

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF FORMS OF ADDRESS IN

KUWAITI COLLOQUIAL ARABIC

by

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ERRATA

- p.4 line 9 for center read centre
- p.34 line 4 from the bottom for Propects read Prospects
- p.36 , line 8 of footnote , for Macmilla read Macmillan
- p.44 line 17 for famillial read familial
- p.44 , line 7 of footnote , for Applecton-Century read
Appleton-Century
- p.60 , line 5 of footnote , for 'Linguistic goings-On'
read 'Linguistic goings-on'
- p.86 line 2 for 'Fatam' read 'Fatma'
- p.87 line 5 for nayim read naayim
- p.90 line 3 for brother read bother
- p.108 line 7 for paradies read paradise
- p.124 line 13 for syntgms read syntagms
- p.157 line 8 for fello read fellow
- p.164 line 2 from bottom for 'militar' read 'military'
- p.194 line 8 for $(R_1 \text{aa} R_2 i R_3)$ read $(R_1 \text{aa} R_2 i R_3 \text{a})$

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a descriptive analysis within a sociolinguistic framework of forms of address in Kuwaiti colloquial Arabic. The thesis consists of four main parts and three appendixes.

Part One is devoted to an account of the social and linguistic background, methods of data collection, followed by a chapter on theoretical and methodological sociolinguistic principles. This part ends in a chapter on morphological, collocational and colligational preliminaries. Sociolinguistic and morphological principles have been put to a test of illustrative material of Kuwaiti Arabic to see which principles are valid, as a prelude to constructing a framework for the description of Kuwaiti Arabic address-forms. Determining principles of description have been linguistic (phonological, morphological (i.e. in terms of root and schema), collocational and colligational) and socio-cultural (including situational or domain-bound forms and personal, i.e. depending on the status and role-relationships of interlocutors).

Part Two deals in greater detail with the description of different address-forms such as kin-terms, personal names, teknonyms, patronyms, nicknames, etc. which are used in the Family Domain.

Part Three deals with modes of address regularly observed in the Domain of Social Activities, such as "courtesy formulas", "forms of reproach" and "forms of imploring". It has been found that the two dimensions of "solidarity" and "power" are determining criteria in the choice of reciprocal and nonreciprocal modes of address.

Part Four deals primarily with "respectful address-forms" in the Work Domain. These have been found to comprise "respectful idiomatic formulas", "titles", "occupational names" as well as other forms available for command/request distinctions, such as imperatives, declaratives, tag-questions, etc.

Appendixes comprise some transcribed Kuwaiti texts, a map of Kuwait City and a bibliography of the works consulted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible for an Egyptian to work and write on Kuwaiti Arabic without some contact with others involved in his own subject. Written sources are acknowledged in the bibliography ; but debts to individuals can only be briefly recorded here.

I thank my Kuwaiti students of both sexes at Teachers College, Kuwait, for the valuable information about Kuwaiti Arabic which I have received from them in conversation, some of it recorded, during the last five years.

I am particularly thankful and grateful to Professor T.F.Mitchell for his invaluable supervision and constant help. His guidance and constructive criticism have been a constant source of help in writing this thesis.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTORY

1.1. Aim. The thesis is a study of the detailed covariation between forms of address in Kuwaiti Colloquial Arabic (KA) and aspects of social structure, especially in terms of role relationships of participants. Forms of address as D.Hymes¹ says is an aspect of the role of speech in interpersonal relationships. KA forms of address constitute a well-defined semantic field and involve distinct lexical classes (kin-terms, personal names, pronouns, titles, nicknames, etc.) "Colloquial" is defined in this thesis as the language of ordinary conversation.

By KA speakers I mean those Kuwaitis who used to live in the main districts of Old Kuwait City (originally inside Kuwait Wall) : Al Sharg, Al Jibla, Al Mirgaab, etc., and who now live in the newly urbanized all-Kuwaiti suburbs outside Kuwait Wall : Shamiyya, Kaifan, Faiha, Qadisiyya, Dasma, Di'iyya, Shi'b and Khalidiyya, etc². (see map, Appendix B , p. 281). The thesis does not cover forms of address

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1. D.Hymes 'Modes of address (reference note)', Language in Culture and Society : A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology (NY : Harper & Row, 1964).
 2. See A.G.Hill, The Urban Development of Kuwait, an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Durham University 1969, and also G.E.Efrench & A.G.Hill Kuwait : Urban and Medical Ecology (NY : Springer-Verlag. Heidelberg, 1971).

used by the Kuwaitis who live in the island of Failaka, the Jahra oasis, or Kuwaitis of Bedouin origin¹.

1.2. The Social and Linguistic Background

The social and linguistic background in Kuwait is describable broadly in terms of two factors :

- (a) Immigration (b) Kuwaiti Isolation

(a) Immigration

Kuwait is a small state, apparently barren yet which, as a result of the discovery of oil, has become one of the few "boom" states of the developing world, with one of the highest per capita incomes in the world. The Kuwaiti Government's lavish disbursement of the oil revenues on the services sector, viz. houses, roads, schools, hospitals, water supplies, etc., led to growing demands for foreign labour. Technicians and skilled administrators have been "imported" to Kuwait from the more advanced countries, especially from "sister" Arab countries. The immigrants, called "non-Kuwaitis" in official statistics, at present outnumber Kuwaiti citizens in their own country². Non-Kuwaitis

1. For [✓]the "Bedouin dialect" spoken in Kuwait, see T.M. Johnstone, Studies in the Arabic Dialects of the Persian Gulf, Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1962.

2. The census conducted in April 1970 estimated the country's total population at 733, 196; out of this, 345, 898 were Kuwaitis. (Yearly Book, A publication of the Ministry of Information, Kuwait, p.7.).

themselves constitute a far from homogeneous group. There are non-Kuwaiti Arabs from Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, the Gulf States, etc., as well as non-Arabs from India, Pakistan, etc. Social changes gradually take place as a result of the long process of interaction and co-operation between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis with their different patterns of behaviour and systems of values. The influence of non-Kuwaiti Arabs on the Kuwaiti dialect has been very great. This influence is particularly important in the educational field where a great number of teachers are Egyptians and Jordanians. T.M. Johnstone¹ finds it useful to distinguish between "Old" and "New" Kuwaiti, the latter in many cases having different forms based on one of the high-prestige dialects or literary Arabic. In my analysis of KA modes of address prominence will be given to the "older" forms rather than the new ones.

(b) Kuwaiti Isolation

There has been a tendency among the Kuwaitis to avoid any assimilation of immigrants into the Kuwaiti social fold. Kuwaitis have adopted measures to maintain the unity and solidarity of the original inhabitants² and to assert

-
1. T.M. Johnstone, Eastern Arabian Dialect Studies, (London : Oxford University Press, 1967), p.xxviii.
 2. A nationality law is still in force : A Decree by the Amir in 1959 says : "Kuwaitis are basically those people who inhabited Kuwait before 1920 and have continued to reside there until the publication of this law. Ancestral residence is considered complementary to that of offspring". (Amiri Decree number 15, Article 1, 1959). See E French & Hill, op. cit. p.20.

their Kuwaiti identity¹, and also to face the new complex situation which has emerged as a result of diversity of cultures, customs, values, modes of thought, nationalities and ethnic origins. One way of achieving this is by the geographical re-location of the Kuwaiti population. Kuwaitis are strongly concentrated in the new suburbs and in the outlying villages of Jalib Al-Shuyuukh, Magwa, and Wara. Non-Kuwaitis are denied access to the new suburbs and are left to choose Kuwait City Center or a few exclusively non-Kuwaiti suburban districts as places to live in.

While Kuwaitis of the old generation have been able to preserve minimal contact with non-Kuwaitis, the younger generation have been obliged to move frequently and to adjust to new circumstances and new peoples. A Kuwaiti, therefore, lives in a society where he has to interact on both levels of in-group identification with fellow-Kuwaitis and inter-group relations when he enters a predominantly non-Kuwaiti environment. The diversity of interlocutors is a factor in the emergence of linguistic varieties. E.Sapir²

1. Naturalization conditions have become more stringent, insisting on 20 years continuous residence in Kuwait for Arabs. The total number of naturalizations in any one year is limited to a maximum of fifty, effectively precluding the attainment of Kuwaiti nationality by the majority of the immigrant community. With this legislation, the Kuwaitis have successfully retained a distinction between themselves and the flood of new arrivals from a wide range of foreign countries, (ibid. p.20.).

2. E.Sapir 'Communication', in the Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (London : Macmillan, 1931), reprinted in The Psychology of Language, Thought and Instruction : Readings (ed.) J.P.De Cecco (NY : Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967), pp. 75-78.

used the term "radius of communication" to describe interdialectal exchanges of message. "The underlying reason for (this) remarkable change in the radius and rapidity of communication is the gradual diffusion of cultural traits, or in other words, of meaningful cultural relations. Among the various types of cultural diffusion that of language itself is of paramount importance"¹. Some of the social and cultural traits, including linguistic traits, leave their traces on individual Kuwaitis, especially young people, who are being taught at school by non-Kuwaitis .

1.3. Methods of Data Collection

The following kinds of data from "address in all its manifestations"² have been used :

(a) Primary Data

(i) Actual Usage in Different Situational Contexts

My data derive partly from observation. Over a period of five years spent entirely in Kuwait, I have carefully observed the native speakers of KA. I have kept a field notebook handy and jotted down instances of forms of address overheard from Kuwaitis. The sex, approximate ages , and other relevant characteristics of the participants , setting, etc. have been recorded at the same time.

1. Ibid., p.77.

2. J.B.Pride, The Social Meaning of Language (London : O.U.P. 1971), p. 72.

(ii) Recorded Usage (Field Data)

I made tape-recordings of conversations in natural settings : argument and discussion, funeral wailing, festival occasions, greeting, leave-taking, women addressing children, people buying and selling, husband and wife talking, children playing games, etc. The tapes have been transcribed and translated¹.

(iii) Reported Usage

I interviewed reliable and knowledgeable informants: those Kuwaitis who know most about local culture and customs and are the most willing to tell what they know. Some of them were my students of both sexes who belong to the age-group 19-28. Others were Kuwaitis of the older, semi-literate generation who preserved in their usage many of the "old" forms of address characteristic of KA and which are not much adhered to by some of the younger generation, who are influenced by "borrowed" forms of address introduced into the Kuwaiti community by non-Kuwaitis.

(iv) In addition, material was tape-recorded from TV and radio and included other major spoken varieties of KA, e.g. religious talks, story-telling, TV advertising, sports commentary, songs, etc.

(b) Secondary Sources

I have consulted and made use of written texts : books, articles, newspapers, popular journals of folklore, etc., which included any reference to as well as use of KA forms of address².

1. The texts are given in Appendix A, pp. . The relevant biographical features of each participant are also included.

2. See Appendix C, pp. 32 for bibliography of works consulted.

1.4. Conventions For Reading Transcribed Kuwaiti Forms

The following symbols and conventions for reading are used in the thesis :

1.4.1. Consonant-letters

b : a voiced bilabial plosive, as in :

baab	'door'
yabi	'he wants'
gariib	'near'

p : a voiceless bilabial plosive. This

consonant occurs in foreign words, as :

parda	'curtain'
@ispaana	'spanner'
peep	'pipe'

It is sometimes replaced by b in foreign words more completely integrated into the phonological and morphemic system of the dialect, as :

lambaat	'lamps'
baarsilaat	'parcels'

v : a voiced labio-dental fricative. This consonant occurs in KA only when f (voiceless labio-dental fricative) is assimilated, as in :

huvdat	'she memorized'
--------	-----------------

and in a few foreign words, as :

villa	'villa'
viiza	'visa'
tilivizyoon	'television'

- f : a voiceless labio-dental fricative, as in:
- | | |
|---------|-------------------|
| foog | 'above' |
| guful | 'lock' |
| nafnuuf | 'a woman's dress' |
- m : a voiced bilabial nasal, as in :
- | | |
|---------|----------|
| mutar | 'rain' |
| hammaal | 'porter' |
| yoom | 'day' |
- n : a voiced denti-alveolar nasal, as in :
- | | |
|-----------|---------------|
| nafɬ | 'crude oil' |
| fannaɬ | 'he resigned' |
| falaɬtiin | 'Palestine' |
- l : a voiced denti-alveolar lateral, as in :
- | | |
|---------|--------------------|
| leela | 'night' |
| @allaah | 'God' |
| maal | 'of, belonging to' |
- r : a voiced alveolar flap, rolled when doubled, as in :
- | | |
|---------|----------|
| rayyaal | 'man' |
| hurma | 'wife' |
| barr | 'desert' |
- ʈ : a non-emphatic voiced interdental fricative ,
as in :
- | | |
|--------|-------------|
| ʈiib | 'wolf' |
| haʈool | 'these' |
| laʈiiʈ | 'delicious' |

θ : a non-emphatic voiceless interdental fricative, as in :

θneen	'two'
miθl	'like'
wariiθ	'heir'

j : a voiced palato-alveolar affricate, as in :

jimaa&a	'group'
&ajiib	'strange'
zuwaaaj	'marriage'

j is not always affricated, cf.

jidir [dz-] but jduur [zd-] 'brass container/s',
 zooj [-dz] 'husband' but zoojti [-zt] 'my wife'
 @ajaanib [-dz] 'foreigners' but @ajnabi
 [-zn-] 'a foreigner',

j develops (morpho)-phonological relations with y (voiced palatal semi-vowel). The presence (j) or absence (y) of occlusion-cum-friction is phonologically conditioned in the cases of, e.g.

yalad 'he whipped, lashed', majluud 'whipped',
 yalas 'he sat', majlis 'council',
 yann 'he became madé', majnuun 'mad',
 yarr 'he pulled', majruur 'pulled',
 yarh 'wound', majruuh 'wounded',

where the "liquids" l, n and r form the second element of the consonant clusters

-jl- , -jn- , -jr- .

It is still a matter of phonological conditioning in , e.g.

yabar 'he forced' , majbuur 'compelled' ,
yama& 'he added' , majmuu& 'total' ,
yafa , yijfa 'to forsake'

where the "labials" b , m and f form the second element of the clusters

-jb- , -jm- , -jf- .

The alternation of j and y is sometimes morphologically conditioned, i.e. the selection is determined by the specific morpheme or morphemes concerned, rather than by any phonological feature. For example, ræyyaal or ræjjaal 'man' are freely variant, but for a Kuwaiti familiar with the form maryala 'apron' the j is automatically selected in marjala 'manliness' and maryala is rejected as incorrect. Other examples of morphemically conditioned variations are :

@ayal 'span(of life)', but @ajjil 'postpone(m.s.)!',
in contrast with @ayyil 'have your siesta!' ; sayad
'he knelt(to pray)', but saajid 'kneeling(to pray)',
in contrast with saayid 'predominant' ; &ayiina
'dough', but &ajjaan 'a person who kneads' , in
contrast with &ayyaan 'sick' ; haayam 'he attacked',
but haajim 'attack(m.s.)!' and bahaajim 'I am
attacking' , in contrast with haayim 'wandering
(mentally)' and bahaayim 'beasts'.

c : a voiceless palato-alveolar affricate.

c occurs :

(i) as a phonologically conditioned variant of k (voiceless velar plosive) in the environment of the front vowels i , ii , a , aa , as in :

cibiir	'big,old (m.s.)'
ciis	'purse'
bica	'he wept'
sicaaciin	'knives'

In some words, however, the variant c unexpectedly does not occur in juxtaposition with front vowels, as :

kilma	'word'
killi&	'quite'
@akl	'food'
dikkaan	'shop'
kisar	'he broke'
ka&af	'he uncovered'

(ii) as a second person feminine singular suffix as in :

&-loonic	'how are you?'
@ummic	'your mother'
fiic	'in you'
&aleec	'on you'
wiyyaac	'with you'

In the example $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{-loonik}$ 'how are you (m.s.)?',
 -ik is morphemically (not phonologically)
 conditioned. It is used as a second person
 masculine singular suffix in contrast with ,e.g.
 -ic in such forms as $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{-loonic}$.

(iii) in free variation with $\text{\textcircled{c}}$ (voiceless
 palato-alveolar fricative), as in :

carcaf	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{ar}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{af}$	'bed sheet'
ca h han	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{han}$	'he loaded'
caaf	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{aaf}$	'he saw'
caakuuc	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{aakuu}\text{\textcircled{c}}$	'hammer'
caay	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{aay}$	'tea'
bancar	or	$\text{ban}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{ar}$	'puncture'
ca b ra	or	$\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{ra}$	'building roofed with zinc to house vegetable and fish markets, etc.'

g : a voiced velar plosive. g occurs :

- (i) as a phonologically conditioned variant of j
 in juxtaposition with the back vowels a ,
 aa , u , uu , in related forms, as in :
- mriija 'a little soup' , marag 'soup'
 $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{aajil}$ 'wise' , $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{al}$ 'wiser'
 $\text{j}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{liil}$ 'a little' , $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{a}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{al}$ 'lesser'
 eijj 'truth' , $\text{eida}\text{\textcircled{c}}$ 'he told the truth'
 $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{iljaabla}$ 'tomorrow night' , $\text{ga}\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{bul}$ 'before'
 diij 'narrowness' , $\text{da}\text{\textcircled{c}}$ 'it became narrower'
 $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{irij}$, $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{urug}$ 'road/s'
 riij 'saliva' , ryuug 'breakfast'
 $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{irj}$, $\text{\textcircled{c}}\text{ruug}$ 'vein/s'

(ii) in free variation with j in some forms, as in:

rifiij	or	rifiig	'companion'
halj	or	halg	'mouth'
eidiiij	or	eiidiig	'friend'
mjaabil	or	mgaabil	'facing, opposite'
jaatil	or	gaatil	'murderer'
firiij	or	firiig	'district'

This alternation of j and g, however, is absent in the following related forms in which g occurs as the second element of an intervocalic consonant cluster, cf.

rufgaan	'companions'
oudgaan	'friends'
firgaan	'districts'

k : a voiceless velar plosive. k occurs :

(i) as a phonologically conditioned variant of c in juxtaposition with back vowels in related forms, as in :

bakkar (phonologically "back") vs. ybaccir (phonologically "front") 'to be early' ,
baarak , ybaaric 'to congratulate' ,
kubear 'big , old (pl.)' , cibiir 'big , old (m.s.)' ,
karaaka 'partnership' , kiriica 'partner(f.s.)' ,
haaoolak 'those' , haaoiic 'that (f.s.)' ,
akram 'he was hospitable' , ciriim 'hospitable' ,

(ii) in free variation with c. Educated Kuwaitis, through the influence of literary Arabic and

high prestige dialects, e.g. Egyptian Arabic ,
tend to use k and the c variant of k interchangeably,
in :

caff	or	kaff	'palm (of hand)'
cabriit	or	kabriit	'matches'
cam	or	kam	'how much, how many'
bica, yabci	or	bika, yabki	'to weep'
caan	or	kaan	'he/it was'
cisab, yacsib	or	kisab, yaksib	'to win'
cibiir	or	kibiir	'big'
haci	or	haki	'dialect, talk'
cim	or	kim	'sleeve'
cilwa	or	kilwa	'kidney'
ciis	or	kiis	'sack'
diic	or	diik	'cock'
ceef	or	keef	'how'

(iii) in loan words ,as :

kabat	'cupboard'
breek	'brake (of car)'
kalaj	'clutch'
ka&ta,ki&at	'picnic/s (in the desert)'
@istikaana	'a cup (of tea)'
tankar	'tank-car'

ʕ : a voiceless palato-alveolar fricative ,as in :

ʕoob	'a very hot wind'
di&daa&a	'a (long) Arab shirt'
di&&	'enter (m.s.)!'

g : a voiced uvular fricative ,as in :

gooo	'diving'
baga	'he wanted'
maḡag,yamḡug	'to chew'

x : a voiceless uvular fricative ,as in :

xubiz	'bread'
txarbat	'he was confused'
ḡeex	'Sheikh'

q : a voiceless uvular stop,as in :

qurḡaan	'Koran'
ḡalquds	'Jerusalem'
qass	'priest'
duqe	'porpoise'
daqque	'a piquant sauce'
qaamuus	'dictionary'

q and g are freely variant in :

&raaq	or	&raag	'Iraq'
quuti	or	guuti	'a can'
qase	or	gase	'he cut'
buqḡa	or	bugḡa	'bundle of clothes, envelope'
&aaqil	or	&aagil	'wise'
quwva	or	guwva	'strength'
maḡquul	or	maḡguul	'reasonable'
&umq	or	&umg	'depth'
beeraq	or	beerag	'flag'
burtuqaal	or	burtugaal	'oranges'

In some instances, (e.g. qalb, galb 'heart' , galbi 'my heart' and qalbi 'cordial;cardiac'), the variation between q and g is stylistic ,the one more closely resembling a Classical word (here qalbi) being considered more formal .

q and g are also freely variant in :

qadaa@	or	gadaa@	'office of judge;decision'
qadaat	or	gadaat	'judges'
quuzi	or	guuzi	'a stuffed roast lamb'
mqarraraat	or	mgarraraat	'curriculum;decisions'

and also in

ygannuun	or	yqannuun	'they sing'
maŋguul	or	maŋquul	'busy'
gazaala	or	qazaala	'gazelle'
@ilgaa@	or	@ilqaa@	'cancellation'
garaa	or	qaraa	'reason'

& : a voiced pharyngal fricative ,as in :

&ee&	'rice'
m&eeris	'bridegroom'
na&naa&	'mint (vegetable)'

h : a voiceless pharyngal fricative ,as in :

hurma	'woman;wife'
waahid	'one'
taah	'he fell'

@ : a glottal plosive ,as in :

@ax	'brother'
mas@uul	'responsible'
@umaraa@	'princes'

Some words have two or more alternants of which one is with h and the other(s) with corresponding vowel length, y, or lision, as : ra@s or raas 'a(person's)head', ra@iis or rayyis 'president;chief' ; haadi@ or haadi 'calm'. The words in such pairs usually differ stylistically, the one with @ being more formal.

h : a glottal fricative, as in :

h <u>uu</u>	'he'
@ <u>ahil</u>	'people;family'
ta <u>ah</u>	'he lost his way'

s : a non-emphatic voiceless denti-alveolar fricative, as in:

sala <u>am</u>	'peace'
nisa	'he forgot'
flu <u>us</u>	'money'

z : a non-emphatic voiced denti-alveolar fricative, as in :

ze <u>en</u>	'good,well'
&azi <u>ima</u>	'party (dinner)'
daz <u>z</u>	'he despatched'

d : a non-emphatic voiced denti-alveolar plosive, as in :

dalla <u>al</u>	'broker'
badda <u>al</u>	'he changed'
&i <u>id</u>	'feast'

t : a non-emphatic voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, as in :

ti <u>in</u>	'figs'
kutu <u>b</u>	'books'
bi <u>nt</u>	'girl'

e)
 s } : "emphatic"¹ consonants corresponding to non-emphatic
 d }
 t } s, z, θ, t respectively. The articulation of the emphatics
 differs from the "non-emphatics" as follows :

emphatics

The tongue: laterally expanded throughout its length and flattened in rear of the tip, its front part is low.

Position of lips: neutral or slightly rounded and protruded.

non-emphatics

The tongue: laterally contracted, its front part is raised towards the hard palate as for a high front vowel i and the back of the tongue is depressed .

Position of lips: neutral to spread.

e : an emphatic voiceless denti-alveolar fricative, counterpart of non-emphatic s , as in :

eaff	'class'
ebayy	'youth'
rixee ²	'permission'
xiie	'hook'

-
1. For T.F.Mitchell's remarks on "Emphasis" see Review of David Abercrombie's Elements of General Phonetics, (Edinburgh:O.U.P., 1966), in Journal of Linguistics, 5, 1969, pp.153-164, especially p.157 and p.162.
 2. "Environmental vowels vary co-comitantly. 'Emphatic' and 'non-emphatic' consonant articulation is always part of a syntagmatic 'emphasis' or 'non-emphasis' whose domain is never less than one syllable and frequently more", T.F.Mitchell, 'Aspects of Concord' in Archivum Linguisticum, Vol.IV (new series), 1973, p.49.

- ʒ** : an emphatic voiced denti-alveolar fricative , counterpart of z, as in :
- | | |
|--------|------------------|
| ʒahar | 'he/it appeared' |
| nazzaf | 'he cleaned' |
| hazz | 'luck' |
- ɖ** : an emphatic voiced interdental fricative, counterpart of ʈ , as in :
- | | |
|--------|------------|
| ɖeef | 'guest' |
| ɖarar | 'damage' |
| ɖuɖuur | 'presence' |
| bɖɖ | 'some' |
| beɖ | 'eggs' |
- ʈ** : an emphatic voiceless denti-alveolar plosive, counterpart of t , as in :
- | | |
|-------|------------|
| ʈoofa | 'wall' |
| xɖar | 'danger' |
| gɖɖ | 'he threw' |
- w** : a voiced bilabial semi-vowel, as in :
- | | |
|--------|---------|
| ween | 'where' |
| &awɖar | 'pain' |
| @aw | 'or' |
- y** : a voiced palatal semi-vowel, as in :
- | | |
|---------|---------------|
| yam | 'beside' |
| ɖayyib | 'fine' |
| yaryuur | 'shark' |
| maɣy | 'walk (noun)' |
| caay | 'tea' |

y and j are freely variant¹ in :

yadd	or	jadd	'grandfather'
daray	or	daraj	'stairs'
ʕyara	or	ʕjara	'tree'
yaahil	or	jaahil	'child'
dyaay	or	djaaj	'hens'
yaar	or	jaar	'neighbour'
sraay	or	sraaj	'lantern'
yidiid	or	jidiid	'new'
&ayiina	or	&ajiina	'dough'
yuzur	or	juzur	'islands'
yann	or	jann	'he became mad'
maynuun	or	majnuun	'mad'
yaraad	or	jaraad	'locusts'

The choice of one variant or the other is a matter of stylistic variation, the one with j being more formal.

In some words, however, the variant y cannot occur, as:

jayyid jiddan	'very good'
&ajiib	'strange'
najaat	'safety'
ʕirij	'road'
majlis	'council'
tajuuri	'safe (iron)'
@iljaafila	'the caravan'
jaasi	'tough'
jamiil	'beautiful'

1. For the sound change j > y in the Arabic dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, see T.M. Johnstone 'The Sound Change J > Y in the Arabic dialects of Peninsular Arabia', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 28, pp. 233-241.

4.2. Vowel-letters

There are four short vowels a, ə, i and u and six long¹ vowels aa, əə, ii, uu, ee and oo. The diagrams below indicate the approximate tongue positions of the short and long vowels in A .

Diagram 1. The Short Vowels

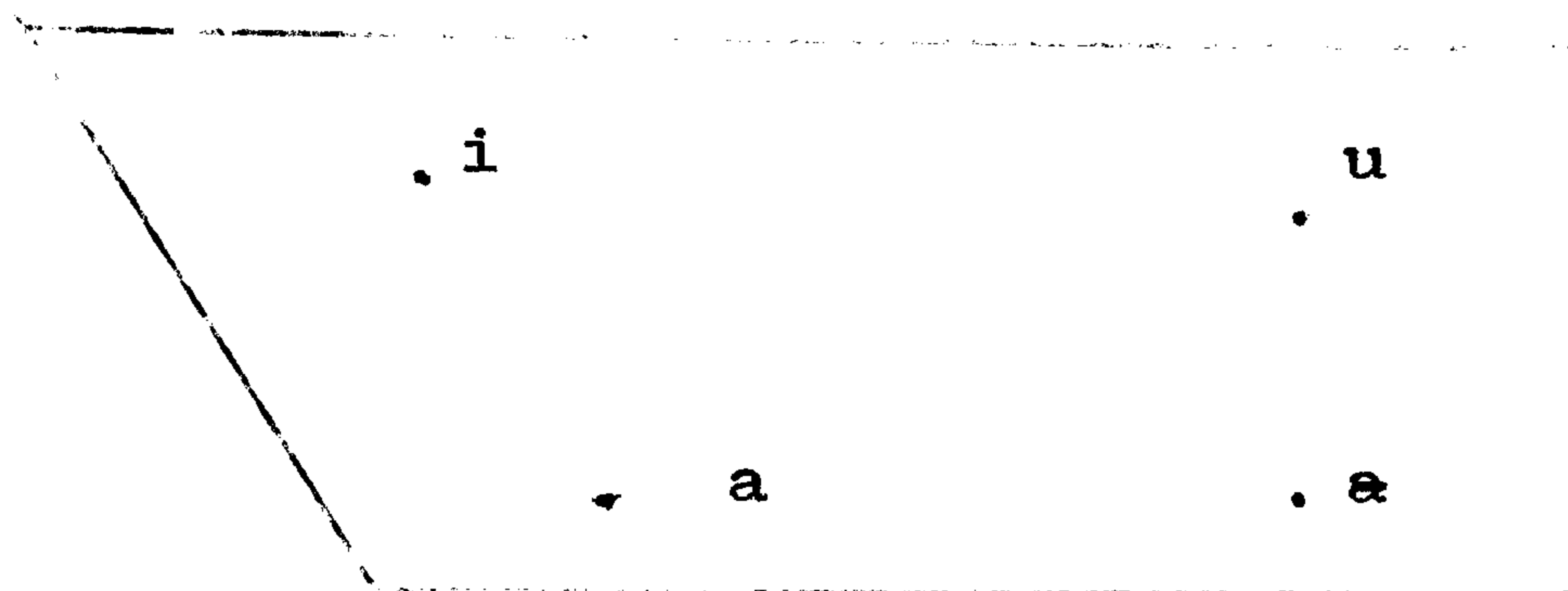
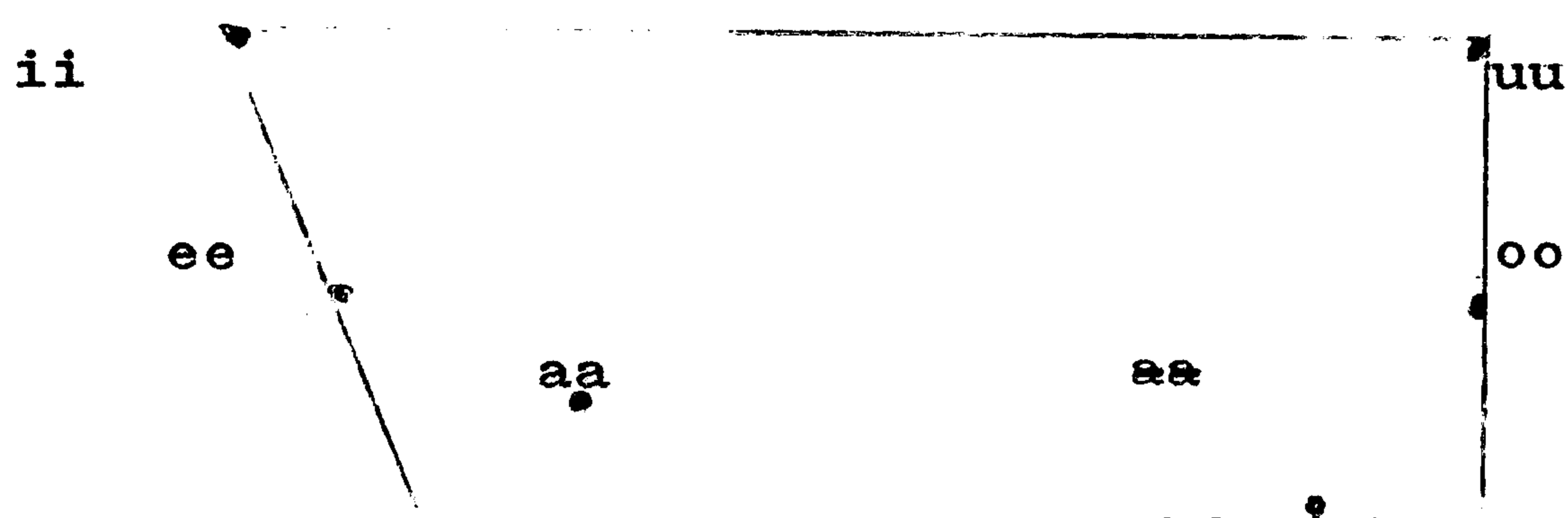


Diagram 2. The Long Vowels



a : an open to half open front vowel, usually retracted somewhat and centralized ,as in :

@abi	'I want'
saalfa	'talk, story'
beeta	'his house'

ə : an open slightly advanced and centralized back vowel ,as in :

galb	'heart'
exala	'a goat'
soota	'his voice'

¹ Long vowels are indicated by doubling the appropriate vowel-letter ,e.g. aa , əə , ii , uu ,etc.

- i** : a half-close front, somewhat centralized spread vowel, close when final ,as in :
- | | |
|-------|---------------|
| bi&t | 'man's cloak' |
| guwi | 'strong' |
| beeti | 'my house' |
- u** : a half-close back to central rounded vowel, close rounded when final ,as in :
- | | |
|-------|-----------------|
| gumar | 'moon' |
| hilu | 'sweet, pretty' |
| gatu | 'cat' |
- aa** : an open somewhat retracted and centralized front vowel ,as in :
- | | |
|---------|---------------|
| taab | 'he repented' |
| daana | 'pearl' |
| ribyaan | 'shrimps' |
- aa** : an open not quite fully back vowel ,as in :
- | | |
|---------|-----------------|
| daar | 'room' |
| taah | 'it/he fell' |
| @ayabaa | 'how wonderful' |
- ii** : a close front vowel ,as in :
- | | |
|---------|-------------|
| 0igiil | 'heavy' |
| jariida | 'newspaper' |
| ci0ii | 'like this' |
- uu** : a close back rounded vowel ,as in :
- | | |
|-------|----------|
| suug | 'market' |
| fluus | 'money' |
| £inuu | 'what' |

ee :a mid front spread vowel, as in :

zeen	'good'
kweet	'Kuwait'
meez	'table'

oo :a mid back rounded vowel ,as in :

gaalooli	'they told me'
yoom	'day'
yoo	'they came'

1.4.3. Diphthongs

Diphthongization occurs in KA when ,following a vowel (especially a and ə), y and w are either final or precede another consonant¹.

Examples :

(a) final

	ay		ay
@iklay	'eat(f.s.)!'	eibray	'be patient(f.s.)!'
ʔayy	'thing'	ɗayy	'light'
	aw		aw
ʔirbaw	'they drank'	eibraw	'they were patient'
dazzaw	'they despatched'	marraw	'they passed'

1. Cf., for instance, A.F.L. Beeston "The semivowels w and y stand to some extent apart from the rest of the system . Phonologically ,they are hardly distinguishable from the vowels u and i ;... w (and) y (are) realizable as consonant or vowel according to the syllabic context within the boundaries of any one syllable w and y as first (element) in the syllable always have consonantal value ,as second (element always vowel value." The Arabic Language Today, (London : Hutchinson University Library ,1970), pp.19-20.

(b) non-final

	ay		ay
kbayyib	'young lover'	rxayyie	'(rather) cheap'
sayyaara	'car'	ṭayyaara	'aeroplane'
ḥayya	'he greeted'	ḥayyaf	'he spent the summer'
bayyaala	'a cup for milk'	ṭayyan	'he put mud'
ḥmayyir	'a small donkey'	ḥayyin	'a small horse'
bayyat	'he spent the night'	bayyaḍ	'he made white'
	aw		aw
mawjuud	'present'	rawḍa	'kindergarten'
sawwat	'she did'	ḥawwaṭ	'he voted; he screamed'
sawwar	'he fenced in'	ḥawwar	'he pictured'
ḥawwaf	'he showed'	xawwaf	'he frightened'

1.4.4. Consonant Clusters

KA allows the occurrence of two-consonant clusters in initial and medial positions :

	<u>Initial</u>		<u>Medial</u>
<u>k</u> weet	'Kuwait'	n <u>ikt</u> ib	'we write'
<u>l</u> saan	'tongue'	n <u>isma</u> &	'we hear'
<u>nx</u> ala	'palm tree'	& <u>anza</u>	'goat'
<u>f</u> luus	'money'	ba <u>lwa</u>	'trouble'
<u>d</u> ruus	'lessons'	ḍ <u>arba</u>	'a blow'

Some words end in a final cluster of which the first consonant is one of the nasals m or n ,or l ,or r ,as in :

& <u>amr</u>	'Amr(personal name)'
hi <u>nd</u>	'India ;Hind(personal name)'
@ <u>alf</u>	'thousand'
ḥ <u>arb</u>	'war'

Three successive consonants could at least potentially occur medially in the dialect when

- (a) a prefix ending in a consonant is attached to a form beginning with two consonants or a geminate consonant, e.g.

ʕ-tsawwi ? 'what are you doing?', or

w-ttifgaw 'and they agreed'

- (b) a word ending in a consonant is followed without pause by a form beginning with two consonants or a geminate consonant, e.g.

ʕuglhum 'their work'

min&yuuni 'from my eyes'

ʕtareetddaar 'I bought the house'

- (c) a word ending in a geminate consonant is followed without pause by a form beginning with a consonant, e.g.

hubbwaayid 'much love'

@ummjaasim 'Jassim's mother'

haggbeetik 'for your (m.s.)house'

- (d) the first consonant is the article (@il) (which is often pronounced so laxly as to be barely audible), and where the final element is h + vowel, e.g.

lkweet 'Kuwait'

lfluus 'the money'

ʕarabtha 'I hit her/it'

The four-consonant situation arises when a word ending in a geminate consonant or in two consonants is followed immediately by a form beginning with two consonants or a geminate consonant ,e.g.

<u>dazzm</u> kaatiib	'he sent letters'
ʔu <u>ftl</u> saanik	'I saw your(m.s.)tongue'
dd <u>ars</u> ʔʔaaliʔ	'the third lesson'

The pattern of three or four consonant clusters is avoided in KA :

- (a) If the first element is a geminate consonant, the geminate (usually) becomes a single consonant,e.g.

<u>hubb</u> waayid	>	<u>hub</u> waayid (but <u>hubb</u> ilwaʔan 'love of one' country')
@ <u>umm</u> jaasim	>	@ <u>um</u> jaasim (but @ <u>umm</u> ilyahhaal 'the children's mother')
<u>hagg</u> beetik	>	<u>hag</u> beetik (but <u>hagg</u> ilbeet 'for the house')

- (b) The h in the cluster CCh + a is elided ,e.g.

ʔarabtha > ʔarabta . The h is not elided in the cluster CCh + u , e.g. ʔarabthum 'I/you(m.s.)hit them' (ʔarabtum = 'you(c.pl.)hit')

- (c) Otherwise an anaptyctic vowel¹ occurs between the first and second of the three or between the second and third

1. This vowel is written in the transcription with the breve sign (̆) , i, ă, ŭ.

of four consonants, e.g.

ʔ-t̩sawwi	>	ʔ̩tsawwi
min̩&yuuni	>	min̩̩&yuuni
lkweet	>	l̩kweet
l̩fluus	>	l̩fluus

1.4.5. Prominence¹ and Syllable Structure

In each KA word² there is one syllable which stands out to the ear above the others and may be regarded as the nucleus of the syllabic pattern of structure. It is convenient to call this syllable the "prominent"³. Prominence⁴ in KA depends on the structure of the word in terms of its constituent syllables .

1. I have benefited from studies of the prominent syllable and syllable structure by T.F.Mitchell 'Prominence and syllabication in Arabic', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies , 23, 1960, pp. 369-389, Colloquial Arabic (London : Teach Yourself Books, 1962), T.M.Johnstone 'Aspects of syllabication in the spoken Arabic of "Anaiza"', Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies , 30, 1967, pp.1-16 and A.Matar ʔasraa@ie illahja lkuwaytiyya (Kuwait : A Publication of the University of Kuwait, 1969), min @asraa illahja lkuwaytiyya (Kuwait : A Publication of the University of Kuwait, 1970).
2. The word abstracted from larger wholes is taken to be the largest isolate discussed .
3. T.F.Mitchell gives the chief features of the prominent syllable as :
 - (i) the greater stress or force with which it is uttered in comparison with other syllables of the form,
 - (ii) the higher pitch of at least its initial phase in relation to adjoining syllables,
 - (iii) the kinetic or moving (falling) tone on which it is pronounced in contrast with the static or level tones of the remaining non-prominent syllables. 'Prominence and syllabication in Arabic' (op.cit., p.369).
4. An acute accent sign is placed over the appropriate vowel-letter to indicate the prominent syllable in a word.

There are six types of syllable in KA :

- (i) CV¹ : open short
- (ii) CVC : closed not long
- (iii) CVV : open not long
- (iv) CCV : open not long
- (v) CVVC : closed long
- (vi) CVCC : closed long

The following are the rules which govern prominence in KA polysyllabic words :

1.4.5.1. The Prominent in Ultimate Position

If the ultimate syllable is "long", i.e. of the type CVVC or CVCC , the prominent falls on that syllable, as in :

&aráft	(CV-CVCC) 'I/you (m.s.) knew',
jibáal	(CV-CVVC) 'mountains',
@anjást	(CVC-CVCC) 'I/you (m.s.) finished',
riyaayíil	(CV-CVV-CVVC) 'men' ,
yitgaabilúun	(CVC-CVV-CV-CVVC) 'they meet'.

Generally speaking, long syllables are always prominent, as in :

díirti	(CVVC-CV) 'my town',
béethum	(CVVC-CVC) 'their house',
fa&áaltni	(CVC-CVCC-CV) 'you (m.s.) embarrassed me'.

If two long syllables occur in the same word, the prominent falls on the ultimate, as in :

raayhíin	(CVVC-CVVC) 'they are going',
mithaaw&íin	(CVC-CVVC-CVVC) 'we/they have quarrelled'.

1. C = consonant , V = vowel , VV = long vowel.

1.4.5.2. The Prominent in Penultimate Position

The penultimate syllable is prominent if the quantity of the ultimate syllable is "not long" (CVC , CCV , CV) and the penultimate "not short" , as in

káatib	(C'VV-CVC)	'clerk' ,
gá aat	(C'VC-CVC)	'she cut' ,
mitgáabla	(CVC-C'VV-CCV)	'meeting (present participle)' ,
húrma	(C'VC-CV)	'woman' ,
la&wázni	(CVC-C'VC-CV)	'he annoyed me'.

1.4.5.3. The Prominent in Antepenultimate Position

The antepenultimate syllable is prominent if the quantity of the ultimate is "not long" and the penultimate "short" , as in :

tíftihim	(C'VC-CV-CVC)	'you (m.s.) understand',
mí&tihi	(C'VC-CV-CV)	'desiring'
&áalami	(C'VV-CV-CV)	'world-',
&árika	(C'V-CV-CV)	'company' .

1.4.6. Transcribed Differences between Contextual and Isolate Forms

These differences will be described under the following headings :

Assimilation and Elision .

1.4.6.1. Assimilation

(i) Consonant clusters are voiced or voiceless throughout :

(a) A voiced consonant may become voiceless

before a voiceless consonant, as in :

@ag t a&	>	@ak t a&	'I cut'
@adfa&	>	@atfa&	'I pay'
libsat	>	lipsat	'she wore'
lijsuur	>	licsuur	'the bridges'
ma l kuur	>	maskuur	'mentioned'
hijazt	>	hijast	'I reserved'
jtim&aw	>	&tim&aw	'they assembled'

(b) A voiceless consonant may become voiced before a voiced consonant , as in :

@ s ediqaa@	>	@ s ediqaa@	'friends'
ma l guul	>	majguul	'busy'
@asdaas	>	@azdaas	'sixths'
@a l gal	>	@a l gal	'heavier'
huf t a t	>	huv t a t	'she memorized'
@a l jaar	>	@ajjaar	'trees'

(ii) In the definite @il 'the' , the l is assimilated before denti-alveolar and emphatic consonants, and may or may not be assimilated before velar plosives.

