sensitivity to what they regard as prestigious, which might explain why they endorsed more of the sentences with [ɣam] than with [ʃaaɣid], even to the extent of doing 'better' than the urban group on this score. This phenomenon of (hyper-) correction is a powerful accelerator of the ongoing process of language change.

It remains to be added that neither of the particles [ɣam] and [ʕaʕɪd] occurs in the standard written language which is one of the sources that inform, and enrich educated speech. The comparatively higher value of [ɣam] presumably derives from its being an urban marker<sup>1</sup>.

If hyper-correction can be regarded as an index of 'linguistic insecurity' (cf. Labov, 1972a: 117-118) whereby those individuals and groups who hyper-correct a great deal can be said to be experiencing 'negative attitudes toward their native speech patterns' (Labov, 1972a: 117) and consequently tend to abandon them in favour of more prestigious ones, it can be seen from Table 1A that of the male, rural informants, college graduates appear to be more 'insecure' than high school graduates. This, perhaps, is not too difficult to explain considering that colleges are established in or near big towns and urban centres, which means that college students are exposed to the urban forms of speech much more than high school graduates.

Table 2A shows that, perhaps for similar reasons, female, rural informants are likewise highly sensitive to the urban norm: they have accepted far more [ɣam]'s than [ʕaʕɪd]'s. Moreover, the females have gone beyond the level of the males in this respect (cf. averages:

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1. Moreover, the impact of Syrian practice, where [ɣam] is very common, cannot be ignored for it adds to the prestige associated with [ɣam].

8.5. (females), 5.1 (males)). This suggests that educated females are playing a significant role in effecting language change; their contribution far exceeds that of comparable males. This observation lends support to what Labov (1972a: 301-304) and others have found out namely, that women play a more significant role than men in promoting language change. Paradoxically, however, this conclusion is at odds with what was shown in Part I of the present study (Variation in the demonstrative system), where, it will be recalled, evidence was adduced to the effect that women did not play such a leading role in promoting language change.

The question that arises is whether educated women in Jordan are initiators of language change in a selective manner so that their role is prominent in respect of some, but not all types of change. A satisfactory answer to this question cannot be supplied without further research. What is needed is to identify a battery of language features (phonological, grammatical and lexical) which are undergoing change and set out to examine the relative contribution of women, as against men, in instigating the change. However, notwithstanding the present inconclusiveness of the evidence, one might hazard a cautious guess that in changes having to do with prestige forms of modern standard (written) Arabic (the demonstratives are a case in point) women tend not to be so innovative as men, whereas in changes involving rural-

urban norms (cf. [ɣam]) women do seem to pioneer and to contribute much more significantly than men.

### 5.3. Choice of the active participle against the nonpast to express durativeness

It was pointed out in Chapter 4 that durative aspect in ESAJ can be expressed, inter alia, by means of the nonpast tense or the active participle of an appropriate verbal root. For example, both 1(a) and (b) permit a durative interpretation.

1. (a) ɣammaar (ɣam) bimʃi/yimʃi  
fiʃʃaariɣ  
'Ammar is walking in the street.'
- (b) ɣammaar maʃi fiʃʃaariɣ  
'Ammar is walking in the street.'

Put another way, an educated Jordanian wanting to express the notion

'Ammar is walking in the street'

can, in theory, choose any one of five alternatives in 1(a) and (b), i.e. he has at his disposal five related, but formally distinct possibilities of filling in the blank in

2. ɣammaar  $\frac{\sqrt{mʃy}}{\quad}$  fiʃʃaariɣ,

viz:

- i. bimʃi
- ii. yimʃi
- iii. ɣam bimʃi
- iv. ɣam yimʃi
- v. maʃi

The availability of five options such as these is restricted to certain subclasses of verbs in ESAJ, e.g.

'motive' verbs like  $\sqrt{m\bar{f}y}$  'to walk' and 'sensory' verbs like  $\sqrt{sm\bar{\xi}}$  'to hear'. Cf.

3. (a)  $\bar{\xi}ana$  ( $\bar{\xi}am$ )  $\bar{b}asma\bar{\xi}/\bar{\xi}asma\bar{\xi}$   $\bar{S}oot$   
 $\bar{y}ariib.$

'I hear a strange sound.'

(b)  $\bar{\xi}ana$   $\bar{s}aami\bar{\xi}$   $\bar{S}oot$   $\bar{y}ariib.$

'I hear a strange sound.'

Verbs like  $\sqrt{l\bar{\xi}b}$  'to play' and  $\sqrt{ktb}$  'to write', which are neither 'motive' nor 'sensory', permit the use of the non-past, with or without  $/\bar{\xi}am/$ , for expressing durativeness, but block the use of the active participle for the purpose. Thus, 4 is durative, but 5 is not.

4.  $\bar{h}asan$  ( $\bar{\xi}am$ )  $\bar{b}il\bar{\xi}ab/\bar{y}il\bar{\xi}ab$   $\bar{t}anis.$

'Hasan is playing tennis.'

5.  $\bar{h}asan$   $\bar{l}aa\bar{\xi}ib$   $\bar{t}anis$  ( $\bar{i}m\bar{b}aari\bar{h}$ ).

'Hasan played tennis (yesterday).'

Stative verbs, e.g.  $\sqrt{\bar{\xi}rf}$  'to know' seem to behave like motive and sensory verbs in this respect, allowing for constraints on the associability of  $/\bar{\xi}am/$  with the non-past (cf. 5.2.). Thus;

6. (a)  $\bar{\xi}ana$  ( $\bar{\xi}am$ )  $\bar{b}a\bar{\xi}rif/\bar{\xi}a\bar{\xi}rif$   $\bar{t}aariix$   
 $\bar{i}l\bar{\xi}arab$

'I know the history of the Arabs.'

(b)  $\bar{\xi}ana$   $\bar{\xi}aarif$   $\bar{t}aariix$   $\bar{i}l\bar{\xi}arab$

'I know the history of the Arabs.'

Part II of the questionnaire was designed to test native speakers' preference for the active participle against the nonpast, with or without /ɣam/, for expressing durative aspect. It comprises five 'situations' only two of which are relevant in the sense of permitting the choice in question. The remaining 'situations' were merely interspread as distractors.

The first 'situation' incorporated the following instructions addressed to the respondents:

You live in Amman. An old friend meets you and asks where you are living. Consider the following replies:

- (a) ʕana saakin fii ɣammaan
- (b) ʕana baskun fii ɣammaan
- (c) ʕana ʕaskun fii ɣammaan
- (d) ʕana ɣam baskun fii ɣammaan
- (e) ʕana ɣam ʕaskun fii ɣammaan

Of these 5 replies, the subjects were asked to select the most suitable, and to identify any unsuitable ones.

The second 'situation':

(Imagine that) a friend of yours tells you that your brother has passed a particular examination. Consider the following replies:

- (a) ʕaɣrif innu naajih
- (b) baɣrif innu naajih
- (c) ɣaarif innu naajih

(d)  $\xi am \xi a \xi rif$  innu naajih

(e)  $\xi am ba \xi rif$  innu naajih

Of these five replies the subjects were asked, first, to select the most suitable one, and, secondly, to identify any unsuitable replies.

Table 1 displays the responses of the 48 informants to the first 'question', i.e. the most suitable variant of the five options, in both situations. It can be seen from the figures in the table that the five variants in each situation are not in free variation; indeed, the very concept of 'free variation' is suspect.