The assimilating consonant is geminated, as in :

@il t abiiba	>	@i t t abiiba	'the physician(f.s.)'
@ilsina	>	@issina	'the year'
@ilrayyaal	>	@irrayyaal	'the man'
@ilkitaab	or	@ikkitaab	'the book'

When not part of the definite article, l preceding these consonants is not assimilated, as in :

kal simac	'he ate fish'
kal ribyaan	'he ate shrimps'

1.4.6.2. Elision

(i) the @i element of the definite article @il is elided in the following contexts :

(a) words beginning with consonant clusters, as in:

@il+&yara	>	lɪ&yara ¹ 'the tree' ,
@il+kweet	>	lɪkweet '(the) Kuwait'
@il+f&eehiil	>	lɪf&eehiil 'a village south of Kuwait'
@il+bduwi	>	lɪbduwi 'the bedouin'

Contrast the non-elision of @i elsewhere in comparable contexts, as in :

@il+&ayuuz	=	@il&ayuuz 'the old man'
@il+cibiir	=	@ilcibiir 'the old man'
@il+mu&ar	=	@ilmu&ar 'the rain'

(b) when preceded by words ending in a vowel, as in :

fii+@il+beet	>	filbeet 'in the house' ,
ha +@il+beet	>	halbeet 'this house' .

(ii) the glottal plosive @ is frequently elided in medial junctions, and under the following conditions :

(a) when following a consonant, as in :

&+@aguul	>	&aguul 'what can I say?' ,
&+@aku	>	&aku 'what is there?' ,
&+@ismik	>	&ismik 'what's your (m.s.)name?'

1. The cluster breaker ɪ is used to avoid three successive consonants

(b) when preceded by a vowel, the glottal plosive is elided with the following or preceding vowel, as in :

@in+&faa@+@allaah	>	@in&aalla 'if God wills' ,
wi+@axuuya	>	waxuuya 'and my brother' ,
bi+@af&ae	>	baf&ae 'I am going to test' ,
bi+@iidi	>	biidi 'in my hand' ,
hii+@illi	>	hilli 'it is this which' ,
maa+@abi	>	mabi 'I don't want' ,

(iii) Short vowels a , i , u in word-initial short (open) syllables are elided at word junctions¹ when

(a) the syllable is non-prominent ,

(b) the preceding word ends in a vowel, as in :

xalna+n <u>as</u> uug	>	xalna nsuug 'let's drive' ,
@ana +t <u>i</u> &ibt	>	@ana t&ibt 'I became tired' ,
@ana +&u <u>m</u> aani	>	@ana &maani 'I am from Oman' ²

1.4.7. Other Notational Devices

- : hyphen marks elisions at word junctions, as in

haggi-ssikirteera = hagg+@ilsikirteera 'for the secretary' ,

ya-ddoor = ya+@il door 'the turn has come' , etc.

The hyphen in the transcription does not necessarily mark the place at which the elided portion(s) occur(s) in corresponding non-elided forms.

1. Cf. T.F.Mitchell 'Prominence and syllabication in Arabic' , op.cit. , p.377 and Colloquial Arabic , op.cit. , pp.28-34.

2. Mitchell draws attention to the close relation between prominence and syllabication. "It should be observed that elision of i and u does not obtain if the relevant syllable is also prominent...., cf. fadda + &ilabu = fadda &ilabu 'he emptied his boxes' , @abu+&umar = @abu &umar 'Omar's father' , etc. 'Prominence and syllabication in Arabic' , p.377.

- < : arising from
 > : becomes, is realized as
 [] : (enclose) IPA symbols
 * : (before a form that is unacceptable)
 ' ' : indicate glosses , translations , or other indications of
 the meanings of Kuwaiti forms
 = : the same as

Transcribed Kuwaiti forms will subsequently be underlined .

Common Abbreviations used in the thesis

- | | |
|----------------|------------------|
| m. : masculine | f. : feminine |
| s. : singular | pl. : plural |
| c. : common | lit. : literally |

Other abbreviations will be explained at the time of their introduction .

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

This study is within the framework of sociolinguistics, especially as presented by both British and American linguists and sociolinguists¹. In this chapter some key-concepts of recent sociolinguistics² will be surveyed. This will serve as a prelude to constructing an operationally adequate framework for the statement of meaning of KA forms of address. Naturally, slight modifications had to be made in the application of some techniques and the definition of certain terms to fit our needs in the description of KA forms.

2.1. Language in Society

The theoretical nature of the link between language and society is increasingly being studied by linguists and sociologists. Language, like culture (viz., all accepted and patterned ways of behaviour of a given people) , is

1. For a selected list of the works consulted, see the bibliography, pp.
2. D.Hymes points out the scope of these recent studies : "... the organization of linguistic features in terms of verbal repertoires, the role of social meaning as a determinant of acceptability and the creative aspects of language use, the effects of personal identity, role, and setting as constraints on competence ...", 'The scope of sociolinguistics', in 23rd Annual Round Table : Sociolinguistics ; Current Trends and Propects (Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics, No 25, 1972), edited by R.W.Shuy (Washington : Georgetown University Press, 1973) , pp. 313-333 , p. 315.

regarded as having patterns. To understand the true interrelationship of language and other cultural patterns, some sociolinguists study language patterns : phonological, lexico-grammatical, etc., and the relations between these and components of culture. For instance, the KA forms ya haafid (lit. 'O protector (m.s.)!') is used between female Kuwaiti interlocutors , as in :

ya haafid , min zimaan maa zurtiina 'You haven't visited us for a long time' ,

ya haafid , muu ma&guul halkaci 'How can you say that?' ,

ya haafid , £-da&wa luulwa 'Come , come , Lulwa' ,

ya haafid , taww-innaas 'It's too early to leave' ,

ya haafid , laa maay , laa caay , la ghawa 'Do you have to leave before having any water or tea or coffee?'

But the effect on the addressee is decidedly different from what the literal translation meaning implies in that it serves rather the function of "mild reproach" between two intimate female Kuwaiti speakers. The form ya haafid (m.s.) has no corresponding form ya haafida (f.s.) , and is one of the many indices by which female Kuwaiti speech can be recognized .

2.2. Linguistic Repertoires and Linguistic Varieties

Two major spokesmen for new directions in the "ethnography of communication", in which the object of study would be the totality of speech habits of a community, rather than the structure of a particular code, have been

D.Hymes and J.Gumperz¹. The speech community², and its members, are conceived as having "linguistic repertoires", composed of "linguistic varieties". The term variety merely designates "a member of a verbal repertoire"³. "Linguistic repertoires"⁴ are the range of varieties or alternative ways of speaking available to a speech community. There are two main varieties used by Kuwaiti speakers : one with higher prestige ("superposed variety of Arabic"), referred to as (High) H and a less prestigious nonstandard variety referred to as (Low) L. These two varieties of Arabic fulfil distinctly complementary and stable roles within the same speech community -- H is the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, learned largely through formal education, and generally used for formal purposes, while L is the normal medium of everyday conversation. A "Mixed"

1. See J.Gumperz & D.Hymes (eds.) 'The ethnography of communication', in American Anthropologist, 66, 6, pt. 2, 1964.
2. J.Gumperz sees the "speech community" as "any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language usage", 'The speech community', in International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (Macmillan, 1968), pp. 281-6, reprinted in P.G. Giglioli (ed.) Language and Social Context (London: Penguin, 1972), pp. 219-31, p. 219.
I consider Kuwaitis whose addressive forms I study in this thesis as forming a "speech community" in Gumperz' sense.
3. D.Hymes, 'Competence and performance in linguistic theory', in R.Huxley & E.Ingram (eds.) Language Acquisition : Models and Methods (London : Academic Press. 1971), p. 23.
4. Gumperz sees a "linguistic repertoire" as made up of "the totality of dialectal and superposed variants regularly employed within a speech community", op.cit., p. 230.

variety which is the result of merging features from more than one language variety, is referred to as M in this work.

Each of these varieties¹ is associated and used, through community-known rules of appropriateness, with specifiable social relationships². In interacting with non-Kuwaitis, mixed varieties including H can be expected to be used. Kuwaitis might also switch from L to H to impress their interlocutors or in formal gatherings as funerals and weddings. Switching of this sort symbolizes what Pride terms as "shifts in cultural identities and social values, 'allegiances', and so forth"³. The KA form m&awwad (lit. 'he whom we wish to live long') is a familiar form of address exchanged between two intimate male Kuwaitis, as in:

ya m&awwad , @alla yhadaak , xalliini @akammili-ssaalfa

'Let me finish my story, please!' (L)

But, when speaking to non-Kuwaiti Arabs in "similar" circumstances a Kuwaiti may use a corresponding mixed variety, comprising a borrowed respectful address-form , as in :

ya sayyid , @arjuuk , xalliini @akammil kalaami (M)

or he may use H , as in :

ya sayyidi , da&ni @ukammil hadii@i , min faelik .

1. High and Low was first put forward by C.Ferguson ('Diglossia', Word, 15, 1959, pp.325-40), reprinted in Hymes' Reader (1964), pp. 429-40 and also in Giglioli, op.cit., pp. 232-251.
2. Cf., for instance, N.Denison, 'Some observations on language variety and plurilingualism', in E.Ardner (ed.), Social Anthropology and Language (London : Tavistock, 1971), pp. 65-77.
3. J.B.Pride , The Social Meaning of Language , p.15.

The use of H is generally associated with "formal" situations to show respect when both interlocutors are familiar with H , and sometimes to show contempt or impatience when speaking to one's uneducated inferior¹. On the other hand, Kuwaiti women switch to L in the form of "Old" Kuwaiti in "formal" situations. For example, the form &asa minna lmaal wi minnici l&iyaal 'My God make him (the bridegroom) have enough money to spend on you , and may God make you bring forth enough children (to fill the house)' is typical of Kuwaiti women's speech when congratulating a girl who has recently become engaged. In the congratulatory formula , the antithesis .

minna lmaal (lit. 'the money from him') and

minnici l&iyaal (lit. 'the children from you')

reflects , among other things, the values of a society which allocates specific roles to men, viz. earning the family bread, and others to women, viz. staying at home and bringing forth as many children as possible. Typical repetitive social events distinctively direct speech in typical repetitive patterns. Kuwaiti women find it more "appropriate" to use archaic formulas which are expected in the circumstances than to give rein to individual choices .

1. Cf., for instance, Haim Blanc, 'Style variations in spoken Arabic : A sample of interdialectal educated conversation', in C.A.Ferguson (ed.) Contributions to Arabic Linguistics (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1964) , pp. 79-161.

2.3. Repetitive and Creative Aspects of Language Use

Gumperz sees "linguistic repertoire" as an analytical concept which "allows us to establish direct relations between its constituents and the socio-economic complexity of the community"¹. There are ranges of linguistic varieties and a speaker selects from the varieties what he thinks appropriate to the context of speech and his own private motivations. Firth suggests a contextual approach to meaning. Firth² defined context of situation as including the entire cultural setting of speech and the personal biography of the participants : their background , their affiliations , their current mood and particularly their appraisal of the situation and the role they are ready to assume in it . In Kuwaiti society, there are typical repetitive social occasions , such as births , weddings , funerals , greetings , farewells , etc. , which are characterized by highly

1. J. Gumperz, op.cit., p.230.

2. J.R. Firth, "The central concept of the technique here sketched is the context of situation , in which, in a sense, whole stretches of personal biography , as cultural history are involved , and in which past, present, and future all meet", 'The technique of semantics', in Papers in Linguistics: 1934-1951 (London : O.U.P.), p.18. Firth also stressed the study of speech in typical contexts where it is appropriate to specific social roles that individuals play. "... the force and cogency of most language behaviour derives from the firm grip it has on the ever-recurrent typical situations in the life of social groups" and from the "network of bonds and obligations", The Tongues of Men and Speech (London : O.U.P., 1964), p.113.

predictable and fixed linguistic formulas or routines¹. To condole the bereaved relatives of a dead person ,Kuwaitis , educated and uneducated alike,must use routines in H as :

@ilbaqiyya f-hayaatkum 'Accept my condolences',

@inna li-llaahi wa @inna @ilayhi raaaji&uun 'We'll all die'

(lit. 'We belong to God to whom we shall return'),etc. to which the bereaved must reply in H :

sa&yukum ma&kuur 'Thanks for coming (to condole me)',etc.

It is still necessary to emphasize the social nature of language ,but perhaps it is also possible to show how individuals may accept language's social norms and yet still manage to achieve some degree of expressive freedom or what Chomsky² calls "the creative aspect of language use". Firth may have overstressed social determinancy ;but he did not,in fact,deny the infinite creativity of language in the mouth of a native speaker. Creativity must be achieved ,however, within one or

1. Cf.J.R.Firth "Speech is not the 'boundless chaos' Johnson thought it was .For most of us the roles and lines are there, and that being so , the lines can be classified and correlated with the part and also with the episodes ,scenes and acts. Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think . Once someone speaks to you ,you are in a relatively determined context ,and you are not free just to say what you please", The technique of semantics', in Papers in Linguistics , op.cit.,p.28.
2. N.Chomsky, Language and Mind (NY:Harcourt ,Brace & World, 1968),p.10.

more of the socially prescribed styles¹ recognized in a language and a society subject, of course, to the gradual (or sudden) emergence of new styles as forms of response to changing circumstances².

A speaker in any language community who enters diverse social situations normally has a repertoire of speech alternatives which shift with respect to relationships or other variations in social context. D.Hymes has argued that a native speaker's ability to know when to use which variety can be regarded as his "communicative competence"³. One needs therefore to deal with systematic relations between repertoires of linguistic varieties (or variables) on the one hand and situations, on the other, with one set of relations defining "unmarked" (normal) usage--built up through long-term social

1. For "style" see 2.4.4., pp.

2. Cf. R.H.Robins , Review of D.T.Langendoen The London School of Linguistics , in Language, 45, 1969, pp. 109-116.

3. D.Hymes has elaborated the concept of "communicative competence" which refers to "what a speaker wants to know to communicate effectively in culturally significant settings". "Students of communicative competence deal with speakers as members of communities, as incumbents of social roles, and seek to explain their use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities", J.J.Gumperz & D.Hymes (eds.) Directions in Sociolinguistics (NY : Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), p.vii. Cf., for instance, M.Gregory who suggests that part of the linguistic competence of a native speaker is a competence in a host of varying circumstances, 'Aspects of varieties differentiation', Journal of Linguistics , 3, 1967, pp.177-98. Cf., also, R.H.Robins "... the currently favoured TG model... still takes the acquisition and experiential basis of this competence for granted", op.cit., p.111.

experiences, and other sets or relations defining "marked" usage--determined by the relatively short-lived forces and the events of the immediate social environment. The particular values that are marked might include such speech functions as insult, entreaty, beseeching, comic relief, role distance, etc. In this study my interest is in choice between alternatives of address offered by KA in the light of adjustments Kuwaitis make to their social environments--how they come to perceive and judge people and events in shared ways and in individual ways and how they react linguistically to certain recurring social events .

2.4. Domain

In a sociolinguistic approach, one must determine just what "events" are culturally regarded as communicative. Fishman¹ refers to these "events" or "spheres of activity" as "domains". Domains, in Fishman's sense, are institutionally given "occasions on which one language (variant, dialect, style, etc.) is habitually employed rather than (or in addition to) another²."

For the purpose of this thesis the term "domain" will be used not in any universal or even strictly Fishmanian sense. It merely refers here to definite "contextual units" recurrent in Kuwaiti society in which addressive forms with

1. J.A.Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague : Mouton, 1966).

2. Ibid., p.428.

particular characteristics can function. Domains are here recognized in an attempt to circumscribe the textually relevant features of a situation in terms of contextually relevant features. A domain is found to be made up of repetitive situations of linguistic significance. I take Hymes' definition of situation to be a valid one.

Hymes¹ says that the concept of "situation" refers to the "location of encounters, 'face-to-face interaction', its physical setting, its point in time, the standing behaviour patterns that accompany it, the social attributes of the persons involved."

The thesis deals with forms of address in three Kuwaiti domains :

- (1) Within the Family
- (2) In Social Activities
- (3) At Work.

Each of these domains is to some extent characterized by

1. D.Hymes, 'The ethnography of speaking', in T.Gladwin and W.C. Sturtevant (eds.) Anthropology and Human Behaviour (Washington : Anthropological Society of Washington, 1962), and in J.A.Fishman Readings in the Sociology of Language (The Hague : Mouton, 1968), pp.99-138.Cf., for instance , M.Gregory who defines "situation" as the study of those extra-textual features, linguistic and non-linguistic, which have high potential relevance to statements of meaning about the texts of language events. By "context" he understands the correlations of formally described linguistic features with those situational features themselves constantly recurrent and relevant to the understanding of language events . 'Aspects of varieties differentiation' , in Journal of Linguistics , op. cit., pp. 177-198.

its particular set of role-relations¹ such as parent-child, wife-husband, master-servant in the family, hostess-guest in social activities, employer-employee, senior official-junior official in occupations and governmental administration, etc. Members of groups interacting in different domains acquire a diversity of sociolinguistic communicative competence with respect to appropriate linguistic choice among available forms of address .

Domains are broken down into variables or dimensions of situational constraint².

2.4.1. Modality :

Modality refers to the contrast between asking, demanding, and commenting. Modality may be characterized as involving a reflection of the specific purpose of an utterance. It is based on the two dimensions of power (prestige motivation) and solidarity (integrative motivation). Each domain distinctively directs interaction in a patterned way. Thus, a familial domain is one in which the individual is accepted by the others and can be at ease in the sense of not having to "prove" himself. In social activities the individuals can satisfy their inclinations for social relationships, but nonetheless must perform appropriately. A work domain is much more focussed on a task , but still appropriate behaviour , including linguistic behaviour , is expected.

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1. R.Linton stated that "A status, as distinct from the individual who may occupy it, is simply a collection of rights and duties. ... a role represents the dynamic aspect of status. ... when (an individual) puts the rights and duties which constitute the status into effect he is performing a role. ... role and status are quite inseparable", The Study of Man (NY : Applecton-Century, 1936), p.114.
 2. By situational constraint is meant those non-linguistic components of a domain which are clearly relevant to the choice of a linguistic variant.

2.4.2. Participants

The important features of the participants include their roles and statuses in the domains in which they interact. The term "role" is closely linked to the term "status". According to Linton¹, status refers to the participant's position within an institution, that is within a system of roles. Role refers to the participant's performance in an interactive process. According to Parsons² role involves a set of complementary expectations concerning a participant's actions and those of others with whom he interacts. Goodenough³, on the other hand, defines statuses or what he calls "social identities" in terms of combinations of rights and duties . Each person has several social identities, and in specific situations one is elected as appropriate. This Goodenough terms "the selector's social person in the interaction" . Goodenough even refers to specific performances of the same duty as when he considers the father-son relationship . The status of the social identity "father" in this relationship is "delimited by duties he owes his son and the thing he can demand of him"⁴. "Within the boundaries set by his rights

1. R.Linton, op. cit., p.114.

2. T.Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe : Free Press, 1951).

3. W.H.Goodenough, 'Rethinking "status" and "role" : toward a general model of the cultural organization of social relationships', in M.Banton (ed.) The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology , A.S.A.Monographs (London : Tavistock , 1965).

4. Ibid., p.4.

and duties it is his privilege to conduct himself as he will"¹. An individual assumes composite identities and depending on the situation he selects particular identities in which to present himself to the world. He can be a father, a husband, an employee, a work mate, a diivaaniyya 'reception-hall' guest, etc. An individual also makes assumptions as to the biographical identity of his interlocutor and adapts his speech accordingly². It is important to realize that forms of address usually follow rules that are understood by an entire society. If someone uses a particular form of address, this could mean, as D.L.Goyvaerts³ put it "that he wants to assign you a particular role (e.g. he may regard you as a stranger, a superior, a subordinate, etc.)" Brim⁴ deals with what he calls "socialization through the life cycle". "A major component of socialization involves learning the role of the other".

Roles and statuses are both ascribed and achieved. Ascribed (inherited) roles and statuses are those which come to an individual automatically, e.g. sex, age, kinship

1. Ibid., p.4.

2. Cf. T.F. Mitchell, 'Linguistic "goings-on" ; collocations and other lexical matters arising on the syntagmatic record', in Archivum Linguisticum, Vol II (new series), 1971, p.39.

3. D.L.Goyvaerts, 'Linguistic behaviour and the acquisition of social roles : one aspect of linguistic performance', in Studia Linguistica XXVI : I, 1972, pp. 1-13, p.4.

4. O.G.Brim 'Socialization through the life cycle', in O.G.Brim & S.Wheeler, Socialization After Childhood : Two Essays (NY : John Wiley, 1966), pp. 1-49, p.9.

position, etc. Achieved roles and statuses include such occupational and occasional ones as employer, doctor, host, etc., which are not biologically determined. Of course, the participants in interaction may have the same or different roles, i.e. their relationship may be symmetrical or asymmetrical in the use of similar or different forms of address. For example, the relationship between brothers is symmetrical, that between father and son asymmetrical¹.

Dyadic relations between pairs of interactants may be classified into the following variable types derived from the preceding brief discussion of "status" and "role" :

Ascribed characteristics :

(i) Permanent :

sex (male-female),
 kinship(father-son), (mother-son), (mother-daughter), etc.

(ii) Temporal :

age (older-younger)

Achieved characteristics :

(i) Position on a social scale :

(inferior-peer-superior)
 (married-unmarried)

(ii) Occupation :

(with or without professional title)

1. See, for example, R. Brown who uses status (in a social psychological sense) together with solidarity as two major dimensions to characterize two kinds of relations : asymmetrical and symmetrical underlying the use of different forms of address, Social Psychology (NY: The Free Press, 1965).

Relational sentiments :

(i) Degree of intimacy

(intimate friend-casual friend-stranger)

(ii) Social distance :

(close-remote)

Kuwaitis live in exclusively Kuwaiti districts to which non-Kuwaitis are denied residential access . This leads to infrequent interaction and little intimacy between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis .

Relation vis-à-vis others :

(i) Standard roles :

(husband-wife)

(ii) Occasional roles :

(employer-guest)

2.4.3. Singularity.

Singularity refers to linguistic idiosyncrasy, private motivations and preferences of the individual speaker. Leach¹ states that "in all viable systems there must be an area where the individual is free to make choices so as to manipulate the system to his advantage". Although originally conditioned by the "situation", a choice (or choices) may become pre-eminent in the sense that the speaker may deliberately choose certain forms to "create" a type of social occasion or role . It often happens ,in certain interactions between ,say, a young senior official and an elderly Kuwaiti farraa 'office boy' that the

1. E.R.Leach, 'On certain unconsidered aspects of double descent systems', Man , 62, 1962, pp. 130-4,p.133.

"inferior" addresses his "superior" by modes which he himself receives, such as personal names, familiar personal pronouns, etc. In the circumstances, a farraa& shows no respect, disrespect or undue familiarity. He simply behaves in accordance with two ascribed attributes he happens to enjoy : age and Kuwaiti nationality which he values at a higher plane than any achieved attributes, such as occupational status, education, etc.

2.4.4. Stylistic Variation and Social Meaning

The speech styles in KA draw on the linguistic varieties H, M and L present in the community. By "stylistic variation" Labov¹ means the shifts by which a speaker adapts his language to the immediate context of the speech act". Stylistic variation pre-supposes the option of saying "the same thing" in several different ways, i.e. the variants are identical in referential value, but opposed in their social meaning. For instance, a father who wants to keep his children from associating with certain playmates may utter the sentence: mi@l halmakaan maa yinli&ib fiih 'That sort of place is not for playing in'. The meaning of this utterance can be analyzed at the social level as involving an appeal to (a) general rather than particularistic norms, and (b) being object-oriented rather than person-oriented in meaning, since it refers to playing in a place rather than playing with people.

1. W.Labov, 'The social setting of linguistic change', in Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol XI, edited by T.A. Sebeok (The Hague : Mouton, 1973), pp. 195-251.

If the father had chosen to say :

@ana maa @abiik til&ab wiyya halyahhaal 'I don't like you playing with those children', the appeal would have been characterized by the features (a) particularistic norms, and (b) person-orientation. The speaker's selection of different clusters of social features also leads to significant differences in linguistic form.

Style also varies along the main dimensions of status and solidarity. Status as a category covers those stylistic variations which correspond with variations in the relative social standing of the participants in any act of communication. In KA, there is a number of styles : formal, respectful, informal, familiar, vulgar, etc. Some styles are considered by particular interlocutors to be indicators of greater intimacy, informality, equality, while others indicate superiority, reserve, etc. For example, let us assume a situation where the speaker is standing outside a door and consider the following ways of giving an order :

(1) @iftah ya... 'Open(m.s.)...!'

(imperative+ya)

(2) @iftah ya @inta 'Open you!'

(imperative+ya+personal pronoun)

(3) @iftah 'Open!'

(imperative)

(4) @iftah ya &ali 'Open , Ali!'

(imperative+ya+personal name)

(5) @iftah ya &ali wa-na-xuuk 'Open Ali, my brother!'

(imperative+ya+personal name+familiar formula)

To use (1) the status of the speaker must be higher than that of the addressee ; moreover ,the use of the vocative particle minus the personal name of the addressee ,whether known or unknown to the speaker ,indicates that the speaker doesn't even care to maintain the conventional pretence that he is addressing him as an equal. That is , (1) deliberately asserts the superiority of the speaker over the addressee,and as such is rude in a situation in which it is not normal to make this assertion . By contrast , (3) merely implies this assumption of superiority : it assumes compliance ,and hence suggests that the speaker has the right to expect this compliance ,and that the speaker therefore outranks the addressee. But , though not normally a rude form ,it is still not really a polite one . (2) and (4) imply that the status of the addressee cannot be very much lower than that of the speaker. The use of personal name in (4) implies that the addressee is on familiar terms with the speaker ,probably his relative or close acquaintance . The "jovial" use of the relative pronoun @inta in (2) indicates that interlocutors are close male friends . Kuwaiti close friends give themselves the privilege of exchanging such otherwise unpardonably rude utterances as :

@iftah ya bagl 'Open , you mule ! ' ,

@iftah ya @oor 'Open , you ox ! ' , etc. which

indicate ,in the circumstances , great intimacy between interlocutors . In (5) the use of the familiar formula wa-na-xuuk (lit. 'and I am (like) your brother') indicates that the interlocutors are of equal status . The addition of the

familiar formula changes the utterance from a command to a polite request .

Following D.Hymes , we might say that Kuwaiti speakers have culturally structured communicative competence which is one factor in determining which stylistic variants they will use . Style may be regarded as the reflection in linguistic performance of communicative competence . In Kuwait ,there is now a wide variety of new opportunities for interaction . New varieties of interaction imply the establishment of new role-relationships . Where these are incompatible with "Old" linguistic repertoires , new repertoires or styles within one repertoire borrowed from contact with Arabs and non-Arabs in Kuwait seem to gain quick acceptance¹ . Style , in that sense , is related to role ; it is the linguistic aspect of role .

1. "In general ,the verbal repertoire of a speech community is a reflection of its role repertoire", J.A.Fishman , Sociolinguistics : A Brief Introduction (London : Rowley , Newbury House),p.32. "Speech communities with larger role repertoire reveal a larger verbal repertoire as well", J.Gumperz , 'Types of linguistic communities', in Anthropological Linguistics ,4,1,1962,pp.28-40.

CHAPTER III
SOME MORPHOLOGICAL AND COLLOCATIONAL/
COLLIGATIONAL PRELIMINARIES

Kuwaitis have a repertoire of alternate terms to address their interlocutors. An addressee may receive one or more of the following forms :

- (i) kinship term
- (ii) personal name
- (iii) variant on a given name
 - (a) nickname
 - (b) tarxiim 'apocope'
 - (c) diminutive
- (iv) personal pronoun
- (v) term of endearment
- (vi) respect title
- (vii) occupational name.

For the formal description of the above address forms and their syntactical conditions of occurrence, we need to define the following terms of basic importance :

- (1) word , (2) word-class , (3) collocation,
- (4) colligation and (5) idiom

3.1. Word. The KA word as a speech segment is discussed briefly in terms of the following morphological elements :

- (1) root , (2) vowel & consonant pattern and
- (3) inflection

KA forms combine two morphological strata :

(a) a sequence of essentially three consonantal elements called the "root" (in Arabic grammar the term maadah 'substance' is used), which is the prime lexical item, and

(b) a "schema" or a pattern of vowel (and sometimes consonant) elements (called in Arabic grammar siiga 'form' or binaa@ 'structure') with which the root consonants are associated within determined overall patterns. Both "root" and "schema" are theoretical abstractions, and can only be actualized in combination with each other. A "stem" consists of root+schema .

3.1.1. Root. Each root is a discontinuous morpheme (the primary morpheme), consisting typically of three consonants, for example $\sqrt{\text{r b}}$ 'drinking'. Bi-consonantal roots, for example $\sqrt{\text{g m}}$ 'rising' and quadri-consonantal roots, for example $\sqrt{\text{x r b t}}$ 'making a mess' are not uncommon. Generally, all forms sharing the same root have some degree of semantic relationship with each other. This does not mean that all KA roots have core meanings attached to them, or that it is possible in all cases to deduce the meaning of a KA form simply by considering the lexical meaning of its root. But, bearing this in mind, it is possible to give examples of tri-consonantal roots whose prime lexical meanings are common to all forms comprising the root. For example, the root $\sqrt{\text{k t b}}$ is associated with the general concept of 'writing' ; words

containing that root may be expected to have something to do with that idea :

<u>kit</u> <u>abt</u>	'I/you (m.s.)wrote'
<u>kit</u> <u>aab</u>	'book'
<u>ku</u> <u>tub</u>	'books'
<u>ku</u> <u>tayyib</u>	'booklet'
<u>ka</u> <u>atib</u>	'clerk(m.s.)'
<u>ma</u> <u>ktab</u>	'a study (room)'
<u>ma</u> <u>ktaba</u>	'library;bookshop'
<u>ma</u> <u>ktuub</u>	'written (letter)'

The individual consonants of a root are called radicals . In a given root, the radicals occur in determined order ($R_1R_2R_3$).

3.1.2. Schema

A schema, too, is usually a discontinuous morpheme (the secondary morpheme). There are two types of schema:

simple and complex .

3.1.2.1. A simple schema is one which consists solely of one or more vowels distributed among the consonants of a root, for example the schema $(R_1)i(R_2)a(R_3)$ in

<u>ki</u> <u>tab</u>	'he wrote'
<u>di</u> <u>ras</u>	'he studied'
<u>ni</u> <u>saj</u>	'he wove'

3.1.2.2. A complex schema is a combination of a simple schema and one or more affixes, for example the complex schema $ma(R_1)(R_2)a(R_3)$ in

<u>ma</u> <u>ktab</u>	'a study (room)'
<u>ma</u> <u>ʕna</u> <u>&</u>	'a factory'
<u>ma</u> <u>ʕba</u> <u>x</u>	'a kitchen'

The affix in a schema may be

- (a) a prefix, for example @a- in the schema @a(R₁)(R₂)a(R₃),
as in :

@aħmar 'red',

@akrām 'he was hospitable',

- (b) an infix, for example -t- in the schema (R₁)ti(R₂)a(R₃),
as in :

ftiħam 'he understood',

or a doubling of the middle or the last radical, for
example the schema (R₁)a(R₂)R₂a(R₃) , as in :

ħakkar 'he reminded'

barra@ 'he acquitted'

baddal 'he changed'

or the schema (R₁R₂)a(R₃)R₃ , as in :

ħmarr 'he/it became red'

efarr 'he/it became yellow'

- (c) a suffix, for example -aan in the schema (R₁)a(R₂R₃)aan
as in :

ta&baan 'tired'

- (d) a combination, for example the prefix @a- and the suffix
-aa@ in the schema @a(R₁)(R₂)i(R₃)aa@, as in :

@aadiqaa@ 'friends'

Whereas root is lexical, particular and common
to all forms within a given lexemic scatter or paradigm ,
schema is grammatical and generalizes from the numerous
scatters of the kind illustrated for the root ħktb. For

example, the simple schema $(R_1)aa(R_2)i(R_3)$ has the grammatical meaning "noun of occupation", as in :

<u>kaatib</u>	'clerk'
<u>baa@i&</u>	'seller'
<u>saani&</u>	'artisan'
<u>&aamil</u>	'workman'
<u>taajir</u>	'merchant'
<u>saayig</u>	'goldsmith'

The complex schema $ma(R_1)(R_2)a(R_3)$ described for maktab (root \sqrt{ktb} 'writing'), maena& (root $\sqrt{en&}$ 'manufacturing') and matbax (root \sqrt{tbx} 'cooking') has roughly the meaning 'place where the activity indicated by the root is conducted'; it also occurs in :

<u>mat&am</u>	'restaurant' (root $\sqrt{t&m}$ 'eating')
<u>mal&ab</u>	'playground' (root $\sqrt{l&b}$ 'playing')
<u>masbah</u>	'swimming pool' (root \sqrt{sbh} 'swimming')

The complex schema $mi(R_1R_2)aa(R_3)$ in :

<u>miftaah</u>	'key'
<u>min&aar</u>	'saw'

has the meaning "tool or instrument".

3.1.3. Inflection.

A category "schema", as Mitchell¹ says, requires recognition in order to explain certain aspects of morphological alternation to which roots are subject in the syntactic

1. T.F. Mitchell, Principles of Firthian Linguistics (London : Longmans (forthcoming)), pp. 62-3.

process, excluding morphemes of tense, person, gender and number for which the term "inflection" may be reserved.

Inflections indicate distinctions of

(a) tense , for example the inflectional suffixes -t and -aw in :

kitabt 'I/you (m.s.) wrote'

ktibaw 'they wrote'

(b) person , for example the inflectional prefixes yi- and ni- in :

yiktib 'he writes'

niktib 'we write'

(c) gender , for example the inflectional suffix -a in :

yidiida 'new (f.s.)'

ta&baana 'tired (f.s.)'

(d) number , for example the inflectional suffixes -een and -iin in :

ktaabeen 'two books'

m&allimiin 'teachers'

A pronounceable KA word would thus be made up of :

(root + schema + inflection) , e.g.

$R_1-R_2-R_3$ + -i-a- + -t = kitabt 'I/you(m.s.) wrote'

Following the traditional practice of Arabic grammar and using the symbolization $\sqrt{f\&l}$ for the generalized root or base, we add schemas and inflections to it in whose terms morphological scatters may be stated, having regard to syntactic and other contextual features.

3.2. Word-classes

The f&l-base types are general and grammatical. They help identify word-classes such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. Other morphological variations within and without the base-type will give yet more verb-types, noun-types and adjective-types. For instance, most roots which occur in the base-type (Ar. wazn 'measure') fa&&aal belong to a class of "occupational noun", as

bannaay	'builder'
baqqaal	'grocer'
ga ee aab	'butcher'

Occupational names are considered as a category of KA addressive forms. The "base" is useful in the description of occupational nouns as well other addressive forms, viz. diminutive, apocopated, etc. By adding schemas and inflections to the generalized "base" we derive patterns which are appropriate to word-classes and to the sentence functions to which such classes typically relate .

Arab grammarians¹ have not only classified roots according to their distribution within bases but also held that bases have certain functions and meanings. The base-type fa&la, for instance is alleged to indicate "instance nouns", as:

bal&a	'a swallow'
gare a	'a pinch'
cawya	'a burn'
earx a	'a yell'

1. Cf., for instance, A.A.Wafi, fiqh alluga, (Cairo : 1962) and A.Amin, @ali&tiqaaq, (Cairo : 1956) .

In fact, the same base develops quite different contrastive relations ,whence meanings ,cf.

xadra	'green (f.s.)'
&amya	'blind (f.s.)'
janta	'suitcase'
gahwa	'coffee'
lahma	'meat'
hafa	'Hafsa (personal name)'

The base-type fa&&aal ,is mentioned above to refer to "noun of occupation" , but cf.

jallaad	'book covers'
ka00aab	'liar'
&addaad	'metre (machine)'
fattaak	'destructive'
hassaas	'sensitive'
&aaffaaf	'transparent'

This leads to the conclusion that any congruence between root classes defined by the bases with which they occur and root classes defined by certain pre-supposed semantic features is partial ,not total .

3.3. Collocation

The concepts and terms collocation¹ and colligation²

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1. For the concept of "collocation" see, for example, J.R. Firth, 'Modes of Meaning', Essays and Studies (The British Association), 1951 (reprinted in Papers in Linguistics ; Selected Papers (ed. F.R. Palmer) (London: Longmans, 1958); also T.F. Mitchell, 'Linguistic goings-On', p.35ff., which differs in some important respects from Firth's view . The term as such was not , of course, originally Firth's .
 2. A "colligation" is a (generalized) class of collocations, usually given shape by "word-class" labelling in the way that "words" provide the means of referring to collocations .

are employed in this thesis partly because of dissatisfaction with the Arabic word-centred type of analysis with its implications of narrow segmentation and somewhat naive listing of items with notional labels or glosses attached which make up the morphemic ("meaningful") inventory of a language . Arab grammars are word or word class-oriented rather than sentence-oriented . They represent the view that every formal unit must "have a meaning" and that the unit and its meaning stand to each other in a simple one-to-one relation , such that every occurrence of the unit must bear one variety or another of the basic idea , irrespective of syntactic or lexical environments

Mitchell regards collocational study¹ as having two objects :

- (a) the "formal" definition of roots in distributional terms ,
- (b) the recognition of associations of roots (collocations) with their own distributional characteristics² .

1. Neo-Firthians especially M.A.K.Halliday 'Lexis as a linguistic level' and J.McH.Sinclair, 'Beginning the study of lexis', in In Memory of J.R.Firth (eds.C.E.Bazell, et al.) (London : Longmans, 1966), think of collocation as independent of grammar . Mitchell still thinks collocation is lexical, but he distinguishes between "word" and "root" and a collocation is seen as of roots (op.cit., p.36); in turn, a collocation must appear within syntactic matrices , and the recognition of similarities between collocations leads to grammatical generalization .

2. T.F.Mitchell, op.cit., passim .

In this study, a collocation is seen as of stems (roots + schemas) with or without inflections . For example ,the stem halaaal (root R₁-R₂--R₃ and schema -a-aa-) 'legitimate' is habitually associated¹ with the stems wild 'son', bint 'daughter', tijaara 'trade', rizg 'livelihood', ribh 'profit', zuwaaaj 'marriage' ,etc. in

- (1) wild ilhalaaal² 'son of the legitimate marriage',
- (2) bint ilhalaaal 'daughter of the legitimate marriage',
- (3) tijaarat ilhalaaal 'legal trade' ,
- (4) rizg ilhalaaal 'legal livelihood' ,
- (5) ribh ilhalaaal 'legal profit' ,
- (6) zuwaaaj ilhalaaal 'legal marriage' , etc.

The elements (1) to (6) above are all members of the class of genitival complex comprising two nouns of which the second is definite. However the elements (1) and (2) demonstrate unique distribution. (1) and (2) are regularly associated with one or more of the following means of direct address :

- (i) the vocative particle ya , as in :

ya wild ilhalaaal 'I say, good man!'

ya bint ilhalaaal 'I say, good woman!'

1. "For a collocation to be established as such the association of its component parts must be habitual", T.F.Mitchell , On the Nature of Linguistics and its Place in University Studies (Leeds University Press) p. 14. This does not mean that collocation means a juxtaposition of lexical items in any specific order in any context of occurrence, but it represents an order of mutual expectancy. The sequence of elements within a collocation is, on the contrary , contextually determined.

2. For ease of reference KA examples will be cited in the form of words, except where the attention is drawn to roots, schemas, inflections , etc.

(ii) the use of second person pronouns @inta 'you(m.s.)',
@inti 'you(f.s.)', as in :

@inta ya wild ilhalaal 'I say to you, good man!'

@inti ya bint ilhalaal 'I say to you, good woman!'

(iii) imperatives , as in :

@iebir ya wild ilhalaal 'Be patient, good man!.'

eibray ya bint ilhalaal 'Be patient, good woman!.'

The elements (3) , (4) , (5) and (6) on the other hand, do not associate with the vocative particle, a personal pronoun or the imperative. Kuwaitis would not say

*ya tijaarat ilhalaal ,

*@inta ya rizg ilhalaal ,

*@inti ribh ilhalaal ,

*@iebir ya zuwaj ilhalaal , etc.

The elements (3) (4) (5) and (6) may associate with such items as fatah/yiftah 'to open ; start' , taba&/yitba& 'to follow' , cisab/yiksab 'to win ; earn' , faddal/yfaddil 'to prefer' , as in

fatah tijaarat ilhalaal 'he started a legal trade' ,

taba& rizg ilhalaal 'he followed a legal livelihood' ,

cisab ribh ilhalaal 'he earned a legal profit' ,

faddal zuwaj ilhalaal 'he preferred a legal marriage', etc.

The elements (1) and (2) do not associate with fatah , taba& , cisab , etc. The elements (1) and (2) are separated from the elements (3) (4) (5) and (6) not only lexically but also grammatically in terms of their different relatibility to

other elements . (1) and (2) belong to a sub-class of the genitival complex used in addressive function ,while the elements (3) ,(4) ,(5) and (6) belong to another sub-class of the genitival used in referential function .

There is a recognizably regular association of the kin-term wild (or bint) and halaal within the sub-class of the genitival complex as used in address . There are certain restrictions on the association of the stem halaal with other stems when used in address . Kuwaitis will not ,for example,say

*@abu lhalaal 'father of the legitimate',
 *@umm ilhalaal 'mother of the legitimate',
 *@axu lhalaal 'brother of the legitimate',
 *@uxt ilhalaal 'sister of the legitimate',etc.

The only stems that are regularly associated with halaal in address are wild and bint . The element ((wild (or bint) + halaal)) is termed a collocation which is further recognized by its unique collocational extensibilities . In the collocation ((wild + halaal) + @a1)) the presence of the definite article is determined by the presence of the vocative particle ya ;cf.

@inta ya wild ilhalaal 'I say to you ,good man !' and
 @inta wildil halaal 'You have come just in time when you are needed ;you have (unwittingly)reminded me to do/say something very important'(lit.'you are a son of a legitimate marriage') , where omissibility of ya leads not only to the absence of the definite article ,but also to a change of meaning .

3.4. Colligation

The collocation ((wild+halaal+@a1)) derives its meaning not only from collocational extension of a lexical kind but also from the generalized grammatical patterns within which it appears¹. And as collocations are innumerable, it is useful for observed regularities of particular associations in terms of shared linguistic behaviour to be generalized and labelled colligations². The collocation ((wild+halaal) + @a1)) is a particular member of a generalizable class of collocations involving in this case a sub-class of the genitival complex N-N referred to in traditional grammar as the "construct"³. The collocation wild ilhalaal is an example of the construct on a par with

wild il&izz 'son of the rich (ones)'

bint ilharaam 'the foundling (f.s.)'

@umm il&abaat 'woman with the cloak'

@uxt il@aytaam 'the orphans' sister' , etc.

3.5. Idiom

The concept of collocation has to be seen not only in relation to "stem" and "word" but also to other lexical units and notably idioms. Idioms are exactly parallel

1. Cf. T.F.Mitchell, 'Linguistic goings-on' , p.48.

2. Cf., for instance, J.R.Firth's requirement that "the study of the collocations in which a word is normally used is to be completed by a statement of the interrelations of the syntactical categories within the collocations" , 'Linguistic analysis as a study of meaning', in Selected Papers of J.R.Firth 1952-59 , edited by F.R.Palmer , London : Longmans, 1968), p.23.

3. For the "construct" see T.F.Mitchell, Colloquial Arabic, op. cit. , pp. 49-50

to stems in terms of the manner by which they may be formally defined. The stem is zero collocation, though it is defined formally in collocational terms. The same is true of the idiom. An idiom is a particular cumulate association, immutable¹ in the sense that its parts are unproductive in relation to the whole in terms of the normal operational processes of substitution, transposition, expansion, etc. An idiomatic unit such as {galbi smica²} (lit. 'heart of a fish') often corresponds to a cognitively similar single form which may replace it either optionally or obligatorily in certain stylistic contexts. In this case, idiomatic {galbi smica} is replaceable by mumill '(a) dull (person)'. Other idiomatic types, for example {&addita fi-eeuuf}, 'he doesn't get what he wants' (lit. 'its (say, the wolf's) bite is in the wool (of the sheep and not in its flesh)', may not be substitutable by a single form. Idiomatic {galbi smica} and {&addita fi-eeuuf} are handled as single units which may be compared and contrasted with non-idiomatic counterparts which are both expandable and transposable, as in

(@akal) galbi smica (cibiira) 'He ate the heart of a big fish',

(li-)smica (haa0i) galb(ha) (xaayis) 'The heart of this fish is rotten',

&addita fi-eeuuf (kassarat sinaana) 'His bite in the wool broke his teeth', etc.

1. Cf. T.F.Mitchell, op. cit, p.57, On the Nature of Linguistics, p. 14; also C.E.Bazell, Word 18 (1962), p.141.

2. Idioms will subsequently be enclosed in braces { }.

Idioms are often members of highly productive grammatical classes. {galbī smica} , for example, together with

{beedit diic} 'something done only once' (lit. 'a cock's egg'¹),
 {beedit sa&w} 'something/someone spoken of but never seen'²,
 {xayyaat badu} 'inexperienced; not dexterous' (lit. 'Bedouin's tailor') ,

{hamaamit makka} 'peaceful man' (lit. 'the pigeon of Mecca'), etc. belongs to a type of N-N association commonly characterizing idioms. The idioms

{ʕawwaay jaraada} 'quick' (lit. 'a person who roasts a locust'),
 {taafi naar} 'miserly' (lit. 'a person who puts out his fire or hides its light lest it should attract the attention of guests'),

{mgayyib ʕams} 'idle' (lit. 'a person who wastes a sunny day's work') ,etc. belong to the same type.

It is noticeable, as Mitchell³ puts it, that collocations and idioms are similar to the extent that both are generally relatable to grammatical generalizations and that both cut across syntactic classes (e.g. noun and noun in {beedit diic}). The principal difference is that in

1. The folktale says that a cock lays only one egg in its life-time.
2. Lit. 'the egg of sa&w 'a kind of migrating bird that remains in Kuwait for only a short period during which it does not lay any eggs'.
3. T.F.Mitchell, 'Linguistic "goings-on" ...' , p. 58.

contrast with the collocation, there are no discernible parts of an idiom that are productive in relation to the particular whole.

3.5.1. Idiomatic Formulas

KA abounds with a sub-category of idiom characterized by a "less tight" fixity of its component parts. Every day courtesy formulas¹ such as collocations of alla :

@akramak alla 'May God be bounteous to you' ,

sallimik alla 'May God keep you safe' ,

hadaak alla 'May God show you the right path', etc.

which belong to the colligation (perfective verb and noun) may be used in free variation with the "same" forms having imperfective verb , i.e.

yakrimik alla , ysallimik alla , yahdiik alla , etc.

A respect formula such as taal &umrik (or ytaawwil &umrik) 'May God prolong your (m.s.) life' may be used in free variation with madd allaah fi &umrik (or ymidd allaah fi &umrik) where the lexical items taal and ytaawwil are substituted by the items madd and ymidd 'to prolong'. It is noticeable that the formula taal &umrik allows a certain degree of interpolability (e.g. the noun @allaah 'God' and the preposition fi 'in' , and it is equally noticeable that the 'core' elements of the idiom retain the same linear sequence in whatever form of

1. T.F.Mitchell draws attention to "ready-made expressions". He says that the explanation of such "pieces" of language may derive from the fact that we make use of a comparatively limited number of morphemes and morphemic patterns ... and indeed of generalized formal patterns of grammar, even of sentential type, for the manifold functions of language", op. cit. , p. 59.

occurrence. Such lexico-grammatical variations correspond to changes of style.

Forms of address, like other forms, derive their meaning in part from several kinds of extension to which they are necessarily subject in syntagmatic processes. Cf., for example, certain uses of the kin-term &ammi (lit. 'my paternal uncle') in the utterances :

- (1) tfaddal ya &ammi -bu saalik 'Come in uncle, Father of Saleh!'
- (2) tfaddal , taal &umrik &ammi 'Come in , Sir , may you live long!'
- (3) @ahsant &ammi , tfaddal &ala-mrik 'Very well, Sir, please come in , (or) as you will!'

Let us assume , for the purpose of analyzing these utterances, a special social situation : answering the door and inviting the addressee to come in

In (1) associability of the address form &ammi with the vocative particle ya and the teknonym -bu saalik , mark the addressive mode as one of familiarity and the speaker as younger than the addressee. The addressee is presumably either the speaker's uncle or a near relative or close acquaintance belonging to the age-group of the speaker's father.

In (2) and (3) the absence of the vocative particle ya together with the absence of familiar modes of address such as personal name , teknonym, familiar pronoun, etc., mark the addressive mode as one of formality and the speaker as occupying

a subordinate social position in relation to the addressee, and probably as the addressee's servant .

In (2) associability of the "respect" idiomatic formula taal &umrik with the address form indicates that the relation between speaker and addressee is one of formality and distance .

In (3) associability of the "approval" formula @aksant (lit. 'you said (or did) well') , and the "respect" formula &ala-mrik 'as you order' marks the addressive mode as one of absolute respect to the addressee .

3.6. Procedural Note

The study of the interrelationships of linguistic choice and components present in the socio-economic fabric of a society offers two alternative approaches expressed by Pride¹ as

- (a) an inductive approach where a given body of linguistic data are related to, say, social factors.
- (b) an inductive discovery of patterning within linguistic correlates of a set of given sociological observations .

The former approach is regarded by Pride as a sociological piece of work. The latter is an essentially linguistic operation .

1. J.B.Pride , op. cit. , pp. 66-7.

In this work we shall attempt a linguistic investigation into how functional categories such as "reproach", "respect" , "imploring" , "intimacy" , "distance", "formality", "informality" , etc. are integrated into the language of address¹. My procedure involves

- (1) giving a general statement dealing with the Kuwaiti domain ,
- (2) isolating those linguistic features which seem domain-bound and classifying them into categories in terms of comparison and contrast of linguistic form, and also
- (3) classifying them into categories based on their function in the social context .

The crossing of the two classifications will point up sub-categories of "socio-linguistic"² features at the same time. This is in conformity with J.R.Firth's "monism" (i.e. the inseparability of form and function) .

1. Cf., for instance, D.Hymes who suggests taking a specific or universal function, such as the distinguishing of the status or role of man and woman, derogation, respect, or the like, and investigating the diverse means so organized within the language habits of the community, ... (rather than) looking for function as a correlative of structure already established, 'A perspective for linguistic anthropology', in Sol Tax(ed.), Horizons of Anthropology (London : Aldine, 1964), pp. 92-107. Also see T.F.Mitchell's criticism of the neo-Firthian position, "For the neo-Firthian, linguistic form has been paramount, ... a change of linguistic form involves a potential change of register language variety is before all else formal variety". op. cit. , p.67.

2. Cf. D.Hymes, "socio-linguistic features are used as context for treating forms of address as conditioned variants" , 'Linguistic theory and the functions of speech', in International Days of Sociolinguistics (Rome : Instituto Luigi Sturzo , 1969) , p.20.

PART TWO

THE FAMILY DOMAIN

General Statement :

The Kuwaiti family is composed of the father , the mother/s and their children , together with domestic servants. Sometimes , father's father and other kinsmen, e.g. father's unmarried sisters live as permanent members of what Radcliffe-Brown¹ calls the "elementary family". The Kuwaiti family is still the irreducible atom of Kuwaiti society and for the majority of Kuwaitis still retains its authority . For some Kuwaitis, especially the younger generation, modern education, foreign influences and the independence that an oil-affluent society may provide have all weakened its ties ; but although it may no longer be the focus of their loyalty, it still commands their devotion and respect, serves as an instrument of mutual aid and, like friendship, imposes obligations which may outweigh those of profession and state.

A Kuwaiti learns to identify with his family group from the moment of his birth and his behaviour , including

1. A.R.Radcliffe-Brown, 'The study of kinship systems' , in Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland , 71, 1941, pp. 1-18.

linguistic behaviour, is patterned accordingly¹. The Kuwaiti family domain, like other domains, is divisible into typical dyadic role-relations. The full set of dyads comprises all possible pairs of interlocutors, e.g. grandfather-grandmother, grandfather-father, grandmother-father, grandfather-mother, grandmother-father, grandfather-child, grandmother-child, father-mother, father-child, mother-child, etc. Interlocutors in a family are speakers as well as addressees. Appropriate linguistic choices are expected of particular individuals vis-à-vis others.

Both within the household and within the family the father of the house is the traditional authority. A Kuwaiti child's first experience of subordination to power comes in his relation to his parents. Asymmetrical status relations based on mutual rights and duties prevail between parent and child within the Kuwaiti family. Ideally, young girls as well as married women are cloistered and protected from the attention of males. But nowadays, young Kuwaiti girls and even wives have been taking a hand in the world outside the four walls of home. Access to new roles by Kuwaiti women (and men) is changing the Kuwaiti family from a domain characterized mainly by ascription to a domain open to personal

1. R.Dahrendorf says that "for a man to become part of society he has to be 'socialized', chained to the fact of society and made its creature" through "observation, imitation, indoctrination, and conscious learning, he must grow into the forms that society holds in readiness for him as incumbent of positions", 'Homo sociologicus', in Essays in the Theory of Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 19-87, p. 56-7.

achievement. A Kuwaiti's repertoire range has been enriched and diversified. But, on the whole, within the Kuwaiti family circle where status is mainly ascription-based, there is more "role compartmentalization"¹. Members of a Kuwaiti family reveal their "belonging" to the family via appropriate variation (or appropriate non-variation) of the linguistic choices they make in addressing each other. As the Kuwaiti family is a small , homogeneous , almost closed group , where interlocutors know each other intimately, and where the range of possible discussion topics is limited, its members show a minimum of linguistic diversity in interacting with each other. But still , whenever language variation is regularly associated with a Kuwaiti speaker's family background, he must have an eye on the valued socio-cultural factors of age, sex , seniority, identity of others present, etc. when choosing an address-form.

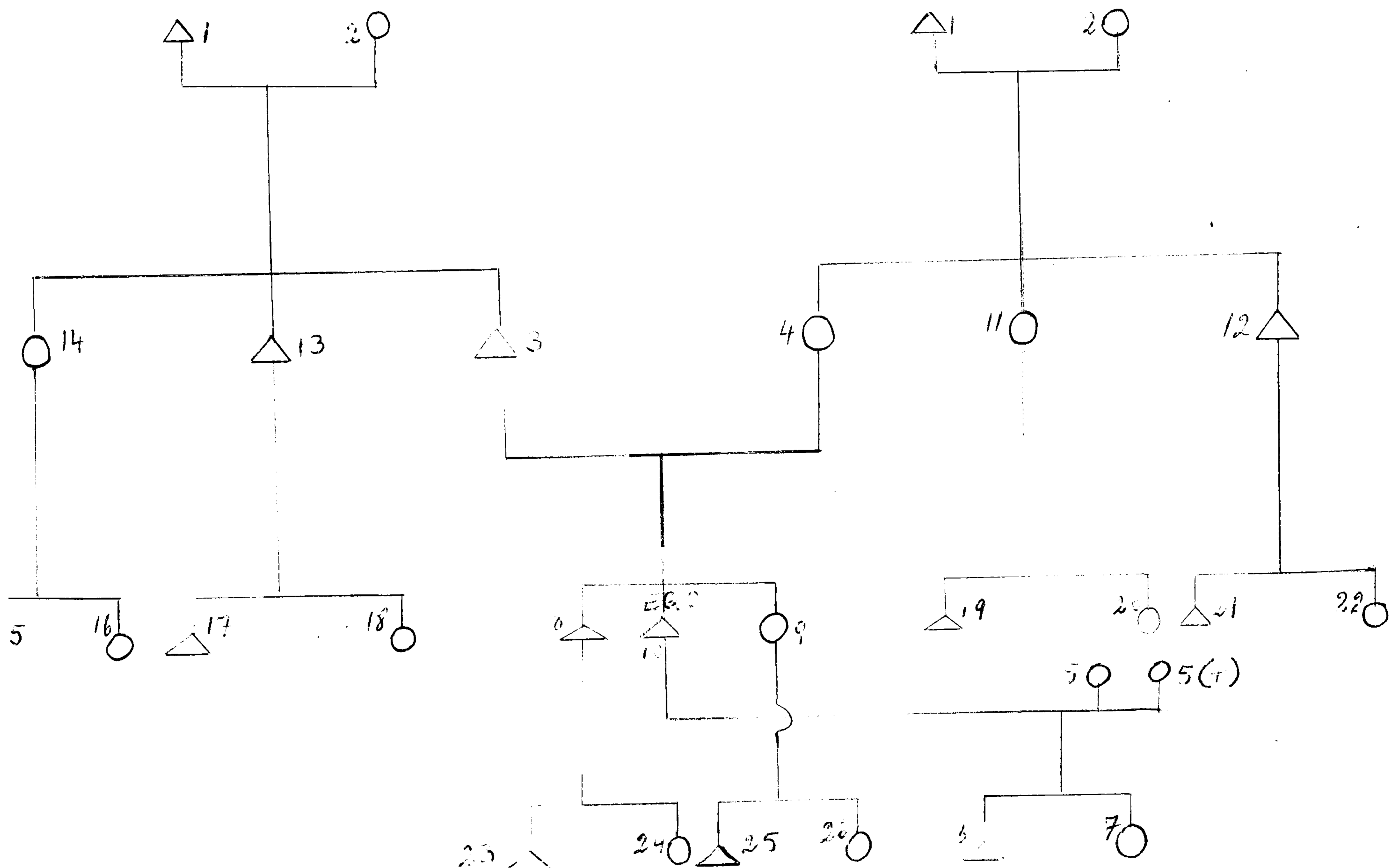
1. Cf. J.A.Fishman, Sociolinguistics : A Brief Introduction, (London : Rowley, Newsbury House, 1970), p.34.

CHAPTER IV

KINSHIP TERMS

4.0. Diagramming Kinship Relations

For convenience of reference and in order to circumscribe an efflorescence of kin-terms and kinship relationships, KA kin-terms are given below in diagram form prior to their analysis. The factors that are involved in diagramming kinship relations are sex, generation, affinal (marital) and consanguinal (blood) factors. The diagram symbolizes kinship terms as they would appear for ego's generation, the two ascending generations and one descending generation¹.



1. The diagram is adapted from symbolizations in R. Fox, Kinship and Marriage, (Penguin : 1967), p. 36ff.

Symbols :

△ Male

○ Female

┌───┐ Marriage

┌───┐ Siblings

| Descent

Ego is assumed to be an adult male, married ,
with children .

1 = yadd 'grandfather'

2 = yadda 'grandmother'

3 = @ab 'father'

4 = @umm 'mother'

5 = zooja / mara 'wife'

5(+)= durra / £iriica 'one of two or more

wives in their relationship to one

another ; co-wife'

6 = wild 'son'

7 = bint 'daughter'

8 = @ax 'brother'

9 = @uxt 'sister'

10= zooj 'husband'

11= xaala 'maternal aunt'

12 = xaal 'maternal uncle'

13= &amm 'paternal uncle'

14 = &amma 'paternal aunt'

15= wildi &amma 'cousin=father's sister's son'

16= binti &amma 'cousin=father's sister's daughter'

17= wildi &amm 'cousin=father's brother's son'

18= binti &amm 'cousin=father's brother's daughter'

19= wildi xaala 'cousin=mother's sister's son'

20= binti xaala 'cousin=mother's sister's daughter'

21= wildi xaal 'cousin=mother's brother's son'

22= binti xaal 'cousin=mother's brother's daughter'

- 23 = wildī @ax 'nephew = brother's son'
 24 = bintī @ax 'niece = brother's daughter'
 25 = wildī @uxt 'nephew= sister's son'
 26 = bintī @uxt 'niece = sister's daughter'

4.1. Classification of Kinship Terms

Kinship terms are a sub-class of nouns of relationship. Kinship terms are classified in three different ways :

- (1) By their internal patterns and distributional characteristics.
- (2) By their mode of use, i.e. either as terms of reference or terms of address .
- (3) By the different uses to which they are put in respect to differences of relationship between interlocutors , especially in terms of role and status .

4.1.1. Classification According to Internal Patterns and Distributional Characteristics

Kinship terms are divided into

(1) monolexic , (2) dilexic and (3) trilexic patterns according to the number of stems contained in them .

4.1.1.1. Monolexic Kinship Terms

This group is characterized by being composed of one stem (root + schema) , for example

&mm + -a-- = &amm 'paternal uncle'

&mm + -a--a = &amma 'paternal aunt', etc.

Monolexic kinship terms are indivisible in the sense that they cannot be analyzed into component roots with kinship meanings ,

Moreover, units such as &amm , &amma , etc., cannot be described in terms of differences in distribution of component elements for there can be no grammatical distribution within a monolexic unit. Monolexic kinship terms in KA are symbolized by the number 1-14 in the diagram (see 4.0.,above).

4.1.1.2. Dilexic Kinship Terms

Dilexic kinship terms are characterized by the association of two monolexic terms to denote a specific relative, for example the association of wild 'son' and &amm 'paternal uncle' will give the dilexic kinship terms wildi &amm 'cousin=paternal uncle's son' . Syntactically , dilexic kinship terms are in the so-called "construct" state. In the term wildi &amm the element wild precedes the element &amm and is considered, in this particular instance, the "head" element of the construct phrase , exhibiting distributional features in parallel with those of the phrase. Dilexic kin-terms can be analyzed into two basic parts, a "head" and a modifier. Dilexic kinship terms in KA are the ones symbolized 15-26 in the diagram (see 4.0.) .

4.1.1.3. Trilexic Kinship Terms

These terms (not included in the diagram above in 4.0.) are also in the construct state and are characterized by a monolexic "head" followed by a dilexic modifier , e.g.

wildi &ammi @ab 'father's paternal uncle's son' ,
binti &ammi @ab 'father's paternal uncle's daughter' ,

<u>wildi binti @uxt</u>	'niece's (=sister's daughter's) son' ,
<u>wildi binti @ax</u>	'niece's (=brother's daughter's) son' ,
<u>wildi wildi @uxt</u>	'nephew's(=sister's son's) son' ,
<u>wildi wildi @ax</u>	'nephew's(=brother's son's) son', etc.

Kinship term are further recognized by associability or non-associability with pronominal suffixes commonly added to the final term in an utterance, as follows :

(1) Monolexic terms are sub-classified according to colligation or non-colligation with 1st pers.s.pronominal suffixes : -i , -y and/or -a into the following groups :

- (a) Terms which colligate with -i , e.g.
yaddi 'grandfather' , zoojti/marati 'wife' ,
durriti/ɛiriicti¹ 'co-wife' , wildi 'son' ,
binti 'daughter' , @uxti 'sister' , zooji
 'husband' , xaali 'maternal uncle' ,
&ammi 'paternal uncle' .
- (b) Terms which may or may not colligate with 1st pers.s.pronominal suffix -i , e.g.
yadda or yadditi 'grandmother'
xaale or xaalti 'maternal aunt'
&amma or &ammiti 'paternal aunt'

Note. @ax may take the form @axuu- in association with -y ,
 i.e. @axuuy 'brother' .

1. The entailed appearance of preceding -t- is characteristic of -a ending nouns in patterns of various kinds.

(c) Terms which may colligate with all forms of 1st pers.s.pronominal suffixes .

The terms @ab 'father' and @umm 'mother' are the two members in this category. They may colligate with -i and -a/-a , e.g. @abi and @ummi , @aba and @amma . When used in address, the forms @ab and @umm are commonly associated with the morpheme ya- or yu- and the suffix -a in the 'telescoped' forms yaba or yuba 'father' and yamma or yumma 'mother'¹ .

Note. @ab and @umm may take the forms @abuu- and @ummaa- respectively, in association with -y , i.e. @abuuy 'father' @ummaay 'mother' .

(2) Dilexic and (3) trilexic kinship terms are all characterized by colligation with -i attached to the final element in the term, e.g. wildī &ammi , wildī &ammiti , wildī bintī &ammi , wildī bintī &ammiti .

4.1.2. Classification According to Mode of Use

When classified according to mode of use , KA kinship terms can be divided into two categories :

(1) terms in the first category serve both for reference and address .

(2) those of the second category have two forms, one used as a term of reference and a different form used for address. The address form is often taken from the first

1. All kinship terms of address, including yuba and yumma allow associability with the vocative particle ya , e.g. ya yuba 'father!' , ya yumma 'mother!'

category. It must be noted here that the appropriate pronominal suffix is commonly suffixed to the final element of a kin-term whether used in reference or address .

4.1.2.1. Terms of Reference and Address Identical

To this category belong all monolexic kin-terms as is shown in the following table :

Term of reference	Term of address	Person referred to or addressed in relation to speaker
<u>yaddi</u>	same	'grandfather'
<u>yadda/yadditi</u>	same	'grandmother'
<u>@abi/@abuuy</u>	same	'father'
<u>@ummi/@ummaay</u>	same	'mother'
<u>zoojti/marati</u>	same	'wife'
<u>durriti/£iriicti</u>	same	'co-wife'
<u>wildi</u>	same	'son'
<u>binti</u>	same	'daughter'
<u>@axi/@axuuy</u>	same	'brother'
<u>@uxti</u>	same	'sister'
<u>zooji/rayli</u>	same	'husband'
<u>xaala/xaalati</u>	same	'maternal aunt'
<u>xaali</u>	same	'maternal uncle'
<u>&ammi</u>	same	'paternal uncle'
<u>&amma/&ammiti</u>	same	'paternal aunt'

Some of the monolexic terms can be used both generically and specifically . When used specifically ,the term designates a sub-class of individuals (a kin-type) who are distinguished by the fact that they share the same kinship properties as specified in the system .When used generically, the term designates a larger non-kin class of individuals of which the kin-type makes a sub-class .While the English language often use^s separate terms to refer to these two kinds of groupings ,KA uses the same term to refer to either of them. For instance ,

marā means 'woman' generically and 'wife' specifically;

rayyaal means 'man' generically and 'husband' specifically;

bint means 'girl' generically and 'daughter' specifically;

wild means 'boy' generically and 'son' specifically.

4.1.2.2. Terms of Reference and Address not Identical

To this category belong dilexic terms and trilexic terms which are commonly used as terms of reference whose address counterparts are monolexic kin-terms ,as the following table shows :

Term of reference	Term of address	Person referred to or addressed in relation to speaker
<u>wildi &ammiti</u>	<u>@axuuy</u>	'cousin'
<u>binti &ammiti</u>	<u>@uxti</u>	'cousin'
<u>binti &ammi</u>	<u>@uxti</u>	'cousin'
<u>wildi &ammi</u>	<u>@axuuy</u>	'cousin'
<u>wildi xaalti</u>	<u>@axuuy</u>	'cousin'
<u>binti xaalti</u>	<u>@uxti</u>	'cousin'
<u>wildi xaali</u>	<u>@axuuy</u>	'cousin'
<u>binti xaali</u>	<u>@uxti</u>	'cousin'
<u>wild axuuy</u>	<u>wildi</u>	'nephew'
<u>bint axuuy</u>	<u>binti</u>	'niece'
<u>wild uxti</u>	<u>wildi</u>	'nephew'
<u>bint uxti</u>	<u>binti</u>	'niece'
<u>@abu zoojti</u>	<u>xaali</u>	'father-in-law'
<u>@ummi zoojti/hamaati</u>	<u>xaalti</u>	'mother-in-law'
<u>@abu zooji</u>	<u>&ammi</u>	'father-in-law'
<u>@ummi zooji/hamaati</u>	<u>&ammiti</u>	'mother-in-law'
<u>wildi &amm abuuy</u>	<u>&ammi</u>	'father's uncle's son'
<u>binti &amm abuuy</u>	<u>&ammiti</u>	'father's uncle's daughter'
<u>wildi bint uxti</u>	<u>wildi</u>	'niece's son'
<u>wildi wild uxti</u>	<u>wildi</u>	'nephew's son'

4.1.2.3. Kinship Terms in Reference Situations

Kinship terms in reference show a semantic precision in that they refer to the class to which the various genealogically distinct categories of kinsmen are assigned .

Thus, the reference term @abuuy is applied by a Kuwaiti speaker to but one person , his real father . The term @abuuy also symbolizes the role which the person so classed is expected to play -- in this case a relatively formal and authoritarian one . But in certain cases a relationship exists but there is no precise kin-term which can refer to it . In a Kuwaiti family where there are more than one brother or sister or uncle or aunt a special set of adjectives is used with the kin-term in reference situations . For instance , an elder brother is referred to as @axuuy il&ood or @axuuy ilcibiir 'my elder brother' , a younger brother is referred to as @axuuy liggiir . An elder daughter is referred to as binti licbiira 'my elder daughter' or binti lbikriyya 'my first-born daughter' , etc.

4.1.2.4. Kinship Terms in Vocative and Addressive Functions

A prerequisite to the treatment of kin-terms of address , as well as other address-forms , is a brief description of the structure of the vocative and the addressive syntagms .

4.1.2.4.1. Vocative Syntagm

A vocative syntagm is described in terms of the different form-classes associated with the vocative particle ya.

The colligation ya + form class(es) is termed the "ya"-phrase . Depending on the form classes following ya , a vocative may be used to call attention or for name-calling .The following are some of the utterance-initial possibilities :

A. Nominals ,sub-categorized as follows :

1. Generic , e.g.

ya mara 'Woman!' ,
ya rayyaal 'Man!' ,
ya sbayy 'Young man!' ,
ya walad 'Boy!'
ya bint 'Girl!'

2. Kinship ,e.g.

ya yuba 'Father!' ,
ya yumma 'Mother!' ,
ya &ammi 'Uncle!' ,
ya &ammiti 'Aunt!' .

3. Occupational ,e.g.

ya dallaal 'Auctioneer!' ,
ya hammaal 'Porter!' ,
ya sarraaf 'Cashier!' ,
ya farraaf 'Office boy!'

4. Respect title,e.g.

ya hajji 'Hajji!'
ya hajjiyya 'Hajjiyya (f.s.)!' ,
ya @ustaaz 'Sir!' ,
ya @aanisa 'Miss!'

5. Personal , e.g.

ya naaair 'Nasser!' , ya faatima 'Fatam!'

6. Diminutive , e.g.

ya nweeair 'Nweesir (diminutive of Nasser)!!'

B. Constructs , sub-categorized as follows :1. Teknonym , e.g.

ya-bu naaair 'Father of Nasser!' ,

ya-mmü naaair 'Mother of Nasser!'

2. Patronym , e.g.

ya wildä laamad 'Son of Ahmad!' ,

ya bintä laamad 'Daughter of Ahmad!'

3. Nickname , e.g.

ya-bu tamba 'Fat one!'

4. Allocation name , e.g.

ya bayyaa& ilhalaawa 'Candy-seller!'

C. Pronoun , e.g.

ya @inta 'You!'

D. Adjectivals , sub-categorized as follows :1. Qualitative , e.g.

ya kaslaan 'Lazy bones(m.s.)!!',

ya kaslaana 'Lazy bones(f.s.)!!',

ya na&saan 'Sleepy one(m.s.)!!',

ya na&saana 'Sleepy head(f.s.)!!',

ya &a&laan 'Thirsty one(m.s.)!!',

ya &a&laana 'Thirsty one(f.s.)!!',

ya sgiir 'Young one(m.s.)!!',

ya sgiira 'Young one(f.s.)!!',

<u>ya tawiiil</u>	'Tall one(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya tawiila</u>	'Tall one(f.s.)!!',
<u>ya @a&ma</u>	'Blind one(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya &amya</u>	'Blind one(f.s.)!!',
<u>ya nayim</u>	'Sleepy one(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya jaahil</u>	'Ignorant one(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya maksuur</u>	'Broken one(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya mahzuum</u>	'Defeated one(m.s.)!!', etc.

2. Adjectives of origin , e.g.

<u>ya &ajami</u>	'Persian(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya suuri</u>	'Syrian(m.s.)!!',
<u>ya maeri</u>	'Egyptian(m.s.)!!'

E. Relative phrase , e.g.

<u>ya-lli foog</u>	'You(who are) upstairs!!',
<u>ya-lli kadir</u>	'You(who are) downstairs!!'

A vocative syntagm may contain more than one

"ya"-phrase , e.g.

ya &ammi 'Uncle!!' (1 "ya"-phrase=vocative syntagm) ,

ya &ammi ya sarraaf 'Mr. Cashier!!'

(2 "ya"-phrases) ,

ya &ammi ya sarraaf ya-bu naadaara 'Mr.

Cashier with the glasses!!' (3 "ya"-phrases)

The occurrence or non-occurrence of more than one ya relates to the indefinite-definite distinction¹. The vocative particle

1. For "definition" see T.F.Mitchell, Colloquial Arabic, pp. 47-48 and 101-103.

ya is one of the "definers". In the case of

ya &ammi ya sarraaf ya-bu naddaara

ya is repeated before each element in the manner required by the definite concord pattern on a par with the use of the article ; cf.

Disarraaf ittawiiil 'the tall cashier' (definite)

@isarraaf -bu naddaara 'the cashier with the glasses (definite) ,

which correspond to

sarraaf tawiiil 'a tall cashier' (indefinite)

sarraaf bi naddaara 'a cashier with glasses' (indefinite) .

N.B. ya does not exclude other "definers", cf. ya-bu naddaara. -bu remains if the preceding noun is defined.

There are certain colligational restrictions on the associability of the vocative ya as follows :

(a) ya cannot be colligated with the class "verb" except when the latter is part of a post-nominal relative modifier , e.g.

ya &ammi ya sarraaf ya-lli biddaxxan 'Mr. Cashier who is smoking!' ,

ya farraaf ya la&&aab ya-lli bti&rab caay 'You, careless office boy(who are) drinking tea!'

(b) ya cannot be colligated with nominals containing pronominal suffixes other than 1st person, e.g. *ya-xuuh 'his brother!' , *ya-xuuha 'her brother!' , etc. However , there is a sub-group of address kin-terms in which vocative ya

colligates with the terms for 'father', and 'brother' containing 2nd pers.s.pr. suffixes -k (m.s.)-c(f.s.), e.g.

idiomatic $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{ya-buuk}} \text{ and } \underline{\text{ya-buuc}}, \\ \underline{\text{ya-xuuk}} \text{ and } \underline{\text{ya-xuuc}} \end{array} \right\}$

(c) ya may be replaced by the attention caller

@aguul 'I say; Hey', e.g.

@aguul naessir 'Hey, Nasser!'

@aguul -bu xaalid 'Hey, Father of Khalid!'

4.1.2.4.2. Addressive Syntagm

An addressive syntagm is marked by comprising one or more "addressive phrases". An "addressive phrase" commonly has the same structure as that of the "ya"-phrase with the following exceptions .

(a) An addressive phrase does not occur independently, but is embedded in syntagms other than vocative syntagms, e.g.

landan madiina cibiira , ya wleedi 'London is a big city, my son' ,

&a+ni , ya-xuuy , miftaah issayyaera 'Give me the car switch, brother' ,

&-fiic ya bnayyiti , &alaamic tabciin 'What's the matter , my daughter ? Why are you crying?'

(b) An "addressive phrase" is otherwise distinguished distributionally from a vocative "ya"-phrase in that, for instance, the latter only can be answered by na&am 'Yes!', zeen 'Well!' , &-tabi 'What's it you(m.s.) want?', etc.

(c) The element ya is obligatory in vocative "ya"-phrases; it is optional in "addressive phrases", especially

when the latter occur in utterance-initial position, e.g.

(ya) @axuuy , @ani min likweet 'I am from Kuwait, man' ,

(ya) yuba laa t&a00ib roohik 'Don't brother, man' ,

walla (ya) &ammi @ani muu faahim &ayy 'Frankly, I don't understand anything, uncle' ,

(d) An "addressive phrase" usually consists of one or two "ya"-phrases, e.g.

&ala hawaak ya &umar ya wleedi 'As you wish, Omar, my son',

taray ya mara ya faatima la tarakti-ddaar ... 'You see woman (wife) Fatma, if you get out of the house ...'

waxxir ya &adiim inn&aar ya galiil ilhaya ya-lli maa tistihi

&ala wayhik 'Get out of my way, you shameless, ill-mannered one'

4.1.3. Classification According to Use in Various Situational Contexts

The wide variety of alternate forms of kinship terms allows Kuwaitis to differentiate a variety of different contexts. Most of the kinship term variation can be classed into two somewhat overlapping sets :

1. The first set includes characteristics of a person's speech which are adjusted to the status of the addressee .

These involve the addressee's

(i) sex (ii) age (iii) relative status.

The participants in a speech situation may have same or different statuses, i.e. their relationship may be symmetrical or asymmetrical. For example, the relationship between brothers is symmetrical, father and son asymmetrical .

2. The second set includes characteristics that are determined by variations in social situation, particularly in terms of the immediate interpersonal relationship between interlocutors, as conditioned by speech functions, e.g. those of "respect" , "familiarity" , "intimacy" , etc.

4.1.3.1. Symmetrical And Asymmetrical Modes of Address

Although Kuwaitis commonly employ personal names even among relatives, they use kinship terms within the "elementary" family among relatives .

Relations between interlocutors of the family may be symmetrical (where members of dyads exchange the same kin-term) , or it may be asymmetrical (where the speaker uses one term and receives a different term from his addressee as the following table shows :

Addresser	Addressee	Mode of Address
Husband	Wife	<u>ya mara/ya zoojti</u> →
Wife	Husband	<u>ya rayyaal/ya zooji</u> →
Father/mother	Son	<u>ya wildi</u> →
Son	Father	<u>ya @abi/ya yuba/ya yaba/</u> →
		<u>@aba/ya-buuy/ya yubba/</u> →
		<u>ya yabba/ya yabbaa</u> →
Father	Daughter	<u>ya binti</u> →
Daughter	Father	<u>ya @abi/yayuba/ya yaba/</u> →
		<u>@aba/ya-buuy/ya yubba/</u> →
		<u>ya yabba/ya yabbaa</u> →

Addresser	Addressee	Mode of Address	
Mother	Daughter	<u>ya binti</u>	→
Daughter/son	Mother	<u>ya @ummi/ya yunma/</u> <u>ya yamma/ya-mmaay</u>	→
Brother	Sister	<u>ya @uxti/ya-xti</u>	→
Sister	Brother	<u>ya @axi/ya-xuuy</u>	→
Brother	Brother	<u>ya @axi/ya-xuuy</u>	↔
Sister	Sister	<u>ya @uxti/ya-xti</u>	↔
Employer (Male/Female)	Male Servant	<u>ya eibi/ya walad</u>	→
Employer (Male/Female)	Female Servant	<u>ya bint</u>	→
Servant	Employer(Male)	<u>&ammi</u>	→
Servant	Employer (Female)	<u>&ammiti</u>	→

The symbol ↔ means symmetrical. → means only used by addresser. The following brief comments on the preceding table are necessary :

(a) Kin-terms of address can act to make differences of status apparent. That two interlocutors in the family domain recognize their unequal status despite their intimacy is shown by their asymmetrical modes of address.

(b) Linguistic alternatives of the "same" term, e.g. the various forms for "father" (@abi , @abuuy , yuba , yaba , @aba , yubba , yabba , yabbaa) are functionally differentiated

with respect to relationships or other variations in social context. A Kuwaiti is constrained in his choice among them by such factors as

- (i) his age, (ii) his feelings towards his father
and/or (iii) the formality of the situation, etc.

(i) A Kuwaiti ceases to address his father by the forms yaba and @aba 'Daddy', which are considered as "familiar" terms, when he himself gets married and has children of his own who use those terms in addressing him. However, he may continue to address his father by the forms yuba and @abuuy

(ii) The variant forms yubba, yabba, yabbaa are characterized by the lengthening or repetition of certain elements within the form, e.g.

---b- in yubba ,
---b- in yabba and
---b-a in yabbaa.

Repetition of an element, like the repetition of forms generally, indicates, among other things, mental and emotional agitation on the part of the speaker, cf. the repetition of ya in the addressive phrase ya yubba in the utterances :

@ana @aasif ya yubba 'I'm sorry, father' ,
walla maadri ya yubba 'I don't really know, father' .

The form yabba can indicate the fluctuations of the child-father relationship and the state it has reached at a certain moment, e.g.

bassi , ya yabba , @ani maa kint @al&ab wiyya lyahhaal 'But,

father, I was not playing with the children', where the addressive phrase ya yabba indicates a child's feeling of irritability for being "wrongly" rebuked by his father.

The form yabbaa has come to possess the specialized meaning 'you don't say' used equally in addressing one's father or another relative or acquaintance, except that with the vocative particle address is restricted to one's father, e.g. rubaa milyoon diinaar? ya yabbaa 'He won a million dinars? You don't say, father' ; contrast the case of utterance-initial position and the absence of ya in say, yabbaa , muu ma&guul halkacii 'You don't say, mate. It's unreasonable what you say' .

(iii) In formal situations e.g. when the father , say, is sick or busy working at home or otherwise when non-kinsmen are present, a Kuwaiti uses the rather formal forms @abi/@abuuy . The form @abi is "extra" formal and is used to show either extreme respect or extreme annoyance with one's father. The context of situation, which should include reference to a number of meaningful non-verbal actions, will show whether respect or annoyance is meant. In Kuwait, nodding the head slightly forward, then backwards in quick succession indicates respect and approval of one's interlocutor. Other bodily movements, e.g. taking in a deep audible breath , then exhaling an audible long breath through protruded lips indicate restlessness with one's interlocutor. A Kuwaiti child whose verbal activity is discouraged in formal situations will have

to express himself mainly by means of gestures and bodily movements which are socially meaningful. Thus, the utterance

ya @abi

can mean respect if associated with respectful nodding, and it can mean annoyance when accompanied by restless non-verbal action. On the other hand, the syntagm ya @abi , ya habiibi , ya &eeni , ya ba&id cabdi 'My dear, dear father!', characterized by lavish verbal activity (i.e. the association of four "ya"-phrases), and by the inappropriateness of the terms selected, which elsewhere belong to other relationships, indicates that the speaker does not mean greater affection, but that he is annoyed with his father.

The various forms for 'mother' in KA can be interpreted along similar lines .

4.1.3.2. Kinship and Variation in Social Situation

Kinship terms, like many other terms, have multiple meanings depending on the linguistic and non-linguistic context. Those meanings are apparent even if we limit ourselves to the consideration of strict genealogical usage of kinship terminology (cf. the various meanings attached to the variant forms for "father" described in the preceding section) . However , we cannot ignore the metaphorical usages of kinship terms as extended to interlocutors outside the family domain. Terms as @abuuy , used within the family to address one's father , take on a highly complicated set of meanings built out of the multiplicity of roles which interlocutors have

to play inside and outside the family circle. To a Kuwaiti, the old pedlar selling small articles is a "father", the @imaam 'Mosque preacher' is a "father", the @amiir 'Ruler of Kuwait' is a "father" , etc.

Terms as @axuuy and @uxti are used within the family to address siblings, but they may also be applied to intimate age-mates outside the family. Friends of the same age are addressed exactly as brother and sister are, by appropriate kin-terms which may be prefixed or followed by personal names, e.g.

(ya) xaalid ya-xuuy

ya-xuuy ya xaalid

exchanged either between brothers or two close male friends of the same age, and

(ya) faatima ya-xti

ya-xti ya faatima

exchanged between sisters or two close female friends of the same age.

Choice of alternative kinship terms when addressing non-family interlocutors is determined by such factors as "age" and "status" of the addressee. This involves differences of distribution in collocation of kin-terms. The following table deals with two terms yuba 'father' and &ammi 'paternal uncle'. The speaker is male or female. Comments follow the table.

Kinship term	Mode of address	Addressee
<u>yuba</u>	1. <u>ya yuba!</u> 'Father!'	father
	2. (<u>&-asawwi</u>), <u>ya yuba</u>	father or an older male relative or close acquaintance
	3. <u>yuba lhajji</u>	an older male relative or close acquaintance
	4. <u>yuba lhajji naasir</u>	an older male relative or close acquaintance
<u>&ammi</u>	5. <u>&ammi</u>	employer
	6. <u>ya &ammi</u>	paternal uncle
	7. <u>ya &ammi lhajji</u>	an older male relative or close acquaintance
	8. <u>ya &ammi lhajji -bu naasir</u>	an older male relative or close acquaintance
	9. <u>&ammi lhajji</u>	an older male unknown to the speaker

Comments

1. The vocative syntagm indicates that the addressee is the speaker's father .
2. ya yuba when used as an "addressive phrase" must be part of an extended linguistic context, e.g.

&-asawwi ya yuba ? 'What can I do ? ,

walla ya yuba maa &tigid 'I don't think so' ,

ya yuba yabuuni @adarris hiesa 'They want me to teach Hissa' .

In other words, addressive ya yuba cannot be used independently.

3. yuba + "title of respect" indicates that the addressee is an older relative or close acquaintance. Other examples are

yuba lnulla 'Clerk!' ,

yuba lim~~t~~awwa& 'Teacher of the Koran!' , etc.

4. yuba + "title of respect" + personal name indicates that the addressee is an older man or close acquaintance. The use of a personal name indicates that the relationship between interlocutors is more familiar than is indicated by utterance (3) above .

The term yuba needs special comment. In ambiguous situations, where interlocutors are social equals in terms of one dimension but in a superior-inferior position to another, Kuwaitis can avoid the difficulties and embarrassment involved in proclaiming their equality or acknowledging their superiority or inferiority by addressing one another as yuba, e.g. a husband annoyed with his wife may address her by

yuba @inti lee& ci@ii 'Why are you like this, wife?',

a speaker impatient with his friend may address him by

guul yuba guul 'Speak up, man' , or

@inta yuba ruuh-ishar ma&a-mmik 'You go and spend the evening (at home) with your mother' ,

a sister, say, not willing to lend money to her brother may address him in such terms as

laa yuba laa rayli gariib, w-maa ywaafiq 'No, brother, my husband is a stranger (i.e. non-kinsman) and will not agree (to lend you money)' , etc.

Kuwaitis also resort to addressive yuba when in doubt about the status of their addressee. yuba indicates neither respect, disrespect, nor unwanted familiarity. Non-committal yuba is characterized by non-associability with vocative ya .

5. The term &ammi (lit. 'paternal uncle') has come to possess, among its many other uses, a specialized use, viz. a form used by domestic servants in addressing their employers. The use of the form &ammi in this sense of "Sir" is marked by the following lexico-grammatical features which distinguish it from the apparently similar form used when addressing one's relative or close acquaintance :

(i) Respect formulas , such as

&ala-mrik (lit. 'as you(m.s.) order') ,

taal &umrik (lit. 'may you(m.s.) live long') ,

@in &aalla 'it will be done (lit. "if God wills"), etc.

are used before &ammi to indicate an inferior-superior relationship, i.e. that between servant and employer (see p. 70 above :

(ii) There are collocational restrictions on the associability of the term &ammi , used in the sense of "Sir", with the vocative particle ya and familiar modes of address such as personal names, teknonyms, etc. A servant is not allowed to address his employer by such modes as

* ya &ammi ,

* ya &ammi naasir ,

* ya &ammi-bu naasir

A Kuwaiti male expects to receive &ammi and a Kuwaiti female &ammiti as the normal forms of address from their servants. They will generally return ya walad 'Boy!', ya eibi 'Servant!', or ya walad + ya + personal name. A servant will be honoured by his employers if they address him by his personal name, but it is a dishonour to a Kuwaiti, especially an elderly one to be so particularly named by his servant . This indicates formality and lack of intimacy between interlocutors .

6. The address mode ya+&ammi indicates that the speaker addresses his "paternal uncle" .
7. ya + &ammi + "title of respect" indicates an older addressee or close acquaintance .
8. ya + &ammi + "title" + "teknonym" indicates an older male relative or close acquaintance. The use of teknonym indicates a more familiar relationship than the one indicated by utterance (7) .
9. &ammi + "title" is characterized by non-associability with ya and indicates an older male addressee unknown to the speaker .

To recapitulate, there is distinction between the terms yuba and &ammi in terms of their distributional characteristics. In the case of yuba, the closer the degree of relationship, the fewer the number of elements within the syntagms. But in the case of &ammi the closer the degree of relationship the more the number of elements within the syntagm .