Table 1

'Situation' and root of the main verb	Cumulative frequency as the most suitable reply						A P.	Total
	$\xi a + \sqrt{\quad}^1$	$ba + \sqrt{\quad}^1$	$\xi am$	$\xi a + \sqrt{\quad}$	$\xi am$	$ba + \sqrt{\quad}$		
1. $\sqrt{skn}$	9	5	4		0	30	48	
2. $\sqrt{\xi rf}$	12	15	0		2	19	48	

Options which may seem to be in free variation turn out on closer examination to be not so. For if they were free variants the 5 options in each situation would divide between them, fairly evenly, the judgments of the 48 informants. The expected chance score on the basis of equi-probability is  $\frac{48}{5} = 9.6$

1.  $(\xi a + \sqrt{\quad}) \longrightarrow \xi askun, \xi a \xi rif.$

$(ba + \sqrt{\quad}) \longrightarrow baskun, ba \xi rif.$



for each variant. But as the table shows, the active participle in the first situation is regarded as the most suitable variant by 30 (out of 48) informants. That is, approximately 63% of the informants would select the active participle as the most suitable reply, in contrast with 37%, only, in favour of all the remaining four variants. In the second situation, the active participle figures as the first choice in 19 tokens (cf. the chance probability of 9.6) thereby accounting for approximately 40% of the responses. The remaining four variants between them account for 60% of the responses.

The fact that the active participle of  $\sqrt{\text{skn}}$  attracts more of the positive responses than that of  $\sqrt{\text{grf}}$  can be explained in terms of differently weighted constraints having to do with the various subclasses of verbs to which  $\sqrt{\text{skn}}$  and  $\sqrt{\text{grf}}$  belong. What is not in doubt, however, is that in both situations the active participle did attract far more positive responses than any other variant.

Now consider Table 2 which displays the rejection scores associated with each of the 5 variants in the two situations. As the table shows, the highest rejections are associated with the variants of the nonpast in the context of / $\text{gam}$ /; next in this respect are the variants of the nonpast without / $\text{gam}$ /, and least of all are the

Table 2

'Situation' and root of the main verb	Rejections of the variants					A.P.
	$\text{\textcircled{a}}+\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{ba}+\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{am}$	$\text{\textcircled{a}}+\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{am}$ $\text{ba}+\sqrt{\quad}$	
1. $\sqrt{\text{skn}}$	5	5	38		34	2
2. $\sqrt{\text{\textcircled{r}}\text{f}}$	5	3	39		38	3

rejections associated with the active participle. The judgments of the informants are therefore consistent. Both tables lend support to the conclusion that where a choice is available between the active participle and the nonpast, native speakers tend to prefer the former for expressing durative aspect.

#### 5.4. The acceptability of the aspectual particles / $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{am}$ / and / $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{id}$ / in progressive-cum-iterative propositions

##### 5.4.1 What 'aspects' do the particles / $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{am}$ / and / $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{id}$ / signal in ESAJ?

Primarily, of course, these particles are signals of progressive aspect (cf. Chapter 4). But to a lesser extent, and in a variable manner, they colligate with other aspects, for instance, habituality, thereby constituting a meaningful modification which will be discussed anon. But first, evidence to substantiate the assertion that / $\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{am}$ / and / $\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{g}}\text{id}$ / are primarily markers

of progressiveness as against, say, habituality is obtainable from the data in part 5 of the questionnaire. The informants were asked to fill in spaces in three pairs of related sentences, where one member of each pair contained the temporal specifier /ʃilʃaan/ 'now', and the other, the temporal specifiers /kull yoom/ʃusbuuɣ/ 'every day/week' or /ɣaadatan/ 'usually'. For instance, the first pair comprised:

1. (i) samiir ... ilwaḌiife kull yoom
- (ii) samiir ... ilwaḌiife lʃaan.

Four options were provided which consisted of forms of the nonpast of a particular verbal root, e.g.  $\sqrt{hll}$  'to solve', with and without /ɣam/, viz.

- (a) biḥill (b) ɣam biḥill (c) ɣam yiḥill
- (d) yiḥill.

The results can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1

Serial no. of test item	Frequency of choice of /ɣam/ + nonpast + /ʃilʃaan/ (i.e. Progressiveness)	Frequency of choice of /ɣam/ + nonpast + eg. /kull yoom/ (i.e. Habituality)
1	30	0
2	37	3
3	34	3
TOTAL	101	6

Thus /ɣam/ is approximately 17 times as frequent with

progressive as with habitual aspect.

However it was shown in 5.2 that these particles are not incompatible with stativity. In addition, they also colligate with composite progressive-iterative predications. Consider:

2.  $\xi$ ittarfii $\xi$  ittilqaa $\xi$ i ...  $\xi$ ammaalu yi $\theta$  $\xi$ if  
mustawa TTullaab (Tape 35).

'Automatic promotion ... is weakening the standards of pupils.'

Now, compare 2 with 2(a) where / $\xi$ ammaalu/ is left out.

2. (a)  $\xi$ ittarfii $\xi$  ittilqaa $\xi$ i ... bi $\theta$  $\xi$ if mustawa  
TTullaab.

'Automatic promotion ... weakens the standards of pupils.'

2 asserts that a certain effect is being experienced iteratively over a limited period of time, whereas 2(a) states a verified conclusion (hence a recognized fact) or a hypothesis awaiting verification. The verb phrase in 2 is aspectually progressive-cum-iterative, while that in 2(a) is timeless. The inclusion of the aspectual particle / $\xi$ ammaalu/ in the verb phrase of 2 enables the meaning of the latter to be stated as:

<p>+ Progressive</p> <p>+ Iterative</p> <p>+ Restricted duration</p>
--

in contrast with the timelessness of 2(a).

It would be wrong to regard 2 as habitual for it does not colligate with, say, /kull yoom/ 'every day'. Cf.

\*2(b).

2. (b) \* $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ ittarfii $\text{\textcircled{g}}$  ittilqa $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ i ...  $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ ammaalu  
 $\text{\textcircled{y}}$ i $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ if mustawa i $\text{\textcircled{T}}$ ullaab kull yoom.  
 'Automatic promotion ... is weakening the  
 standards of pupils every day.'

Now consider 3 in contrast with 2.

3.  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ i $\text{\textcircled{T}}$ aalibe ...  $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ am tit $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ arra $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  bilyoom marra  
 $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aw marrteen lahaada lmawqif. (Tape 12, Side 2).  
 'The student (fem.) ... is facing this situation  
 once or twice daily.'

This is, by definition, a habitual statement (cf. /bilyoom/  
 'every day' / 'daily') made in conjunction with the aspectual  
 particle / $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ am/. Compare 3 with 3(a):

3. (a)  $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ i $\text{\textcircled{T}}$ aalibe ... btit $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ arra $\text{\textcircled{D}}$  bilyoom marra  
 $\text{\textcircled{S}}$ aw marrteen lahaada lmawqif.  
 'The student (fem.) ... faces this situation  
 once or twice daily.'