CHAPTER V

This chapter deals in fairly informal manner with the following types of kin-terms :

1. Bi-polar
2. The ya-buuk addressive phrase.
3. The wa-na-buuk addressive phrase.

5.1. Bi-polar Kinship Terms

Bi-polarity is use of the same term to denote both the speaker and the addressee. In KA it involves the use of a senior kin-term to address the junior. This is a function of familiarity and endearment on the basis of a generational asymmetry¹. A father calls his son and his daughter yuba (lit. 'my father') and is called yuba in return ; a mother calls her son and her daughter yumma (lit. 'my mother') and is called yumma in return, etc. Bi-polar terms are usually addressed by adults to children (relatives and non-relatives). Members of this category are the monolexic kinship terms :

yuba , yumma , yaddi 'grandfather', yadda 'grandmother'.

The junior's sex is irrelevant for the term with which he/she is addressed.

1. Millicent R. Ayoub says, "this asymmetry could have been corrected in two ways : the senior (viz: the father) could have addressed his son wildi 'my son' and be called wildi 'my son' in return, but the Arabic case takes the other alternative and balances the two on the higher generational level. Equals are made by promoting the junior rather than by down-grading the senior, 'Bi-polarity in Arabic Kinship terms', in Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguistics , (ed.) H.G.Lunt (The Hague : Mouton, 1964), p. 1103.

The following table shows KA bi-polar kinship terms :

Bi-polar term	Speaker	Addressee
<u>yuba</u> 'father!'	father	↔ son or a male relative or close acquaintance of son's age ; daughter or a female relative or close acquaintance of daughter's age .
<u>yumma</u> 'grandfather!'	mother	↔ son or a male relative or close acquaintance of son's age ; daughter or a female relative or close acquaintance of daughter's age .
<u>yaddi</u> 'grandfather!'	grandfather	→ grandson or a male relative or close acquaintance of grandson's age ; grand-daughter or a female relative or close acquaintance of grand-daughter's age.
<u>yadda</u> 'grandmother!'	grandmother	→ grandson or a male relative or close acquaintance of grandson's age ; grand-daughter or a female relative or close acquaintance of grand-daughter's age .

The symbol → means the addressee returns the term he/she receives.

5.1.1. Collocational/Colligational Features of Bi-polar Kin-terms

Bi-polar kin-terms exhibit the following collocational/colligational features :

(a) A bi-polar term is never used independently, but must be embedded in (i) declarative, (ii) interrogative or (iii) imperative syntagms , e.g.

(i) taray , yuba , @innic galtaana , wi laazim tisaalhi zoojic 'You see, my daughter, you are mistaken and you should be reconciled with your husband!' (father-daughter)

(ii) layla , £-fiic yuba ? 'Laila, what's wrong with you my daughter?' (father-daughter)

(iii) guumi yuba , ruuki beet zoojic 'Go to your husband's house, my daughter!' (father-daughter)

(b) A bi-polar term may occur in conjunction with or to the exclusion of other addressive forms as is shown in the following table :

Bi-polar term	Additional form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors
1. <u>yuba</u>	{ (i) nil (ii) personal name (iii) kin-term }	father-son/daughter
2. <u>yumma</u>	{ (i) nil (ii) personal name (iii) kin-term }	mother-son/daughter

Bi-polar term	Additional form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors
3. <u>yaddi</u>	{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) nil (ii) personal name (iii) kin-term }	grandfather-grandson/ grand-daughter
4. <u>yadda</u>	{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) nil (ii) personal name (iii) kin-term }	grandmother-grandson/ grand-daughter

Examples illustrating possible associations given in the preceding table :

1. (i) £-fiic yuba ? 'What's the matter with you, my daughter?' (father-daughter)
- (ii) ya saamya , £-fiic yuba ? 'Samia, my daughter , what's the matter with you?' (father-daughter)
- (iii) ya binti £-fiic yuba ? 'What's the matter with you my daughter?' (father-daughter)

Sometimes , more than one address-forms are used in the same utterance, e.g.

ya saamya , ya binti , £-fiic yuba ?

or ya binti , ya saamya , £-fiic yuba ?

Other examples of bi-polar terms in association with additional forms of address are :

2. @aguul , saamya yumma , ya binti 'I say, Samia, my daughter'' (mother-daughter)

3. yalla yaddi , yalla ya faatima , ya binti 'Come along , Fatma, my grand-daughter'' (grandfather-grand-daughter)

yalla yaddi , yalla ya &ali ya wleedi 'Come along , Ali, my grand-son'' .

4. &alaamic , yadda , ya faatima , ya binti? 'What's the matter with you Fatma , my grand-daughter?' (grand-mother-granddaughter)

&alaamik , yadda , ya &ali , ya wleedi ? 'What's the matter with you , Ali, my grandson?' (grandmother-grandson)

The use of a bi-polar term only, i.e. to the exclusion of other address-forms , e.g.

&-fiic yuba ?

indicates that the speaker wants to know about his addressee's worries. The addressee, say, a daughter, may reply in a correspondingly brief utterance such as :

maa fiini &ayy 'There's nothing the matter with me' .

On the other hand, the association of a bi-polar term with one or more address-terms , e.g.

ya saamya , ya binti , &-fiic yuba ?

indicates a feeling of interested sympathy with the addressee. The speaker is keen on alleviating his addressee's worries not just seeking information. The addressee may respond in an utterance such as

walla maadri , ya yuba , raasi y&awwirni 'I don't

really know, father, may head aches'. A brief reply such as maa fiini &ayy would be considered inappropriate or even rude in the circumstances, as it does not match, in size if nothing else, the father's anxious query .

- (c) A bi-polar term is not preceded by the vocative particle ya and is never used as part of a vocative syntagm. Cf. the association of ya + the kin-term yuba in the "ya"-phrase ya yuba which marks the addressee as the speaker's father and the syntagm as one of appellation .
- (d) A bi-polar term is associated with the 2nd pers. s.pr. suffixes @int(a) 'you(m.s.)' or @inti 'you(f.s.)' with the function of placating or cajoling, e.g.

1. Father to his married son :

yuba , @inta rayyaal , @abu &yaal , wi laazim tistahmil 'My son, you are a man, father of children and you must put up with difficulties'.

2. Father to his daughter :

yuba-nti lee& ta&ba roohic ? 'Why are you tiring yourself , my daughter?'

3. A mother to her son :

@aguul yumma-nta lee& maa til&ab wiyya-xtik ?

'Why aren't you playing with your sister, my son?'

4. A mother to her daughter :

ta&aali yumma-nti laa tiz&aliin 'Come , my daughter don't be angry'.

5.2. The ya-buuk Addressive Phrase

Members of this group are the kin-terms for 'father and 'brother' .

5.2.1. Collocational/Colligational Features of ya-buuk

This mode of address exhibits the following collocational/colligational features :

(a) the association of the vocative particle ya + the kin-term @ab 'father' or @ax 'brother' + 2nd pers. pr. suffix -k (m.s.) or -c (f.s.)¹. i.e.

ya (@a)buuk 'My son! (lit. 'O, your(m.s.) father!)' ,

ya-buuc 'My daughter! (lit. 'O your(f.s.) father!')' ,

ya-xuuk 'My brother! (lit. 'O, your(m.s.) brother!')' ,

ya-xuuc 'My sister (lit. 'O, your(f.s.) brother!')' .

(b) The forms ya-buuk and ya-xuuk are regarded as idiomatic formulas on the grounds that they are non-productive in terms of substitution, transposition, interpolability, etc., of other parts within the idiomatic whole. Idiomatic ya-buuk 'My son' may be contrasted with non-idiomatic saalik , @abuuk maat 'Saleh, your father is dead' (deletion of ya) , -bu saalik 'Father of Saleh!' (deletion of ya and substitution of name for -k) , etc .

(c) The ya-buuk and ya-xuuk addressive phrases do not occur independently or as part of a vocative syntagm. They commonly colligate with imperative forms and are used between relatives or close acquaintances in functions ranging

1. The vocative particle ya and the 2nd pers. pr. suffix are mutually exclusive elsewhere. For example ,
*ya-@ammik(-c) ,
*ya wildik(-c) ,
*ya xaalik(-c) , etc. are inadmissible patterns.

from endearment or giving advice to mild rebuke, etc.

Examples :

1. A father to his son/daughter or another male/female relative or close acquaintance of the age group of his son/daughter :

ʕuuf ya-buuk likweet ʕaarit yanna "See, my son, Kuwait has become a paradises" (endearment) ,

diir baalik ya-buuk , laa til&ab fi-nnaar 'Be careful , my son , and don't play with fire' (advice) ,

bassi ya&ni ya-buuc saa&di @axuuc fi druusa 'But, I mean , my daughter, you should help your brother with his lessons' (mild rebuke) .

2. An adult male to his brother/sister or to male/female peers of his age group :

@ismahiili ya-xuuc 'Excuse me, my sister' (polite mode of addressing a female relative or acquaintance) ,

xaalid , maaku daa&i , ya-xuuk , tista&yil fi garaarik 'Khalid, there's no need for you to take a hasty decision, my brother' (advice) ,

@isma&ni , ya-xuuk , laa ti&tannaz 'Listen to me , brother , don't poke fun at me' (mild rebuke) .

(d) There are collocational restrictions on the associability of items in the ya-buuk phrase type. The only kin-forms that regularly occur in this type of phrase are the forms @ab 'father' and @ax 'brother' which are actualized as -buu- and -xuu- respectively as morpho-phonological implications

of the junction with ya and -k or -c :

ya + @ab + -k = ya-buuk

ya + @ab + -c = ya-buuc , etc.

The use of the ya-buuk phrase, unlike that of bi-polar terms, is unidirectional or asymmetrical, i.e. the father, or any relative assuming the status of father, may address the younger male by ya-buuk and is not addressed with ya-buuk in return. He may address the younger female with ya-buuc and is not addressed by ya-buuc in return. The younger male will not reciprocate to ya-buuk by using such forms as *ya wildik 'your(m.s.) son!' and neither will the younger female by using such forms as *ya bintik 'your(m.s.) daughter!'

A mother, on the other hand, will not address her children or other juniors by using patterns such as *ya-mmik 'your(m.s.) mother!' or *ya-mmic 'your(f.s.) mother!' comparable to the one used by the father. Similarly, a girl will not address her brother or other boys/girls of her age group with patterns such as *ya-xtik 'your(m.s.) sister!' or *ya-xtic 'your(f.s.) sister!' Neither will she borrow her brother's familiar term, viz. ya-xuuk , and use it in addressing him or peers of his age group .

There seems to be an overlay of dominance of the male sex in Kuwaiti culture. The giving of advice, up till recently a prerogative of the "experienced" male Arab, must be couched in terms denoting masculinity, viz. @ab and @ax . Utterances such as

*diir baalik ya-mmik or

*@isma&ni ya-xtik

will be considered quite inappropriate by KA interlocutors accustomed as they are to receive patronizing advice only from experienced males .

5.3. The wa-na-buuk Addressive Phrase

Members of this set are the kinship terms :

@ab 'father' , @umm 'mother' , yadd 'grandfather' ,
yadda 'grandmother' , @ax 'brother' and @uxt 'sister'.

These kin-terms colligate with the conjunction wa 'and' and 1st pers. personal pronoun @ana 'I' as in :

wa-na-buuk (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) father') ,
wa-na-mmik (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) mother') ,
wa-na yaddik (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) grandfather') ,
wa-na yadditik (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) grandmother') ,
wa-na-xuuk (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) brother') ,
wa-na-xtik (lit. 'and I am your(m.s.) sister') ,

5.3.1. Collocational/Colligational Features of the

wa-na-buuk Addressive Phrase

The wa-na-buuk type shares the following lexico-grammatical features with the ya-buuk type :

- (a) Both are characterized by immutability or fixity of association between component elements .
- (b) Neither is used in isolation. Both derive their meaning in part from embeddedness in context .
- (c) Neither is used in vocative syntagms.

(d) Both types are characteristic of a senior addressing a junior or peers addressing each other. A junior addressing a senior will not use either type.

There is one main difference, however, between the two types, viz. the restrictions on the use of kin-terms. In the case of ya-buuk, only two kin-terms are component parts of the type, viz. @ab and @ax. In the case of wa-na-buuk alternative kin-terms are permissible component elements. Kin-relations between participants are therefore more adequately mirrored by the wa-na-buuk type, in the sense that older as well as peer members of the family have kin-terms characteristic of their kin-relations vis-à-vis other members.

In the utterance

tara, ya wleedi, wa-na-buuk 'You see, my son (and I am your father)', kin-reference is maintained.

The wa-na-buuk type is commonly preceded by the diminutive forms bnayyiti or wleedi to show greater affection, e.g.

£uuf, ya wleedi wa-na-buuk 'See, my son (and I am your father)',

hawwini &aleec, ya bnayyiti, wa-na-mmic 'Take it easy, my daughter (and I am your mother)'.

In the immediately preceding examples, wa-na-buuk is used as a "tautological phrase" which simply intensifies a kin-relation already made explicit by the use in the same utterance of bnayyiti or wleedi according to the sex of the addressee.

wa-na-buuk is used in the style of informality between relatives or close acquaintances to indicate feelings of affection.

wa-na-buuk also associates with personal names to indicate intimacy between interlocutors, e.g.

ya xaalid wa-na-buuk 'Khalid, my son' .

However, associability or non-associability with a preceding kin-term/or personal name marks three different functional types :

- (i) mild rebuke and impatience
- (ii) intimacy between peers
- (iii) patronizing advice and endearment

(i) Mild rebuke and impatience

This sub-division is characterized by the colligation (imperative + wa-na-buuk phrase) minus a personal name/or kin-term. Imperative forms regularly occurring in this sub-type are :

@isma& 'listen!' , £uuf 'see!' , guul 'say; speak!' , &allim 'explain!' , £aawi& 'obey!' , &ajjil 'hurry up!' , etc. This construction is used by seniors or peers.

Examples :

@isma& wa-na-buuk 'Listen, my son!'

£uufi wa-na-mmie 'See, my daughter!'

guul wa-na-xuuk 'Say, my brother!'

&allimiini wa-na-xtic 'Explain to me, my sister!'

£aawi&ni wa-na-yaddik 'Obey me, my grandson!'

(ii) Intimacy between peers

The sub-division is characterized by the colligation

$$(\underline{ya} + \text{personal name} + \underline{ya} + \text{kin-term} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} @ax \\ @uxt \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} wa-na-xuuk \\ wa-na-xtic \end{array} \right\} \cdot) .$$

This construction is reciprocated between male and female peers.

Examples

taray , ya faatima , ya-xti , wa-na-xuuc 'You see, Fatma, my sister'. (A male speaker to his sister or a female relative of his sister's age) ,

xi-fiik , ya xaalid , ya-xuuy , wa-na-xtik 'What's the matter with you, Khalid, my brother?' (A female speaker to her brother or a male relative of her brother's age) .

(iii) Patronizing advice/or endearment

This sub-division is characterized by the colligation

$$\underline{ya} + \text{kin-term} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} wleedi \\ bnayyiti \end{array} \right\} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} wa-na-buuk \\ wa-na-mmic \end{array} \right\} . \text{ This construction}$$

is addressed by seniors to juniors.

Examples :

ya haazim , ya wleedi , maaku daa&i wa-na-buuk , tista&yil fi garaarik 'Hazem, my son, there's no need for you to take a hasty decision', (A father advising his son or a relative or close acquaintance of his son's age) ,

@inna&iib , ya faatima ya bnayyiti , wa-na-mmic , muu bilmaal wala biljamaal 'Luck (in suitable marriage matches) , Fatma, my daughter, is not due to (a girl's) wealth or beauty'. (A mother endearingly comforting her daughter or near relative for not getting married soon enough) .

CHAPTER VI

The chapter deals with the following forms of address :

1. Personal names
2. Variations¹ on a given name
 - teknonyms ,
 - patronyms ,
 - nicknames & apocope , and
 - diminutives.

6.1. Personal Names

Personal names are another important sub-class of noun.

6.1.1. Lexico-grammatical Features of Personal Names

Personal names have often been defined in terms of their non-associability with

- (a) a preceding definite article , or
- (b) a following pronominal suffix

(a) Non-associability with a Preceding Definite Article

The tendency to treat personal names as incompatible with either article or pronominal suffix is apparently based on the idea that, when personal names appear with the article @al 'the' or a suffix , they are being used as common nouns, e.g.

haa@a muu @ilgaanim @illi @a&rifa wa^{-a}habba 'This is not the Ghanim that I know and love' ,

£uufi saalkic haa@a £-sawwa 'See what your (son) Saleh has done'.

1. A Kuwaiti may in the course of his life have a variety of names.

However, the use of personal names in such constructions is restricted. Personal names may not associate with definite article or suffix as freely as common nouns do. Cf., e.g., personal names and those common nouns that are countable within the sentence structure NP+VP :

<u>Common Nouns</u>	<u>Personal Names</u>
<u>rayyaal yaa</u> 'a man came'	* <u>xaalid yaa</u> 'Khalid came'
<u>riyaayiil yoo</u> 'men came'	* <u>xaalidiin yoo</u> 'Khalids came'
<u>@irrayyaal yaa</u> 'the man came'	* <u>@ilxaalid yaa</u> 'the Khalid came'
<u>@irriyaayiil yoo</u> 'the men came'	* <u>@ilxaalidiin yoo</u> 'the Khalids came'

The association of the definite article @al and a personal name is given the interpretation of "the family name" , e.g.

@algaanim 'the Ghanim Family' ,
@aseubaah 'the Subah Family', etc. (for "the family name" see 6.1.2. below) .

(b) Non-associability with a following Pronominal Suffix

Personal names are not normally inflected. Personal names are inherently definite. As Arabic forms may not be defined more than once, personal names are not modifiable by pronominal suffixation which is one mode of "definition", e.g.

*xaalidi 'my Khalid' ,
 *xaalidik 'your(m.s.) Khalid' ,
 *xaalidic 'your(f.s.) Khalid', etc. are all inadmissible .

Contrast , however the case of kinship terms, e.g.

wildi 'Son!'

&ammi 'Uncle!' , or

@abuuk 'your(m.s.) father' , and

@axuuk 'your(m.s.) brother' in the addressive phrases

ya-buuk , ya-buuc , ya-xuuk , and ya-xuuc
(see 5.2. above)

6.1.2. Personal Name and Family Name

One of the indices of family identification may be found, for instance, in the names of Kuwaitis. The usual procedure is to name the first son after the grandfather. This serves to preserve the tie with the ancestors on the father's side, the family being patrilineal. Thus , the scheme would be as follows :

subaah is the son of saalim , saalim is the son of subaah , as in the "total name" of the present ruler of Kuwait :

subaah issaalim iessubaah

which is divisible into :

- (i) personal name subaah (first name (FN) which relates to "Christian name" or the American "given name") ,
- (ii) father's name saalim (second or middle name),
and
- (iii) grandfather's name subaah (third or last name (LN) which relates to "Surname") .

A grandfather's name is commonly adopted as the family name.

The "total name" is normally used in reference, but very rarely in address. The use of the "total name" in address is marked and calls attention to its social meaning. For example, a mother may choose to use her son's "total name" in :

ya xaalid mustafa lwazzaan , weenik fii ? 'Khalid Mustafa (@a)lwazzaan, where have you been?'

if she wants to scold him for arriving home late. A speaker greatly irritated by his interlocutor may address him with ya &ali , ya saalik , ya gneem (ya FN + ya father's name + ya LN)

'I say, Saleh Ali Gneem!'

where the repetition of the vocative particle ya before each item in the total name and the omission of the @a before the third item (the family name) indicates a superior-inferior relationship.

N.B. The article is precluded from association with gneem by the presence of ya , as a noun may not bear more than one defining characteristic.

6.1.3. Social Aspects of Personal and Family Names

Kuwaiti personal and family names symbolize a person's social position in relation to people around him, so that by the use of one or other of them, the status of the speaker to the person addressed is readily recognized.

- (i) Many Kuwaiti family names are taken from the jobs of early ancestors, as
- @ilgallaaf 'the shipwright' ,
@ilmulla 'the clerk' ,
@il&ajalaati 'the wheelwright' ,
lim&awwa& 'the Koranic teacher' ,
lim&assin 'the hair-dresser', etc.
- (ii) There are Kuwaiti personal names for @i&fuyuuux 'the sheikhs' or ruling class in Kuwait, as subaah , mubaarak , jaabir , saalim, etc.
- (iii) There are personal names for Kuwaitis of Bedouin origin , as mutlag , mutar , falaah , gannaam , etc.
- (iv) There are names for females of urban Kuwait, as æeexa , hisea , luulwa , noora , etc.
- (v) There are names for freed slaves, as ma&tuug (lit. 'freed') , jim&a , bilaaal , sa&iid , etc.
- (vi) The commonest personal names are derived from the root $\sqrt{\text{hmd}}$ 'thanking ; praising' , as
- @ahmad
mahmuud
muhammad¹
hamiid
hamuud
amayyid
hmeedaan
mhammadeen
- (lit. 'a person's name is praised in heaven')

1. @ahmad , mahmuud , muhammad are all variant appellations

The personal name &abdulla is a combination of &abd (lit. 'worshipper'/'slave') and @alleah 'God'. There are potentially 99 names in the group, which are combinations of &abd and any of the attributes of God, e.g.

&abdilhayy (lit. 'slave of the Living') ,
&abdilxaaliq (lit. 'slave of the Creator') ,
&abdirrahiim (lit. 'slave of the Merciful'), etc.

(vii) Daughters receive the names of the women of the prophet's family or the names of their grandmothers, if the latter are dead. There are, too, examples of a sister receiving the feminine form of her brother's name, e.g.

saalim for the boy and saalma for the girl ,
baxiit for the boy and baxiita for the girl ,
jamiil for the boy and jamiila for the girl ,
badr for the boy and badriyya for the girl, etc.

Kuwaitis sometimes like this conformity in names, especially if the children are twins. The girl is named thus in order to "fit in" ; tansajim with her brother, they say.

(viii) Personal names, sometimes, refer to the events which took place before or at the time of birth, e.g. a child born on Thursday may be called xamiis , if born on Friday jim&a , if born in Ramadan (fasting month for Muslims) , he may be called ramadaan. A girl unwantedly born after a line of female sisters may be called nihaaya(lit. 'end') or cifaaya(lit. 'enough'), etc.

- (ix) Some Kuwaiti female names reflect the Kuwaiti habitat, viz. sea-objects, e.g. luulwa (lit. 'pearl') , gmaaʕa (lit. 'small pearl') ; plants , e.g. warda (lit. 'rose') , zhuur (lit. 'flowers'); precious metals, e.g. fiida (lit. 'silver') ; animals, e.g. muhra (lit. 'filly') , etc.

6.1.4. Uses of Personal Names in Various Contexts

Personal names are often used by Kuwaitis for address and reference within and outside the family domain , especially among interlocutors of the same age group, instead of or in conjunction with one of the appropriate kin-terms. The choice (or non-choice) of personal names as modes of address expresses something about the degree of personal intimacy Kuwaitis feel with their addressees and also something about their relative status. Boys and girls are normally addressed by their personal names by everybody in the household. A father/mother addresses his/her daughter/son as follows :

saamya 'Samia!' ,
xaalid 'Khalid!' ,
saamya , ya binti 'Samia , my daughter!' ,
xaalid , ya wildi 'Khalid my son!' , etc.

Juniors, however, should not address senior members of the family by their personal names. They should employ the appropriate addressive kin-terms or the teknonymous mode out

of respect (See 6.2. below). The following table shows possibilities of reciprocal (\longleftrightarrow) and non-reciprocal (— "used only by speaker") use of personal name within the Kuwaiti family :

Speaker	Addressee	Mode of address : Personal name
Father/mother	Son/Daughter	—————→
Father	Mother	<----->
Grandfather/ Grandmother	Grandson/ Granddaughter	—————→
Brother	Sister	←----->

6.2. Variations on a Given Name

6.2.1. Teknonyms

A teknonym is regarded as a special category of the construct, characterized by the colligation (kin-term @ab (or @umm)+personal name of eldest son), and used in vocative and other addressive syntagms, e.g.

ya @abu xaalid (realized as ya-bu xaalid) 'Father of Khalid!',
ya-mmũ xaalid 'Mother of Khalid!'.

6.2.1.1. Lexico-grammatical Restrictions of Teknoyms

Teknonyms are distinguished from other types of construct, say, nominal constructs, e.g. @abu &yaa1 'father of children' in terms of the following lexico-grammatical restrictions :

(a) Interruptibility, transposition and expandability

A teknonym is non-interruptible e.g.

*@abu lyaahil xaalid 'father of the child Khalid!', or
transposable , e.g.

*xaalid @abu

Contrast the interruptibility of , e.g.

@abu l&afar &iyaal 'father of the ten children' and
transposability of , e.g.

&yaal-abu xaalid 'Father of Khalid's children' .

A nominal construct is expandable, say , by an indefinite
adjective, e.g.

@abu &yaal &aagil 'a wise father or children' ,
or an adjective prefixed by the definite article, e.g.

@abu l&iyaali l&aagil 'the wise father of children' .

This is in contrast with the teknonym, which is not so
expandable, cf.

*-bu xaalid &aagil ,

xaalid il&aagil

(b) Exapandability of Teknonym in Vocative Syntagms

A teknonym used in a vocative syntagm is
expandable only by association with other "ya"-phrases, e.g.

ya-bu xaalid , ya &aagil , 'I say, wise Father of Khalid!'

ya-bu xaalid , ya raa&i-ddikkaan 'Father of Khalid, owner
of the shop!' ,

ya-bu xaalid , ya raa&i-ddikkaan , ya-lli naayim halkazza 'I
say, Father of Khalid, owner of the shop who are sleeping
even now (when you should be awake)!!'

A teknonym is also expandable by a following appositive noun, e.g.

ya-bu xaalid , ilmulla 'Father of Khalid, the clerk!' ,
ya-bu xaalid , limtawwa& 'Father of Khalid, the Koranic teacher!' .

In the immediately preceding examples, it is not clear from the text to which element in the teknonymous construct a following appositive refers. These are examples of ambiguous sentences to be disambiguated in extended context, e.g.

ya(-bu xaalid ilmulla) , xattik zeen '(Father of Khalid , the clerk) , your handwriting is good' , the appositive noun refers to the first element in the teknonymous construct whereas in

ya-bu (xaalid ilmulla) , wildik xatta zeen 'Father of (Khalid, the clerk) , your son's handwriting is good' , the appositive noun refers to the second element in the teknonymous construct.

6.2.1.2. Uses of Teknonyms

Near-relatives and close friends of the family use the teknonymous mode in addressing fathers and mothers with children to show that they are on peer-terms with their addressees. The use of teknonyms indicates reciprocal respect. Women address male relatives of the family in this way generally. Women address one another by their personal names, but switch to teknonyms on formal occasions, such as weddings, birthdays, deaths, etc. Husbands and wives address each other by reciprocal teknonyms in

situations where formality is required. The presence in the family circle of strangers or casual acquaintances will require that interlocutors switch to more "formal" addressive modes. Some Kuwaiti parents use teknonyms almost exclusively in addressing each other in the presence of their children, with the result that mothers' personal names are rarely used and, as time goes on, are almost forgotten .

6.2.2. Patronyms

A patronym is the naming of a person after his/her father's name or family name preceded (or not preceded) by the definite article. Patronyms are characterized by the colligation (wild(or bint)+@a1(or \emptyset)+father or family name) and are used in vocative syntgms , as in

- (1) ya wildā l-ahmad 'Son of Ahmad!'
- (2) ya bintā l-ahmad 'Daughter of Ahmad!'
- (3) ya wild-ahmad
- (4) ya bint-ahmad

6.2.2.1. Contrast Between Patronymics with and without the Definite Article

The association of the kin-term wild(or bint)+the definite article + personal name in (1) and (2) above indicates that (@a)l(@)ahmad is the addressee's family name. In (3) and (4) above the omission of the article indicates that (@)ahmad refers to the addressee's father's name, and not to his/her family name .

The use of the article in (1) and (2) also indicates that the addressee is held by the speaker in high esteem .

Omission of the article in (3) and (4) shows that the speaker is older than his addressee or occupies a relatively higher social status. Familiarity between interlocutors is precluded.

Patronymics show collocational extensibility with a personal name , e.g.

ya xaalid wildá l-ahmad 'Khalid, son of Ahmad!'

ya faatima bintá l-ahmad 'Fatma, daughter of Ahmad!'

to indicate that the speaker is either a near relative or close friend of the addressee.

Kuwaitis can interpolate yet another noun prefixed by the article, e.g.

ya xaalid ilmulla wildá l-ahmad 'Listen , Khalid, the clerk, son of Ahmad!'

ya faatima ttabiiba bintá l-ahmad 'Listen, Fatma, the doctor, Daughter of Ahmad!'

to indicate that the speaker is on very familiar terms with the addressee. However, the prefixation of the article to the occupational name still indicates that the speaker holds his addressee in high esteem. The omission of the article from the patronymic mode gives connotations ranging from displeasure to exasperation , e.g.

ya wild-ahmad

ya xaalid wild-ahmad

ya bint-ahmad

ya faatima bint-ahmad

A mother may be displeased or offended with her husband for encouraging her son to stay out of home till late

hours and so she can express her displeasure with both son and father by omitting the article from the patronymic mode, as in

tara , ya xaalid wild-ahmad , laa eayyaft marra 0aanya , ...

'You see, Khalid, Son of Ahmad, if you come (home) late as second time ...' .

6.2.2.2. Duplication of the Vocative Particle

The use or non-use of the vocative particle in the vocative syntagm including the patronymic mode is interesting as the following examples show :

- (1) ya xaalid , ya wildä l-ahmad
- (2) ya xaalid , wildä l-ahmad
- (3) ya xaalid , wild-ahmad
- (4) ya xaalid , ya wild-ahmad
- (5) ya xaalid ilmulla , wildä l-ahmad
- (6) ya xaalid , ya mulla , ya wildä l-ahmad
- (7) ya xaalid , ya mulla , ya wild-ahmad
- (8) ya faatima ~~tabiiba~~ , bintä l-ahmad
- (9) ya faatima , ya ~~tabiiba~~ , ya bintä l-ahmad
- (10) ya faatima , ya ~~tabiiba~~ , ya bint-ahmad

Analysis

- (1) The association of ((ya+FN)+(ya+patronym)) indicates a senior-junior relationship. The speaker holds the addressee in high esteem. ya does not occur before definite (@)ilmulla and (@i)~~tabiiba~~ as a noun may not be defined more than once.

- (2) The absence of ya and presence of the definite article before the patronym indicate that the speaker, a senior relative or friend of the family, is on familiar terms with the addressee .
- (3) The absence of ya and the definite article before the patronym indicates that we have a normal appellation , a mode of attracting the attention of the addressee. The speaker occupies a relatively higher social status and his choice of this particular mode of address, viz. ((ya+FN)+patronymic minus @a1)), i.e. ya xaalid wild-ahmad implies that he wants to assert his superiority.
- (4) The association ((ya+personal name)+(ya+patronymic minus @a1)), i.e. ya xaalid , ya wild-ahmad indicates that the speaker feels impatient, or even exasperated.
- The repetition of the definite article in (5) and (8) indicates a senior addressing a near relative with whom he is on familiar terms .
- In (6) , (7) , (9) and (10) the interpolation of ya precludes the use of the definite article with mulla 'clerk(m.s.)' or tabiibe 'doctor(f.s.)'. ya is a mode of "definition". A noun cannot be defined twice, i.e. the vocative particle and the definite article are mutually exclusive. In (7) and (10) the inclusion of more than one "ya"-phrase indicates that the speaker either holds the addressee in ridicule or in disrespect.

6.2.2.3. Sequential Order of Teknonym or Patronym
plus Additional Forms of Address

Teknonyms (examples under (1) below) or patronyms (examples under (2) and (3) below) are sometimes associated with FN , as in

- (1) (i) ya saalih-bu xaalid 'Saleh, Father of Khalid!'
 (ii) ya saalih , ya-bu xaalid
 (iii) ya-bu xaalid , ya saalih
- (2) (i) ya saamya bintā lgaanim 'Samia, Daughter of
 (ii) ya saamya , ya bintā lgaanim
 (iii) ya bintā lgaanim , ya saamya
- (3) (i) ya xaalid wildā l-ahmad 'Khalid, Son of Ahmad!'
 (ii) ya xaalid , ya wildā l-ahmad
 (iii) ya wildā l-ahmad , ya xaalid

Analysis

The duplication of the vocative particle ya and reversal of the sequential order of personal name+teknonym (or patronym) mark different syntagms as having different functions. For instance, in (1-i) , (2-i) and (3-i) , the association of personal name+teknonym (or patronym) indicates an appellative function. The speaker simply wants to attract the attention of his/her addressee. The interlocutors are relatives or close acquaintances but intimacy is withheld. In (1-ii) , (-ii) and (3-ii) , the interpolation of the vocative particle ya and the potential actualization of e.g.

ya saalih , ya-bu xaalid

indicates the relationship between interlocutors (male , married adults) as one of familiarity. The range of meanings of the addressive mode is derived in part from the extended context , e.g.

ya saalih , ya-bu xaalid , @ani muu gaayillik 'Saleh, Father of Khalid, haven't I told (i.e. warned) you?' (admonition) ,
fuuf ya saalih , ya-bu xaalid &aad 'Now, look here, Saleh, Father of Khalid!' (petulance) ,

ya saalih , ya-bu xaalid , ya ba&id cabdi 'Saleh, Father of Khalid, my dear friend!' (coaxing) .

In (1-iii) , (2-iii) and (3-iii) the reversal of sequence , viz. placing FN in final position preceded by an obligatory vocative particle, as in

ya-bu xaalid , ya saalih

indicates that the interlocutors are on intimate terms and that familiarity is permitted. This reversal of sequence permits the parameter of "melioration/pejoration" to come into operation. Such forms as

ya bintá lgaanim , ya saamya

ya wildá l-ahmad , ya xaalid

are ambiguous and meaning is determined by the extended context. Contrast, for example ,

ya bintá lgaanim , ya saamya , @alla &aleec

where the association of ya bintá lgaanim ya saamya and the idiomatic formula @alla &aleec 'how wonderful you are' (lit. 'God bless you')' marks a situation where a husband is well

pleased with his wife, with

ya bintā lgaanim , ya saamya , @alla la ybaarik fiic

'Samia, daughter of Ghanim, go to hell!'

where the association of the addressive ya bintā lgaanim ya saamya and the curse @alla la ybaarik fiic (lit. 'may God not bless you') indicates that the husband is badly offended with his wife .

It should be noted that

@alla &aleec and @alla la ybaarik fiic

are not precluded from the company of

ya saamya , ya bintā lgaanim

but association of such formulas with the reversed sequence, i.e. that which places the patronymic mode first carries considerable semantic implications , cf.

{ ya bintā lgaanim , ya saamya , @alla &aleec (extreme
intimacy and cordiality) ,
{ ya saamya , ya bintā lgaanim , @alla &aleec (mild approval),
{ ya bintā lgaanim , ya saamya , @alla la ybaarik fiic (extreme
anger and annoyance) ,
{ ya saamya , ya bintā lgaanim , @alla la ybaarik fiic (mild
disapproval) .

6.2.3. Nicknames

In addition to their personal names, most Kuwaitis are addressed by their relatives and friends by nicknames of two types :

(A) nicknames based on their personal names ,

subdivided into the following :

- (1) @ab+personal name
- (2) shortened or apocopated form of the personal name

(B) nicknames based on the individual behaviour or personal attributes of a person .

6.2.3.1. @ab (realized as -bu)+FN

This sub-group is characterized by semantic unpredictability of nicknames considered as summations of the constituent elements. For example, -bu barraak (lit. 'Father of Barrak') is a nickname for any adult male whose personal name is &abdilmihsin. In familiar conversation &abdilmihsin is addressed by his peers as -bu barraak regardless of the fact that he may or may not have male children of his own with or without the name of barraak . There is mutual expectancy between the personal name &abdilmihsin and the nickname -bu barraak . Other such regularly determined male nicknames in KA are :

<u>-bu hamad</u>	<	<u>saalih</u> ,
<u>-bu xaliil</u>	<	<u>@ibraahim</u> ,
<u>-bu hseen</u>	<	<u>&ali</u> ,
<u>-bu fhaab</u>	<	<u>@ahmad</u> ,
<u>-bu mhammad</u>	<	<u>jaasim</u> ,
<u>-bu naaair</u>	<	<u>&abdulla</u> , etc.

6.2.3.2. Apocope

tarxiim 'apocope' is the process by which the ultimate part/s of a personal name is/are deleted

to symbolize either pejorative or meliorative connotations depending on the role-relationships of participants in a situation .

This process occurs when

- (1) personal names containing 3 consonants and a final -a/-a occur pre-pausally , e.g.

&aa@if̣a (R₁aaR₂iR₃V) > &aa@if̣ (R₁aaR₂iR₃)
f̣aa†ima (R₁aaR₂iR₃V) > f̣aa†im (R₁aaR₂iR₃)

in the vocative syntagms

ya &aa@if̣ 'Aisha!' and
ya f̣aa†im 'Fatima!'

Three types of tri-consonantal personal names , however, cannot be apocopated :

- (a) female names which have male counterparts , e.g.

jamiila (R₁aR₂iiR₃V) > *jamiil (R₁aR₂iiR₃) ,
mabruuka (maR₁R₂uuR₃V) > *mabruuk (maR₁R₂uuR₃) ,
baxiita (R₁aR₂iiR₃V) > *baxiit (R₁aR₂iiR₃) , etc.

- (b) female names which correspond to lexical items with "lexical" meanings attached to them, e.g.

warda (R₁aR₂R₃V) > *ward (R₁aR₂R₃) 'roses',
gmaạfa (R₁R₂aaR₃V) > *gmaạf (R₁R₂aaR₃) 'cloth', etc.

- (c) male names ending in -a , e.g.

hamza (R₁aR₂R₃V) > *hamz (R₁aR₂R₃) ,
fihta (R₁iR₂R₃V) > *fiht (R₁iR₂R₃) ,
baraka (R₁aR₂aR₃V) > *barak (R₁aR₂aR₃) ,
wheeba (R₁R₂eeR₃V) > *wheeb (R₁R₂eeR₃) , etc.

(2) The ultimate -VVC in personal names containing 3 or 4 consonants is deleted when

(a) -C is not a radical, e.g.

xalduun (R₁aR₂R₃VVC) > xald (R₁aR₂R₃),
salmaan (R₁aR₂R₃VVC) > salm (R₁aR₂R₃),
&imraan (R₁iR₂R₃VVC) > &imr (R₁iR₂R₃), etc.

(b) -C is a fourth radical, e.g.

@ismaa&iil (@iR₁R₂aaR₃VVR₄) > @ismaa& (@iR₁R₂aaR₃), etc.

6.2.3.2.1. Collocational Restrictions of Apocopated Forms

- (a) Apocopated personal names are not used for purposes of reference. A Kuwaiti father will not, for example, refer to his son in such a manner as in the putative sentence *wildi @ismaa& risab fi limtihaan 'My son Ismael failed in the exam'. In other words, they occur only in appellative function.
- (b) Apocopated personal names are not used independently, but must be used as part of a "ya"-phrase or an "addressive phrase", e.g.

ya xald 'Khaldun!' ("ya"-phrase)

tadri ya faa'im 'You know, Fatima' ("addressive phrase")

- (c) Apocope does not occur medially in syntagms comprising more than one "ya"-phrase, e.g.

*sim&ay, ya faa'im ya-lli hadir 'Listen, Fatima, who are downstairs'

*taray, ya faa'im, ya bintá lgaanim 'You see, Fatima, daughter of Ghanem', etc. are inadmissible.

6.2.3.2.2. Uses of Apocope

Only a senior is allowed to address a junior with apocopated personal names. Extensibility in collocation of such forms will show whether pejoration or melioration is indicated, e.g.

(1) @isma& , ya-ebayy , ya-smaa& 'Listen, Ismael, my boy!',

(2) @isma& , ya eibi , ya-smaa& 'Listen, Ismael, (the) servant!' .

(1) The association of (@i)smaa& with ebayy 'boy ; young man' is meliorative : the speaker is endearingly addressing his son or a near relative of his son's age, but in (2) the association of (@i)smaa& with the form eibi 'boy-servant' is pejorative : the speaker is an employer addressing his servant in an authoritarian way. In (1) there are feelings of solidarity. In (2) there are connotations of superiority and distance deriving from the relative status of speaker and addressee¹.

6.2.3.3. Nicknames Based on the Individual Behaviour or Personal Attributes of a Person

This sub-group is considered the true nickname, as it has nothing to do with an individual's personal name, but describes some individual feature of behaviour or physical characteristic of an addressee.

An @abu (= -bu) or @umm construct may be used to refer to a person who sells a certain product, or is engaged in a

1. Cf., for instance, T.F.Mitchell, "There are always marks in the total vocative syntagm which indicate the relationship of the participants in the situation", On the Nature of Linguistics and its Place in University Studies, (Leeds University Press, (1965), p.18 .

certain activity, or owns a certain kind of property, e.g.

-bu jaraayid 'a newspaper vendor' ,

-bu #beela 'a man with a drum (who wanders in the streets before dawn in the month of Ramadan to wake people up)' ,

-bu sayyaara 'a car-owner' ,

@umm il&accaafa 'hypocrite' (lit. 'mother of &accaafa (a woman whose job was to comb women's hair and make tresses of it)'). @il&accaafa used to flatter the hair of her customers regardless of whether it was beautiful or not .

@umm il&uluum 'a woman who frequents houses to gossip' (lit. 'mother of knowledge'), etc.

An @abu (= -bu) or @umm construct may also have the general meaning '(the) one with (a certain attribute or characteristic)', e.g.

-bu lihya 'the one with a beard' ,

-bu tamba 'the fat one (lit. 'father of the stomach'),

@ummi nafnuuf 'the one with a dress' ,

@ummi &abaat 'the one with the cloak' , etc.

Nicknames belonging to this sub-group are used only between close friends. Nicknames may indicate friendship more intimate than the solidarity that requires or is shown by the use of personal names. In the presence of strangers, interlocutors will cease to use nicknames in addressing close relatives or intimate friends and switch to some other more formal mode of

address. It would be inappropriate to address a non-relative or a total stranger by a nickname unless the speaker means to insult or abuse his addressee. The nickname -bu tamba 'fat one' addressed to a close relative or friend is indicative of intimacy but the same form addressed to a stranger, who is physically fat, will be interpreted as an insult .

6.2.4. Diminutives

KA alters vowel schemas in the formation of diminutives, which are used variously with functions ranging from endearment to affection through pity to derogation and insult .

6.2.4.1. Typical Diminutive Vowel-shiftings in KA

Personal Names

The following are the most typical diminutive vowel-shiftings in KA personal names :

(1) $(R_1 R_2) \underline{ee}(R_3)$, e.g.

hseen < hasan $(R_1)a(R_2)a(R_3)$

hmeed < hamad

(2) $(R_1 w) \underline{ee}(R_2)i(R_3)$, e.g.

nweeair < naeair $(R_1)aa(R_2)i(R_3)$

xweelid < xeelid

eweelih < eeelih

fweelih < faelih

rweeaid < raeaid

sweelim < saalim

jweesim < jaasim

An alternative diminutive pattern (characteristic of Kuwaiti children's language) is

$(R_1)a(R_2R_2)\underline{uu}(R_3)$, e.g.

salluum < saalim

jassuum < jaasim

ʔaʔtuur < ʔaʔtir

(3) $(R_1w)\underline{ayyi}(R_2)$, e.g.

zwayyid < zeed $(R_1)ee(R_2)$

&wayyid < &iid $(R_1)ii(R_2)$

(4) $(R_1)ee(R_2)a(R_3)\underline{oo}(h)$, e.g.

feesaloo(h) < feesal $(R_1)ee(R_2)a(R_3)$

zeenaboo(h) < zeenab

ʔeexoo(h) < ʔeexa(h)

ʔeeboo(h) < ʔeeba(h)

(5) $(R_1)aa(R_2R_3)\underline{oo}(h)$, e.g.

ʔaʔmoo(h) < ʔaʔima $(R_1)aa(R_2)i(R_3)a$

@aamnoo(h) < @aamina

saarroo(h) < saarra $(R_1)aa(R_2R_3)a$

(6) $(R_1aR_2R_3)a(R_4)\underline{oo}(h)$, e.g.

maryamoo(h) < maryam

From the above examples, we can generalize the following two main diminutive types in KA :

(1) infixed -ee- (or -uu-) , or -ay- and

(2) suffixed -oo-

In Egypt a stressed 1st pers.s.suffix -óó replaces -i in kin-reference and kin-address, i.e.

giddóó for giddi 'my grandfather!' ,
sittóó for sitti 'my grandmother!' ,
&ammóó for &ammi 'my uncle!' ,
xaaltóó for xaalti 'my aunt!' , etc.

The use of -óó is characteristic of children's language when addressing elder members or close acquaintances of the family. -óó does not preclude the use of ya , i.e.

giddóó , ya giddóó , ya @ahsan gidd 'O, wonderful grandfather!'

6.2.4.2. Word-classes Subject to Diminutive Formation

The following word-classes are subject to diminutive formation in KA :

(1) Personal Names (as in the preceding list)

(2) Kin terms , e.g.

<u>wleed</u>	<	<u>wild</u>	'son'
<u>bnayya</u>	<	<u>bint</u>	'daughter'
<u>wxayya</u>	<	<u>@uxt</u>	'sister'

(3) Common nouns , e.g.

<u>@eelib</u>	<	<u>@a&lab</u>	'fox'
<u>gzayyil</u>	<	<u>gazaal</u>	'gazelle'
<u>rjeel</u>	<	<u>rajul</u>	'man'

(4) Prepositions , e.g.

<u>fweeg</u>	<	<u>foog</u>	'above'
<u>theet</u>	<	<u>taht</u>	'under'

(5) Adverbs , e.g.

<u>b&ayyid</u>	<	<u>ba&iid</u>	'far-off'
<u>grayyib</u>	<	<u>gariib</u>	'near'

6.2.4.3. Distributional Characteristics of the
Diminutive Device

The diminutive exhibits the following formal features :

- (a) Diminutivized personal names may be used alone in vocative syntagms , e.g.

ya nweesir 'Nweesir!' ,

ya teebooh 'Teeboh!' ;

other diminutivized word-classes are not used in vocative function but may be used in other addressive syntagms, e.g. walla , ya bnayyiti , maadri £-@aguulic 'I don't really know what to say, my daughter' , £ufti , ya wxayyiti , £-saar lisaamya 'Have you learnt , my sister, what happend to Samya?'

- (b) The diminutive device is not repeated throughout the same utterance. Kuwaitis will not say, e.g.

*ya nweesir , ya wleedi , ya kbayyibi 'My beloved son Nweeser', but they may say

ya naesir , ya wleedi , ya kabiibi .

Kuwaitis will not say

*ya rjeel , ya grayyib 'You, the man who are rather near from (where I stand)' ,

but they may say

ya rayyaal , ya grayyib or

ya rjeel , ya gariib .

6.2.4.4. Uses of the Diminutive in Address

- (a) The most common use of the diminutive is to show affection and endearment as the following table shows .

Mode of address	Additional form/s of address	Relationship between interlocutors
<u>ya xweelid</u>	<u>ya wildi @alla</u> <u>yhadaak</u> }	Father/mother-son
<u>ya xweelid</u>	<u>@alla yhadaak</u>	Father/mother-son or a near relative or male of son's age.
<u>ya wleedi</u>	<u>@alla yhadaak</u>	Father/mother-son or near relative or an unknown male of son's age .

It is noticeable that

- (i) Diminutive personal names are used in association with other address forms, e.g. kin-terms and idioms, to indicate that the speaker is addressing his own son or a close relative .
- (ii) Diminutive personal names are not used to address unknown addressees. But other forms of diminutives, e.g. wleedi or bnayyiti minus personal names are used to address strangers for whom the speaker

feels affection or gratitude, as in , e.g.

saa&idni @adi&fi #tayyaara , ya wleedi , @alla yhadaak 'Would you help me to enter the plane , my son?' (Said by an old passenger to another younger passenger on entering the plane) .

(iii) The closer the relation and the stronger the feeling of affection between interlocutors, the more the elements used in association with the diminutive mode , e.g.

ya xweelid , ya wildi , @alla yhadaak said by father/mother to son .

(b) Diminutives may be derogatory , e.g.

@ahaaciik-int , ya rjeel 'I am talking you , little man' ,

@ahaaciik-int , ya glayvil 'I am taking to you , weak man' .

The speaker in the preceding examples is assumed to be either of a superior status to the addressee, say, a foreman addressing a hired worker, or a speaker insulting his addressee regardless of the latter's age or status .

(c) Diminutives may symbolize the large-small contrast, e.g.

ya #feel 'Small child!'

ya #bayy 'Young man!'

ya #wayyib '(Rather) grey-haired man!'

- (d) Diminutive prepositions and adverbs may occur in addressive language to indicate relations in space with the addressee , e.g.

ta&al , ya rayyaal , ya b&ayyid "Come here you, the man who are not very far-off (from me)' ,
kafaac eiyaah , ya hurma , ya-lli fweeg 'Stop screaming you, the woman who lives (in the floor) right above' .

CHAPTER VIIPRONOUNS

The following sub-classes of KA pronouns are used in address :

- (1) Personal pronouns
- (2) Demonstrative pronouns

7.1. Personal Pronouns

These are either free or bound .

7.1.1. 'Free' Pronominal Forms are as follows

Pronoun	Person	Gender	Number
<u>@ana</u> , <u>@ani</u> , <u>@aani</u>	1	---	s.
<u>@ihna</u> , <u>nihna</u> , <u>hinna</u>	1	---	pl.
<u>@int(a)</u> ,	2	m.	s.
<u>@inti</u> , <u>@intay</u>	2	f.	s.
<u>@intu</u> , <u>@intaw</u>	2	---	pl.
<u>huwwa</u> , <u>huu</u>	3	m.	s.
<u>hiyya</u> , <u>hii</u>	3	f.	s.
<u>humma</u> , <u>hum</u>	3	---	pl.

(---) means there is no contrast, for instance , @ana 'I' (m. and f.). (a) means there is free variation between forms with & without final (a) .

7.1.2. Bound Pronominal Forms

Pronoun suffixes occur with noun, preposition, verb, and active participle stems. With noun stems they correspond to English possessives : beetna 'our house' ; with preposition, verb, and active participles they correspond to English object pronouns : wiyyaana 'with us' , &aafna 'he saw us' . Description of pronominal suffixes is divided into two parts :

- (1) the forms of the suffixes
- (2) the forms of the stems to which they are attached

7.1.2.1. The Forms of Pronominal Suffixes are as follows :

Pronominal suffix		Person	Gender	Number
C-	V-			
-i , -ni	-y(a)	1	---	s.
-na	-na	1	---	c.pl.
-ik , -k	-k	2	m.	s.
-ic , -c	-c	2	f.	s.
-kum	-kum	2	---	c.pl.
-a(h) , -i(h)	(-h)	3	m.	s.
-ha	-ha	3	f.	s.
-hum	-hum	3	---	c.pl.

C- = post-consonantal , as in beeti 'my house' .

V- = post-vocalic , as in siraaya 'my turn' .

(a) In the case of the 1st pers.s., the forms -i and y(a) are both used with noun and preposition stems ; the form -ni with verb stems :

beeti	' <u>my</u> house'
maali	'of <u>me</u> '
ʔaafni	'he saw <u>me</u> '

In all other cases, the same forms of the pronoun suffixes are used regardless of whether the stem is a noun , a preposition , or a verb :

beeta	' <u>his</u> house'
maala	'of <u>him</u> '
ʔaafa	'he saw <u>him</u> '

(b) The suffixes -ni , -na , -kum , -ha , and -hum are invariable in form .

7.1.2.2. The Forms of the Stems to which Pr.suffixes are Attached

The forms of a word as it occurs without a pronominal suffix is a "free form" , for example beet 'house' , @ax 'brother' , wara 'behind' . The form to which a pronoun suffix is added is "suffixing stem" , which in some cases is the same as the free form , for example , beetna 'our house' , and in some case differs from it , for

example , @axuuna 'our brother' and waraana 'behind us'

Suffixing stems which end in a consonant are consonant stems; those which end in a vowel are vowel stems. As indicated in 7.1.2.1. above, certain pronominal suffixes have different forms depending upon whether they are attached to a consonant stem or a vowel stem. The facts set forth above are illustrated in the following examples related to two noun stems .

Consonant stem

beet 'house'

(stem beet-)

1s . beeti

1pl. beetna

2m.s. beetik

2f.s. beetic

2pl. beetkum

3m.s. beeta(h)

3f.s. beetha

3pl. beethum

Vowel stem

sira 'turn'

(stem siraa-)

siraay(a)

siraana

siraak

siraac

siraakum

siraa(h)

siraaha

siraahum

7.1.3. Pronouns of Address and the Socio-Psychological

Dimensions of Solidarity and Power :

The use and choice of pronouns of address is governed by

- (a) presence or absence of solidarity between speaker and addressee , and

(b) relative power (status)¹ of speaker and addressee .

(a) The solidarity dimension is indicated by the use of the following familiar pronouns :

(i) inclusive nikna (and its variant forms @ikna and kinna) : (one male or female hearer plus speaker) ,

(ii) @int(a) : (one male hearer) ,

(iii) @inti , @intay : (one female hearer) ,

(iv) @intu , @intaw : (plural male or female hearers).

(b) The power dimension, on the other hand, is shown by :

(i) the opposition @int(a) or @inti : @intu (the plural as singular) and

1. See R. Brown and A. Gilman, 'The pronouns of power and solidarity' , in Style in Language , (ed.) T.A. Sebeok (London : Wiley, 1966) , pp.253-67 , and in P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context (Penguin : 1972), pp.252-282. See, also, D.I. Slobin, 'Some aspects of the use of pronouns of address in Yiddish' , Word 19, pp.193-201. Brown & Gilman and Slobin have paid attention to the role of linguistic form--especially addressive pronouns--in the patterning of social relations. Brown & Gilman analyzed pronouns on the two basic dimensions of power and solidarity. They used the term "semantics of the pronouns" to mean "co-variation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee" , (ibid., p.252). Solidarity relations are symmetrical and are reflected in reciprocal use of the same form by both interlocutors . Power (status) relations are asymmetrical. In dyad situations where status is involved, one individual is higher or more powerful than the other. This asymmetry is often reflected in a non-reciprocal use of pronominal forms .

(ii) the opposition of pronominal suffixes

$$\begin{pmatrix} -ik, -k \\ -ic, -c \end{pmatrix} : -kum, \text{ as in}$$

$$\begin{pmatrix} \underline{hadratik} \\ \underline{hadratic} \end{pmatrix} : \underline{hadratkum} \text{ (plural as singular)}$$

In general, the precise semantic dimensions of KA pronouns of address are defined by the social situation in which they are used and social relationship between the dyad. Within the family, for instance, where the relationship between interlocutors is marked by familiarity, relatives will reciprocate familiar pronouns as the following table shows :

Pronoun

Interlocutors

@int(a)

father to grandfather/son

@inti , @intay

father to grandmother/wife/daughter

@int(a)

grandmother/wife/daughter to father

@int(a)

brother to brother

@inti , @intay

brother to sister

@int(a)

sister to brother

@intu

father/mother to son/daughters

@intu , @intaw

brother to brothers/sisters

@intu

sister to brothers/sisters .

The fact that father-son relationship, for instance , is asymmetrical, does not preclude the reciprocal use of the familiar pronoun @int(a) . Familiar pronouns shown in the preceding table are used in normal (i.e. unmarked) situations.

7.1.4. The Use of Pronouns of Address to Convey Varying Degrees of Respect

7.1.4.1. Social Variables which Govern the Choice of Addressive Pronouns

Outside the family domain, the social variables which govern the choice between

- (i) the familiar @int(a) (or @inti) and
- (ii) the "polite" or formal @intu (2nd pers.pl. used as a pronoun of address when speaking to a single individual) are :
 - (a) social relationships between interlocutors in terms of intimacy and distance ,
 - (b) status, age and sex of interlocutors .

Intimate friends and relatives exchange @int(a) (for males) and @inti (for females) . Asymmetrical non-intimate relationships (i.e. superior-inferior) , e.g. employer-clerk , is commonly marked by non-reciprocal use of pronoun. A superior receives @intu and returns @int(a) to his inferior addressee. The following tables give a summary of (i) reciprocal exchanges, and (ii) non-reciprocal exchanges .

(i) Reciprocal Exchanges of Pronouns

Pronoun

I n t e r l o c u t o r s

<u>@int(a)</u>	male peer to male peer (in low social status)
<u>@inti</u>	female peer to female peer (in low social status)
<u>@intu</u>	male peer to male peer (in high social status)
<u>@intu</u>	female peer to female peer (in high social status)

(ii) Non-reciprocal Exchanges of Pronouns

Pronoun

Pronoun

I n t e r l o c u t o r s

<u>@int(a)</u>	<u>@intu</u>	a male superior to a male inferior (e.g. an employer and his clerk)
<u>@inti</u>	<u>@intu</u>	a female/male superior to a female inferior (e.g. a minister and a teacher)

7.1.4.2. Other Factors Relating to the Use of AddressivePronouns

However, there are cases where speakers' choice of pronoun depends far less on their addressee than we should expect and is governed more by one of the following factors :

- (1) socio-economic background of the speaker
- (2) formality of the situation
- (3) familiarity of the situation

7.1.4.2.1. Co-variation Between socio-economic
Background and Pronominal Choice

In Kuwait, there is a very strong relation between socio-economic background and the pronominal forms used in address. The more educated the speaker the more aware he will be of non-reciprocal usages of pronouns, i.e. he will, in one situation, receive @intu by inferiors and will return @int(a); in another situation, he will readily receive @int(a) from his own superiors and return @intu. But uneducated lower class Kuwaitis, especially the class of bawwaabiin 'janitors' and farraafiin 'office boys' who are appointed at schools, clinics and other governmental offices, will receive @int(a) and return @int(a) to everyone regardless of solidarity or status. The explanation may rest in the fact that most such Kuwaitis were originally "pearl-divers" during the pre-oil era. Too old or too indifferent to be educated or trained for a manual or clerical job, this class of Kuwaitis was appointed as janitors and office boys simply to give them a chance to share in the newly-found wealth of Kuwait. In a way, they consider themselves as enjoying a special status superior to the high ranking officials they are supposed to serve. Moreover, a Kuwaiti bawwaab or farraaf would consider "polite" pronouns addressed to superiors as imported forms of address and foreign to a Kuwait which used to look upon its people as all belonging to one big family.

7.1.4.2.2. Formality of the Situation

There are situations characterized by the repetitive use of idiomatic formulas and/or routines, e.g. the greeting routine £-loonkum ? 'How are you?' , which contains the "plural" suffix -kum, is commonly used in Kuwait between interlocutors of any relative age, sex, or social status and is given to a single individual on greeting him/her. Other examples of the use of the "polite" pronominal form are :

yi&uud &aaleekum il&iid bixeer 'Happy returns of the day',
ya&alkum min &uwwaada 'Happy returns of the day' (reply to the preceding congratulatory formula on the occasion of the feast). The congratulatory formulas are exchanged between peers as well as people of different social status .

Also, @ilbaqiyya f-hayaatkum 'Please, accept my condolences (for the death of your relative)' ,
wa hayaatkum ilbaaqya 'Thank you (lit. 'and may your life remain long') (reply to the immediately preceding). In the preceding examples it is the formality of the situation rather than the role-relationships obtaining between interlocutors which entails the use of "polite" -kum .

7.1.4.2.3. Familiarity of the Situation

On the other hand, there are situations (e.g. a doctor examining the child of a near relative or friend, or a mother rebuking her child) which are marked by

familiarity. Two forms of pronominal address are used :

- (i) the inclusive nikna
- (ii) 3rd pers. pron. forms instead of 2nd pers. pron. forms.

(i) The Inclusive nikna

The inclusive nikna is as much a pronoun of address as a pronoun of self-reference. The speaker who uses it associates himself with his addressee on a footing of friendliness. It is usually easy to tell whether or not a given occurrence of nikna is meant to include the addressee. Extensibility in collocation of inclusive nikna will indicate meanings ranging from great friendliness to mild rebuke, as the following tables show :

Doctor to Child -
(Friendliness)

Doctor to Child
(Unmarked)

nikna muu zeen miOil gabil

@inta muu zeen miOil gabil

'We are not what we used
to be'

'You are not what you used
to be'

Husband to Wife
(Mild Rebuke)

Husband to Wife
(Unmarked)

nikna taalbiin caay 'We
asked for tea'

@ana taalib caay 'I asked
for tea'

(ii) The Use of 3rd pers.pron. Forms Instead of 2nd pers.pron. Forms :

3rd person pronominal forms huwwa or huu ; hiyya or hii ; hum ; -a(h) or -i(h) ; -ha ; -hum (all characterized by exclusion of the hearer/s) are sometimes used by Kuwaiti speakers to show either a greater degree of affection or a greater degree of abuse depending on the collocational association of the pronominal form/s as shown in the following table :

Employer to Servant
(Greater Anger)

Father to son
(Unmarked)

huwwa lkumaar leeʔ naayimī-

@int(a) leeʔ naayimī-hnii

hnii 'Why is the donkey
sleeping here?'

'Why are you sleeping here?'

Mother to Child
(Affection)

Mother to Eldest Daughter
(Unmarked)

hiyya leeʔ ilkilwa maa

@inti leeʔ maa nædafti snaanic

nædafti sinaanha 'Why

'Why haven't you cleaned your
teeth?'

hasn't the lovely one

cleaned her teeth?'

Father to Child
(Affection)

Father to Eldest Son
(Unmarked)

£-fii(h) lmaynuun 'What's
the matter with the old
mad-hatter?'

£-fiik ya maynuun 'What's
the matter, silly boy?'

The use of 2nd pers. pron. Forms in Vocative and Addressive

Syntagms :

2nd pers. pronouns are used as component elements of the "ya"-phrase and the "addressive phrase" to mark a superior-inferior relationship, as the following table shows :

Mode of address	Function	Interlocutors
<u>ya @inta</u> or <u>@inta yaa</u> }	Calling attention	Foreman to a worker on a building site.
<u>ya @inti</u> or <u>@inti yaa</u> }	Calling attention	Headmistress to a <u>farraafa</u> 'school female servant' in the school yard.
<u>@isma&-int</u> or <u>@int(a)-sma&</u> }	Impatience	Employer to his junior clerk or to indicate offence to a peer.
'Listen to me <u>you</u> '		

7.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

KA has two sets of demonstratives, corresponding to the English "nearer" demonstratives "this, these" and the "remoter" demonstratives "that, those". The sex contrast is again marked in the singular and not in the plural as is shown in the following table :

Pronoun	Sex	Number	Location
<u>haa@a</u> , <u>ha</u> 'this (one)'	male	s.	Close
<u>haa@i</u> 'this (one)'	female	s.	
<u>@ool(a)</u> , <u>ha@ool(a)</u> 'these'	---	c.pl.	
<u>(ha)@aak(a)</u> 'that (one)'	male	s.	Distant
<u>(ha)@iic(a)</u> 'that (one)'	female	s.	
<u>@oolaak(a)</u> ,) <u>ha@oolaak(a)</u>) 'those'	---	c.pl.	

--- means there is no contrast .

(a) means that there is free variation between forms with & without final a .

7.2.1. The Uses of Demonstratives in Address

Demonstrative pronouns of address are used

(a) As a Hesitational or Apologetic Device

Outside the family domain ,when a speaker is not sure of his addressee's name he uses utterances which relate to the colligation

(ya + ha + the definite article +
noun of non-personal
reference or adjective)

Examples :

ya halbadawiyya 'You, the bedouin woman!' ,

ya halxawaaaja 'You, the European man!'

The adjective usually describes a noticeable physical or personal characteristic of the addressee, and will therefore give suggestions of politeness, rudeness etc., e.g.

ya hazzeena 'You, the good girl!' (polite)

ya halgaeiir 'You, the short fello!' (rude), etc.

(b) As a Marker of the Vocative Syntagm

In the utterance

ya &yaal ha@oolaak 'You, the boys over there!', the demonstrative points out which boys in the situation are being addressed .

The vocative particle ya may be omitted and the demonstrative pronoun will be one of the markers of the vocative syntagm. In the following utterance a father speaks to his children who have just returned home late at midnight :

(ha)@oolaak , taraw laa sayyfatum marra @aanya ...

'Listen, (you children) over there, if you come (home) late a second time ...' . In this latter example, the use of the demonstrative pronoun minus other addressive markers, as the vocative particle, personal name, kin-term, etc., signals pejorative overtones of reprimand, exasperation, warning, etc. Role-relations between father and children are temporarily suspended and the father prefers to choose from his repertoire addressive forms aimed at giving marked social meanings.

CHAPTER VIII

TERMS OF ENDEARMENT

8.1. Sub-classes of Terms of Endearment.

In addition to bi-polar kin-terms, nicknames, diminutives and apocope, the following sub-classes of terms of endearment are used in address.

(i) Terms related to bodily parts, e.g. the invariable forms :

galbi 'my heart' , &eeni 'my eye' ,
cabdi 'my liver' , roohi 'my soul' ,
&agli 'my mind' .

(ii) Terms related to heavenly bodies, e.g. the invariable forms :

gumari 'my moon' , najmi 'my star'

(iii) General terms of affection e.g.

&aziizi (m.s.) 'my dear' ,
habiibi (m.s.) 'my love' ,
&aatir (m.s.) 'clever one' ,
hayaati (m.s.) 'my life' ,
hilwa (f.s.) 'sweet'
ti&ma (f.s.) 'delicious' , etc.

8.2. Lexico-grammatical Features of Terms of Endearment

Terms of endearment exhibit the following lexico-grammatical features :

(a) On the basis of colligation with 1st pers.pron suffixes, terms of endearment are sub-divided

into the following groups :

- (i) terms which colligate with pronominal suffixes, e.g.

&eeni 'my eye' , roohi 'my soul', etc.,
and

- (ii) terms which do not colligate with pronominal suffixes, e.g.

hilwa 'sweet' , faatir 'clever' .

It has been noticed that terms addressed to children, e.g.

faatir , do not colligate with pronominal suffixes .

- (b) On the basis of associability or non-associability with the vocative particle ya, terms of endearment may be further sub-divided into the following groups :

- (i) terms which associate with a preceding ya to form an "addressive phrase" , e.g.

ya &aziizi 'my dear' , ya habiibi 'my beloved' , etc.

- (ii) terms which do not associate with a vocative particle, e.g.

faatir 'clever one'

Terms of endearment must be used as part of wider syntagms, but never in isolation , e.g.

@isma& ya &aziizi 'Listen, my dear!' ,

ta&aal ya habiibi 'Come, my beloved!', etc.

- (c) In situations where the name of the addressee is not known, the term of endearment is generally used in association with a preceding demonstrative pronoun plus definite article. e.g.

halhilwa (lit. 'this(the) sweet girl') ,
hazzeena (lit. 'this(the) good girl') ,
ha&fa&fir (lit. 'this(the) clever boy') .

The last sub-group is characteristic of terms of endearment used to children .

8.3. Uses of Terms of Endearment in Various Situational

Contexts :

Terms of endearment are used between relatives and close acquaintances to show greater affection and closeness ; choice is usually determined by the status- and role-relationships of participants, and also the social situation.

- (i) There are terms used by participants on a reciprocal basis, i.e. the addressee receives and returns the same term regardless of the sex of interlocutors, as the following table shows :

Term of Address	Mode of Address	Speaker	Addressee
<u>galbi</u>	<u>ya galbi</u>	Husband/ male lover	Wife/female lover
<u>&eeni</u>	<u>ya &eeni</u>	"	"
<u>roohi</u>	<u>ya roohi</u>	"	"
<u>&agli</u>	<u>ya &agli</u>	"	"
<u>cabdi</u>	<u>ya cabdi</u>	"	"

(ii) There are sex-differentiated terms, as the following table shows :

Term of Address	Mode of Address	Speaker	Addressee
<u>&aziizi</u>	<u>ya &aziizi</u>	Male/female	Male
<u>&aziizti</u>	<u>ya &aziizti</u>	Male/female	Female
<u>habiibi</u>	<u>ya habiibi</u>	Male/female	Male
<u>habiibti</u>	<u>ya habiibti</u>	Male/female	Female

(iii) There are terms used to address females only, as the following table shows :

Term of Address	Mode of Address	Speaker	Addressee
<u>hilwa</u>	<u>halhilwa</u>	Male/female	Female
<u>ti&ma</u>	<u>hatiti&ma</u>	Male/female	Female

It would be quite inappropriate to address a male with, e.g.

*halhilw or *ya hilw 'Beautiful one!' ,

*ha~~ti~~ti&im or *ya ti&im 'Delicious one!' .

(iv) Sometimes, a speaker may choose to speak to his addressee by a string of endearing terms, e.g.

ya noora , ya &aziizti , ya ba&id cabdi 'Nora , my dear, my beloved' (young husband-wife) .

The immediately preceding sentence is ambiguous. It is not clear from the linguistic text whether the speaker, say, a

young husband, uses many endearing terms in close succession to indicate greater affection or greater impatience with his wife. The sentence is disambiguated in context and by relatability to differences of, e.g. intonation, rhythm, etc.

(v) Terms of endearment are commonly used in association with idiomatic formulas and routines, such as

(1) greetings , e.g.

ʕloonic ya ʕaziizti 'How are you, my dear?'

(adult male/female-adult female) ,

(2) farewells , e.g.

taww innaas , ya ʕaziizi "It's too early to leave, old fellow" (host-guest) ,

(3) blessings , e.g.

@alla yirʕaak , ya ʕeeni 'May God preserve you, my eye' (mother-son) ,

(4) well-wishing , e.g.

haʕʕaʕra , alla ywaffigic 'May God show you the right path, clever one(f.s.)' (teacher-pupil) , etc.

xataak issawwi , ya galbi 'May you live safe (from the evil of sickness) , my heart' (mother-sick son) , etc.

The use of endearing terms in association with recurrent idiomatic formulas and routines enables Kuwaitis to avoid falling into the language of automata particularly since there is considerable choice open to the individual .

PART THREE

THE DOMAIN OF SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

General Statement

Kuwaitis prefer to organize their social activities through small, select, exclusively Kuwaiti groups. Unlike the hierarchical or vertical structure of other Kuwaiti sub-systems (economic, educational, bureaucratic, political, etc.) , dependent on man's role-taking, Kuwaiti social gatherings are both vertically and horizontally structured. The vertical dimension is a means of placing people in a respect-disrespect continuum, while the horizontal one refers to a formal-intimate continuum. In Kuwaiti social interaction, age, marital status, etc., are vertical dimensions, while degree of friendship , sex , shared education , proximity of residence, etc., are horizontal dimensions .

In the Family Domain , Kuwaitis learn where to look for authority, friendship, and equality and how these things are expressed in language. Kuwaitis grow up with an intensely felt disposition towards conformity and intra-group cohesiveness. On the other hand, many Kuwaitis, especially those of the "old" generation, adopt and foster an attitude of "defensiveness" or minimal social contact with non-Kuwaiti @ayaanib 'foreigners' (Arabs and non-Arabs) who work and live in Kuwait .

Kuwaitis' preference for social isolation from non-Kuwaitis is expressed in the love of shared ritual . By and large, the bulk of a Kuwaiti's linguistic repertoire is institutionally stereotyped . When stimulated by , or responding to a situation, a Kuwaiti is constrained to use conventional idiomatic formulas. An individual's communicative competence relates to the "appropriate" linguistic choices he makes among available forms. For example, Kuwaiti processes of "greeting" and "taking leave" of one's host and hostess are marked by much verbal ritual. And yet, a Kuwaiti individual has a greeting-repertoire from which to choose the variant which he thinks appropriate to the situation and the identity of his interlocutor. The choice, say, between hala (or guwwa) 'Hullo' and hayyaak alla (or @alla bi-lxeer) 'Good day' expresses a distinction between intimacy and formality . hala (or guwwa) is exchanged between friends and acquaintances, whereas hayyaak alla (or @alla bi-lxeer) is exchanged between participants of unequal status .

The Domain of Social Activities in Kuwait relates to such occasions as visits at home, caay-idduha 'late-morning tea-drinking meetings' (where participants are exclusively females) , diiwaaniyya- 'reception-hall' gatherings (exclusively males), ki&at gane 'hunting excursions in the desert' (males) , hadaag 'motor-boat fishing' (males), &arda 'military dance' (males), etc. Typical Kuwaiti social occasions and gatherings are again made up of vertical as well as

horizontal dyadic ties. The following categories of use relate regularly to the linguistic features we shall describe :

Courtesy Formulas :

- (1) Well-wishing & Congratulation
- (2) Greetings

Reproach

Imploring

CHAPTER IX

COURTESY FORMULAS

A simple ritualistic repertoire is all that is required by Kuwaitis to communicate in such formal settings as congratulating the mother of a newly-born child, wishing the addressee a long life, a speedy recovery from sickness, etc.

Most courtesy formulas are sex-differentiated, i.e. some formulas are exchanged between women only and others are exchanged between males only. Some formulas are given and received by both sexes. For example, the following table shows formulas of "farewell".

Farewell formula	Interlocutors
<u>ma&a-ssalaama</u> 'Good-bye'	(female-female)
<u>fi @amaan-illaa(h)</u> 'Good-bye'	(male-male)

The formula ma&a-ssalaama is exchanged between a hostess and her female guest. The hostess will give ma&a-ssalaama and receive ma&a-ssalaama in return. Male interlocutors exchange fi @amaan-illaa(h). An "old" Kuwaiti will look askance at you if you address him with ma&a-ssalaama which he considers to be characteristic of women's language in Kuwait. This is noticeable in contrast with usage in other Arab countries, e.g. Egypt.

9.1. Idiomatic Formulas of Well-wishing and Congratulation

Classification of well-wishing formulas is based on

- (1) linguistic features , and
- (2) the situational contexts with which the forms are correlated

9.1.1. Linguistic Features

Forms correlated with well-wishing and congratulation are linguistically described as elements of either :

- (A) partly variable syntagms
- (B) fully variable syntagms

(A) In the utterance

&asa &umric tuwiil 'I hope you (f.s.) live long' ,
the form &asa is a constant element while &umric tuwiil are variable elements. Cf., for example, with

&asa dinyaac maa ^{dd}teidic 'I hope your (f.s.) life is not a difficult one' (maa ^dteidic (lit. 'is not against you')) ,
where &asa is constant while dinyaac maa teidic is variable, and also with

@allaa(h) yancii(h) &aleec 'May he (i.e. the newly-born child) follow your footsteps' , where @allaa(h) is constant, while yancii(h) &aleec is variable.

It is noticed that the variable elements (in partly variable syntagms) constitute a phrasal set whose members are

characterized by membership of two types of grammatical class :

- (i) form-classes
- (ii) phrases, viz. nominal phrases, prepositional phrases and verbal phrases .

In &asa &umric #uwiil

&asa is followed by a nominal phrase ;

in @allaa(h) yancii(h) &aleec

@allaa(h) is followed by a verbal phrase .

The use (or non-use) of an appropriate addressive form will characterize the category of "well-wishing" as between interlocutors in a hierarchical or horizontal role-relationship. The use of the kin-term bnayyiti 'my daughter' in the utterance

&asa &umric #uwiil ya bnayyiti

marks the relationship between interlocutors as that of a senior speaker and a junior addressee. The use of the teknonym (@u)mmü xaalid 'Mother of Khalid' in the utterance

&asa dinyaac maa tæiddic , ya-mmü xaalid

marks the relationship as one between peers. In other words, characteristic extensibility in collocation and association with appropriate address forms will indicate whether addressive forms are used as part of a symmetrical or asymmetrical interaction pattern. In

&asa &umric #uwiil , ya bnayyiti

the addressee will not reciprocate by using the same "well-wishing" formula.

In

&asa dinyaac maa tēiddic , ya-mmū xaalid

the addressee may reciprocate by using the same or similar formulas.

The nominals used after &asa in the immediately preceding examples are, of course, characterized further by the 2nd pers. f.s. suffix -c, i.e. &umric 'your (f.s.) age', dinyaac 'your (f.s.) life' which is one of the features marking a female addressee .

(B) The utterance

rabbaytay maa yibtay 'I hope you (f.s.) breed well what you have brought forth' ,

is an example of a fully variable syntagm where the elements are all variable. Fully variable syntagms are classified in accordance with their distinctive linguistic features, taking into account the conditioning factors of their use, e.g.

rabbaytay maa yibtay

is classified as a perfective verbal syntagm, contrasted with comparable imperfective verbal syntagms , by its idiomatic unproductivity, i.e. by the fixity of its elements in the sense that they are not subject to say, transposability , interpolability and omissibility. The idiomatic formula is at the same time characteristically extensible in collocation and association with appropriate address forms. In the utterance (rabbaytay maa yibtay) , ya-mmū xaalid the association of

the teknonymous mode with (rabbaytay maa yibtay) is characteristic of women's speech in wishing a mother of a newly-born child well. Contrast with the non-idiomatic use of

rabbaytay maa yibtay in

hantay rabbaytay liexala-lli yibtay &alee? 'On what did

you feed the young goat you brought?' (omissibility, interpolability, pre- and post-textual expandability) .

Contrast, also with

lee? lidyaay-illi yibtay maa rabbaytay ? 'Why haven't you

fed the chicks you brought?' (transposition, interpolability, and extensibility fore and aft) .

The "bloc" (rabbaytay maa yibtay) is an example of the generalized colligation (perfective verb + relative pronoun + perfective verb) , on a par with fhimtay maa smi&tay 'You (f.s.) have understood what you heard', tuftay maa &tareetay 'You (f.s.) have seen what you bought', etc.

9.1.2. Situational Features

Forms of well-wishing are further subclassified on the basis of the situational contexts with which the forms are correlated, and especially on the relationships of interlocutors. The following forms may be distinguished :

- (i) forms appropriate to female interlocutors
- (ii) forms appropriate to male addressees
- (iii) forms appropriate to female speakers
- (iv) forms reciprocated regardless of sex of interlocutors

i) Forms Appropriate to Female Interlocutors

Kuwaiti women have a varied linguistic repertoire of idiomatic forms which can be used in typical recurrent social occasions, e.g. congratulating the mother of a newly-born child, wishing a sick relative or friend a speedy recovery from sickness, or wishing her a long life, bounteous life, etc. The following table shows the habitual associations of forms and sequential order in the category of congratulating the mother of a newly-born boy. Typical contexts of use (henceforth abbreviated TCU) are given below the table .

Constant	Variables			
	Phrase Type	Phrasal Set	Mode of Address	TCU
<u>ilhamd-illaa</u> Thank God'	Prepositional	{&ala salaamtic 'for your safety in giving birth)'/	ya-mmū <u>xaalid</u>	(1)
"	"	{&ala gyaamic bi- <u>ssalaama</u> 'for your safety'	"	
<u>asaaci</u> 'I hope you are'	"	{b-xeer 'well',/ <u>b-eikka</u> 'in good health'/	"	(2)
<u>asaaci-</u> <u>bilgiini</u> I hope you	"	{ <u>b-tihaara</u> 'his circumcision (party)'/	"	(3)
ive long enough	"	<u>b-zaffita</u> 'his bridal procession'/'	"	(4)

Instant	Variables			
	Phrase Type	Phrasal Set	Mode of Address	TCU
<u>saaci-</u> <u>ilgiini</u> 'I pe you live ng enough to tness'	Prepositional	<u>b-&irsa</u> 'his marriage'/	<u>ya-mmũ</u> <u>xaalid</u>	(5)
	"	<u>b-Øirriyyita</u> offspring'	"	(6)
<u>llaa</u> 'May d'	Verbal (2nd pers. f.s. imperfective)	<u>yballigic fii(h)</u> 'bless him (lit. 'make you fulfil your hopes in him, i.e. the newly- born baby')'/	"	(7)
"	"	<u>yancii &aleec</u> 'let him follow your footsteps'/	"	(8)
"	"	<u>yballigic</u> <u>bi&yaala</u> 'give you life to see his offspring'	"	(9)

Contexts of Situation

The "setting" is either a domestic or hospital bedroom. Speaker and addressee are both women of the same age-group or the speaker is older than her addressee. Both interlocutors are either relatives or intimate friends. The addressee is married. Forms of address are an integral part of

congratulatory formulas. The use of the teknonymous mode, e.g. -mmü xaalid marks, among other features, the relation between interlocutors as intimate, though a little formal. The following brief comments will relate the forms given above to their typical contexts of use.

- 1) The speaker starts her visit to the mother of a newly-born boy by paying attention to her personally and complimenting her on having been safely delivered.
- 2) The speaker still focuses her good wishes on the mother without referring to the child.
- 3) Only when the mother offers to show her baby to her visitor does the latter start a crescendo of expected formulas. When the visitor is allowed to hold the baby she mutters the formula

ya hleelaa(h) 'How beautiful he is!'

to which the mother responds by

hilat dinyaac, ya-mmü saalih 'May your life be beautiful, Mother of Saleh!' .

Then the visitor wishes the mother a life long enough to attend her boy's circumcision ceremony .

- 4) During the circumcision ceremony (which usually takes place in the child's first year of life) a guest wishes the mother a life long enough to attend her son's engagement and bridal procession.
- 5) During the bridal procession (at the son's age of 20 or thereabouts) a guest wishes the mother life to attend her son's marriage consummation.

) When congratulating the mother on her son's marriage, a guest wishes her the joy of seeing his offspring .

Contexts 4-6 occur either (a) at different stages of the child's growth and are related to important events in his life or (b) are all visualized a priori and given intermittently to the mother while her newly-born baby is still lying in his cot by her side .

In (7) , (8) and (9) a visitor wishes the mother well and prays God to make the infant fulfil the hopes of his mother (7) by growing into a well-mannered man (8) and the father of many children (9) .

The following table shows forms of well-wishing given by a mother to her daughter or a near relative or close acquaintance of her daughter's age

Constant form	Variable extended context	Mode/s of address	TCU
<u>sa</u> 'I hope'	<u>-llaa yirfa& baxtic</u> 'God bless you (with a good bridegroom)'	<u>ya faatima</u> and/ or <u>ya bnayyiti</u>	(1)
"	<u>-tga&iina b-il&aafya</u> 'you (wear and) tear it (i.e. the bridal dress) in good health'	"	(2)
"	<u>minna-lmaali w-minnic-il&iyaal</u> 'God makes him (i.e. the bridegroom) have enough money to support you and you (i.e. the bride) bring forth enough children'	"	(3)

Contexts of Situation

-) This is said by a mother to her daughter who has reached to age of 20 and who has begun to miss her chances of getting married.
-) A mother addresses her daughter or close acquaintance on the occasion of her engagement. The girl is showing the speaker her bridal dress. The speaker wishes her addressee a marriage durable enough to wear her dress till it becomes torn through long use.
-) A mother congratulates her daughter or near relative or acquaintance who has recently become engaged . The antithesis

minna-lmaal (lit. 'the money from him') and

minnic-il&iyaal (lit. 'the children from you')

reflects the values of a society which allocates specific roles to men, viz. earning the family bread, and others to women, viz. staying at home and bringing forth as many children as possible (see , above) .

i) Forms Appropriate to Male Addressees

The following table shows forms correlated with the language appropriate to wishing a male addressee well .

Comments on typical contexts of use follow the table.

Instant form	Variable extended context	Mode/s of address	TCU
<u>&al</u> 'I hope God'	<u>-in tihti wqeet w-in talabti</u> &tee& 'makes you(m.s.) safe if you fall and (your wishes) given if you ask'	<u>ya xaalid</u> and/or <u>ya wleedi</u>	(1)
"	<u>-irrahmaani ywaffigik ween</u> <u>maa yammamt</u> 'the Bounteous shows you the right path wherever you go'	"	(2)
<u>&allik</u> 'I hope you'	<u>-ityiina saalim gaanim</u> 'return to us safe and prosperous'	<u>ya xaalid</u> and/or <u>ya wleedi</u>	(3)
"	<u>-ityii mistar-ilxaatir</u> 'return satisfied'	"	(4)
<u>asa</u> 'I	<u>naaeyitik xaara</u> 'your life is prosperous' (lit. your side is green')	"	(5)
"	<u>dinyaaki wsii&a</u> 'your life is bounteous'	"	(6)
<u>allaa</u> May God'	<u>ywaddiik saalim wi-yyiibik</u> <u>saalim</u> 'make you depart safely and bring you back safely'	"	(7)
"	<u>y@ammin xoofna &aleek</u> 'bring you back safely'	"	(8)

Contexts of Situation

The speaker is a father or mother and the addressee a son or relative or close acquaintance of son's age.

- 1) The speaker wishes the addressee an easy life free from care .
- 2) The speaker wishes the addressee a prosperous journey.
- 3) The speaker wishes the addressee a safe and prosperous return from a journey or voyage. In the past, Kuwaiti men used to go on pearl-diving voyages which lasted many months. The voyages were hazardous and the financial return was generally meagre. A parents' wish that their son should return saalim gaanim 'safe and prosperous' is understandable against the background of Kuwaiti socio-economic activities before the days of oil prosperity. Socio-economic realities have changed enormously in Kuwait in the last 26 years , but language, which tends to be conservative, does not change at the same rate. Kuwaitis, therefore, still resort to "old" forms of "well-wishing" and congratulation. The formula ya&allik-ityiina saalim gaanim is an example of what Gumperz calls "metaphorical switching", in the sense that forms appropriate to one situation can be used in another to allude to the first or comment on the second. Kuwaitis nowadays travel by jet planes, air-conditioned cars and luxurious yachts and for reasons other than to bring home a small fish for the family rice bowl, and yet a parent will continue to wish his/her departing son a "safe and prosperous" return from travel :

ya&allik-ityiina saalim gaanim , ya wleedi

he kin-term wleedi 'my son' , of course, marks the addressee as a male. Females are not addressed by

*ya&allic-ityiina saalma gaanma

s girls were not supposed, until very recently, to be dependable bread-winners in the family.

- 4) Speaker wishes the addressee a successful return, say , from an interview or an examination.
- 5) Speaker wishes the addressee a prosperous life on the occasion of getting employed.
- 6) Speaker wishes the addressee a bounteous life on the occasion of his first salary. In the affluent society of Kuwait, where every Kuwaiti citizen has a high income and only nominal taxes are imposed on imported luxuries and consumer goods, the form

&asa dinyaaki wsii&a 'I hope your life is bounteous'

seems rather redundant, but, like many other formulas used by Kuwaitis, especially those belonging to the old generation , reflects the fact that language is not always a safe guide to "social reality". Such forms like &asa dinyaaki wsii&a are still used and accepted not as meaningless cliches, in spite of the ritualistic circumstances of their use, but rather as a means of creating an atmosphere of "phatic communion" between Kuwaiti interlocutors .

- 7) & (8) Speaker wishes the addressee a prosperous journey.

i) Forms Appropriate to Female Speakers

The following table shows forms of wishing a sick person well. The speaker is an adult Kuwaiti female and the addressee is a male/female relative of the same age or younger

can the speaker. Comments follow the table.

Constant form	Variable extended context	Mode/s of address	TCU
<u>asa</u> 'I hope God'	<u>&eeni maa tabciik(-c)</u> 'make you live long' (lit. 'my eye will not shed a tear for your death')	<u>ya xaalid/</u> <u>ya wleedi</u> or <u>ya faatima/</u> <u>ya bnayyiti</u>	(1)
"	<u>yoomi gabil yoomik</u> 'you live longer than I' (lit. 'my day (of death occurs) before yours!')	<u>ya-bu xaalid</u>	(2)

1) A mother wishes her sick son or sick daughter a long life. As it is considered a sign of weakness on the part of Kuwaiti males to shed tears over a deceased relative, the item &eeni maa tabciik(-c) 'my eye will not shed tears on your (m./f.s.) death'

2) A wife wishes her sick husband a long life. When a wife says to her husband:

&asa yoomi gabil yoomik ya-bu xaalid

she does not, of course, really want to die before her husband or anybody else. She is simply probing the reactions of her husband to hearing her say so. A loving husband will respond, in the situation, in "expected" forms such as

ya-mmũ xaalid-alla yhadaac, &umric tuwiil, winti ba&dicĩ

ngiira, @alla y&awwil hayaatic wi-t&uufi wildĩ wildic ba&id

'Mother of Khalid, may God show you the right path, your life will be long, and (anyhow) you are still young; (I

pray) God will grant you a long life to see your grandson!'