Again, by definition, 3(a) is a habitual proposition,  
 only this time it is not associated with the aspectual  
 particle / $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ am/. The difference between 3 and 3(a)  
 pertains to the length of the period over which the habit  
 extends: in 3 the period is more limited, more restricted  
 by virtue of the presence of the particle / $\text{\textcircled{g}}$ am/ than in  
 3(a); i.e. 3 is formalizable as

+ Progressive + Habitual + Restricted duration
--

The difference boils down to saying that 3 is simultaneously

progressive and habitual while 3(a) is just habitual - progressiveness being a 'restrictive modification' (cf. Twaddell, 1963: 9-12). Moreover, the insertion of progressive / $\xi$ am/ into an iterative assertion most probably introduces a modal element with the effect of intensifying the speaker's attitude (of approval or disapproval) and accentuating the transitory contemporaneity of the situation. This point is further illustrated by the following additional examples of educated Jordanian speech (cf. the underlined):

4.  $\xi$ u kull yoom  $\xi$ am tit $\xi$ axxar. (Tape 84)  
 (lit.) 'And every day you are being late.'  
 (Disapproval)

5. hal $\xi$ amaliyye haa $\delta$ i tikraarha  $\xi$ am bisabbib  
 $\xi$ irtifaag waa $\delta$ i $\eta$  tamaaman. (Tape 12)

'The recurrence of this process is causing a very clear rise (in prices)' (Disapproval).

Note that in each of the last two examples an inherently iterative element of structure /kull yoom/ 'every day' and /tikraarha/ 'its repetition', cooccurs in conjunction with progressive / $\xi$ am/ + nonpast. In such a case one cannot fail to recognize the progressive-iterativity of the whole. Progressive predications of the form [ $\xi$ am + nonpast] sometimes permit an iterative reading even in the absence of an inherently iterative element. However, native speakers' perception of this type of iterativity is indeed subject to variation. Part 3 of the questionnaire provides evidence of such variation. The question is dealt with from two complementary angles:

1. given a particular expression, which of two alternative semantic readings do educated Jordanian speakers associate with the expression?
2. given a particular semantic reading, which of two alternative expressions do educated Jordanian speakers associate with it?

#### 5.4.2 From 'expression' to 'meaning'

The informants were asked to pair one reading, (a) or (b), with a stimulus sentence. If both readings were deemed acceptable the informants were asked to indicate, to the extent that they were able, which was the more appropriate reading. The first sentence was:

1. samiir ɣam bitkallam maɣha min rooma.

The two readings provided were:

- (a) samiir ɣala ttalifoon haaɗihi llaḥḐa  
'Sameer is on the phone right now.'
- (b) samiir ɣaadatan yatakallam maɣahaa min rooma  
wa laysa min aDDaruuri fan yakuun ɣala ttalifoon  
haaɗihi llaḥḐa  
'Sameer usually talks to her from Rome; it  
is not essential that he be on the phone  
right now.'

Table 1 shows the distribution of the informants' responses to this item.

Table 1

Accept progressive reading (a) only	Accept iterative reading (b) only	Accept both readings, but regard progressive (a) more appropriate	Accept both readings, but regard iterative (b) more appropriate
43	3	2	0

The implication of these figures is that, in the absence of further contextualization, the test sentence receives a progressive interpretation in the overwhelming majority of judgments:

$$\frac{43}{48} \times 100\% = 90\%.$$

Only 3 (out of 48) respondents, i.e. 6%, accept an iterative interpretation; and 2 accept both the progressive and the iterative readings but regard the progressive as more appropriate.

This provides further evidence that /ɣam/ is considered primarily a marker of progressive aspect. Note that without /ɣam/ the test sentence permits, inter alia, progressive and iterative interpretations - perhaps with equal probability.

The second test sentence was:

2. wa laakin wa maɣ ḏaalik ɣam biyiib,

and the alternative readings:

(a) ɣaadatan biyiib

'Usually he plays truant'



(b)  $\zeta$ innahu yaafib haađihi llaḥḐa

'He is absent now.'

Table 2 shows the distribution of the judgments.

Table 2

Accept non-iterative reading (b) only	Accept iterative reading (a) only	Accept both readings but regard the non-iterative more appropriate	Accept both readings but regard the iterative more appropriate
9	23	4	12

As the table shows, the judgments in this case are skewed in favour of the iterative reading. To understand why this is so, consider the same sentence without / $\zeta$ am/.

3. walaakin wa maḡ ḏaalik biyiib

'And yet he plays truant.'

This sentence permits one reading only: iterative. Even in conjunction with / $\zeta$ am/ it still retains its iterative character as shown by the judgments in Table 2. However, as / $\zeta$ am/ is commonly associated with progressive aspect, its presence in test sentence 2 must have induced, in some small measure, the acceptability of the non-iterative reading (b).

### 5.4.3 From 'meaning' to 'expression'

The respondents were instructed to imagine that they hear a strange sound every night, and were asked to choose one of two alternative expressions, (a) and (b), to describe the situation to a policeman. If they regarded both (a) and (b) as acceptable, they were told to indicate, where possible, which was the more appropriate. Here are the alternative expressions:

(a)  $\xi$ am basma $\xi$  Soot  $\gamma$ ariib kull leela.

(lit.) 'I am hearing a strange sound every night.'

(b) basma $\xi$  Soot  $\gamma$ ariib kull leela.

'I hear a strange sound every night.'

The difference between (a) and (b) is one of simultaneous progressiveness-cum-iterativity versus 'pure' iterativity.

The responses of the 48 informants are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Accept (a) only, i.e. progressive- cum-iterative aspect	Accept (b) only, i.e. 'pure' iterative aspect	Accept both but prefer (a)	Accept both but prefer (b)
6	26	4	12

Clearly, the 'pure' iterative expression (b) is the more favoured of the two candidates for this situation. This option accounts for 26 out of 48 responses, but, in addition, it won 12 out of the 16 judgments which regard

both (a) and (b) as acceptable. All in all, then, the 'pure' iterative is accepted by

$$\frac{26 + 12}{48} \times 100\% = 80\%$$

of the respondents. The progressive-cum-iterative option, on the other hand, is endorsed by 20% of the informants, which is not an insignificant percentage. This leads to the conclusion that although progressive-cum-iterative predications are not so frequent/acceptable as progressive or iterative predications in ESAJ, yet such composite aspects have to be recognized. They can, of course, be included in the form of variable rules like the following:

$$V \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} x_1 [+Progressive] \\ x_2 [+Iterative] \\ x_3 \begin{array}{l} [+Progressive] \\ [+Iterative] \end{array} \end{array} \right\} / [\xi am] \left[ \overline{\text{nonpast}} \right]$$

## 5.5 The active participle vs. the past tense in perfective aspect.

5.5.1 The relevance of the active participle to aspect in ESAJ was briefly considered in Chapter 4. The variation concerning the choice of the active participle vis-à-vis the nonpast tense to express durative aspect was dealt with in section 5.3. In the present section, the focus is on the variation which governs the choice of the active participle as against the past tense for expressing perfective aspect. Before embarking on that, however, it is necessary to distinguish the most salient aspectual features signalled by the active participle in ESAJ,

notably with reference to coordinated sentences, since these are particularly relevant to the acceptability of the sequence of active participle and past tense. The point of departure is a sentence taken from the corpus (Tape2) on the subject of cheating in examinations.

1.  $\xi$ ala rra $\gamma$ m min  $\xi$ aalik, tajid iTTaalib  
bith $\eta$ addaak, faatih  $\xi$ u bunqul.

'In spite of that you will find the student provoking you, opening (his book, etc.) and copying.'

In this sentence, the active participle /faatih/ 'opening' expresses durative aspect and is appropriately conjoined to the nonpast tense form /bunqul/ 'is copying' which is also durative.

Now, the active participle /faatih/ is potentially capable of expressing either durative or perfective aspect in ESAJ. This is illustrated by ringing all the possible changes on the active participle and tense forms of the roots  $\sqrt{fth}$  'to open' and  $\sqrt{nql}$  'to copy' in the frame of coordination by / $\xi$ u/ 'and' (cf. Mitchell 1978a).

<u>Paradigm</u>	<u>Aspect</u>
(i) faatih (A.P.) $\xi$ u bunqul (nonpast)	both durative
(ii) faatih (A.P.) $\xi$ u naaqil (A.P.)	both perfective
(iii)? faatih (A.P.) $\xi$ u naqal (past) <sup>1</sup>	both perfective

1. The question mark indicates that this sentence is probably unacceptable.

<u>Paradigm</u>	<u>Aspect</u>
(iv) fataḥ (past) ʕu bunqul (nonpast)	perfective and durative respectively.
(v)? fataḥ (past) ʕu naaqil (A.P.) <sup>1</sup>	both perfective
(vi) fataḥ (past) ʕu naqal (past)	both perfective
(vii) biftaḥ (nonpast) ʕu bunqul (nonpast)	[+ Historical present] both perfective or [-Historical present] both iterative
(viii) *biftaḥ (nonpast) ʕu naaqil (A.P.)	
(ix) *biftaḥ (nonpast) ʕu naqal (past)	

The auxiliary  $\sqrt{kwn}$  'to be' may precede all the acceptable patterns and it functions as a tense carrier thus locating the action at a particular time with respect to the moment of speaking. For instance, /kaan/ + i  $\rightarrow$

i(a) kaan faatiḥ ʕu bunqul

where the auxiliary /kaan/ simply projects the durativity (in this case, progressiveness) of the coordinated elements into the past.

### 5.5.2 Active participle vs. past tense

Choice of either the active participle or the past

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1. The question mark indicates that this sentence is probably unacceptable.

tense of a particular verbal root to express perfective aspect is available to speakers of ESAJ. Examples of verbal roots which permit this choice are the following:

$\sqrt{m\bar{f}y}$	'to walk'	$\sqrt{Tl\bar{\xi}}$	'to go out'
$\sqrt{nz\bar{l}}$	'to go down'	$\sqrt{l\bar{\xi}b}$	'to play'
$\sqrt{\xi k\bar{l}}$	'to eat'	$\sqrt{f\bar{t}h}$	'to open'
$\sqrt{Tyr}$	'to fly'	$\sqrt{byt}$	'to spend the night'
$\sqrt{qT\bar{\xi}}$	'to cut'		etc.

But it should not be assumed that all verbal roots exhibit this relationship between participle and past tense. For instance, the subclass of what might be called 'inchoative' verbs (cf. Cowell (1964: 250)) block this choice, e.g.

$\sqrt{\xi T\bar{f}}$	'to be/become thirsty'
$\sqrt{Syr}$	'to be/become small'
$\sqrt{Tw\bar{l}}$	'to be/become tall'
$\sqrt{mr\bar{\theta}}$	'to be/become ill'
$\sqrt{jw\bar{\xi}}$	'to be/become hungry'

These verbs are related to adjectival forms derivable from the same root such that, as Cowell (op. cit.) puts it "If an adjective means 'x', then its inchoative paronym means 'to become x'". Cf.

2. (a)  $\xi$ ali jaag (past) imbaarih

'Ali was hungry yesterday.'

(b) \* $\xi$ ali jaayig (A.P.) imbaarih.

3. (a) samiir miri $\theta$  (past) imbaarih

'Sameer became ill yesterday.'

(b) \*samiir maari $\theta$  (A.P. measure) imbaarih

Part 6 of the questionnaire deals with the issue of

choice between the active participle and the past tense in signalling perfective aspect in ESAJ. Three questions may be raised:

1. Is the choice random or systematic?
2. Is modality a factor in the choice?
3. Are there any accordance/discordance constraints on coordinating participle and tense? (cf. Mitchell (1978a)).

#### 5.5.2.1 Is the choice random or systematic?

Consider the informants' responses to sentences 2(a, b), 3 (a, b) and 4 (a, b) in part 6 of the questionnaire. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Serial no. of sentence and verbal root	No. of informants who consider the A.P. to be preferable	No. of informants who consider the past tense to be preferable	No. of informants who find both the A.P. and the past acceptable to the same degree, i.e. no choice.
2√ktb	6	36	6
3√xyT	14	28	6
4√Jry	6	37	5
TOTAL	26	101	17

These figures indicate that where a choice is available

educated Jordanians fairly systematically prefer the past tense to the active participle. The former accounts for  $\frac{101}{144} \times 100\% = 70\%$  of the responses, the latter accounts for  $\frac{26}{144} \times 100\% = 18\%$  of the responses, while 12% express no preference either way.

It is instructive to compare the responses to the sentences at 2 and 6, namely,

2. (a) samiir katab ittaqriir imbaariḥ.  
 (b) samiir kaatib ittaqriir imbaariḥ.  
 'Sameer wrote the report yesterday.'

6. (a) samiir katab ittaqriir min ṣusbuuḡ.  
 (b) samiir kaatib ittaqriir min ṣusbuuḡ.  
 'Sameer wrote the report a week ago.'  
 (lit. from a week).

The responses to these sentences are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Serial no. of sentence	A.P. as first choice	Past as first choice	No preference
2	6	36	6
6	24	20	4

As Table 2 shows, the active participle is four times more appropriate in the environment of /min ṣusbuuḡ/ 'a week ago' than in the environment of /imbaariḥ/ 'yesterday'. Preferability of one variant or the other is therefore a



function of cooccurrence restrictions, i.e. linguistic constraints, and, consequently, categorical rules fall short of accounting for the phenomena in question.

It may be worth pointing out that in the environment of [min + X], where X is an appropriate temporal specifier, the active participle, as Mitchell (1978a) says 'carries the implication of the "current relevance" of past acts that in general terms characterizes perfect aspect' - hence the enhanced acceptability of the active participle in this type of environment.

Be that as it may, the point to be emphasized is that the choice at issue seems to be systematic and rule-governed: the past tense is preferred to the active participle except in the context of current relevance of a past act where the active participle seems to be slightly more appropriate. But there is more to the question than just that: modality also plays an important part in the choice as will be shown in the next section.

#### 5.5.2.2 Modality as a factor in the choice

Consider, first, the responses of the informants to sentences 8(a, b) and 9(a, b) in part 6 of the questionnaire.

8. (a) smiḡt innu samiir katab ittaqriir. (past)  
 (b) smiḡt innu samiir kaatib ittaqriir.(A.P.)  
 'I heard that Sameer wrote the report.'
9. (a) biquulu nnu samiir naajih. (A.P.)  
 (b) biquulu nnu samiir najah. (Past)  
 (lit.) 'They say that Sameer passed.'