This will please the wife immensely .

vi) Forms Reciprocated Regardless of Sex of Interlocutors

The following forms are used by speakers (males or females) when wishing a sick person (male or female) well. In other words, the forms are not sex-differentiated. But extensibility with addressive forms will indicate whether the addressee is male or female, relatively younger or older than the speaker, and so on.

Constant form	Variable extended context	Address form/s	TCU
<u>isa</u> 'I hope'	<u>maa farr</u> 'nothing is wrong'	{ <u>ya yuba/</u> <u>ya yumma/</u> <u>ya wleedi/</u> <u>ya bnayyiti/</u> <u>ya wxayyiti/</u> <u>ya-bu eaalih/</u> <u>ya-mmū eaalih/</u> etc.	(1)
"	<u>-llaa ytul&a</u> 'God rids you of it(i.e. sickness)'	"	(2)

-) The speaker (male or female) expresses the hope to a father, mother, son, daughter, sister, husband, wife or close acquaintance of father's age, mother's age, etc. that there is nothing wrong with the latter's health.
-) The speaker (male or female) wishes a relative or close acquaintance a speedy recovery from sickness.

The following table shows idiomatic formulas related with the language of congratulation exchanged

etween Kuwaitis on the occasion of religious feasts .
 nalysis follows the table :

idiomatic formulas	Form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors
1) { <u>@al&iid &aleekumi</u> <u>mbaarak/killi</u> <u>&aam w-intawi-</u> <u>bxeer/&asaakum</u> <u>min &uwwaada</u> 'Happy new feast'	{ <u>&ammi/</u> <u>&ammiti</u>	(servant-employer)
2) "	{ <u>ya &ammi/</u> <u>ya &ammiti</u>	(male/female-one's uncle/aunt)
3) "	{ <u>ya &ammi</u> <u>-bu xaalid/</u> <u>ya &ammiti</u> <u>-mmũ xaalid</u>	(male/female-one's uncle/aunt or relative or close acquaintance of uncle's age)
4) "	<u>ya-bu xaalid</u>	(male/female-male relative or friend)
5) "	<u>ya-mmũ</u> <u>xaalid</u>	(male/female-female relative or friend)
6) <u>@il&iid &aleekumi</u> <u>mbaarak, etc.</u>	<u>ya xaalid/</u> <u>ya-xuuy</u>	(male/female-male relative or friend)
7) "	<u>ya faatima/</u> <u>ya-xti</u>	(male/female-female relative or friend)

Analysis :

Idioms used in the situational context of festive congratulations are characterized by the use of the respectful 2nd pers.pr. suffix -kum.

- (1) A servant or a junior employee gives the congratulatory form/s to his/her employer and does not receive the same form/s. An employer may respond in a form like

&aleena w-&aleek(-c) 'I hope the same to you' ,

using the familiar 2nd pers.pr. suffix -k (m.s.) or -c (f.s.) minus kin-term or personal name.

- (2) The use of the vocative particle ya+kin-term &ammi/&ammiti indicates that the addressee is the speaker's paternal uncle/paternal aunt. The addressee will respond in

&aleena w-&aleek ya wleedi or &aleena w-&aleec ya bnayyiti ,

using the familiar 2nd pers.pr. +kin-term in diminutive form.

- (3) The use of ya+kin-term+teknonym indicates that the speaker is on familiar terms with his/her uncle/aunt or that the addressee is a relative or close acquaintance of the speaker's uncle's/aunt's age. The addressee will respond to the congratulation with the familiar

&aleena w-&aleek(-c) ya saalih/faatima , ya wleedi/
bnayyiti ,

by using familiar 2nd pers.pr.s. +personal name and/or appropriate kin-term.

(4) & (5) Interlocutors are of the same age and reciprocate the congratulatory idiom/s. The response to the congratulation is

&aleena w-&aleekum

using the respectful 2nd pers.pr.s. -kum.

(6) & (7) Intimate friends exchange the congratulation idiom in association with familiar forms of address such as personal names, kin-terms, diminutives, etc.

9.2. Greetings

Greetings are divided, in accordance with the situational contexts with which they are correlated, into :

- (i) greetings from inferior to superior
- (ii) greetings between acquaintances of equal status
- (iii) greetings from superior to inferior
- (iv) greetings between friends

The superiority-inferiority dimension is broadly based on one or more of the following non-linguistic factors :
age, social status and wealth.

Address-forms are essential components of the forms of greeting correlated with the relevant contexts of situation.

(i) Greetings from Inferior to Superior

Interlocutors are dyads of unequal status. The following patterns are characteristic of greetings in this context :

- (a) the interrogative particle &loon 'how'+2nd pers. respectful pr. suffix -kum+(ya)+title of respect

(+ teknonym) , e.g.

£-loonkum (ya) hajji (-bu saalih) 'How are you,
Hajji, (Father of Saleh)?'

(b) £-loon+2nd pers. familiar pr. suffix -ik(m.s.)/
-ic(f.s.)+(ya)+kin-term/title of respect

(+ teknonym) , e.g.

£-loonik (ya) &ammi (-bu saalih) 'How are you,
(Uncle) (Father of Saleh)?'

The following table shows permitted associations of the general greeting forms £-loonkum , £-loonik(-c) used by inferior speakers to superior addressees. Comments follow the table :

Greeting form	Form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors	TCU
<u>£-loonkum</u> 'How are you?	<u>hajji-bu saalih</u>	a junior male/ female-an older male acquaintance	(1)
"	<u>ya hajji-bu saalih</u>	a junior male/ female-an older male relative or close acquaintance	(2)
<u>£-loonik(-c)</u> 'How are you'	<u>&ammi/&ammiti</u> Sir/Madam?'	a servant-a male/ female employer	(3)
"	<u>ya &ammi/ya &ammiti</u>	a male/female- one's uncle/aunt	(4)

Comments :

- (1) The greeting form £-loonkum followed by the respect title hajji+teknonym -bu saalih minus the vocative particle ya indicates that the speaker is inferior to the addressee in the social scale. The use of teknonym indicates that interlocutors are acquaintances but the relationship is marked by formality.
- (2) The speaker is a junior or inferior to the addressee, but the inclusion of ya following £-loonkum indicates that the relationship between interlocutors is less formal than the one indicated by (1).
- (3) A servant greets his employer (male or female) by the form £-loonik(-c) &ammi/&ammiti minus ya. The respectful pr. suffix -kum, received by superiors from inferior acquaintances and relatives, is not used by servants in addressing their employers. Servants are not allowed to address their employers by their personal names or even by the teknonymous mode. It would be inappropriate on the part of a servant to give *£-loonkum ya &ammi -bu saalih or *£-loonkum ya &ammiti @ummũ saalih to his employers.
- (4) The inclusion of ya+kin-term indicates that a junior greets his/her uncle/aunt.

In (1-4), the addressee does not reciprocate by using the same or similar forms of greeting. A superior usually responds to a junior's greeting by such forms as

£-loonik-int 'How are you(m.s.)?' ,

£-loonic-inti 'How are you(f.s.)?' ,

keef haalik 'How are you(m.s.)?' ,
keef haalic 'How are you(f.s.)?', etc., without
 bothering to answer the greeting query, say, by
@a&wa/zeen '(I am) fine' , or
bxeer-alhamdu li-llaa(h) 'Fine, thanks (to God)',
 etc., which are reserved for interlocutors of
 equal status.

(ii) Greetings between Acquaintances of Equal Status

Interlocutors are adult peers of both sexes, but the relationship between them is marked by formality as is the case with the majority of Kuwaiti interlocutions. In Kuwaiti social gatherings certain greeting rituals must be observed which aim at creating an atmosphere of "phatic communion", in which ties of union are achieved through the mere exchange of words. While a European is satisfied by a warm "How are you?", a Kuwaiti Arab will not start talking "business" until the whole routine of greetings and counter-greetings have been completed.

The following pattern is characteristic of greetings in this context :

greeting form/s +(ya)+teknonym, e.g.

@istariih (ya)-bu saalih 'Please be seated ,
 Father of Saleh!' . The following is an example
 of the ritualistic progression from the initial
 greetings at the beginning, say, of a family
 social call till leave-taking good-byes.

Interlocutors in the following exchange are two male adults, married and fathers of children :

@adeef : salaamu &aleekum (ya)-bu xaalid

'Guest : Peace be upon you, Father of Khalid!'

@almuḍiif : (w-)&aleekum-issalaam, (ya) hala (ya)-bu saalih ,

'Host : @igluṭ , @igluṭ

: Welcome, Father of Saleh, come in!'

Guest : ya hala fiik , ḥ-loonik ? mista@nis ?

'How are you? Are you all right (content)?'

Host : walla b-xeer , alla ysallimik 'I am fine, thanks'

A whole series of greeting and compliments follows the initial greeting form, e.g.

Host : ḥ-loon-al@ahil , ḥ-loon-alyihhaal ? 'How are the folks (at home)? How are the children?'

All these questions and compliments have their appropriate responses and they are fired off one after the other, e.g.

Host : @stariih 'Please be seated!'

Guest : &aduwik-irriih 'Thank you' (lit. 'the wind is your enemy')'

Host : hayyaak-alla 'You're welcome' (lit. 'God grant you life')

Guest : @allaa(h) yihayyiik 'Thank you'

Host : @itfaḍal 'Please have something (to drink or eat)!'

Guest : daam faḍlik 'Thank you' (lit. 'may your favours be everlasting')

Host : walla farhaaniin &aleekum 'We have missed your company'

Guest : ti&rah &aleek-il&aafya 'Thank you' (lit. 'health longs for you')

Host : walla galbi &i(n)dkum ya-bu e&alih 'I have always been thinking of you, Father of Saleh!'

Guest : &asa galbik maa yixba 'Thank you' (lit. 'I hope your heart will never become devious, Father of Khalid!')

The above see-saw , stimulus-response pattern in which the use of a given root in the stimulus presupposes the occurrence of the same root in the response, has been abstracted from contexts of greeting and synthesized to show possible progression of greeting "routines" between Kuwaiti interlocutors. A lot of time is spent on these greetings before interlocutors touch upon any subject which is relevant to a social meeting. Sometimes, the mere exchange of such idiomatic greetings is the core of many social gatherings. It often happens that Kuwaitis visit each other to exchange elaborate greetings, drink what is offered, thank their host/hostess, ask permission to leave, exchange good-byes, and that is that.

(iii) Greetings from Superior to Inferior

Interlocutors are dyads of unequal status, and of different age-groups. It is here possible to arrange colligations into the following patterns :

- (a) Greeting form+(ya)+personal name
- (b) Greeting form+(ya)+general term of address
- (c) Greeting form+(ya)+patronym

Examples :

- (a) ʕ-loonik(-c) (ya) hamad/luulwa 'How are you ,
Hamad/Lulwa?'
- (b) ʕ-loonik (ya) walad/ʕbayy 'How are you, boy?'
- (c) ʕ-loonik(-c) (ya) wildä &mar/bintä &mar 'How
are you, son of Omar/daughter of Omar?'

The following table shows associations of forms of address with the greeting form/s and relationship between interlocutors. Comments on typical contexts of use follow the table :

Greeting form/s	Form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors	TCU
{ <u>ʕ-loonik(-c)</u> / <u>keefik(-c)</u> / or <u>hayyak(-c)</u> <u>-alla</u> 'How are you?'	<u>hamad/</u> <u>sibiica</u>	senior-junior male/ female relative or close acquaintance	(1)
"	<u>ya hamad/ya</u> <u>sibiica</u>	senior-junior male/ female relative or close acquaintance	(2)
"	<u>walad/ʕbayy</u>	senior-junior male unknown to speaker	(3)
"	<u>sibi</u>	employer-young servant	(4)
"	(<u>ya</u>) <u>wildä</u> <u>&mar</u>	senior-junior male acquaintance	(5)
"	<u>ya wildä</u> <u>li&mar</u>	senior-junior male acquaintance	(6)
"	(<u>ya</u>) <u>bintä</u> <u>&mar</u>	senior-junior female acquaintance	(7)
"	<u>ya bintä</u> <u>li&mar</u>	senior-junior female acquaintance	(8)

Comments

Speaker in (1)-(8) is a senior male/female. The setting is either a domestic meeting, viz. caay-ieduha 'late morning tea gathering' (exclusively females) , diiwaaniyya meetings (exclusively males) , social visits (mixed gatherings), or otherwise the setting is anywhere in the firiij 'neighbourhood' (crossing road in the street, a casual meeting in a supermarket, etc.).

- (1) Speaker greets a younger male/female relative or acquaintance. The use of personal name minus the vocative particle ya shows that the addressee is in a hurry and does not want to stand and talk to the addressee. The colligation (greeting form+personal name (minus ya)) indicates a quick, casual greeting as when two interlocutors cross each other in the street, etc.
- (2) The inclusion of ya preceding the personal name shows that the speaker feels close to the addressee. The greeting is not merely a "routine" or ritual; it shows familiar interest in the addressee. (1) is more formal than (2) .
- (3) A senior shows casual interest in an unknown young man. The setting is a street in the firiij 'neighbourhood'. The addressee is decidedly below the speaker in the social scale, (which can be recognized from the addressee's dress, degree of cleanliness, etc.). Otherwise the speaker could have addressed him by

£-loonik , ya wleedi 'How are you, my son?'

(greeting form+diminutive kin-term)

- (4) The colligation (greeting form+sibi 'servant' (minus ya)) indicates that the speaker addresses his/her servant.
- (5) Speaker addresses junior acquaintance. The use of patronym minus the definite article and the optional ya shows that the addressee is not held in high esteem, i.e. the addressee is probably the son of someone who is inferior to the speaker in status.
- (6) The obligatory ya and the inclusion of the definite article before the second component part of the patronym indicates that the speaker holds the addressee and his father in high esteem .
- (7) As (5), except that the addressee is a female junior to the speaker.
- (8) As (6), except that the addressee is a female junior to the speaker.

(iv) Greetings between Friends

Interlocutors are peers on intimate terms with each other. Greetings are marked by informality. It is possible to identify the following patterns

Greeting form+(ya)+personal name/nickname /diminutive/
apocope/playful name/kin-term.

The following table shows permitted associations of greeting forms used by friends. Comments follow the table .

Greeting Form/s	Form/s of address	Relationship of interlocutors	TCU
<u>(ya)hala</u> 'Hullo', <u>@ahlan</u> 'Welcome', <u>guwwa</u> 'Hullo', or <u>£-loonik(-c)</u> 'How are you?'	<u>saalik</u>	male/female-male friend	(1)
	<u>faatima</u>	male/female-female friend	(2)
"	<u>-bu hamad</u>	male-male friend	(3)
"	<u>sweelih</u>	" " "	(4)
"	<u>salluuh</u>	" " "	(5)
"	<u>(ya)-xuuy</u>	male/female-male friend	(6)
"	<u>faatimoo(h)</u>	male/female-female friend	(7)
"	<u>faatuuma</u>	male/female-female friend	(8)
"	<u>ya-xti</u>	male/female-female friend	(9)
"	<u>ya wxayyiti</u>	female-female friend	(10)
"	<u>ya faatim</u>	male/female-female friend	(11)

Comments :

(1) The colligation (Greeting form+personal name) is the usual pattern of greeting between friends. The pattern, though reciprocated between friends, does not show great intimacy.

(2) Ditto.

(3) -(11) Interlocutors are friends on intimate terms with each other. The form guwwa 'Hullo' (lit. 'strength to you') is used in association with the addressive forms saalih/faatima (personal name) -bu hamad (nickname for Saleh) eweelih , faatimoo(h) (diminutive) salluuh , faatuuuma (playful name) -axuuy , -xti (kin-term)/ or wxayyiti (diminutive kin-term). There are collocational restrictions on the use of the vocative particle ya in associations with the form guwwa . Cf.,

(ya)hala saalih 'Hullo, Saleh!'

where (ya) is optionally associated with the greeting hala. ya is not associated with guwwa.

*ya guwwa or *ya guwwa saalih

are inadmissible .

The form guwwa is, however, associated with the definite article @il 'the' when addressing a party of workmen in the sense of 'May God grant you strength to do your work', as in

@ilguwwa , ʔabaab (lit. 'strength to you, young men!')

(3) The use of the nickname -bu hamad (nickname for Saleh) indicates that interlocutors are very close male friends. Girls do not address their male relatives or friends of the family by their nicknames .

(4) Ditto .

(5) The use of playful terms of address indicates that the interlocutors are either children or a senior addressing a child. Children have, for example, their own language of games. The following are patterns of playful addressive names used by Kuwaiti children :

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|------------------|-----------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (a) | { | <u>hammuud</u> | $(R_1 a R_2 R_2 u u R_3)$ | < | <u>muhammad</u> | $(m u R_1 a R_2 R_2 a R_3)$ |
| | | <u>eaalluuh</u> | " | | <u>eaalih</u> | $(R_1 a a R_2 i R_3)$ |
| | | <u>fattuum</u> | $(R_1 a R_2 R_2 u u R_3 a)$ | | <u>fatiima</u> | $(R_1 a a R_2 i R_3)$ |
| (b) | | <u>@ahmidi</u> | $(@ a R_1 R_2 i R_3 i)$ | < | <u>@ahmad</u> | $(@ a R_1 R_2 a R_3)$ |
| (c) | | <u>@ibriih</u> | $(@ i R_1 R_2 i i R_3)$ | < | <u>@ibraahim</u> | $(@ i R_1 R_2 a a R_3 i i R_4)$ |
| (d) | | <u>&ubad</u> | $(R_1 u R_2 a R_3)$ | < | <u>&abd(a)lla</u> | $(R_1 a R_2 R_3)^1$ |

The main patterns of such addressive forms are :

- (a) fa&&uul(a)
- (b) f&iili
- (c) f&iil
- (d) fu&aal

Kuwaiti children are themselves addressed by grown-ups in similar fashion, e.g.

&eeb &aaleekum ya &yaal-i&riib ha&lay 'It is too bad, sons of Arabs, to do such a thing', where an adult speaker uses a form typical of children's language, viz. @i&riib ($@i R_1 R_2 i i R_3$) (= the playful form of &arab ($R_1 a R_2 a R_3$) 'Arabs' to address a child.

1. All names which are combinations of &abd-type with the 99 epithets of @allaah 'God' are abbreviated by children into &ubad .

- (6) The use of the kin-term axuuy indicates a relationship of familiarity .
- (7) The use of the diminutive indicates a relationship of intimacy.
- (8) The use of the playful term f~~aa~~tuuma indicates that a child is greeting another child or that an adult is greeting a child.
- (9) A male or female speaker greeting a female friend .
- (10) The use of the diminutive kin-term wxayyiti 'My sister' indicates that both interlocutors are females. The form wxayyiti is typical of Kuwaiti women's language when addressing intimate friends .
- (11) The use of the apocopated form f~~aa~~im in association with the greeting form indicates that the relationship between interlocutors is marked by familiarity and friendship .

CHAPTER X

FORMS OF REPROACH

10.0. Subdivision of Forms of Reproach

Socially proscribed behaviour is correlated with forms of "reproach" that range from mild rebuke, reproof, and petulance to reprobation and abuse. Forms belonging to the category of "reproach" may be divided into the following types on the dimensions of solidarity and/or status :

- (1) reciprocal forms used between equals, subdivided into
 - (i) forms exchanged between women only
 - (ii) forms exchanged regardless of sex
- (2) nonreciprocal forms used by superiors to inferiors, subdivided into
 - (i) forms from parent to child
 - (ii) forms from employer to servant

Reciprocal forms of "reproach" are on a dimension of solidarity that ranges from acquaintance to intimacy. Intimacy derives from such factors as belonging to the same sex, age, occupation and/or nationality, etc. Nonreciprocal forms correlate with relative age and difference of occupational status.

10.1. Reciprocal Forms Used Between Equals

(i) Forms Exchanged Between Women Only

Forms of "reproach" spoken by women are characterized by association with the formula ya haafie (lit. 'O protector(m.s.)!'). Female interlocutors who use this

form belong to the same age-group. They are either close acquaintances or intimate friends. ya haafia collocates with a few recurrent formulas such as

weenkum fii 'Where have you been (hiding from us)?',

min zimaan maa zurtuuna 'You haven't visited us for a long time' ,

lina zimaan maa fufnaakum 'We haven't seen you for ages' ,

&asa maa farr 'I hope nothing is wrong with you (which keeps you away from us for such a long time)',

f-da&wa 'Come, come!' ,

@afa &aleec and @iffi &aleec 'Shame on you!' ,

taww innaas 'It's too early to leave (our house)', etc.

The linguistic choices that may be made before and/or after ya haafia and also associability or non-associability with other address form/s may indicate varying degrees of reproach ranging from mild rebuke and astonishment to impatience, discomfort and even disgust, as might be shown in tabular form as follows :

Pre-textual extensibility	Formula of reproach	Post-textual extensibility	Function	TCU
<u>(ya) faatima</u>	<u>ya haafia</u>	<u>weenkum fii</u>	mild rebuke	(1)
"	"	<u>min zimaan</u> <u>maa zurtuuna</u>	"	(2)
"	"	<u>lina zimaan</u> <u>ma fufnaakum</u>	"	(3)
"	"	<u>&asa maa farr</u>	astonish- ment	(4)

Pre-textual extensibility	Formula of reproach	Post-textual extensibility	Function	TCU
<u>£-da&wa</u>	<u>ya haafid</u>	<u>&asa maa £arr</u>	astonish- ment	(5)
<u>@afa &aleec</u>	"	nil	discomfort	(6)
<u>@ixxii &aleec</u>	"	nil	disgust	(7)
<u>taww innaas</u>	"	<u>taww innaas</u>	protest	(8)

The following are brief remarks on the typical contexts of use of the utterances in the above table :

(1) , (2) and (3) A female mildly rebukes her female relative or close acquaintance for not visiting her often. The association with the personal name faatima indicates that the speaker wishes to express extreme friendship and intimacy with the addressee. Otherwise, the association of 2nd pers.pl. formatives -uu-, -um in the context of a single addressee with the 1st pers.pl. formatives -na, -naa- in one form, as in zurтуuna , £ufnaakum , minus personal name and minus ya haafid marks the interaction for formality.

(4) Is appropriately said in greeting yet reproaching a dear relative or friend.

(5) £-da&wa , ya haafid 'Come, come, my dear!' shows the speaker's astonishment at something said or done by her addressee, in response, say, to an utterance like

bitid&iini &ala faraahic , ya maryam 'Will you invite me to your wedding, Maryam ?'

- (6) The speaker expresses her discomfort at her addressee's refusal to answer a question or to do her a favour, etc.
- (7) The speaker is disgusted with something said or done by her addressee. However, the use of the formula ya haafid in the utterance precludes its being misunderstood for "real" annoyance or anger with the addressee. The speaker may be angry or disgusted but wishes to remain friendly. Cf., for example

@ixxii &aleec , ya wixxa 'Shame on you, (you) dirty thing!' ,

which is used as an insult, say, by a mother reprimanding her child.

- (8) Repetition of the formula taww innaas in the utterance

taww innaas , ya haafid , taww innaas

tends to be a sign of emotional agitation (as repetition of other items may also be). The hostess is expected to utter such a formula at the end of a social visit whether her guest has stayed for a long or for a short time. In fact, taww innaas , ya haafid is automatically said in response to the guest's @astaxie 'I take your permission (to leave)'. The repetition, in the context, of the element taww innaas and also the non-associability of taww innaas , ya haafid with a familiar address form, such as personal name, nickname, diminutive, etc. indicates that the speaker is not really keen on pressing her guest to prolong her stay. Else, she should have said

ya faatima , ya haafid , taww innaas , ya wxayyiti

where the formula ya haafid is associated with the personal name ya faatima and the kin-term wxayyiti (diminutive of @uxti 'my sister') .

The formula ya haafid shows various extensibilities in collocation with other items, e.g. a newly-wedded young bride may say to her peers

ya haafid , leel ma&a nhaar noom 'O dear! day and night sleeping!'

to complain of the inattentiveness of her older husband ; or again

ya haafid , &-fiic-intay 'What's wrong with you(f.s.)?'

is used by the lady of the house in mild petulance. Her addressee could be a member of the family or a close friend who has irritated the speaker, e.g. in discussion.

The formula ya haafid is typical of the language of women when addressing other women. It would be inappropriate for a male Kuwaiti to say, e.g.

ya &ali , ya haafid , taww innaas .

except, perhaps to mock or mimic the language of women.

(ii) Forms Exchanged Regardless of Sex

Forms of "mild reproach" exchanged regardless of the sex of interlocutors are characterized by association with the formula xalfalla &aleek(-c) (lit. 'God's care on you (m./f.s.)') which derives its meaning partly from its extension in collocation and association with addressive forms and also the contexts of its use , as the following

table shows :

Formula of Reproach	Extended Context	TCU
<u>xalfalla &aleek(-c)</u>	<u>ya-bu saalih</u> , <u>@int(a) tuul</u> <u>innahaar gaa&id naayim</u>	(1)
"	<u>@ana @albis &abaat? yuba, @abi</u> <u>@albis w-asta@nis</u> 'Wake up , man! Me wear a clogk! I want to wear (modern fashions) and be happy'	(2)
"	<u>ya-xti tabiini @aayyif fi</u> <u>likweet, @aana @abi @aayyif</u> <u>fi libnaan, fi sweesra</u> 'Do you expect me to spend summer in Kuwait? Not me! I want to spend it in Lebanon or in Switzerland'	(3)

- (1) A wife shows her displeasure with her husband.
- (2) A young bride rebuffs her conservative husband who insists on her wearing the old-fashioned &abaat 'cloak' .
- (3) A brother complains to his sister of a suggestion that he spends the summer holiday in Kuwait.

10.2. Nonreciprocal Forms Used by Superiors to Inferiors

(i) Forms from Parent to Child

Forms of reproach from parents to children are characterized by "reduplication". Reduplicatives¹ are particularly frequent in parent's speech when addressing or "referring" to their children or very close friends. Reduplicatives in KA may be formed by identical reduplication, i.e. juxtaposition of two identical lexemes, e.g.

@ilmaynuun maynuun 'An idiot is an idiot' ,

yumma minnic yumma 'What a naughty girl you are!', etc.

Not all elements in a reduplicative are necessarily members² of the reduplication. There is a difference between @ilmaynuun maynuun on the one hand and yumma minnic yumma on the other hand. The former reduplicative is called "symmetrical reduplicatives", and the latter "asymmetrical". An additional element in a reduplicatives is called a "link word".

The following table gives two sets :

- (A) symmetrical reduplicatives involving the juxtaposition of two identical nominals in the so-called nominal (verbless) sentence, i.e. copula-less, and which indicate the speaker's emotional involvement (marked usage), and

1. In the present study the term "reduplicative" is used to mean "reduplicative form of address". This differs from E.Nida, "Where only a part of the root or stem is repeated, the repeated portion may be called a 'reduplicative'" , Morphology , Ann Arbor, 1949, p.69.
2. "Member" is used of those elements of a reduplicative which are involved in the reduplication. In @ilmaynuun maynuun there are two members, maynuun and maynuun.

(B) comparable unmarked utterances implying reproach :

Set A	Set B
<p>1. <u>@ilmaynuun maynuun</u> 'An idiot is an idiot' (address and reference)</p>	<p>{ <u>@int(a) maynuun</u> 'You are an idiot!' (address) <u>wildic maynuun</u> 'Your(f.s.) son is an idiot!' (reference)</p>
<p>2. <u>@ilxaayib xaayib</u> 'A failure is a failure' (address and reference)</p>	<p>{ <u>@int(a) xaayib</u> 'You are a failure!' (address) <u>wildi xaayib</u> 'My son is a failure' (reference)</p>
<p>3. <u>limkalfaxi mkalfax</u> 'An uncouth person is an uncouth person' (address and reference)</p>	<p>{ <u>@int(a) mkalfax</u> 'You are uncouth!' (address) <u>wildici mkalfax</u> 'Your(f.s.) son is uncouth' (reference)</p>
<p>4. <u>limgaffala mgaffala</u> 'A naive girl is a naive girl' (address and reference)</p>	<p>{ <u>@inti mgaffala</u> 'You(f.s.)are naive!' (address) <u>bintici mgaffala</u> 'Your (f.s.) daughter is naive!' (reference)</p>
<p>5. <u>@ilhamuugiyaa hamuugiya</u> 'A hot-blooded girl is (always) a hot-blooded girl' (address and reference)</p>	<p>{ <u>@inti hamuugiya</u> 'You are hot-blooded!' (address) <u>bintic hamuugiya</u> 'Your (f.s.) daughter is hot-blooded!' (reference)</p>

Reduplicatives in Set(A) are distinguished from other nominal sentences in Set (B) by the fact that they cannot be expanded or transposed. Cf.

*@ilmaynuun muu maynuun : { @int(a) muu maynuun 'You are
not an idiot!' ,
wildic muu maynuun 'Your son
is not an idiot!'

*maynuun @ilmaynuun? : maynuun-int ? 'Are you an idiot?'

Asymmetrical reduplicatives involve the discontinuous juxtaposition of the same lexeme and they are used by parents in mildly rebuking their children, e.g.

- (1) yumma minnic yumma 'What a naughty girl you are!' is said by a mother to her daughter who has behaved rather rudely. A father rebuking his daughter in the circumstances would say

yuba minnic yuba

The use of the bi-polar kin-terms yumma and yuba indicate that the parents are not "really" angry with their daughter.

- (2) £-halkaci ya hammuud £-halkaci? 'What is that I hear you have done/said, Hammud?'. A parent mildly reproves son. The use of the playful name hammuud indicates that the father/mother is seeking information about reported son's misbehaviour rather than keen on scolding him.

- (3) @int(a) wildi @int ? 'Do you consider yourself my son?'

A father reprobates his son. The repetition of the personal

pronoun @int(a) (and the absence of familiar modes of address such as personal name or variants on personal name) indicate that the father is really dissatisfied with his son's misbehaviour.

- (4) guul yuba guul 'Say what you want to say (but be quick about it)'. A father shows his petulance at his son's misbehaviour.

(ii) Forms from Employer to Servant

Forms of reproach given by employers to their servants imply authority and lack of intimacy between interlocutors. Forms of reproach from employer to servants have the following lexico-grammatical features :

- (a) Three lexical sets may be distinguished, which are correlated with the constant element @int(a)(m.s.)/@inti(@intay)(f.s.) ? 'Are you ...?'. The members of the sets belong to the word-classes

- (1) Adjectives, e.g.

@int(a) @a&ma ? 'Are you blind?'

@int(a) di@wi ? 'Are you stupid?'

- (2) Participles, e.g.

@int(a) m&ar&a& ? 'Are you mad?'

- (3) Verbals, e.g.

@int(a) &meet ? 'Have you become blind?'

- (4) Nominals, e.g.

@int(a) k&ma& ? 'Are you a donkey?'

- (b) Questions of the sub-type :

interrogative particle (@i)&(i) 'What?'+verbal/nominal/

or prepositional phrase+2nd pers. m./f.s. pr., e.g.

£-tabi @int ? 'What is it you want?' ,

£i-tsawwi @int ? 'What is it you are doing?' ,

£-da&wa @int ? 'What is the matter with you ?' ,

£-&indik-int ? 'What do you want to say?' ,

£-fiic intay ? 'What's the matter with you (f.s.)?'

The immediately preceding questions imply petulance with the addressee. However, further association with (an) address form(s) will indicate whether increased intimacy or increased authority is implied. Contrast, for example ,

(1) £-fiic intay ya bint (employer-girl-servant), and

(2) £-fiic intay ya bnayyiti (father-daughter).

In (1) the use of the address term bint 'girl-servant' indicates that the speaker is impatient with his addressee ; in (2) the use of the kin-term bnayyiti (in diminutive form) indicates that the speaker seeks information about what ails his daughter.

CHAPTER XI
FORMS OF IMPLORING

KA comprises a repertoire of beseeching or imploring formulas used by males and females addressing interlocutors of equal or superior social status. Imploring formulas are characterized by collocation with the constant element willi... (lit. 'and (by God) who...'). Extension in collocation will characterize certain imploring formulas as typical of the language of women addressing other women ; while other imploring formulas are given by inferiors to superiors.

11.1. Imploring Formulas Used by Women

The following table shows the most common collocations associated with "imploring" as used by Kuwaiti women. Typical contexts of use are explained below the table.

Constant form	V A R I A B L E S			
	Phrase type	Examples	Mode of address	TCU
<u>willi</u> 'and (by God) who'	imperfective verbal	<u>yirfa& baxtic</u> 'makes you lucky' (to have a bride-groom soon)	kin-term/ personal name	(1)
"	"	<u>yxalliilic yiniinic</u> <u>ilgaali</u> 'will preserve your dear embryo'	"	(2)
"	"	<u>ygawwiilic maa</u> <u>di&if</u> 'will make you strong (in health)'	teknonym	(3)

Contexts of use

Kuwaiti women's "imploring" formulas, like many other forms, reflect the social customs prevalent in Kuwait. If a woman asks for a special favour from another woman, it is not enough to resort to such forms as

@arguuc or min faalic 'please!'

In order to "implore" or "beseech", a Kuwaiti speaker must use forms referring to something her addressee holds dear, e.g. a longed-for bridegroom, a longed-for and expected baby, personal health and safety, etc. In a community where, up till recently, good health was considered a commodity, and where the mortality rate among newly-born infants was high, the use of the above forms in the context of "imploring" becomes understandable.

- (1) A mother implores her adult, unmarried daughter or very close acquaintance to do her a favour. The imploring formula involves an appeal to something the daughter has been longing for, viz. a future bridegroom. This formula indicates an intimate relationship between mother and daughter/close acquaintance. It would be inappropriate to use this formula when strangers or casual friends are present. If used inappropriately in the presence of strangers especially of the male sex the utterance

willi yirfa& baxtic , ya faatima , ya bnayyiti
would be interpreted as an unpardonable insult .

- (2) Interlocutors are both female and married; the addressee is younger than the speaker, Familiarity between interlocutors is permitted. The addressee is expecting her first baby.

- (3) The speaker wishes her female addressee good health after giving birth to her child. willi ygawwiilic maa di&if (lit. 'By God who will make strong what has become weak (during delivery)').

The above "imploring" forms are typical of the language of women when addressing other women. A Kuwaiti male would not in any circumstances implore an expectant woman by

*willi ygawwiilic maa di&if , or

*willi yxalliilic yiniinic ilgaali .

11.2. Imploring Formulas from Inferior to Superior

Imploring formulas in this category are also characterized by association with the constant element willi. The following table shows formulas used by juniors/inferiors in imploring addressees who are older than themselves or occupy a higher social position.

Constant element	V A R I A B L E S			
	Phrase type	Examples	Mode of address	TCU
<u>willi</u> 'and (by God) who'	Verbal imperfective	<u>ysallimik(-c)</u> 'who keeps you safe and sound'	Teknonym/ kin-term/ title of respect	(1)
"	"	<u>yirham waaldeek (-c)</u> 'will have mercy on your (deceased) parents'	Teknonym	(2)

(1) Consider the following possible association or non-association of the imploring formula willi ysallimik(-c) with forms of address :

- (a) willi ysallimik , ya-bu xaalid
- (b) willi ysallimic , ya-mmú xaalid
- (c) willi ysallimik , ya &ammi-bu xaalid
- (d) willi ysallimic , ya &ammiti-mmú xaalid
- (e) willi ysallimik , ya hajji-bu xaalid
- (f) willi ysallimik , hajji-bu xaalid
- (g) willi ysallimik , hajji
- (h) willi ysallimic , ya hajjiyya-mmú xaalid
- (i) willi ysallimic , hajjiyya-mmú xaalid
- (j) willi ysallimic , hajjiya
- (k) willi ysallimik(-c)

In (a) and (b) association with the vocative particle ya and teknonym indicates that the speaker implores a relative or very close acquaintance. Familiarity between interlocutors is permitted .

In (c) and (d) association of the imploring formula with ya+kin-term+teknonym indicates that the speaker is addressing his uncle/aunt and that the relation between them is marked by familiarity .

In (e) and (h) association of the imploring formula with ya+respect title+teknonym indicates that the speaker is addressing an acquaintance of the family. Familiarity is permitted .

In (f) and (i) the addressee is an acquaintance of the speaker. The absence of ya marks the relationship between interlocutors by formality and distance.

In (g) and (j) the association of the imploring formula with the title of respect minus ya and minus teknonym indicates that the addressee is a stranger older than the speaker. The speaker begs of his/her to do him a special favour , e.g.

willi ysallimik , hajji , naawilni hal&arabaana

'Would you please pass that (shopping-) trolley to me?'
in a casual meeting in a supermarket .

In (k) the use of the imploring formula minus association with any form/s of address covers a variety of situations ranging from increased intimacy to increased distance , depending on extended context. For example ,

willi ysallimik , @aani maa kaan qaedi 'Forgive me,

I didn't mean to'

indicates a relationship marked by intimacy between peers; while

willi ysallimik , waxxir &anni zeen 'For heaven's

sake, get out of my sight!'

indicates that in the heat of argument, an offended speaker implores his addressee to stop talking.

In (2) willi yirham waaldeek(-c) ya-bu xaalid/ya-mmú xaalid, association of the imploring formula with teknonym indicates that the addressee is a relative or very close acquaintance of the family. This formula is given only to adult addressees whose two parents are dead. It would be inappropriate to address in this manner children whose parents are dead .

PART FOURTHE WORK DOMAINGeneral Statement

The work domain provides many varying situations. There is a correspondingly wide variation in language usage in these situations. The work domain includes

- (i) officialdom (e.g. education, health, welfare , traffic, transport and other services available in Kuwait).
- (ii) business (e.g. import and export, buying and selling, etc.).

The work domain, like the family domain, can be differentiated into role-relations that are specifically typical of it, e.g.

teacher-student ,
 patient-physician ,
 pensioner-social welfare official ,
 bus-driver-passenger ,
 policeman-motorist ,
 junior clerk-senior official ,
 buyer-salesman ,
 employer-employee

all refer to specific role-relations in the work domain .

Within the work domain, the linguistic choices are quite varied depending on whether work is within an exclusively Kuwaiti community or within a mixed community (i.e. including @ayaanib 'foreigners', Arabs and/or non-Arabs), whether or

not there is a need to use M(Mixed Arabic) with customers or clients. When addressing non-Kuwaiti Arabs, M or H (High Arabic) is often used .

Within the work domain a distinction must be made between Kuwaitis and @ayaanib as well as between "higher status" and "lower-status" Kuwaitis. "Higher-status" Kuwaitis are the ruling class addressed and referred to as @iifuyuux , and the merchant families who monopolize import and export , and the emerging professional middle class engaged in professional, cultural, intellectual and administrative occupations. The members of this class include professors, physicians, writers, artists, journalists, bureaucrats, etc.

On the other hand, there is a clearcut distinction between the deployment of the indigenous Kuwaiti labour force and the @ayaanib -- the non-Kuwaitis. Non-Kuwaitis predominate in construction and manufacturing while Kuwaitis are predominant in the services sector. By status, Kuwaitis emerge as the managers and employers, while non-Kuwaitis are mostly employees. "Lower-status" Kuwaitis, viz. those illiterates who belong to the generation of pearl-diving and are now too old or too indifferent to get an education or training in a skill, have been employed as farraa'iin 'office boys' or bawwaabiin 'janitors' in the many modern buildings that house legions of bureaucrats.

Within the work domain statuses are clearly specified and the forms of address of each interlocutor derives from his social identity. Linguistic choices within the repertoire

serve to symbolize the differing social identities which members may assume .

For instance, reciprocal modes of address, mainly in L (Low), characterize exchanges between Kuwaitis of equal status. In situations where statuses are different (e.g. addressee inferior in achieved status (occupation) but equal in ascribed status (Kuwaiti nationality)), Kuwaitis tend to reciprocate informal, though not familiar, modes of address such as requests and teknonyms, etc. Non-reciprocal modes of address involving respectful forms, titles, commands, requests, etc., characterize exchanges between interlocutors of unequal status.

We might expect that intimacy can develop between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis as a result of frequent contact or shared occupational status, but usually there is a limit on how far intimacy can develop. The limiting factor in this case is the attitude of non-Kuwaitis towards their Kuwaiti superiors whose approval is valued for renewal of work-contracts and promotions. A Kuwaiti may use informal address-terms to his non-Kuwaiti subordinate but the non-Kuwaiti should be wary not to reciprocate by informal terms which might be construed as unwelcome intimacy. Kuwaitis may use L (in the form of "old" Kuwaiti) in the presence of non-Kuwaitis in order to exclude them from the group.

In the work domain, the following modes of address are dealt with :

- (1) Respectful Forms
- (2) Commands and Requests

CHAPTER XII

RESPECTFUL ADDRESS FORMS

12.0. Classification

Respect conventions in Kuwait can be divided into two categories :

(i) non-speech and (ii) speech modes of respect.

(i) Non-speech Modes of Respect

Gestures are regarded as a culturally patterned development, i.e. certain gestures characterizing entire groups¹. In Kuwait, there are many gestures with quite specific, symbolic -- one might almost say "lexical" -- meaning, either with or without accompanying speech. To this category belong such male gestures as

- (1) greeting someone with raising the right hand
(familiar peers)
- (2) kissing the nose (inferior-familiar superior)
- (3) kissing the right shoulder (inferior-superior)
- (4) kissing the back of the right hand (servant-employer)
- (5) Coughing and belching can at times be meaningful in Kuwait. Belching at a banquet is a sign of a guest's satisfaction. Coughing is used in Kuwait as a mode of address, e.g. @ihim , @ihim ya-hl ilbeet 'Hello, folks!'. @ihim is a

1. Cf. W.D.Brewer, 'Patterns of Gesture among the Levantine Arabs', in American Anthropologist 53, pp. 232-8.

simulated cough made by a non-relative male Kuwaiti when approaching women's quarters to warn them of his presence. He is not supposed to enter until they have removed themselves or put veils over their faces.

- (6) Closing one's eyes or looking the other side or looking at the ground are all gestures which indicate respect to a Kuwaiti female acquaintance when passing her casually in the street. It would be rude to go up to her in public.

The above respectful gestures are typical of Kuwaitis when interacting with other Kuwaitis. They are not used when interacting with non-Kuwaitis.

(ii) Speech Modes of Respect

In speech respectful modes of address involve :

- (1) respectful idiomatic formulas (see 12.1.)
- (2) respectful grammatical patterns (see 12.2.)
- (3) respectful titles (see. 12.3.)
- (4) occupational names (see chapter XIII) and
- (5) commands and requests (see chapter XIV)

The use and choice of these respectful forms is governed by role-relationships between participants, the social situation, and certain other factors. The difference in social status between interlocutors determines their social distance in relation to each other. If both have equal social status , social distance between them would be zero. When social distance between interlocutors is minimal the use of respectful

modes is either reciprocal or absent. If interlocutors have different social position, their interaction is characterized by unidirectional use of respectful forms, i.e. the inferior is expected to use respectful forms to the superior.