The introductory verbs in these pairs of sentences, namely /smiɣt/ 'I heard' and /biɣuulu/ 'they say' have the effect of not holding the speaker responsible for the truth value of the propositions involved. The responses of the informants to these sentences are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

Serial no. of sentence	A.P. as first choice	Past tense as first choice	No preference
8	33	15	0
9	30	16	2

Evidently, the active participle is chosen by a two-third majority of the respondents as a device of expressing a noncommittal attitude towards the truth value of the proposition. In these circumstances the past tense implies that the speaker is committed to the authenticity of the proposition. This conclusion receives full support from the informants' reactions to the sentences-and-situations presented in sections 3 and 4 of part 6 of the questionnaire.

Given the sentences at (a) and (b) below, the informants were asked to state which one indicated that the speaker was an eye-witness of the event. In cases of uncertainty, the informants were instructed to put a question mark in the box provided.

(a) samiir ɓarab (past) muniir.

(b) samiir ɓarib (A.P.) muniir.

Forty-six informants chose the sentence at (a), i.e. the

past tense, and 2 only chose the sentence at (b), i.e. the active participle. This suggests that the active participle is not a suitable device to use in, e.g. the witness-box of a court of law. In this context of situation, the judge and jury are not interested in rumours - they demand first-hand evidence for which the past tense and not the active participle is the recognized guarantee.

Further evidence of the positive modal implication of the past tense against the active participle in ESAJ comes from the informants' responses to the following 'situation' (section 4, part 6 of the questionnaire):

You are a surgeon. You have performed a successful operation on Sameer's eye. You want to convey this good news to Sameer's relatives who have been waiting. Which of these two sentences (a, b) would you choose? If you are uncertain which sentence you would choose, put a question mark in the box provided.

(a) bahanniiku, lğamaliyye naajħa (A.P.)

(lit.) 'I congratulate you, the operation successful.'

(b) bahanniiku, lğamaliyye najħat (past).

(lit.) 'I congratulate you, the operation succeeded.'

As in the case of the previous pair, 47 informants chose (b), i.e. the past tense, and only one chose (a), i.e. the active participle.

There is no doubt that these results furnish conclusive evidence that in such situations the past tense expresses commitment and certainty on the part of the speaker whereas the active participle suggests lack of commitment, even scepticism.

### 5.5.2.3 Accordance/discordance relationships of verbal forms in coordinated structures

This section aims at showing that the choice of the active participle versus the past tense is conditioned by considerations of syntagmatic accordance obtaining between the verbal forms in coordinated structures.

#### A. Coordination with /laakin/ 'but'

Consider the first pair of sentences in part 6 of the questionnaire, namely:

1. (a)  $\zeta$ ana mi $\zeta$ Tiihum(A.P.) wa $\zeta$ id laakin  
baTTalt (past)
- (b)  $\zeta$ ana  $\zeta$ a $\zeta$ Teethum (past) wa $\zeta$ id laakin  
baTTalt (past)  
'I gave them my word (lit. a promise)  
but I went back on it.'

The informants were asked to choose the more appropriate sentence of the two versions at (a) and (b). If they felt uncertain over which variant they would prefer, they were told to put a question mark in the box provided. Further, the informants were instructed to put a cross (X) opposite each sentence they regarded as 'unusual and unacceptable' (cf. part 6, section 2 of the questionnaire).

As things turned out, only 2 informants chose (a), i.e. the sentence with discordant verbal forms, as the more appropriate version; the overwhelming majority (44) chose (b), and 2 were unable to decide. None of the respondents regarded either version as unacceptable. This makes it clear that while both (a) and (b) are acceptable, native speakers prefer the version with accordant verbal forms; in this case, past tense in the company of past tense.

It is unfortunate that the questionnaire does not include the two sentence forms:

1. (c) ?\*  $\zeta$ ana mi $\zeta$ Tiihum (A.P.) wa $\zeta$ id laakin  
imbaTTil (A.P.)<sup>1</sup>

(d) ?\*  $\zeta$ ana  $\zeta$ a $\zeta$ Teethum (Past) wa $\zeta$ id laakin  
imbaTTil (A.P.)<sup>1</sup>

But the acceptability of these two variants is in doubt, as indicated by (?\*). At any rate, the sentences at 7(a, b) below, though with a different conjunction /wi/ 'and' as opposed to /laakin/ 'but' in 1(a, b), do illustrate the accompaniments involved in 1(c, d) above, and can therefore be considered to compensate for the missing evidence, although the change of 'person' in regard to the subject of the sentence cannot be dismissed as irrelevant.

#### B. Coordination with /wi/ 'and'

The two sentences at 7 (a, b) were administered to

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1. Three speakers of ESAJ at the University of Leeds regard sentences (c, d) as either unacceptable or questionable. This is indicated by the use of (?\*).

the same informants with the same instructions as those described above for 1 (a, b).

7. (a) samiir ʃaɣTaahum (past) waɣid  
wimbaTTil (A.P.)
- (b) samiir miɣTiihum (A.P.) waɣid  
wimbaTTil (A.P.)

In this case, 9 of the informants chose (a), i.e. the version with discordant verbal forms, 37 chose (b), i.e. the version with accordant verbal forms, and 2 were undecided. But note that 20 of the respondents consider 7(a), i.e. [past] + [wi] + [A.P.], to be unacceptable.

Thus, the evidence presented at (A) and (B) indicates that the patterns of response are in agreement concerning respondents' preference for accordant verbal forms. The variable nature of the informants' behaviour is not in doubt, but neither is the systematicity of the variation, complex though it is, once the relevant linguistic and situational factors are recognized.

## 5.6 Conclusions

One is conscious of the drawbacks of questionnaires in general, and of the fact that native speakers' disagreement over the acceptability of a test-sentence may well be caused by what Bolinger (1971c:524) calls 'a subject's unawareness of what he might do or say given the right conditions. Sentences are hosts to many built-in distractors; it is hard to find one that highlights only the phenomenon in question.' However, the proper

contextualization of the test-items, the clarity of the instructions, the procedural precautions undertaken as well as the objectivity of the tests should substantially attenuate the force of objections which might be raised against the above questionnaire. Indeed, it is reassuring to note the consistency and nonrandomness of the judgments made, which can only mean that the tendencies observed are rule-governed, and that the questionnaire is a fairly reliable device which measures underlying language regularities. If so, it should not be unreasonable to draw the following conclusions from the above discussion.

1. Aspect in ESAJ exhibits a fairly extensive range of variability. It is, of course, appropriate to formulate aspectual rules, but unless variation is given serious consideration, such rules will fall short of satisfactorily accounting for the facts of language. The evidence adduced, to quote Mitchell (1978b) 'supports a theoretical view of language, the object of the linguist's study, as simultaneously embodying continuity and change, stability and flux ...; it is not the homogeneous, tightly organized affair in which many wish to believe.' (cf. for instance, the 'squishy' nature of the stative/nonstative opposition).

It is obvious that the variable rules discussed in this chapter are part of the 'knowledge' of the speakers of ESAJ, and, to quote Labov (1969b: 759), 'if some of these rules are cast in a different form than traditional categorical rules, then we must clearly revise our notions of what it means to "know" a language.' The variable rules are more complex than the categorical ones, but the former

are more realistic and come closer to descriptive adequacy than the latter.

2. Aspectual features which may seem to be in free variation turn out to be so differentially conditioned by a host of linguistic and socio-stylistic constraints that the very notion of free variation becomes highly suspect, to say the least. (cf. choice of the active participle versus the past tense in perfective predications).