12.1. Respectful Idiomatic Formulas

Respect by idiomatic formulas in L(Low) is characteristic of exchanges between Kuwaiti interlocutors , in typically Kuwaiti social gatherings, such as diiwaaniyya 'reception-hall' meetings, exclusively Kuwaiti meetings in departmental offices, etc. In the diiwaaniyya , for instance, Kuwaiti males of approximately equal status and age were earlier accustomed to meet together to spend their evening in suwaalif 'gossip'. With the new social developments in Kuwait diiwaaniyya gatherings have taken on new aspects . From being originally social meetings in which members of similar inclinations used to spend a pleasant time, they have become recognized social centers for the planning, among other things, of "State" strategies in policy, government administration , business, etc. Non-Kuwaitis are never invited to an exclusively Kuwaiti diiwaaniyya. Important decisions affecting various aspects of Kuwaiti life are taken as a result of private deliberations in evening diiwaaniyya meetings and away from the departmental offices of the morning. The semi-official status which some diiwaaniyya meetings have acquired have brought a few alterations to the dyadic relations of interlocutors who are frequenting them in increasing numbers . Normally, a diiwaaniyya is held at the house of a well-off

person, and Kuwaitis with a personal attachment to the "owner" of the diiwaaniyya or with a personal interest in attending his evening meetings attend in considerable numbers . In Kuwait, there are different types of social gatherings based on shared business interests ,as meetings of merchants ,etc., on shared beliefs ,as meetings of religious enthusiasts , or on inter-familial attachments, as diiwaaniyya meetings held infrequently for purely social reasons by certain "big" families for their friends and close acquaintances .In all cases , a diiwaaniyya is a sign of power and influence in Kuwait .It gives certain families the opportunity to extend ties of friendship and solidarity with other families for mutual support in such matters as candidature for parliamentary elections , appointing their sons and in-laws to high-salaried government jobs ,etc. Participants in a diiwaaniyya , as well as in other miniature social gatherings , may nowadays be ranked hierarchically in terms of relative social status and age , or horizontally in terms of solidarity . Non-reciprocal patterns characterize interaction between ranks : juniors employ respectful forms and seniors employ the most familiar forms . Interaction is marked by reciprocal forms of either respectful or familiar forms , depending on whether or not the dyads in question enjoy a solidarity or status relationship .

12.1.1. Lexico-grammatical Features of Respectful Idiomatic Formulas

Respectful idiomatic formulas (see 3.5.1.) are never used independently but must be embedded in either vocative or addressive syntagms in association or non-

association with address forms ,e.g.

- * taal &umrik 'May you live long !',
- * &ala halxa&m lit. 'On this nose (of mine)!',
- * sallimik-alla 'May God keep you safe!',
- * @alla yhadaak 'May God show you the right path !',
- * bayyad-alla wayhik 'May God whiten your face!',
- * @akramik-alla 'May God be generous to you !',
- * salaamtik lit. 'Your safety!', etc.

are all inadmissible . Contrast ,with

@isma&ni @alla yhadaak 'Listen to me ...' (vocative syntagm),
-bu saalih , @akramik-alla , binti hieea mariida 'My daughter
 Hissa is sick ,Father of Saleh' (addressive syntagm), etc.

12.1.2. Uses of Respectful Idiomatic Formulas in Various Contexts

The following table shows some of the different uses of idiomatic formulas. Analysis follows the table .

Address form/s	Additional form/s of address	Idiom	Relationship of interlocutors
(1) <u>&ammi</u>	nil	<u>taal &umrik</u>	servant-employer
(2) "	<u>-bu saalih</u>	"	junior-senior
(3) "	nil	<u>&ala halxa&m</u>	inferior-superior
(4) <u>-bu saalih</u>	nil	<u>sallimik-alla</u>	respectful peers
(5) "	nil	<u>@alla yhadaak</u>	"
(6) <u>ya-xuuy</u>	<u>ya &ali</u>	"	familiar peers
(7) <u>-bu saalih</u>	nil	<u>bayyad-alla wayhik</u>	"
(8) "	nil	<u>@akramik-alla</u>	"
(9) "	nil	<u>salaamtik</u>	"

Analysis

- (1) The use of &ammi 'Sir', minus the vocative particle ya, in association with the respect idiom indicates a formal relation between servant and employer.
- (2) The association of the kin-term &ammi lit. 'paternal uncle'+the teknonym -bu saalih 'Father of Saleh'+the respect idiom indicates a junior-senior relationship. The use of the teknonym, however, indicates that the social distance between speaker and addressee is narrower than the one indicated by (1) above. The speaker is no longer a servant but a close acquaintance of the addressee.
- (3) The utterance
&ammi , &ala halxafm 'Sir, whatever you order will be done by me!'. The speaker usually points with his index finger to his nose while saying this. This indicates absolute respect to the addressee. Compare Egyptian Arabic &ala &eeni lit. 'on my eye' used in "similar" circumstances.
- (4) and (5) Compare
-bu saalih , sallimik-alla , @aani gaayillik 'Father of Saleh, I have always been telling you ...' , and
-bu saalih , @alla yhadaak , &atni miftaah issayyaara
 'Father of Saleh, would you give me the car-key' with the "same" forms minus sallimik-alla and @alla yhadaak, i.e.
-bu saalih , @aani gaayillik and
-bu saalih , &atni miftaah issayyaara
 which are noticeably less respectful. Less respectful still, will be the blunt, unextended
-bu saalih!

In (6) the use of the kin-term+personal name and the repetition of ya marks the relationship as one of familiarity. In social gatherings such as the diivaaniyya and even in closer-knit social encounters between friends, a Kuwaiti speaker must be alert to the identities of those present in addition to that of his addressee. Partly because of the presence in those meetings of juniors and subordinates (e.g. servants coming in and going out to serve coffee, tea, or food, etc.), the addressive modes must be characterized by forms of reciprocal respect, hence the use in this context of the idiom @alla yhadaak.

- (7) The use of idiomatic bayyad-alla wayhik 'I pray you'll not let me down' is more of a request than its literal counterpart la txayyib rajaa@i 'Don't let me down' which is noticeably less respectful.
- (8) Idiomatic @akramik-alla is used in contexts where casual references to the female sex are made in a man's speech. Older Kuwaitis have a very low opinion of women, to whom they allocate a very subsidiary role. In -bu saalih , @akramik-alla , binti hissaa mariida 'My daughter Hissa is sick' the use of @akramik-alla gives warning to the addressee that the speaker is about to refer to a member of the opposite sex.
- (9) salaamtik (used in free variation with bisalaamtik or tislam) is an idiom meaning 'your demands/wishes will not be fulfilled'. It is more respectful than, e.g. maa yeiir 'It can't be done' .

12.2. Respectful Grammatical Patterns

How deeply respect has penetrated into the sociolinguistic behaviour of Kuwaiti speakers can be measured from how deeply it has entered into the grammar of the dialect. Respect is a part of the grammatical system of KA. Thus besides being expressed by some "idiomatic formulas" (see 12.1. above) or by some lexical items (see "titles" 12.3. below and "occupational names" 12.4. below), respect is conveyed by the use of affixes in terms of relative status of speaker and hearer.

12.2.1. Lexico-grammatical Features of Respect Affixes

Respect affixes are divided into the following sub-categories :

- (i) the third person plural of pronouns and verbs employed as respect synonyms of the second person singular. In general @int(a) 'you(m.s.)' and @inti/ @intay 'you(f.s.)' are [-respect] and @intum 'you (pl.)' [+respect]. Rules of agreement, then, require some other elements in sentences also to be plural, e.g. @intum min zimaan maa yeetum , ya-bu saalik 'You haven't come (to visit us) for a long time, Father of Saleh!'
- (ii) the first person plural of pronouns and verbs employed as respect synonyms of the first person singular .
- Compare
- exclusive nihna/hinna 'we' (addressee not included) [-respect] ,

inclusive nihna/hinna 'we' (speaker and addressee included) [+respect] ,
 reflexive nihna/hinna 'we' (synonymous of 1st pers.s. @ana 'I', addressee not included).

The majority of modes used in respect explicitly express the value of the addressee; the value of the speaker is therewith expressed implicitly. However, in KA reflexive nihna/hinna explicitly expresses the value of the speaker while the value of the addressee is comprehended only implicitly. Accordingly, "idiomatic respect formulas", "titles", "occupational nouns", etc. are addressee-oriented, while reflexive elements are speaker-oriented. The latter are pronominal appellatives for the first person, nihna/hinna. Rules of agreement require some other elements in utterances also to be pronominal appellatives for the first person, cf.

(1) @aani gaayillik 'I have told you!' [-respect]

(2) nihna gaayliinlik 'We have told you!' [+respect]

In (2) the use of reflexive elements nihna and -iin- express respect to oneself while the lower status of the addressee is implicitly understood. In situations of reciprocal respect elements from (i) and (ii) above may be used in combination, e.g. nihna min zimaan maa zurtuuna wala ðufnaakum 'We haven't seen you for ages' in which the association of -uu- , -kum (respect pronominal affixes) and nihna , -naa- (pronominal appellatives for the 1st pers) indicates a relationship of equal respect.

12.2.2. Uses of Respect Pron. Elements in Various Situational Contexts

We can distinguish variations in respectful affixes corresponding to a three-point behavioural scale -- respect, neutral, disrespect : respect forms are given only, neutral forms are given and received, and disrespect forms are received only as the following table shows :

Form of address	Respect Pron. element	Relationship between interlocutors
(1) <u>sumuw</u>	<u>-kum</u>	inferior-superior
(2) <u>ma&aali</u>	<u>-kum</u>	"
(3) <u>sa&aadat</u>	<u>-kum</u>	"
(4) <u>hadrat</u>	<u>-kum</u>	"
(5) <u>siyaadat</u>	<u>-kum</u>	"
(6) <u>-bu xaalid</u>	<u>@intum</u>	"
(7) <u>-bu xaalid</u>	<u>nihna na&triinkum</u> <u>&ala -l&i&a</u> 'We expect you this evening'	respectful equals (official peers)
(8) nil	<u>nihna mfahhimiinik</u> 'We have made you to understand'	superior-inferior (boss-clerk)

Analysis

- (1) The Ruler of Kuwait, referred to by Kuwaitis formally as hadrat saahib-issumuw @amiir-ilbilaad-ilmu&ad&am 'His

Highness the Amir' or by the familiar term @i&eeex-il&ood (lit. 'the Old Sheikh'), pays courtesy visits to certain "old" Kuwaiti families on such occasions as ramadaan 'the fasting month for Muslims', religious feasts, etc. Kuwaitis present on such occasions will variously address the Amir depending on their age and status in relation to him. Those younger than the Amir will address him by such respectful forms as sumuwkum 'Your Highness!' in association with other modes of respect such as respect idioms, as in

sumuwkum tawiila-l&umir ... 'Your Highness, may you live long ...'

Members of the "gathering" who are older than the Amir enjoy the privilege of addressing him in familiar terms such as familiar pronoun, teknonym, etc., as in

walla halmawduu& maa @ila geerik-int ya-bu saalim
'(By God) this problem could be solved by no one but you, Father of Salem!'

where the use of familiar pronouns -ik and -int and teknonym -bu saalim indicates familiarity with the Amir.

(2) , (3) , (4) and (5) Top state officials are addressed by respectful forms in association with respectful pronominal affixes .

ma&aaliikum 'Your Excellency!' is a mode of addressing ministers, Chief of Guards, Speaker of the Parliament ;

sa&aadatikum 'Your Honour!' is a mode of addressing top professionals such as the University Rector, ministerial under-secretaries, judges, etc. ; hadratikum (lit. 'your presence') and siyaadatikum (lit. 'your mastership') are both used interchangeably in addressing occupational superiors and bosses. Compare

hadratikum and hadratik ,
siyaadatikum " siyaadatik .

The use of -kum in association with the address-term hadrat or siyaadat indicates a relationship marked by formality and distance. The use of -ik indicates less formality and less social distance between interlocutors .

(6) In the utterance

-bu xaalid @intum

the association of teknonymic + respectful pronoun @intum indicates a junior respectfully addressing an older acquaintance .

(7) In -bu xaalid nihna naatriinkum &ala-l&i&a the utterance is marked by the use of the following modes of respectful address :

- (a) teknonym : -bu xaalid ,
- (b) respectful pronominal suffix : -kum(addressee-oriented) ,
- (c) pronominal appellatives for 1st pers. : ni&na ,
-iin- (speaker-oriented) .

The speaker-addressee relationship is marked by reciprocal formality and respect .

- (8) In niḥna mfahhimiinik 'We have made you (m.s.) to understand' the use of formal pr. appellatives for 1st pers. : niḥna and -iin- in association with familiar pron.s. -ik indicates a boss-clerk relationship marked by authority and little intimacy with the addressee. The speaker is explicitly emphasizing his higher status and implicitly the lower status of his addressee. The addressee's non-verbal action in the circumstances marks the situation as one of absolute respect to the speaker .

12.3. Respectful Titles of Address

The use of titles presupposes a social distance between speaker and addressee and the degree of this distance is revealed by the choice or non-choice of T. When social distance between the dyad is minimal the use of the title is reciprocal, and when the distance is maximal the use is non-reciprocal. A student would not get a title from his teacher. An old Kuwaiti bawwaab 'janitor' would get a title : his age and Kuwaiti nationality would prevail over his occupational status .

Note. Titles of address are also used for reference

12.3.1. Subdivision of Titles of Address

Respectful titles are divided into two sub-categories :

- (1) indigenous titles and
- (2) borrowed titles

- (1) Indigenous titles are the ones used between Kuwaitis and are usually associated with L.

(2) Borrowed titles are the ones used in addressing non-Kuwaitis and are usually associated with M or H.

12.3.1.1. Indigenous Titles

The following table shows indigenous titles and the relationship between interlocutors :

Title	Relationship between interlocutors
<u>ʕeex</u>	Male member of the ruling class in Kuwait-stet
<u>ʕeex</u>	Inferior-male member of the ruling class of Kuwait
<u>ʕeexa</u>	Female member of the ruling class in Kuwait-stet
<u>ʕeexa</u>	Inferior-female member of the ruling class
<u>&ammi</u>	Servant-male employer
<u>&ammiti</u>	Servant-female employer
<u>hajji</u> 'title of respect to someone who made the pilgrimage to Macca'	An elderly man-an unknown elderly man (regardless of whether he is a pilgrim or not)
<u>hajjiyya</u>	An elderly woman-an unknown elderly woman
<u>hajji</u>	Junior-an unknown elderly man

Title	Relationship between interlocutors
<u>hajjiyya</u>	Junior-an unknown elderly woman
<u>m&awwad</u> lit. 'whom we wish to live long'	Adult male peer-stet
<u>m&awwada</u>	Adult female peer-stet
<u>m&awwad</u>	Junior-older male acquaintance
<u>m&awwada</u>	Junior-older female acquaintance
<u>wild ilhalaal</u>	Adult male peer-stet
<u>bint ilhalaal</u>	Adult female peer-stet
<u>wild ilhalaal</u>	Senior-junior acquaintance
<u>bint ilhalaal</u>	Senior-junior acquaintance

12.3.1.2. Borrowed Titles

KA has freely borrowed from other prestige Arabic dialects, e.g. Egyptian Arabic, and also from English, Persian, etc. Kuwaitis use borrowed titles when interacting with non-Kuwaitis. It is noticeable that borrowed titles are unidirectional, i.e. they are given only. Non-Kuwaitis do not respond by returning the titles they receive, nor do they use indigenous respect titles in addressing their Kuwaiti interlocutors. Non-Kuwaitis who occupy inferior positions either use the appropriate occupational name (see 12.4. below) or use no form of address at all when interacting with their Kuwaiti superior.

The following table shows borrowed titles :

Title	Relationship of interlocutors
<u>sayyid</u> 'Mr'	Junior-elderly gentleman
<u>mukhtaram</u> 'Mr. (lit. 'respectable one')'	"
<u>madaam</u> 'Mrs'	Junior-unknown married female more than 30 years of age
<u>haanim</u>	Junior-unknown female over 30 years of age, regardless of marital status
<u>@aanisa</u>	Speaker-young unmarried woman
<u>bee(h)</u>	Adult-adult Egyptian
<u>xawaa ja</u>	Seller-European
<u>siidiig</u>	Seller-Englishman
<u>rifiig</u>	Seller-Indian or Pakistani

Most non-Kuwaiti adults are addressed with the appropriate respect titles. Social inferiors, such as the xammaamiin 'dustmen' , xaddaamiin 'domestic servants' , do not receive titled address.

12.3.2. Collocability of Titles with other Forms of Address

Titles may be used independently or they may individually collocate with other forms of address such as first name (FN), last name (LN), teknonym, etc. to form what is termed a "title-phrase" .

Title phrases in KA may have one of the following structures :

(1) ya+T , e.g.

ya ʕeex ,
ya hajji ,
ya bee(h) ,
ya sayyid ,
ya madaam ,
ya haanim ,
ya @aanisa , etc.

(2) ya+T+FN , e.g.

ya ʕeex sa&d 'Sheikh Saad!' ,
ya hajji &umar 'Hajji Omar!' ,
ya sayyid nabiil 'Mr. Nabil!' ,
ya madaam nabiila 'Mrs. Nabila!' , etc.

(3) ya+FN+T , e.g.

ya nabiil bee(h) 'Nabil Bey!' ,
ya nabiila haanim 'Lady Nabila!' ,
ya @aanisa layla 'Miss Laila!' , etc.

(4) ya+T+LN , e.g.

ya ʕeex-issaalim ,
ya hajji-irrifaa&i ,
ya sayyid &uOmaan , etc.

(5) ya+LN+T , e.g.

ya &uOmaan bee(h) , etc.

(6) ya+T+husband's FN , e.g.

ya madaam samiir 'Mrs. Samiir!' .

(7) ya+T+T , e.g.

ya &ammi-lhajji ,

ya &ammiti-lhajjiyya , etc.

(8) ya+T+T+FN , e.g.

ya &ammi-££eex sa&d ,

ya &ammiti-££eexa faatima , etc.

(9) ya+T+teknonym , e.g.

ya hajji-bu saalik ,

ya hajjiyya-mmũ saalik , etc.

12.3.3. Collocational Restrictions on the Association of Titles with Other Address Forms

Indigenous titles differ from borrowed ones in that

(a) all indigenous titles precede names. "Title-phrases" such as

*sa&d £eex ,

*nabiila £eexa ,

*&umar hajji , etc. are inadmissible in KA.

(b) some borrowed titles precede while others follow names , e.g.

ya @aanisa layla ,

ya nabiil bee(h) , etc.

(c) only borrowed titles allow the colligation ya+T+husband's FN .

(d) some indigenous titles do not collocate with names , e.g.

ya m&awwad ,

ya ma&awwada ,
ya wild-ilhalaal , and
ya bint-ilhalaal .

However, in contexts where the addressee's name is to be mentioned, the name must be embedded in another "ya"-phrase, e.g.

ya saalih , ya m&awwad ,
ya saalih , ya wild-ilhalaal , etc.

(e) indigenous titles are used in association with other indigenous titles, e.g.

ya m&awwad , ya wild-ilhalaal ,
ya m&awwada , ya bint-ilhalaal , etc.

Associations such as

*ya feex nabiil bee(h) ,
*ya hajjiyya nabiila haanim ,
*ya sayyid nabiil , ya m&awwad , etc.

are considered inappropriate, if not sarcastic modes of address.

12.3.4. Uses of Titles in Various Situational Contexts

Respectful titles are co-occurrent with formal style. The degree of formality of titles is partly determined by whether they are borrowed or indigenous terms or whether they are used in association with names or other titles. Borrowed respect titles show a greater degree of formality and lack of intimacy than indigenous titles. The use of titles alone , e.g.

hajji 'Hajji!' ,
@aanisa 'Miss!' ,
madaam 'Madam!' , etc.

indicates that contact and concern are minimal and distance greatest between interlocutors, while the use of title+name indicates a degree more intimate and a degree less deferential than T alone.

The following table gives a detailed treatment of two respectful titles : one indigenous, viz. m&awwad and one borrowed, viz. bee(h) . Comments follow the table.

Mode of address	Additional form/s of address	Relationship between interlocutors
(1) <u>ya m&awwad</u> 'he whom we wish to live long'	nil	Kuwaiti speaker-unknown adult Kuwaiti
(2) "	<u>@alla yhadaak</u> 'May God show you the right path'	"
(3) "	<u>@alla yirham waldeek</u> 'May God have mery upon your deceased parents'	Kuwaiti speaker-adult Kuwaiti acquaintance
(4) "	<u>ya-bu saalih, @alla yhadaak</u>	Kuwaiti peers
(5) <u>ya bee(h)</u> 'Bey'	nil	Kuwaiti-unknown Egyptian
(6) "	FN	Kuwaiti-Egyptian acquaintance
(7) "	<u>sayyid</u> +FN	"
(8) "	<u>siyaadat/sa&aadat</u>	Kuwaiti-Egyptian of occupational superior status

Comments

- (1) Kuwaiti inferiors who are older receive a special term of address uniting informality and respect. The term m&awwad must be used in association with ya. The "title phrase" ya m&awwad used minus names indicates that the addressee is an adult Kuwaiti of the same age as that of the speaker. Respect is given to the addressee's age and Kuwaiti nationality.
- (2) The association of the "title phrase" and idiomatic @alla yhadaak indicates a less formal relation than (1) .
- (3) The use of idiomatic @alla yirham waldeek indicates that the addressee is an acquaintance.
- (4) The use of T+teknonym+idiom indicates that the interlocutors are respectful equals.
- (5) Blunt and abrupt ya bee(h) indicates minimal intimacy and great distance between interlocutors.
- (6) The use of FN+T indicates a degree less formal and a degree less deferential than (5).
- (7) ya sayyid nabiil bee(h) (T+FN+T) indicates a relationship marked by formality and distance.
- (8) ya siyaadat-ilbee(h) / ya sa&aadat-ilbee(h) 'Your honour!' indicates greater distance and more lack of intimacy than(7).

Note. On the whole, the closer the degree of relationship between Kuwaiti interlocutors the greater the number of respect elements within the syntagms, while the closer the degree of relationship between Kuwaitis and non-Kuwaitis the fewer the number of respect elements within syntagms.

Borrowed respect titles are used only by educated Kuwaitis whose linguistic repertoire has been enriched and diversified by frequent contact with non-Kuwaitis in educational and work domains. The less educated Kuwaitis, or those Kuwaitis whose interaction with non-Kuwaitis is minimal, fail to understand many of these forms, and to this extent are shut out from some types of communication. The following is a typical conversation between an old uneducated Kuwaiti policeman and an offending non-Kuwaiti physician¹ :

-- ween-illiisin , ya walad ? 'Where's your driving licence, boy?'

-- @itfaadal 'Here it is.'

-- &-ismik , ya walad ? 'What's your name, boy?'

-- duktoor nabiil 'Doctor Nabil.'

-- wi &-ism-ubuuk ya walad ? 'And what is your father's name, boy?'

-- @ustaaz &ali mahmuud 'Mr. Ali Mahmoud.'

walad would be used in Egypt for a child. To address an adult Egyptian by walad would be considered as an insult . But by using walad to address a physician whose occupational status is marked on the plate-number of the car, the old Kuwaiti policeman does not mean disrespect to the doctor. walad is used in Kuwait either to address someone whose status is not known or, as in the case of the policeman, when the speaker's linguistic repertoire is lacking in the appropriate mode/s of address.

1. Physician's cars usually carry the red crescent ensign of the medical profession .

CHAPTER XIII

OCCUPATIONAL NAMES

Within predominantly Kuwaiti gatherings, values are more strongly linked to ascribed attributes than to achieved attributes. But once Kuwaitis enter into a market situation or a work situation which comprises Kuwaitis as well as non-Kuwaitis, occupational status prevails over ascribed attributes as age, etc. in the determination of respect. Kuwaiti society, like other societies, attaches different values to different occupations. Manual work, for example, carries low prestige, while non-manual work is highly esteemed. Social status is the social evaluation of roles. And occupational roles are the main determinants of the social status of the individual.

13.1. Lexical Features of Occupational Names

Occupational names are a sub-class of noun.

Occupational names are divided into three main sub-categories :

- (1) masculine occupational names with corresponding feminine forms
- (2) occupational names pertaining to men only
- (3) occupational names pertaining to women only

13.1.1. Masculine Occupational Names with Feminine Forms

Feminine names referring to female occupants of jobs are derived, by the addition of the suffix -a, from certain masculine names referring to the corresponding male occupants of similar jobs. Together the two constitute a

sex-gender pair. The examples are grouped according to the kind of stem change undergone by the stem when -a is added.

A. Stems ending in -VVC : no change :

Masculine

Feminine

ṭabiib 'doctor'

ṭabiiba 'doctor'

ṭabbax 'cook'

ṭabbaxa 'cook'

fannaan 'artist'

fannaana 'artist'

xayyaat 'tailor'

xayyaata 'tailoress'

ṭahhaan 'grain-grinder'

ṭahhaana 'grain-grinder'

mudair 'manager'

mudaira 'manageress'

zamiil 'colleague'

zamiila 'colleague'

B. Stems of the base "faa&il" : stem vowel is dropped in some cases, retained in others :

Masculine

Feminine

xaadim

xaadma 'servant'

raaqie

raaqea 'dancer'

saahib

saahba 'owner'

kaatib

kaatiba 'clerk'

C. Stems of the base "mufa&&il"/mufa&&al/mufaa&il : stem vowel is usually retained :

Masculine

Feminine

mu&allim 'teacher'

mu&allima 'teacher'

muma00il 'actor'

muma00ila 'actress'

mudarrrib 'trainer'

mudarrriba 'trainer'

mudammid 'male nurse'

mudammida 'nurse'

muwassaf 'civil servant'

muwassafa 'civil servant'

D. Stems of active participle patterns ending in -i :

-y- is added :

Masculine

Feminine

muganni 'singer'

muganniya 'singer'

muraabi 'money-lender'

muraabiya 'money-lender'

E. Other stems ending in -i : -yy- is added :

Masculine

Feminine

sahafi 'newspaper-man'

sahafiyya 'newspaper-women'

muusiqi 'musician'

muusiqiyya 'musician'

F. Stems ending in -a : the -a is lengthened to -aa-

and -y- is added :

Masculine

Feminine

mulla 'Koranic teacher'

mullaaya 'Koranic teacher'

13.1.2. Occupational Names Pertaining to Men only

(i) Singular Names

A considerable number of names can be derived from other nouns by the addition of the suffix -ci, with some changes in some cases. The names ending in -ci commonly refer to low-prestige occupations. The names have plural forms ending in -ciyya. The names given below are grouped according to the major types of change undergone by the stem when -ci is added.

- A. No change : generally, one-syllable words of the pattern CVVC , two-syllable words ending in -a except -wa, words ending in -VC :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Occupational Name</u>
<u>teel</u> 'wire'	<u>teelci</u> 'wire-, screen-seller'
<u>xaan</u> 'warehouse'	<u>xaanci</u> 'man in charge of a warehouse'
<u>saa&a</u> 'watch'	<u>saa&aci</u> 'watch dealer, repairman'
<u>boosta</u> 'post-office; mail'	<u>boostaci</u> 'postman'
<u>ƣakar</u> 'sugar'	<u>ƣakarci</u> 'confectioner'
<u>caay</u> 'tea'	<u>caayci</u> 'tea vendor'

- B. Shift of final -wa to -aw : a few words of the base "fa&la" :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Occupational Name</u>
<u>gahwa</u> 'coffee(-house)'	<u>gahawci</u> 'coffee-house proprietor'
<u>da&wa</u> 'law-suit'	<u>da&awci</u> 'frequent complainer'

- C. Loss of final -a : words of three or more syllables ending in -a :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Occupational Name</u>
<u>dooƣama</u> 'upholstery'	<u>dooƣamci</u> 'upholsterer'
<u>&arabeana</u> 'carriage'	<u>&arabanci</u> ¹ 'carriage-driver'

1. Note also shortening of long-aa- .

D. Shortening of vowel in last syllable : words of two or more syllables ending in -VVC :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Occupational Name</u>
<u>bistaan</u> 'orchard'	<u>bistanci</u> 'fruit grower'
<u>&ardahaal</u> 'petition'	<u>&ardahalci</u> 'public scribe'
<u>kabaab</u> 'skewered meat, kebab'	<u>kababci</u> 'kebab-seller'

E. A few forms show vowel change or shift :

<u>Word</u>	<u>Occupational Name</u>
<u>@uuti</u> '(pressing) iron'	<u>@utaci</u> 'presser'
<u>†ur&i</u> 'pickles'	<u>†ur&aci</u> 'pickle-seller'

(ii) Plural Names

The plural of names of occupation of the base fa&&aal are formed in one of the following ways :

(a) by adding the suffix -a, e.g.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>bazzaaz</u> 'cloth seller'	<u>bazzaaza</u>
<u>tattaan</u> 'tobacco seller'	<u>tattaana</u>
<u>tammaar</u> '(palm) dates seller'	<u>tammaara</u>
<u>dahhaan</u> 'painter'	<u>dahhaana</u>
<u>haddaad</u> 'blacksmith'	<u>haddaada</u>
<u>hammear</u> 'donkey-man'	<u>hammaara</u>
<u>xammeam</u> 'dustman'	<u>xammeama</u>
<u>nahhaam</u> 'singer on sailing boat'	<u>nahhaama</u>
<u>sammaac</u> 'fish vendor'	<u>sammaaca</u>

Note. Only names which do not have feminine counterparts can have the plural suffix -a. Contrast the inadmissibility of ṭabbaax 'cook (m.s.)' > ṭabbaaxa 'cook(f.s.)' > *ṭabbaaxa 'cooks' , fannaan 'artist(m.s.)' > fannaana 'artist(f.s.)' > *fannaana 'artists' , etc.

(b) by using the base fa&aaliil/fa&aalwa , e.g.

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>jammaal</u> 'camel-drover'	<u>jamaamiil</u>
<u>haffaar</u> 'person who digs wells'	<u>hafaafiir</u>
<u>habbaac</u> 'book-binder'	<u>habaabiic</u>
<u>xabbaaz</u> 'baker'	<u>xabaabiiz</u>
<u>earraaf</u> 'money changer'	<u>earariif</u>
<u>&attaar</u> 'perfume vendor'	<u>&ataatiir</u>
<u>gasaab</u> 'butcher'	<u>gasaasiib</u>
<u>najjaar</u> 'carpenter'	<u>najjaajir</u>
<u>gallaaf</u> 'shipwright'	<u>galaaliif</u>
<u>dallaal</u> 'auctioneer'	<u>dalaalwa</u>
<u>ṭarraar</u> 'beggar'	<u>ṭaraarwa</u>

(c) by using the regular masculine plural suffix

-iin, e.g.

<u>hammaaliin</u>	'porters' ,
<u>&ataariin</u>	'perfume vendors' ,
<u>earraafiin</u>	'money changers' ,
<u>bazzaaziin</u>	'cloth sellers'
<u>dallaaliin</u>	'autioneers' , etc.

If an occupation is organized as a group and occupies a well-defined section of the market, the regular masculine *-iin* is used when referring to the members of the occupation as a group, while the suffix *-a* and the base pattern *fa&aaliil/fa&aalwa* are used when talking of the occupation as a class.

13.1.3. Occupational Names Pertaining to Women Only

<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
<u>xaṭtaaba</u> 'a match-maker'	<u>xaṭtaabaat</u>
<u>hawwaafa</u> 'a woman employed to assist a bride in getting ready for the wedding'	<u>hawwaafaat</u>
<u>taggaaga</u> 'wedding entrepreneur'	<u>taggaagaat</u>
<u>tabbaaba</u> 'woman who practises primitive medicine'	<u>tabbaabaat</u>
<u>&accaafa</u> 'woman who combs and dyes women's hair'	<u>&accaafaat</u>

Note. The stress so far has been on occupational names which belong to "old" KA. Needless to say, many of the occupations listed are now being pursued by non-Kuwaitis. Kuwaitis are now employed in civil service, free trade, and other high-prestige occupations. It is impossible to give the base patterns for names of all the occupations that have been introduced into Kuwait. The following are some of the

commonest base patterns :

- (a) faa&il , e.g.
naadir 'headmaster'
- (b) fa&iil , e.g.
wakiil 'agent'
- (c) maf&uul , e.g.
manduub 'delegate'
- (d) mufa&&il , e.g.
mudarris 'teacher'
mu@allif 'author'
mu&addir 'exporter'
- (e) mufaa&il , e.g.
mulaazim 'lieutenant'
- (f) muf&il , e.g.
mu&rib 'singer'
- (g) mufiil , e.g.
mudiir 'manager'
- (h) mufta&il , e.g.
mukta&if 'explorer'
- (i) mufta&lil , e.g.
mustawrid 'importer'
- (j) mufta&lal , e.g.
mustaxdam 'employee'
- (k) mufta&aal , e.g.
musta&aar 'advisor, counsellor'

13.2. Collocational/Colligational Features of Occupational Names

Occupational names exhibit the following features :

(a) Associability with FN

We can distinguish two sub-classes of Occupational Names (ON) according to whether they associate with (i) a preceding or (ii) a following FN, e.g.

- (i) { ya eaalih-ilmulla 'Saleh, the clerk!' ,
ya &ali-innajjaar 'Ali, the carpenter!' ,
ya faatima lxaatiba 'Fatma, the match-maker!' ,
ya zeenab-il&accaafa 'Zeinab, the hair-dresser!', etc.

- (ii) { ya daktoor &ali 'Dr. Ali!' ,
ya ba&muhandis samiir 'Chief engineer Samir!', etc.

(i) It is noticeable that occupational names which occur in the colligation (ya+FN+@al+ON) are typical of low-prestige occupations.

(ii) Occupational names which may form part of the colligation (ya+ON+FN) are typical of high prestige occupations.

It is also noticeable that occupational names which precede FN are more formal than those which follow, i.e. ya daktoor &ali is more formal than ya eaalih-ilmulla.

(b) Associability with other Respectful Forms

Occupational names variously associate with other respectful forms of address, viz. titles, respectful formulas, etc.

Generally, native occupational names collocate with native forms of respect, whereas borrowed occupational names collocate with borrowed forms of respect , e.g.

{ ya hajji-ilmulla 'Hajji, the clerk!', (indigenous)
 { ya sa&aadat-ilmudiir 'Your honour, the manager!'
 (borrowed)

{ ya hajjiyya-lxa#taaba 'Hajjiyya, the match-maker'
 (indigenous) ,
 { ya siyaadat-innaadra 'Your honour, the headmistress!'
 (borrowed)

Associations of native KA respect titles with borrowed occupational names e.g.

ya sa&aadat-ilmulla ,
ya siyaadat-ilxa#taaba ,
ya hajjiyya-nnaadra , etc.

are all inappropriate modes of respect and may be used only to show sarcasm .

(c) Sex Marking

Some occupational names are sex-marked, whereas others are neutral as to sex. Occupational names at the lower stratum are sex-marked , e.g.

@idduктоora faa#ima @il@ustaa@ ilmusaa&id
bikulliyyat-i#tibb 'Dr Fatma, Assistant Professor,
 College of Medicine' ,

Occupational name (ON) @ustaa@ 'Professor(m.)' and not @ustaa@a(f.) is used to refer to or address a woman.

13.3. Uses of Occupational Names to Show Varying Degrees of Respect

The following table shows some of the uses of occupational names in association (or non-association) with other address-forms to show varying degrees of formality and respect. Analysis follows the table .

Occupational name	Additional form/s of address	Relationship between interlocutors
(1) <u>mudrir</u> 'manager'	<u>sa&aadat</u> 'your honour'	junior employee-boss
(2) <u>ba&muhandis</u> 'chief engineer'	<u>ha&drat</u> 'your honour'	"
(3) <u>mulaazim</u> 'lieutenant'	<u>siyaadat</u> 'your honour'	soldier-senior officer
(4) <u>staad</u> 'teacher(m.)'	nil	pupil-teacher
(5) <u>@abla</u> 'teacher(f.)'	nil	"
(6) <u>baqqaal</u>	nil	buyer-grocer
(7) <u>hammaal</u>	nil	market-goer-porter
(8) <u>neers</u>	nil	hospital-visitor-nurse
(9) <u>tabba&</u>	nil	boss-typist
(10) <u>ba&muhandis</u>	FN	engineer-colleague
(11) <u>mulaazim</u>	FN	lieutenant-colleague
(12) <u>farra&</u> 'office boy'	<u>m&awwad</u>	superior official-old Kuwaiti subordinate
(13) <u>bawwab</u> 'janitor'	"	"

Analysis

The above table shows degrees of formality and respect in descending order. The non-reciprocal use of T + ON in the construct state as in

- (1) siyaadat-ilmudiiir
- (2) hadrat-ilba&muhandis
- (3) siyaadat-ilmulaazim

is most formal .

Occupational names are used by themselves too, i.e. without a name or a title. The use of ON only ranges from formality to non-acquaintance.

- (4) A pupil offers staad to his teacher and receives no titled address in return ;
- (5) A girl offers @able to her teacher and receives no titled address in return. ON staad (or @able) minus FN/LN indicates formality and respect to one's teacher.

Shopkeepers, vendors, porters, etc., in a suuq 'free market' situation are usually addressed with the appropriate ON only. Such modes as

- (6) (ya) xabb&az 'Baker!'
- (7) (ya) hammaal 'Porter!'
- (8) (ya) neers 'Nurse!'

indicate formal transactional relationship focussed on certain limited goals such as purchasing items like groceries or meat, or going to hospital, etc. In transactional interactions ON

without FN or T used to mark the addressee's status in the suuq derives mainly from his occupation and not from other facets of his personality with which the speaker is unacquainted.

(9) A boss gives his typist the brusque and authoritarian

ya tabbaa&

and not a FN and thus indicates formality and no intimacy between them.

The reciprocal use ON + FN as in

(10) ba&muhandis &ali 'Chief engineer, Ali!'

(11) mulaazim xaalid 'Lieutenant, Khalid!'

indicates a respectful relationship between colleagues .

Frequent contact would make a Kuwaiti drop the use of ON , whereas a non-Kuwaiti would continue to use respectful ON in addressing a Kuwaiti colleague. Informality on the part of a non-Kuwaiti might be taken as unwelcome intimacy.

An interesting divergence of usage is noticeable in situations where there is conflict between occupational status and ascribed status (age and Kuwaiti nationality) . Office and clerical staff comprise old Kuwaitis who occupy inferior positions. A Kuwaiti high-ranking official resolves this situation by addressing a Kuwaiti farraa& 'office boy' or bawwaab 'janior' by the term m&awwad 'he whom I wish to live long' which indicates familiarity and respect to addressee's age. The subordinate may reciprocate by using the same or similar forms of address. A non-Kuwaiti high-

ranking official will give an old Kuwaiti farraaf such respectful modes as teknonym. It would be considered inappropriate and even rude to address an old Kuwaiti subordinate with

* <u>ya farraaf</u>	'Office boy!' ,
* <u>ya bawwaab</u>	'Janitor!' ,
* <u>ya haaris</u>	'Guard!' , etc.

On the other hand an old Kuwaiti subordinate will not bother to use respectful forms such as ON or T when talking to a non-Kuwaiti superior. He may either use the latter's FN if he knows it, or he may use other familiar modes of address such as pronouns or the attention caller @aguul 'I say,...'.

CHAPTER XIV

COMMANDS AND REQUESTS

In addition to special, separate and readily identifiable modes of respect, such as idiomatic respectful formulas, titles and occupational names, there are distinctions expressed by sentences (viz. imperatives, declaratives, questions, etc.) used elsewhere for other purposes¹. This gives the impression as Pride² has put it that "the linguistic analysis (in respect of grammar, lexis, and phonology) of these (and other) 'actions' is ultimately impossible : too much could function as command, or as a request, and so on".

It is true that an analysis of sentences in terms of their status as questions, commands, requests and the like, requires a coordinated analysis of social meaning.

1. Cf., for instance, D.Hymes, "What is linguistically the same utterance, for example, may have the status of request or of a command, depending not on any feature proper to grammar, but on the social relationship of the parties involved", Editorial Introduction to Language in Society, Vol I, 1972; also W.Labov, "Commands and requests are actions; statements, questions and imperatives are linguistic categories -- things that are said, rather than things that are done", The Study of Non-Standard English, (Washington, D.C; Clearinghouse for Linguistics, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), p. 59.
2. J.B.Pride, 'An Approach to the (socio-)linguistics of commands and requests in English', Archivum Linguisticum, Vol IV (new series), 1973, pp. 51-74, p. 52.

But it is equally true that this kind of social meaning is inherent in linguistic form. For example, the utterance

@iljawwi xaanigi hnii 'It's stuffy in here' , most normally a declarative statement, may under specific situational contexts be interpretable as an imperative equivalent to

- (1) @axuuy , ba~~tt~~il iddirii&a 'Open the window , mate!' (Kuwaiti-another Kuwaiti colleague)
- (2) @iftah i&&libbaak 'Open the window!' (superior-inferior non-Kuwaiti)
- (3) mumkin tiftah innaafi@a ? 'Would you open the window ?' (Top-Kuwaiti official-non-Kuwaiti colleague) ,

where the imperative in the form of L + @axuuy 'my brother' are used in (1) to indicate a request ; the imperative only (i.e. minus vocative extensions), in the form of M is used in (2) to indicate an order ; the interrogative + the polite extension mumkin ? 'is it possible?' in the form of H are used in (3) to indicate a suggestion.

This chapter deals with

- (1) lexico-grammatical KA forms which are available for "commands" and "requests", so as to show the range of choice open to each KA speaker, and
- (2) correlation of such forms with relative aspects of social use, especially in terms of status and role-relationship types .

14.1. Lexico-grammatical Analysis of KA Forms Available
for Commands and Requests

Lexico-grammatical analysis is arranged into the following groups :

(A) Sentential Types :

1. Imperatives
2. Negatives
3. Interrogatives

(B) Lexical Options :

Lexical items (in the form of L , M , or H) ,
pronominal choice, and/or tag

14.1.1. Imperatives

By its meaning , an imperative sentence is traditionally defined as a sentence which makes a request or gives a command ; in other words, an imperative sentence normally expects action on the part of the addressee. Imperative sentences constitute an essential part of modes of address. Basically, there are two main types of imperatives distinguished by (i) their form, (ii) collocational extensibilities, and (iii) their use in various situational contexts to indicate relative status relationships between interlocutors :

Type I : the imperative proper

Type II: declaratives

I. The Imperative Proper

The imperative proper is derivable from the 2nd pers. imperfective , e.g.

tiktib 'You (m.s.) write' ,

tiktibi 'You (f.s.) write' ,

tiktibu 'You (c.pl.) write' ,

by cutting off the prefixed first syllable which contains the marks of pronoun differentiation , thus

-ktib , -ktibi , -ktibu ,

and by retaining suffixes which differentiate the gender and number of the addressee(s) :

-∅ '2nd pers. m.s.'

-i/-ay '2nd pers. f.s.'

-u/aw '2nd pers. c.pl.' and also by adding

imperative prefixes having the forms of

@- , @i- , @u- , or ∅ , which

occur as follows :

- (a) If the stem has the pattern -CCuC , the vowel of the prefix may 'harmoniously' be -u ; if the stem has the pattern -CCiC/-CCaC the corresponding vowel is -i, e.g.

<u>@u#bux</u>	'cook (m.s.)!!'
<u>@u#buxi</u>	'cook (f.s.)!!'
<u>@u#buxu</u>	'cook (c.pl.)!!'
<u>@iktib</u>	'write (m.s.)!!'
<u>@iktibi/kitbay</u>	'write (f.s.)!!'
<u>@iktibu/kitbaw</u>	'write (c.pl.)!!'
<u>@idfa&</u>	'pay (m.s.)!!'
<u>@idfa&i</u>	'pay (f.s.)!!'
<u>@idfa&u</u>	'pay (c.pl.)!!'

- (b) The prefix @- occurs with stems which begin with a vowel (always long) , e.g.

<u>@oogaf</u>	'stop (m.s.)!'
<u>@oogfi</u>	'stop (f.s.)!'
<u>@oogfu</u>	'stop (c.pl.)!'

- (c) The prefix @i- may occur before stems which begin with two consonants , e.g.

<u>@itfaddal</u>	'please (come in) (m.s.)!'
<u>@istariihi</u>	'please (be seated) (f.s.)!'
<u>@istamirru</u>	'continue (c.pl.)!'

With stems under(c), however, there is an optional choice with \emptyset .

- (d) No imperative prefix with stems which begin with a single consonant , e.g.