3. The percentages and averages that have been calculated are not empty statistics; without them one cannot do justice to the linguistic facts. As Labov (1969b: 759) says '... we are in no way dealing with statistical statements or approximations to some ideal or true grammar. We are dealing with a set of quantitative RELATIONS which are the form of the grammar itself.'



Table 2

Speakers	(a)				(b)			
	[ɣam] Environments				[ʁaaɣid] Environments			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
2	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
3	✓	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
4	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
5	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
6	X	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
7	X	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
8	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	✓
9	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
10	X	X	X	?	X	X	X	?
11	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
13	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14	X	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
15	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
16	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
17	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X
18	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
19	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20	?	?	X	?	?	?	X	?
21	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
22	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
23	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
24	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
25	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
26	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
27	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X
28	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X
29	X	X	?	✓	X	X	?	X
30	?	X	X	✓	?	X	X	X
31	✓	✓	✓	?	X	X	X	?
32	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
33	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	?	X	✓
34	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
35	X	✓	X	✓	X	✓	X	✓
36	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
37	X	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
38	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
39	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
40	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
41	?	?	?	✓	?	?	?	X
42	?	✓	?	✓	?	X	?	X
43	✓	X	✓	?	X	✓	X	?
44	X	X	?	✓	X	X	?	✓
45	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
46	?	✓	?	✓	?	X	?	X
47	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
Acceptability totals	8	13	10	29	2	4	3	15

Table 3

Speakers	(a)				(b)			
	[ɣam] Environments				[ʔaaɣid] Environments			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓
3	?	?	X	✓	?	?	?	✓
4	?	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
5	X	X	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓
6	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
7	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
8	X	✓	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓
9	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
10	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X
11	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
12	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
13	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
14	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
15	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
16	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
17	X	✓	X	X	X	✓	✓	✓
18	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
19	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
20	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
21	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
22	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
23	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
24	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
25	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
26	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
27	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
28	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X
29	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
30	?	X	X	X	?	X	X	X
31	X	X	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	X
32	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
33	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
34	X	X	?	✓	?	?	?	✓
35	?	✓	X	✓	X	✓	X	X
36	✓	?	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓
37	?	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	✓
38	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
39	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
40	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓
41	?	?	?	✓	?	?	?	X
42	?	?	?	✓	?	?	?	X
43	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X
44	?	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓
45	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
46	?	✓	✓	X	?	X	X	✓
47	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
Acceptability totals	9	16	15	41	10	14	13	30

Table 4

Speakers	(a)				(b)			
	[ɣam] Environments				[ʁaaɣid] Environments			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X
2	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
3	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
4	X	X	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
5	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
6	✓	X	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
7	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	?
8	✓	X	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X
9	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
10	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
11	X	✓	?	✓	X	X	?	?
12	X	X	?	✓	X	X	?	✓
13	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	?
14	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	?
15	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	?
16	X	✓	X	X	X	X	X	?
17	✓	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
18	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
19	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
20	?	✓	✓	X	?	✓	✓	X
21	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
22	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
23	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
24	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
25	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
26	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	✓
27	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓
28	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓
29	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
30	X	X	?	✓	X	X	X	X
31	X	✓	✓	X	?	X	✓	X
32	X	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X
33	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
34	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
35	X	✓	✓	✓	X	✓	X	✓
36	✓	✓	X	X	X	X	X	X
37	X	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	✓
38	X	X	X	✓	X	X	X	X
39	X	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	✓
40	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
41	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	X
42	✓	✓	X	✓	X	X	X	X
43	✓	X	✓	X	X	✓	X	✓
44	?	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	✓	✓
45	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
46	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	X
47	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
48	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	X	✓
Acceptability totals	15	33	28	40	4	10	9	25

APPENDIX 1Transcription of the questionnaireSalqismu lSawwal

SiqraF kullan min aljumul ittaaliya, wabayyin raSyak fiihaa. Siḏaa kaanat iljumla maqbuula Daḡ ḡalaamat (✓) muqaaabilaahaa filhaamiſ ilſayman, wa Siḏaa kaanat iljumla yayr maqbuula, Daḡ ḡalaamat (X) muqaaabilaahaa filhaamiſ ilſayman, waSiḏaa lam takun mutaſakkidan min Siḥḥat iljumla, Daḡ ḡalaamat istifhaam (?) muqaaabilaahaa filhaamiſ ilſayman.

mi᠙aalaan

- |                              |   |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. samiir ḡam bilḡab         | ✓ |
| 2. samiir ḡam biḥibb yinjaḥ. | X |

Œalmi᠙aalu i᠙᠙aanii yayr maqbuul, waSSaḥiiḥ Œan naquul:

(samiir biḥibb yinjaḥ)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 3. ḡam baḡrif taariix ilḡarab haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.        |  |
| Œaaḡid baḡrif taariix ilḡarab haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.        |  |
| 6. samiir ḡam biŒbah xaalu haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.           |  |
| samiir Œaaḡid biŒbah xaalu haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.           |  |
| 9. ḡam baŒaamin billaah haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.              |  |
| Œaaḡid baŒaamin billaah haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.              |  |
| 10. samiir ḡam bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a. |  |
| samiir Œaaḡid bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat haaḏihi llaḥ᠙a.  |  |
| 15. ḡam baḡrif taariix ilḡarab halŒayyaam.           |  |
| Œaaḡid baḡrif taariix ilḡarab halŒayyaam.            |  |

18. samiir ɣam biɣbah xaalu halɣayyaam.  
samiir ɣaaɣid biɣbah xaalu halɣayyaam.
21. ɣam baɣaamin billaah halɣayyaam.  
ɣaaɣid baɣaamin billaah halɣayyaam.
22. samiir ɣam bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat halɣayyaam.  
samiir ɣaaɣid bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat halɣayyaam.
27. Saarlɔ sanateen ɣam biɣrif taariix ilɣarab.  
Saarlɔ sanateen ɣaaɣid biɣrif taariix ilɣarab.
30. Saarlɔ sane ɣam biɣbah xaalu.  
Saarlɔ sane ɣaaɣid biɣbah xaalu.
33. Saarlɔ jahur ɣam biɣaamin billaah.  
Saarlɔ jahur ɣaaɣid biɣaamin billaah.
34. Saarlɔ sane ɣam bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat.  
Saarlɔ sane ɣaaɣid bikrah irriyaaDiyyaat.
39. ɣam baɣrif taariix ilɣarab ɣakθar faɣakθar.  
ɣaaɣid baɣrif taariix ilɣarab ɣakθar faɣakθar.
42. samiir ɣam biɣbah xaalu ɣakθar faɣakθar.  
samiir ɣaaɣid biɣbah xaalu ɣakθar faɣakθar.
45. ɣam baɣaamin billaah ɣakθar faɣakθar.  
ɣaaɣid baɣaamin billaah ɣakθar faɣakθar.
46. ɣam bakrah irriyaaDiyyaat ɣakθar faɣakθar.  
ɣaaɣid bakrah irriyaaDiyyaat ɣakθar faɣakθar.

ɣalqismu θθaanii

ɣalmawqifu lɣawwal

laka bayt fii ɣammaan. qaabalaka Saadiqun qadiimun

wasafalaka gan makaani siqomatik. Sunður ilfiijaabaati ttaaliyah:

- (a) Sana saakin fii gammaan min sanateen.
- (b) Sana baskun fii gammaan min sanateen.
- (c) Sana saskun fii gammaan min sanateen.
- (d) Sana gam baskun fii gammaan min sanateen.
- (e) Sana gam saskun fii gammaan min sanateen.

Sajib gan ilfasfila ttaaliya lmutagalliqa bilmawqif ilfawwal.

1. min bayn ilfiijaabaat ilxamsa a, b, c, d, e, sixtar ilfiijaaba llatii taqtaqid sannahaa hiya lfansab lilmawqif ilfawwal, wa Daɣ ilfiijaaba fii haaða SSunduuq →

2. Siðaa kaanat baɣDu lfiijaabaat ilxamsa ssaabiqa laa taSluɣ lilmawqif ilfawwal, Daɣ daafira hawla haaðihi lfiijaabaat illatii taqtaqid sannahaa yayr munaasibah:

a            b            c            d            e

Salmawqifu 00aanii

Saxbaraka Sadiiq Sanna Saxaaka naajih fi mtihaanin maa.

Sunður ilfiijaabaati ttaaliyah:

- (a) Saɣrif innu naajih.
- (b) baɣrif innu naajih.
- (c) ɣaarif innu naajih.
- (d) gam Saɣrif innu naajih.
- (e) gam baɣrif innu naajih.

Sajib gan ilfasfila ttaaliya lmutagalliqa bilmawqif i00aanii.

1. min bayn irruduud ilxamsa a, b, c, d, e, sixtar

irrada llaḏii taḡtaqid ርannahu huwa lፍansab  
 lilmaግqif iፀፀaani waDaጅ haaḏa rradd filmurabbag  
 ilmuqaabil →

2. ርiḏaa kaanat baጅDu rruduudi lxamsa ssaabiqa laa taSluጅ  
 lilmaግqif iፀፀaani, Daጅ daafiratan ጅawla kullin min  
 haaḏihi rruduud illatii taḡtaqid ርannahaa ግayr  
 munaasibah.

a                      b                      c                      d                      e

### ፍalqismu ፀፀaaliፀ

#### ፍalmawqifu lፍawwal

taxayyal ርannaka samiጅta lጅibaarata ttaaliya munḏu laጅፀa:

"samiir ጅam bitkallam maጅha min rooma".

ፍayyan min almaጅnayayn a, b tafham min alጅibaara ssaabiqa ?

Daጅ daafiratan ጅawla ljawaab iSSaጅiiጅ. ርiḏaa kunta  
 taḡtaqid ርanna lጅibaara taጅtamilu lmaጅnayayn a, b Daጅ  
 daafiratan ጅawla kullin minhumaa.

(a) samiir ጅala ttalifoon haaḏihi llaጅፀa.

(b) samiir ጅaadatan yatakallam maጅha min rooma wa laysa  
 min aDDaruurii ርan yakuun ጅala ttalifoon haaḏihi  
 llaጅፀa.

ርiḏaa waDaጅta daafiratan ጅawla kullin min a, b, bayyin  
 ፍayyahumaa ፍakፀar mulaaፍamatan lilጅibaara ssaabiqa,  
 wa ḏaalika biwaDጅ iljawaab fii haaḏa lmurabbag →

#### ፍalmawqifu ፀፀaani

taxayyal ርannaka tasmaጅu Sawtan ግariiban kulla laylah, wa  
 laa tadrii min ፍayna yaፍti SSawt.

ፍayyan min alጅibaaratayn ittaaliyatayn a, b tastaጅmil

lituɣlima rajula jfurTa bima tasmaɣu kulla layla (Daɣ daafira).

(a) ɣam basmaɣ Soot yariib kull leele.

(b) basmaɣ Soot yariib kull leele.

Siɗaa kunta taɣtaqidu ɣanna kullan min alɣibaaratayn a, b taɣluɣ lihaaɗa lmaɣqif Daɣ daafiratan ɣawla kullin minhumaa, wa laakin bayyin ɣayyahumaa ɣakθar mulaaɣamatan (ɣin kaana ɗaalika mumkinan) wa ɗaalika biwaDɣi lɣiɣtimaal ilɣakθari mulaaɣamatan lilmawqifi θaani filmurabbag

ilmuqaabil. →



ɣalmawqifu θaaliθ

taxayyal ɣannaka samiɣta mudiira lmadrasati yataɣaddaθu ɣilaa waliyyi ɣamri Taalibin qaafilan:

"wa laakin wa maɣ ɗaalik ɣam biyiib".

ɣayyun min almaɣnayayn ittaaliyayn a, b, yulaaɣimu lɣibaara ssaabiqa (Daɣ daafiratan ɣawla lɣawaab ilmunaasib)

(a) ɣaadatan biyiib.

(b) ɣinnahu yaaɣib haaɗihi llaɣθa.

Siɗaa kunta taɣtaqidu ɣanna kullan min a, b yunaasibu lɣibaarata ssaabiqa, Daɣ daafiratan ɣawla kullin minhumaa, wa laakin bayyin ɣayyahumaa ɣakθar mulaaɣamatan lilmawqif iθaaliθ (ɣin kaana ɗaalika mumkinan) wa ɗaalika biwaDɣi ilɣiɣtimaal ilɣakθari mulaaɣamatan lilmawqif iθaaliθ

filmurabbag ilmuqaabil. →



ɣalqismu rraabiɣ

bayyin raɣyaka fii kullin min aljumal ittaaliya.

Siɗaa kaanat iljumla ɣaadiyya wa maqbuula Daɣ



galaamat (✓) filhaamiſ ɣalaa yamiin iljumla. wa  
 ſiḏaa kaanat iljumla ɣayr ɣaadiyya wa ɣayr  
 maqbuula, Daɣ galaamat (X) filhaamiſ ɣalaa  
 yamiinihaa. wa ſiḏaa lam takun mutaſakkidan min  
 Siḥḥat iljumla, Daɣ galaamat istifhaam (?)  
 filhaamiſ ɣalaa yamiinihaa.

12. samiir ɣaadatan biɣrif taariix ilɣarab.
13. hiyaam tuſmin biljinniyyaat ɣaadatan.
14. hiyaam tuſmin biljinniyyaat kul ſusbuuɣ.
15. samiir biſbih xaalu ɣaadatan.
16. samiir biſbih xaalu kull sane.

#### ſalqismu lxaamis

ſimlaſ ilfaraaɣ fii kulli zawj min aljumal ittaaliya  
 bilɣibaara lmunaasiba min alſiḥtimaalaat ilmudraja taḥta  
 kulli zawj. laa taſtaɣmil ilɣibaarata lwaahida ſakḫar  
 min marra waahida.

1. samiir ... ilwaḐiife kull yoom.  
 samiir ... bilwaḐiife lſaan.  
 ((a) biḥill, (b) ɣam biḥill, (c) ɣam yiḥill,  
 (d) yiḥill)
2. samiir ... taqriir ilſaan.  
 samiir ... taqriir kull ſusbuuɣ.  
 ((a) ɣam yuktub, (b) ɣam buktub, (c) buktub,  
 (d) yuktub)
3. ɣaadatan ... ſingiliizi maɣ ilmudiir.  
 hayyu ... ſingiliizi maɣ ilmudiir ilſaan.  
 ((a) yitkallam, (b) bitkallam, (c) ɣam yitkallam,  
 (d) ɣam bitkallam)

Ƨalqismu ssaadis

Ƨawwalan:

DaƧ daaƧiratan hawla Ƨahad ilƧihtimaalayn a, b lituhaddida lƧaƧahha minhumaa. Ƨiɗaa lam takun mutafakkidan, DaƧ Ƨalaamata stifhaam filmurabbag illaɗii Ƨala lyamiin faqaT.

- |        |  |                          |
|--------|--|--------------------------|
| 1. (a) | Ƨana miƧTiihum waƧd laakin baTTalt.      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) Ƨana ƧaƧTeethum waƧd laakin baTTalt. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. (a) | samiir katab ittaqriir imbaarih.         | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) samiir kaatib ittaqriir imbaarih.    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. (a) | ween xayyaTit halbadle ?                 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) ween imxayyiT halbadle ?             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. (a) | mneen miƧtari sayyaartak ?               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) mneen iƧtareet sayyaartak ?          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. (a) | samiir katab ittaqriir min ƧusbuuƧ.      | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) samiir kaatib ittaqriir min ƧusbuuƧ. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. (a) | samiir iƧTaahum waƧd wimbaTTil.          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) samiir miƧTiihum waƧd wimbaTTil.     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. (a) | smiƧt innu samiir katab ittaqriir.       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) smiƧt innu samiir kaatib ittaqriir.  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. (a) | biquulu nnu samiir naajih.               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|        | (b) biquulu nnu samiir najah.            | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Ƨaaniyan:

ƧunƧur Ƨilaa Ƨazwaaji lƧumali ttisƧi ssaabiqa, wa DaƧ Ƨalaamat (X) Ƨalaa kulli jumla taƧtaqidu Ƨannahaa Ƨayr Ƨaadiyya wa Ƨayr maqbuula.

ƧaaliƧan:

ƧunƧur Ƨila lƧumlatayn ittaaliyatayn:

(a) samiir Ɓarab muniir.

(b) samiir Ɓaarib muniir.

Ɔayyun min aljumlatayn a, b tufiid Ɔanna Ɔjaahid raƆa

lhaadiθ biɣaynih ? Daɣ iljawaab fii haaða lmurabbag →

Ɔiɗaa lam takun mutafakkidan, Daɣ ɣalaamata stifhaam

faqaT filmurabbag nafsih.

raabiɣan:

Ɔanta Tabiib jarraah. Ɔajrayta binajaahin ɣamaliyyatan

liɣayni samiir. turiidu Ɔan tanqula haaða nnabaƆa

ssaarra Ɔilaa Ɔahli samiir fii qaagati lƆintiƁaar.

Ɔayyan min aljumlatayn ittaaliyatayn taxtaar ? Daɣ

iljawaab fii haaða lmurabbag →

(a) bahanniiku lɣamaliyye naajha.

(b) bahanniiku lɣamaliyye najhat.

Ɔiɗaa lam takun mutafakkidan, Daɣ ɣalaamata stifhaam

faqaT filmurabbag nafsih.

APPENDIX 2Brief biographies of the Jordanian informants  
cited in the thesis(i) For material in Chapter 3

- 4: Male; 37 years old; M.A. in Education; Principal of a Teacher Training College.
- 5: Female; 40 years old; M.A. in Art; Art supervisor.
- 6: Male; 36 years old; B.A. in Arabic; Arabic supervisor.
- 7: Male; 34 years old; B.A. in Arabic; Arabic supervisor.
- 8: Female; 32 years old; B.A. in Home Economics; Home Economics supervisor.
- 11: Male; 26 years old; university student, reading English.
- 13: Male; 30 years old; B.A. in Arabic; Arabic teacher.
- 14: Male; 50 years old; Ph.D. (Arabic); university administrator.
- 17: Male; 50 years old; M.A. in Education; civil servant.
- 18: Male; 38 years old; B.A. in Economics; diplomat.
- 19: Male; 47 years old; B.A. in Arabic; diplomat.
- 23: Male; 24 years old; university student, reading Public Administration.
- 24: Male; 23 years old; university student, reading Public Administration.
- 25: Male; 40 years old; B.A. in Islamic Religion; college lecturer.

- 26: Male; 40 years old; high school graduate; accountant.
- 27: Male; 37 years old; M.A. in Islamic Religion; college lecturer.
- 28: Male; 45 years old; high school graduate; clerk.
- 29: Male; 35 years old; college graduate; lab. technician.
- 30: Male; 35 years old; B.A. in English; college lecturer.
- 31: Male; 30 years old; B.A. in English; college lecturer.
- 32: Male; 28 years old; B.A. in English; college lecturer.
- 33: Male; 30 years old; high school graduate; radio interviewer.
- 46: Male; 50 years old; B.A. in English; qualified barrister.
- 69: Male; 37 years old; postgraduate student, reading Physics.
- 70: Male; 32 years old; postgraduate student, reading Engineering.
- 71: Male; 42 years old; audio-visual aids specialist; administrator.
- 72: Male; 40 years old; B.Sc. in Physics; curriculum specialist.
- 73: Male; 40 years old; college graduate, procurement officer.
- 74: Male; 60 years old; college graduate, accountant.
- 75: Male; 32 years old; B.A. in Arabic; clerk.

- 76: Male; 55 years old; high school graduate; civil servant.
- 77: Male; 57 years old; B.A. in Economics; Bank manager.
- 78: Male; 58 years old; college graduate; civil servant.
- 80: Female, 17 years old; high school student.
- 81: Male; 40 years old; university graduate; politician.
- 82: Male; 45 years old; university graduate; politician.
- 83: Male; 50 years old; Ph.D. (Arabic), university administrator.
- 86: Female; 38 years old; postgraduate student; housewife.

(ii) For material in Chapter 5:

- 1: Male; 30 years old; high school graduate; rural origin.
- 2: Male; 19 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 3: Male; 20 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 4: Male; 19 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 5: Male; 18 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 6: Male; 19 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 7: Male; 18 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.

- 8: Male; 19 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 9: Male; 26 years old; university graduate; urban origin.
- 10: Male; 19 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 11: Male; 30 years old; high school graduate; rural origin.
- 12: Male; 30 years old; university graduate; urban origin.
- 13: Male; 26 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 14: Male; 22 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 15: Male; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 16: Male; 30 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 17: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 18: Female; 25 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 19: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 20: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 21: Male; 25 years old; college graduate; rural origin.

- 22: Male; 30 years old; university graduate; urban origin.
- 23: Male; 27 years old; university graduate; urban origin.
- 24: Male; 30 years old; university graduate; urban origin.
- 25: Male; 27 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 26: Male; 30 years old; high school graduate; urban origin.
- 27: Female; 27 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 28: Male; 25 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 29: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 30: Female; 22 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 31: Female; 27 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 32: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 33: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 34: Female; 22 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 35: Female; 22 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 36: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; urban origin.



- 37: Female; 30 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 38: Male; 25 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 39: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 40: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 41: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 42: Female; 23 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 43: Female; 22 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 44: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 45: Female; 25 years old; college graduate; rural origin.
- 46: Female; 24 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 47: Female; 30 years old; college graduate; urban origin.
- 48: Female; 22 years old; college graduate; urban origin.

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