<u>naam</u>	'sleep (m.s.)!'
<u>naami</u>	'sleep (f.s.)!'
<u>naamu</u>	'sleep (c.pl.)!'
<u>ruuh</u>	'go (m.s.)!'
<u>ruuhi</u>	'go (f.s.)!'
<u>ruuhu</u>	'go (c.pl.)!'

- (e) Some verbs have special suppletive imperative forms, such as haat 'give (m.s.)!' corresponding to ti&ti '(you) give' , ta&aal 'come (m.s.)!' to tiyii '(you) come!'

Formally, the most striking feature of imperative sentences proper is that they often contain no subject, e.g.

@i&tigil bihuduu@ '(You) (m.s.) work quietly!'

@itfaddali hnii '(You) (f.s.) sit down here!'

If the subject is present, the normal order is

Imperative , Subject , (Extension) , e.g.

@i<igil-inta bihuduu@ ,

@itfaddali-nti hnii .

Imperative sentences associate freely with address-forms which occur in initial or final position :

- (1) ya xaalid , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'Khalid, work quietly!'
- (2) @inta , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'You, work quietly!'
- (3) ya tabbaa& , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'You, typist, work quietly!'
- (4) ya dawcaci , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'You, the noise-maker, work quietly!'
- (5) @aguul , @inta , ya-bu naaddaara sooda , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'I say, you, the one with dark glasses , work quietly!'
- (6) saamihni ya-xuuk , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'Work quietly, mate!'
- (7) @i<igil bihuduu@ , @alla yhadaak 'Work quietly, please!'
- (8) ya muhtaram , @arjuuk , @i<igil bihuduu@ 'Please, Sir, work quietly!'

II. Declaratives

Declaratives have the two forms

(a) y(i)- + stem , e.g. yi<igil , and

(b) t(i)- + stem , e.g. ti<igil .

Like imperative Type I , declaratives show characteristic extensibilities in collocation , e.g.

- (a) (1) xaalid yi&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'Khalid is to work quietly!'
- (2) kil waahid yi&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'Every body is to work quietly!'
- (3) @i&tt&abbaa& yi&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'The typist is to work quietly!'
- (4) @iddawcaci yi&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'The noise-maker is to work quietly!'
- (5) -bu na&ddaara sooda yi&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'The one with the dark glasses is to work quietly!'
- (b) (1) @alla yhadaak ti&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'Please , work quietly!'
- (2) tisma&h ti&ti&gil bihuduu@ ? 'Would you work quietly!'
- (3) @arjuuk ti&ti&gil bihuduu@ 'Please, work quietly!'
- (4) mumkin ti&ti&gil bihuduu@ ? 'Could you(possibly) work quietly!'

The imperative sentence types shown above may be generalized as follows :

Type I

- (1) FN + VimpP
- (2) 2nd pers. pr. + VimpP
- (3) ON (Occupational Name) + VimpP
- (4) " "

- (5) @aguul 'I say' + 2nd pers. pr. + "-bu"-phrase + VimpP
- (6) Respect Formula + the addressive phrase ya+xuuk + VimpP
- (7) VimpP + Respect Formula
- (8) T + VimpP

Type II (a)

- (1) FN + 3rd pers. m. VyP
- (2) Pr. Ind. + 3rd pers. m. VyP
- (3) Def common Noun + 3rd pers. m. VyP
- (4) " " " " " "
- (5) "-bu"-phrase + 3rd pers. m. VyP

Type II (b)

Respect Formula+2nd pers. m. VtP (where Vimp=Imperative verb-form ; Vy=Imperfect verb-form marked by an initial y- ; Vt=Imperfect verb-form marked by an initial t- ; P=phrase ; Def.=Definite ; Ind. = Indefinite) .

The above types of imperatives contrast in the following points :

- (a) Address-forms at I are freely deletable in what is otherwise a complete sentence. Imperatives proper are understood to be vocative even without appending an address-form. This contrasts with the inmissibility of noun, pronouns and phrases at II (a) and Respect Formulas at II (b)

- (b) Vimp is expandable by "ya"-phrases and addressive phrases, in contrast with Vy which does not associate with "ya"-phrases or addressive phrases.
- (c) Vy associates with indefinite pronouns, in contrast with Vimp which is partly recognized by association with vocativeness and definiteness .
- (d) Vt regularly associates with respect formulas, in contrast with Vy which does not allow association with any respect formula.

14.1.2. Negatives

Negative imperatives are yet another type of imperative sentence which are derived from sentences of type II (b) , thus

Vimp ... → Neg. + Vt

where Neg. = negative particle laa or @iyyaak , e.g.

<u>@iŕtigil</u>	→	{ <u>laa tiŕtigil</u> }	'Don't work!'
'work!'		{ <u>@iyyaak tiŕtigil</u> }	'Don't you work!.' (warning)

laa is an invariable negative particle, while the choice of -k , -c , or -kum with @iyyaa- depends on the sex and/or number of addressee(s) ; this is in keeping with the forms taken by the imperative verb , e.g.

@iyyaak taaxi@ iljariida 'Don't(you)(m.s.)take the paper!'

@iyyaac taax@i ljariida 'Don't(you)(f.s.)take the paper!'

@iyyaakum taax@u ljariida 'Don't(you)(c.pl.) take the paper!'

14.1.3. Interrogatives

In KA there are essentially two basic interrogative transformations :

- (i) question-word transformations
 - (ii) yes/no transformations
- (i) Question-word transformations

Question-word transformations are "achieved" by

- (a) replacing the subject by a question-word
manu 'who' , £inu/@ee£ 'what' , etc.
- (b) adding the optional relative pronoun @illi after the question-word .
- (c) the predicate becomes third person
- (d) an appropriate interrogative intonation is given, e.g.

@ilmudidir *alab ilmalaff ... → manu(-lli) *alab ilmalaff ?

'The manager asked for
the file'

'Who (is the one who) asked
for the file ?'

@ittilifoon gaa&id yidugg ... → @ee£/£inu(-lli) gaa&id yidugg?

'The telephone kept ringing'.

'What kept ringing?'

(ii) Yes/No transformations

Yes/No Type I

Yes/no questions are characterized by

- (a) the prefixing of an optional third person pronoun before the subject. The pronoun is humma for plural subjects, huwwa/@uhu for

masculine singular subject, and hiyya/@ihi
for feminine singular subject, e.g.

<u>humma-nnaas</u>	'Do the people ...?'
<u>hiyya lbint</u>	'Does the girl ...?'
<u>huwwa lyaahil</u>	'Does the boy ...?'
<u>huwwa-nta</u>	'Do you ...?'

The pronoun is actually a dummy question aid roughly comparable to the English auxiliary "do" .

Note. Negative questions are usually asked when one expects that the answer will be "yes". But this is not always so.

For example ,

huwwa xaalid muu bilmaktab ? 'Isn't Khalid at his office yet?' implies that the speaker doesn't think Khalid is here and that he thinks he ought to be here

(b) using an appropriate interrogative intonation, e.g.

<u>@ilmudiir gaal ci@ii</u> ...	→	<u>huwwa lmudiir gaal ci@ii?</u>
'The manager said so.		'Did the manager say so?'
<u>@ilmuwaadaafiin raahu</u> ...	→	<u>humma-lmuwaadaafiin raahu</u>
<u>libyuuthum</u> 'The civil servants went to their houses.'		<u>libyuuthum?</u> 'Did the civil servants go ...?'
<u>@ilbensil haa@a zeen</u> ...	→	<u>@ilbensil haa@a zeen ?</u>
'This pencil is good'		'Is this pencil good?'

Yes/No Type II

In this version of the yes/no question, we do the following :

- (a) The whole sentence is said, with an intonation appropriate to the corresponding declarative sentence

(b) the tag muu ci0ii 'is not so' is added, with the question intonation given to it, e.g.

@in(a) xallaest ittaqriir... → @inta xallaest ittaqriir,
 'You finished the report' muu ci0ii 'You finished
 the report, didn't you?'

@iddawaam maa xallaes... → @iddawaam maa xallaes ,
 'Office hours are not muu ci0ii ? 'Office
 yet over'. hours are not yet over,
 aren't they?'

Note. KA speakers often seem to add negative tags to negative sentences as freely as they add negative tags to positive sentences. The tag muu ci0ii may be appended to any of the three sentence types : declarative, interrogative, and imperative :

&ali hnii , muu ci0ii ? 'Ali's here, isn't he ?'

(a declarative, but without the normal declarative demand for the hearer's belief) ,

ta&aali hnii , muu ci0ii ? 'Come here, won't you ?'

(an order, but without the normal imperative demand for the addressee's obedience) ,

huwwa &ali hnii , muu ci0ii ? 'I wonder if Ali is here?'

(a question, but without the normal interrogative demand for the addressee's response) .

14.1.4. Lexical Options

In the preceding sections (14.1.1., 14.1.2. and 14.1.3.) we dealt with grammatical variables of a sentential type available for command/request. Lexical choices (e.g. 1st/2nd/3pers pronoun ; items in L/M/H, etc.) are situationally determined. A lexical choice precisely indicates how a person talks about something rather than what he says about it . The selection of lexical items, their distribution in collocation, will be dealt with under the appropriate sections below .

14.2. Uses of Sentential Types in Command/Request Situations

It is clear that the choice of alternative sentence types (imperatives, negatives, interrogatives) is not "free" but is conditioned by both situational and personal factors. Commanding, demanding, requesting, pleading, entreating, and the like, although situation-determined in part, are further determined by the relative status-and role relationship between interlocutors and the degree of intimacy involved. In the following sections each sentence type will be analysed in terms of situational functions and role relationship types .

14.2.1. Imperatives

Command/request situations in which different imperative types (viz., Vimp , Vy and Vt) are used range from respect to insult. Lexical choices made and difference of extensibility in collocation may be used to indicate

considerable difference of meaning for otherwise similar forms as the following table shows :

Form/s of address	Imperative type	Additional form/s	Function	Interlocutors
(1) nil	<u>ruuh</u> 'go	nil	brusque command	superior-inferior
(2) <u>@int(a)</u>	"	nil	obligation	"
(3) <u>ya xaalid/</u> <u>yuba/ya</u> <u>&aziizi</u>	"	nil	request	friends
(4) <u>ya m&awwad</u>	"	<u>@alla</u> <u>yhadaak</u>	command	Kuwaiti boss-old Kuwaiti subordinate
(5) <u>ya @ustaaz</u>	<u>@i@hab</u> 'go'	<u>@arjuuk</u>	request	Kuwaiti top-official-non-Kuwaiti colleague
(6) <u>ya bani</u> <u>@aadam</u> 'Son of Adam'	<u>@ingili&</u> 'out you go'	nil	insulting command	superior-inferior
(7) <u>@ilkaatib</u> 'the clerk'	<u>yiruuh</u> 'is to go'	nil	command	"
(8) <u>waahid</u> 'someone'	"	nil	"	"
(9) <u>tigdar/</u> <u>mumkin</u> 'you may'	<u>tiruuh</u>	<u>ya-bu</u> <u>xaalid</u>	permission	colleagues (peers)

Form/s of address	Imperative type	Additional form/s	Function	Interlocutors
(10) <u>ʕ-raayik</u> 'how about'	<u>tiruuh</u> 'going'	<u>willa</u> <u>baʕkiik</u> <u>lilmudiiir</u> 'I report you to the manager?'	threat	colleagues (peers)
(11) <u>willi</u> <u>yirham</u> <u>waaldeek</u> 'Please'	<u>tiruuh</u> 'go'	nil	imploring request	inferior Kuwaiti- superior Kuwaiti
(12) <u>wi-nnabi</u> 'please'	"	nil	"	inferior Egyptian- Kuwaiti superior
(13) (<u>willi</u>) <u>yiʕʕiik</u> <u>ilʕaafya</u> 'please'	"	"	"	inferior Palestinian- Kuwaiti superior

Analysis

Greater respect is usually marked by the addition of respect formulas; friendliness is usually indicated by the addition of FN, kin-term or endearing term ; brusqueness is usually indicated either by the imperative verb-form alone (e.g. Vimp) or it may be indicated by a special verb-form synonym which has connotations of abuse .

- (1) The use of ruuh 'Go!' (Vimp) alone in the absence of forms characteristic of polite requests indicates

brusqueness. The speaker is addressing an inferior employee such as a non-Kuwaiti office-boy.

- (2) The use of the pronoun @int(a) 'You' in association with the imperative verb-form indicates haughty superiority. The addressee is obliged to obey .
- (3) The use of FN ya xaalid or the kin-term yuba or the endearing term &aziizi 'my dear' indicates a relationship marked by friendliness. Other examples are :

ya faatima ya &aziizti @iftigli bihuduu@ 'Fatma, my dear, work quietly!' (female colleagues) ,
ya wxayyiti @iftigli bihuduu@ 'Work quietly , sister!' (female colleagues) ,
@isma&ni ya-xuuy 'Listen to me, brother!' (male colleagues) , etc.

- (4) The use of the Kuwaiti respectful term of address m&awwad (lit. 'he whom we wish will live long) plus the respectful idiom @alla yhadaak 'may God show you the right path' indicates that a superior Kuwaiti is addressing an old Kuwaiti subordinate (e.g. a farraaf 'an office-boy' or a bawwaab 'a janitor'). The speaker does not want to be brusque with an old Kuwaiti nor does he want to be too friendly either. Hence the choice of m&awwad and @alla yhadaak which show respect to the addressee's relatively older age and his status as a Kuwaiti.

- (5) The choice of @i0hab 'go!' (H synonym of ruuh) in association with the respectful title @ustaaz 'Sir' plus the respectful form @arjuuk 'please' (H) indicates that interlocutors are educated top officials and the addressee is a non-Kuwaiti . The relationship is marked by formality .
- (6) The choice of @ingili& 'out you go' (lit. 'be uprooted)!', (L synonym of ruuh) in association with the formula of abuse ya bani @aadam 'You, son of Adam (i.e. descendent of human beings , and not the offspring of brutes) indicates great impatience with an inferior non-Kuwaiti addressee. Other forms of abuse that may be used in collocation with @ingili& are :
- ya gabi 'stupid one!' ,
- ya &adiim-innad&ar lit. 'you who can't see (that I am busy)' ,
- ya tuwiil illisaan 'long tongue' , etc.
- (7) The colligation (Def. common noun and 3rd pers. m. VyP) as in the example @ilkaatib yiruuh 'The clerk is to go!' indicates great distance and no intimacy between interlocutors .
- (8) The colligation (Pr. Ind. and 3rd pers. m. VyP) as in the example waahid yiruuh 'Someone is to go!' indicates great distance and no intimacy.
- (9) The association of the polite forms tigdar/mumkin 'you may' and the teknonym with the imperative

verb-form tiruuh(Vt) indicates reciprocal respect between colleagues. The most common lexical options before the imperative verb-form Vt as used in polite requests are :

<u>@abi</u>	'I want' ,
<u>@arju</u>	'I beg' ,
<u>@atlub</u>	'I request' ,
<u>@ansah</u>	'I advise' ,
<u>@ahibb</u>	'I like' ,
<u>@atawaqqe&</u>	'I expect' ,
<u>@afaddal</u>	'I prefer' ,
<u>@atamanna</u>	'I hope' ,
<u>@ahi00</u>	'I prompt' ,
<u>@aguul</u>	'I say' , etc.

These items enter into various grammatical patterns to show varying degrees of formality. The examples under Set A below are less formal than those under Set B.

Set A

Set B

@abiik tiruuh 'I want
you to go!'

nabiik tiruuh 'We want you
to go!'

@arjuuk tiruuh 'Please
go!'

@ilmarju minnik tiruuh 'What
is begged of you is to go!'

@atlub minnik tiruuh 'I
want you to go!'

@ilmaatluub minnik tiruuh 'What
is wanted of you is to go!'

Note. Plural pronouns in the context of one speaker (viz. nabiik) and nominalized passive voice forms such as @ilmārjuu 'what is begged' , @ilmāluub 'what is wanted', @ilmutawaqqa& 'what is expected', etc. are used in command/request situations as distancing forms. The speaker is a superior who is interested in a transactional rather than personal interaction. Fulfilling the task at hand is more important to the speaker than attending to the individuality of his interlocutor. Examples under Set A are more polite and less formal than the ones under Set B .

(10) The association of the interrogative £-raayik

'How about' and willa ba&kiik lilmudīir 'or , (otherwise) I'll report you to the manager' with the imperative verb-form indicates that interlocutors are junior colleagues .

(11) , (12) and (13) The association of imploring

formulas with the imperative verb-form indicates a junior-superior relationship marked by respect.

However, there are specializations here. In (11)

willi yirham waaldeek '(and by him) who will have mercy upon your deceased parents' is typical of

Kuwaiti speakers ; in (12) wi-nnabi 'By the prophet'

is typical of Egyptian speakers ; while (13)

(willi)yi&tiik il&aafya '(and by him) who gives

you strength' is typical of Palestinian speakers.

The uses of imperative types can be generalized as follows :

- (a) Imperative type I (Vimp) is used most often to inferiors in occupational status or more often for easy rather than difficult or unusual services, e.g.

guulli 'tell(m.s.) guuliili 'tell (f.s.)

me!' me!'

sub(b)li-ccaay 'Pour subbiili-ccaay 'Pour
(m.s.) me (some) tea!' (f.s.) me (some) tea!'

&a&ni-lmaay 'Give @i&tiini-lmaay 'Give
(m.s.) me the water!' (f.s.) me the water!'

The absence of 2nd pers. pronoun as a subject in imperative sentences is neutral, the insertion of a pronoun is emphatic, e.g.

@isma& 'Listen @isma&-int 'Listen @int(a)-sma& 'You
(m.s.)!' you (m.s.)!' (m.s.) listen!'

@isma&i/sim&ay @isma&i-nti(-ntay) @inti/@intay-sma&i
'Listen(f.s.)!' 'Listen you(f.s.)!' 'You (f.s.) listen!'

- (b) Imperative type II(a) , i.e. the 3rd pers.(Vy) is a distancing form : a superior communicates with his inferior addressee by addressing a third person, e.g.

@i&tabba& yi&tigil bihuduu@ 'The typist is to work quietly!' . Vy is, therefore, considered the command verb-form .

(c) Imperative type II(b), i.e. 2nd pers. (Vt) is also a distancing form : an inferior communicates with his superior addressee by addressing a second person. Vt is, therefore, considered the request verb-form, e.g.

tigdar tiguulli 'Please tell me!' ,

@arjuuk ya muhtarām tīfuuf haṭṭalab haggi 'Please, Sir, attend to my application!' (an applicant-employee) ,

mumkin tiyii baacir 'You can come tomorrow!'
(employee-applicant)

The immediately preceding example indicates "polite permission"; cf.

@int(a) laazimī tyiina baacir 'You must come tomorrow!' (where the 2nd pers. pronoun and the pl.s. -na in the context of one speaker are distancing, non-intimate forms) , or cf.

ta&aal baacir 'Come tomorrow!' where the use of Vimp alone indicates brusqueness .

14.2.2. Negatives

Although commanding, requesting, pleading , advising, warning, etc. are situationally-determined in part, the speaker exhibits his individuality only by an optional preference for one of the forms extant in his linguistic repertoire. The variables in the following sets display

different connotations :

Set A

Set B

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) <u>@inna&ra timna& ittadxiin</u>
<u>wi-ccaay @aOnaa@ iddawaam</u>
'The directive forbids
(employees) to smoke or
drink tea during office
hours!'</p> | <p><u>laa tdaxxin wi laa ti&rab</u>
<u>caay ... 'Don't smoke or</u>
<u>drink tea ...'</u></p> |
| <p>(2) <u>@ilfaatuura liha mudda</u>
<u>m@ajjla</u> 'The bill is due!'</p> | <p><u>laa t@ajjil faatuurtik</u>
'Don't delay (paying)
your bill!'</p> |
| <p>(3) <u>dafaatir ilhukuuma maa</u>
<u>yinkitib fiiha xi&aabaat</u>
<u>xaasee</u> 'Government
stationery is not for
writing personal letters!'</p> | <p><u>laa tiktib xi&aabaat xaasee</u>
<u>fi dafaatir ilhukuuma</u> 'Don't
write private letters in
government stationery!'</p> |
| <p>(4) <u>@i&farika maa tabi</u>
<u>muwaddafiin yisoolfuun</u>
'The company doesn't want
gossiping employees!'</p> | <p><u>laa tsoolaf</u> 'Don't gossip!'</p> |
| <p>(5) <u>@ilmudiiir yiz&al law</u>
<u>&alabt'i &laawa</u> 'The
manager will be angry if
you ask for a rise (in
salary)!'</p> | <p><u>laa ti&lub &ilaawa</u> 'Don't
ask for a rise!'</p> |
| <p>(6) <u>@inna&dir maani& il@akl</u>
<u>fi-eeaff</u> 'The headmaster
forbids(students') eating
in class!'</p> | <p><u>@iyyaak taakul fi-eeaff</u>
'Don't eat in class!'</p> <hr/> |

The choice made between sentences under A and sentences under B is matched by quite significant distinctions in meaning. In (1) , (2) , (3) and (4) A the sentences are object-oriented. The speaker focuses on such objects as @inna&ra 'the directive ; the circular' , @ilfaatuura 'the bill' , dafaatir ilkukuuma 'Government stationery' , @i&arika 'the company' , etc. In (5) and (6) A the speaker appeals to authority. In contrast , 1-6 B are all person-oriented. 1-6 B are the normal, unmarked forms for realizing commands. 1-6 A are the marked less formal, more polite counterparts. In work settings , subordinates usually receive commands, sometimes polite requests .

14.2.3. Interrogatives

Interrogative sentences are assumed to be related to seeking information. But in addition to seeking information interrogative sentences are also used in command/request situations in the nature of requests for instructions, advice or help, suggestions, polite entreaty, gestures of politeness, etc. The following sets (A & B) give alternative ways of commanding , seeking advice , requesting, entreating, etc . Sentences under Set B are commonly considered the polite sentences. Analysis follows the sets .

Set A

Set B

- I(1) raah-/ba-(@)axruj ilhiin?
'Shall I go out now?'
- @axruj ilhiin, willa fiinu?
'Shall I go out now, or what?'
(request for instructions)
- (2) baneahik naeiiha @axawiyya?
'Shall I give you a brotherly advice?'
- @aneahik naeiiha @axawiyya?
'Would you allow me to give you?'
(offering advice)
- (3) raah-/bi-tifrab caay ?
'Do you drink tea?'/
@ifrab caay 'Drink tea!'
- tabi/tihibbi tifrab caay ?
'Would you like to drink tea?'
(making a polite offer)
- (4) raah-/bi-tsaa&idni ?
'Will you help me?'/
saa&idni 'Help me!'
- tigdar/tismah/mumkin tisaa&idni ? 'Could you help me?'
(asking for help)
- (5) raah-/bi-tnaawilni-ddabbaasa? 'Will you get the stapler for me?'/
naawilni-ddabbaasa 'Get the stapler for me!'
- mumkin law samaht tinaawilni-ddabbaasa ?
'Would you please get the stapler for me?'
(asking for help)
- (6) hatsallifni diinaar 'Will you lend me a dinar?'/
sallifni diinaar 'Lend me a dinar!'
- tismah tisallifni diinaar?
'Would you lend me a dinar?'
(asking a favour)
- (7) hatgaabilni baacir? 'Will you meet me tomorrow?'/
gaabilni baacir 'Meet me tomorrow!'
- tihibbi/tyyii/tgaabilni baacir ? 'Shall we meet tomorrow?'
(suggestion)

Set A

Set B

- (8) hatxallie ittaqriir illeela ?'Will you finish the report tonight?'/xallie ittaqriir illeela 'Finish the report tonight!'
- (9) hatisma&iini lamma-haaciic?'Will you (f.s.)listen to me when I talk to you?'
- II(10) niruuḥ ilmasrah? 'Shall we go to the theatre?'
- (11) huwwa-lwaziir haywaafiq?'Will the minister approve?'
- (12) hiyya mu&allima faatra?'Is she a good teacher ?'
- tiftikir mumkin tixallie ittaqriir illeela?'Could you finish the report tonight?(seeking information)/tiftikir mumkin tixallieli ittaqriir illeela ?'would you please finish the report for me tonight?' (polite entreaty)
- mumkin tisma&iini lamma-haaciic?'Could you listen to me when I ... ?' (polite entreaty)
- taqtariḥ niruuḥ ilmasrah? 'Do you suggest we go to the theatre?' (seeking advice)
- tiftikir ilwaziir haywaafiq? 'Do you think the minister will agree?' (seeking information)
- ta&taqid @innaha mu&allima...? 'Do you believe she is a good teacher?' (seeking advice)

Set A

Set B

III(13) ween-ccaay? 'Where
is the tea?'/yiib
caay 'Bring tea!'

maa &i(n)dkum caay? 'Don't
you have any tea?'/&i(n)dkum
caay , muu ci@ii? 'You do
have tea, don't you?'/yiib
caay , muu ci@ii? 'Bring
tea, won't you?' (polite
request rather than a
demand)

(14) bitruuh halkazza ?
'Will you go now?'/
ruuh halkazza 'Go
now!'

maa bitruuh halkazza ?
'Won't you go now?'/
bitruuh halkazza , muu ci@ii?
'You will go now, won't
you?'/ruuh halkazza , muu
ci@ii ? 'Go now, won't
you?'

Analysis

I. Sentences 1-9 A are usually exchanged between familiar peers ; 1-9 B are exchanged between respectful peers . However, in cases of extreme deference, i.e. where the obvious receiver is much higher in rank, we expect a displacement to a familiar peer listener and the use of a highly deferential request form. For example, in (5) ya sayyid &ali , mumkin law samaht tinaawilni-ddabbaasa ? 'Would you please get the stapler for me, Mr. Ali?' In

this example, the nearest person to the stapler is a standing senior official, not Ali who is seated further away .

(8) B needs a special comment. Cf. tiftikir mumkin tixalli ittaqriir illeela ? 'Do you think you could finish the report tonight?' , in which the speaker is enquiring whether the addressee is capable of performing whatever is in question, and tiftikir mumkin tixalli li ittaqriir illeela ? 'Would you please finish the report for me tonight?' , where the inclusion of -li 'for me' changes the utterance from an enquiry about the addressee's capacity into a polite entreaty and asking a favour .

II. Introductory taqtarih , tiftikir and ta&taqid mark a question which follows as seeking advice or information.

III. The analysis of tags, their structures and their meanings is bound to take account of transformational relationships of the sort :

{ maa &indkum caay ?
{ &indkum caay , muu ci0ii ?

{ yiib caay.
{ yiib caay , muu ci0ii ?

where the use of the negative question maa &indkum caay ? 'Don't you have any tea?' is a request and not a demand for tea. yiib caay 'Bring tea!' is brusque. The effect of

the tag muu ci@ii (lit. 'not so') is to soften the imperative Vimp form from an expression of certainty, demanding action, to an expression of likelihood, merely requesting it. As is true of most tag questions, the use of muu ci@ii is not completely free. Its use is restricted to informal situations between Kuwaiti interlocutors . The reason for this seems to be that the use of muu ci@ii provides implicit personal information about the speaker -- especially his status, relative to that of the addressee. On the other hand, part of the concept of "formality" seems to lie in giving as little personal information as possible, confining the discourse solely to information one wishes to convey. muu ci@ii is most apt to be used where the speaker is somewhat superior to the addressee. muu ci@ii cannot be used by someone of lower social status than the addressee.

The uses of interrogative sentences in command/request situations, therefore, exhibit the following features in general terms :

- (a) Requests for instructions, advice, or help and suggestions are characterized by association with (i) 1st pers. verbal imperfective forms without raah-/ba-(bi-) or ha- 'will/shall' as in example I(1-2) B, and also with (ii) introductory 2nd pers. Vt

forms such as :

tabi ? (lit. 'Do you want ...?') ,

tihibb ? (lit. 'Do you like ...?') ,

tigdar ? (lit. 'Can you ...?') ,

tiyii ? (lit. 'Will you come ...?') ,

and the invariable form

mumkin ? (lit. 'Is it possible ...?')

which meet the requirements of politeness in 3-9 B.

- (b) Introductory taqtarih , tiftikir and ta&taqid mark a question which follows as seeking information or advice as in 10-12 B. taqtarih , tiftikir and ta&taqid (in H) are a little more formal than tabi , tihibb , tigdar , etc. (in L) .
- (c) A command may be altered by a tag question making it a request.

APPENDIXES

(A) Some KA Texts

(B) Map of Kuwait City and Suburbs

(C) Bibliography

Appendix ASome KA Texts

KA data will be given in reading transcription. Most of the English translations will be free. In some cases, "literal" translations will also be given. Forms of address included in the texts will be doubly underlined. The data are word-for-word transcriptions of recorded material.

Text (1)Between Parents and Son¹

- Father : zeen ci@ii ? zeen ci@ii ? 'Are you satisfied now?'
(lit. 'Is this good?')
- Mother : £-fiik ba&id ? 'What's the matter with you?'
- Father : £-fiini ? si@li wildic , si@li wildic , sim&i ljawaab minna @ahsan , wi ba&deen ti&ræfiini £-fiini 'What's wrong with me? Ask your son, he'd better give you the answer, and then you'll know what's wrong with me.'
- Mother : £-fiik yumma ? 'What's the matter, my son ?'
- Son : yumma , @ana hasseet @inni &aæei wala @ætii& kalaam-abuuy , maddeet @iidi bilharaam 'Mother! I realize that I didn't obey my father's advice and I stole.'

1. Interlocutors :

- Father : a middle-aged uneducated Kuwaiti
 Mother : " " " " "
 Son : a nineteen-year old student in the intermediate school

Mother : @if tiguul-int? 'What do you say?'

Son : @ana mitnaddim waayid , ya yumma , w-maani &aarif
&-loon a&ta@ir l-abuuy 'I am awfully sorry, my
mother, and I don't know how to apologize to my
father.'

Mother : @inta laazim ta&ta@ir li @aana , @ana-lli wagaft
ma&aak wi-kunt issibab 'You ought to apologize
to me ; (it was) I who stood by your side and was
the cause'

Son : bil&aks , @inti kunti t&ajji&iini &ala lhurriyya ,
wi xallitiini @astagilli hurriyyiti fi geer ma&lahti,
mu&eet ma&a lmu&aagibiin wi ta&allamt minhum il&aadaat
issayyi@a @illi muu zeena 'On the contrary, you
encouraged me to enjoy my personal freedom, and made
me misuse my freedom against my own interest. I went
with trouble makers and learnt bad habits'

Father : law-inti lhiin hariisa wi daayra baalic &alee(h) ,
maa kaan saar-illi saar 'Now, if you had been more
attentive to your son, none of that would have
happened?'

Mother : ya&ni killi &ay muu zeen thu&ta &ala raasi? 'Do I
have to bear the (consequences of all) bad deeds?'

Father : halmarra ta&afit &ala xeer , laakin marra @aanya
@intibihu zeen 'This time nothing serious happened,
but beware of a next time.'

Text (2)A Husband Visits His Mother-in-law¹

- Mother-in-law : ya hala , ya hala , ya hala 'Welcome!'
- Daughter : @akiid kintum bithi&fuun fiiy 'Surely ,
you were talking about me.'
- Mother-in-law : walla &umric tuwiil 'You guessed right'
(lit. 'by God your life is long'). ya hala ,
ya hala , ya marhaba 'Welcome!'
- Daughter : ya hala fiic 'Welcome!'
- Son-in-law : massaak-alla bi-lxeer , xaalti 'Good evening,
mother of my wife!' (xaalti lit. 'maternal
aunt').
- Mother-in-law : @itfaddalu , @itfaddalu 'Step inside ,please!'
- Son-in-law : xaalti , law tismahi , @ana @abiic lihaalic
fi kilmiteen 'I'd like to have a word with
you, alone!'
- Mother-in-law : tabiini @aana? xeer ya wleedi , &-eayir?
'Do you want me? What's wrong, my son ?'
- Daughter : &-loonic yumma 'How are you , mother ?'
- Mother : xeer , alla ysallimic 'I'm fine , thanks.'

1. Interlocutors :

- Mother-in-law : an uneducated Kuwaiti in her fifties
- Daughter : a twenty year old Kuwaiti housewife
- Son-in-law : an educated 25 year-old Kuwaiti

Text (3)

A Husband Tells His Wife That Their Neighbour
And Close Acquaintance Is Secretly Married To
A Second Wife¹

- H : miskiina @ummū naa'eer , miskiina 'Poor Nasser's mother.'
- W : £-fiiha @ummū naa'eer? 'What's wrong with Nasser's mother?'
- H : £-fiiha? @inti maa dareeti &anha? @inti maa tadri &an sahbitic? 'Don't you know about your friend?'
- W : £inu saayir? guulli! 'What's happened? Tell me!'
- H : @illi saayir saalfa w-laazim ti&rifiinha min @awwalha
'What's happened is a story and you should know it from beginning to end.'
- W : £inhi-ssaalfa? maaku dixxaan min geer naar. 'What's the story? There's no smoke without a fire.'
- H : ya zoojti-l&aziiza , ya moozti 'My dear wife, my Moza (personal name).'
- W : laa tdayyi&i-ssaalfa , @ummū naa'eiri £-fiiha? 'Don't evade telling the story. What's wrong with Nasser's mother?'
- H : bassi laa tguuliin laha , @ihlifi bealaat @ummic w-ubuuc
'But don't you ever tell her. Swear by the prayers of your mother and your father.'
- W : bealaat-ummi w-ubuuy , ma-agullaha wala kilma 'I swear by the prayers of my mother and my father, not to tell her a word.'

1. Interlocutors : uneducated middle-aged Kuwaiti couple.

H : @iteadgiin @in -bu naaair tizawwaj &ala martah? 'Do you believe that Nasser's father has married a second wife?'

W : -bu naaair tizawwaj &ala martah? miskiina 'Nasser's father married a second wife? Poor (Nasser's mother).'

Text (4)

A Woman Tells Her Neighbour That Her Husband Is Married To A Second Wife¹

@um naaair : @aguul , @ummi &allaax @inti min gaallic halkalaam? 'I say, Shallakh's mother, who told you this news?'

@um &allaax : ya haafid , wisaalni wa-na mit@akkida minna 'It has reached me and I'm sure of it.'

@um naaair : bass , min simi&ti minna &aad? 'But, from whom did you hear it, then?'

@um &allaax : simi&ta min -bu &allaax 'I heard it from Shallakh's father.'

@um naaair : &-gaallic? 'What has he told you?'

@um &allaax : yiguul-inn -bu naaair tizawwaj min &ahreen 'He says Nasser's father got married two months ago.'

@um naaair : bassi @ana maa &uufa yiruuh mahal 'But I have never noticed seeing him go to (an unusual place).'

1. Interlocutors : middle-aged uneducated Kuwaitis

- @um fallax : huu yidhak &aleec , yiguul -innu yiruuk haggi
lugla-eeubh wi-lleel yiruuk haggi zoojta-
lyidiida 'He's deceiving you ; he pretends
to go to his work in the morning but in the
evening he goes to his (new) wife.'
- @um naaair : @allaa ya-bu naaair! yumma ci@ii! &ugub hal&umir
killa , tizawaj &aleey 'Is it so, Nasser's
father? Is it so, my friend? After all these
years, you marry a second wife!'
- @um fallax : riyaayii! riyaayii! maalhum @amaan. Men!
Men! Never to be trusted'
- @um naaair : @iy walla , wi-nti sajjja , ya wxayyiti 'It
is as you say, my sister.'
- @um fallax : wi-hna , ya-lhariim , @ibsur&a yingaei &aleena.
laa tihtammiin ya-mmú naaair , @iddinya yoom lic
wi-yoom &aleec 'And we women-folk are easily
deceived. Don't you worry, Nasser's mother this
is life : one day with you, a second day (it is)
against you.'
- @um naaair : xalii yirja& , wi-yeiir xeer 'Just let him
come back home and I'll see what is to be done
with him (her husband).'

Text (5)A Wife Coaxes Her Husband¹ To Buy Her A New Dress

- W : @aguul , saalih , tadri @in @aku mahalli , fii faari& fahd-issaalim , fiih tanzilaat? hunaak @aku nafnuuf yihabbil , wi-yliigli @ana 'I say , Saleh, do you know that there is a sale in a shop in Fad Alsalem Street? There is a smashing dress that suits me.'
- H : @aguul , ma-staahil minnic finyaali ghawa ? 'I say, don't I deserve (from you) a cup of coffee?'

Text (6)

A Wife Bemoans To Her Husband The Fact
That She Has Not Become Pregnant Yet

- H : &aayfa , lee& tabciin? @aku feey? 'Why are you crying Aisha? Anything the matter?'
- W : la , la , la , maaku feey. 'No, there's nothing the matter'
- H : la , laazim @aku feey , @abici tguuliili , wala txabbiin &anni 'Yes, there must be something, and I want you to tell me and not to hide anything from me.'
- W : tabi-eeeraaha , @abci li@inni li-lhiin maa hamalt wi @int ya @as&ad dayman tigulli widdiki b-yaahil 'To tell you the truth, I cry because so far I am not pregnant, and you, As'ad (personal name), are always telling me you want a child.'

1. Interlocutors : educated newly-married couple

- H : @iy walla zeen , @inti ruuki li-~~tt~~abiib 'Oh, yes .
You go to a doctor, then.'
- W : mafiif faayda fi-~~tt~~abiib , @ana @adri @inni maaku faayda
'There's no use in a doctor. I know there's no use.'
- H : @if haggaa? @if haggaa tit&aa@miin , ya &ayyuufa &-haggaa
tit&aa@miin? 'Why do you have to be pessimistic, Ayyusha?'
- W : bassi maadri ya @as&ad , @ilhiin saar lina sana 'I don't
know, As'ad, now we have been (married) well over a year
now.'
- H : baaiita , yimkin ba&id nig&id sana @aanya 'It's nothing,
maybe we stay another year (before you get pregnant).'
- W : @if darraak @innaha tikuun sana @aanya w-@aal@a w-&aa&ra?
'How could you be so sure? It might be a second year ,
a third year , a tenth year.'
- H : @inti li-lhiin laa takmiliin hamm 'You shouldn't worry
yourself (for not getting pregnant so far)'
- W : @as&ad , &iyuuni , @inta laazimi truuh wi tik&if &ala
nafsik &indi-ddoktoor 'As'ad, my eyes, you must go and
have yourself examined at the doctor's!'
- H : walla fikra , @ana baacir @aruuh-i~~tt~~abiib-ak&if &an nafsi
'It's an idea. Tomorrow I go and have myself examined.'

Text (7)Between Employer And Servant

- M : ta&aal , ta&aal! ween raayih ween? 'Come (here), come (here)! Where are you going?'
- S : @agu#i-zzibbaala 'I'm going to throw away the garbage.'
- M : &ajjib , wi haa@a-lbaab £-hagga ? 'Strange! And this door, what's it for?'
- S : bassi , &ammi , yamm ilbeet muu zeen 'But, Sir(keeping the garbage) near the door is not good.' bassi hnii yieeir wueax waayid 'and it will be very dirty here.'
- M : lidraam , maa ha#teenaah @illa hagg ilwueax 'We haven't put the dust-bin out except for the garbage.'
- S : bassi , &ammi , yammi-lbeet muu zeen 'But, Sir, it will not be appropriate (to keep the garbage) near the house.'
- M : zeeni w-nuee , yalla goom 'It's all right, get going.'
- S : @in £aalla , &ammi , &ala-mrik 'Certainly, Sir, as you say.'

Text (8)Between A Small Boy And His Grandmother

- G : £-illi gaa&idi tsawwii , ya hamad? 'What are you doing Hamad?'
- H : @abi @a@bah-ilxaruuf , ya yadda 'I want to slay the lamb, grandmother.'
- G : wleedi , muu ci@ii yi@bahuun-ilxaruuf '(People) don't slay the lamb like this.' tawwik-ilhiini egiiri w-maa yeahhilik ti@bah-ilxaruuf , ya yadda 'You are still young and you are not allowed to slay (the) lamb, my grandson!'

Text (9)Between A Woman And Her Guest, Laila¹

- W : ya hala , ya hala ya layla , @itfaddali 'Welcome ,
Laila, come in!'
- L : ya hala fiic &-loonic? 'Thank you. How are you?'
- W : @alla ysallimic 'I'm very well.' ya haafia , min zimaan
maa zurtuuna , w-maa &ufnaakum , weenkum fii? 'We haven't
seen you for ages. Where have you been?'
- L : @ilhagiiga @innukum @intum-illi-ngata&tum &anna 'In fact,
it is you who stopped (visiting) us. kunna nyiikum daayman,
lakin-intum-illi maa kuntum hatta tis@aluun 'We used to
visit you frequently but you never bothered to ask(about us).'
- W : @ihna @aasfiin , maa kaan &indina &ayyi yi&gilna geer marad
waladna liggiir 'We are sorry, nothing kept us (from
visiting you) except the illness of our young boy.'
.....
- (At the end of the visit)
- W : ween ya layla? taww-innaas 'Where are you going, Laila ?
It's too early to leave.'
- L : laa ya-xti , baruuh , @ahsan 'No, my sister, I'd rather
go (home).'
- W : hayyaac-alla 'Good-bye' (lit. 'may God give you life').
- L : ma&a-ssalaama 'Good-bye.'

1. Interlocutors : young unmarried Kuwaiti friends

Text (10)Between Wife And Her Father-in-law

F : sanaa@ , xeer-infaalla , @arjuuc maaku daa&i li-seealoon ,
@a&uufic mi&arri&a &alayy , &i-ssaalfa? 'Sanaa , please
 don't bother to open the drawing room ,I(hope) everything
 is all right ,I see you are sending for me (to come over).
 What's the matter ?'

W : walla ,&ammi-bu xaalid , &indi mu&kila &giira w-abiik
tihillaha n&aaya 'The fact is , Khalid's father ,I have
 a small problem and I want you to solve it with me .'

F : mu&kila &giira ? laa hawla wa laa quwwata @illa b-illaah.
 'A small problem ? No one has the power (to solve any
 problem) except with God's help.'

killi yoom &indic mu&kila &giira ? 'Everyday you have a
 small problem ?'

W : &i-nsawwi , ba&id ? 'What can we do , then ?'

Text (11)Between A Father , His Married Daughter and Her
 Husband

F : simi&ti kalaam &aalih zoojic ? wi-lhiin yalla , yalla ,
ya bnayyiti , guumi beetic ma&a zoojic 'Now that you
 have heard what your husband said ,get along ,my daughter,
 to your house ,with your husband.' wi-nt ya &aalih ,
haawil marra @aanya @innik tih&afid &ala mawaa&iidik ma&a
zoojtic , simi&t ? 'And (for) you ,Saleh, try next time to

keep your dates with your wife. Do you hear ?'

H : @infaalla , @infaalla ya-bu xaalid . 'Certainly , Khalid's father.'

W : bassi @ana ya yubba , @ana ... 'But I , father ,I' &ana &-aguullik ? 'What could I say ?'

F : @inti &i-tguuliin ? 'What do you (want) to say ?'

W : maani raayha m&aah ' I am not going (home) with him .'

F : minti raayha wiyyaah ? guumi yalla , guumi ruuki ta@assafi lzoojic fi beetic 'Not going with him ? Get along ,go and apologize to your husband in your house.' wi min geer ma&ruudiin,yalla ,yalla ,yalla fi @amaan-illaah ,yalla ,yalla . '(and) without being dismissed (by me) -- get going . Good-bye.'

Text (12)

Mother ,Father And Daughter In Converse

M : -bu mhammad , ya-bu mhammad , ya-bu mhammad 'I say, Muhammad's father !'

F : mihi mxalleetna brookna killi& 'She (your mother) never lets us alone .'

M : layla mariida 'Laila is sick.'

F : mariida , @i& fiiha ? 'Sick ? What's wrong with her ?'

M : w-ani &-darreani? gaaloolak &alayya &abiiba ? 'And how could I know ? Did they tell you I am a doctor ?'

F : layla , binti,&-fiic yaba ? 'Laila ,my daughter ,what's wrong with you ?'

- D : maa-dri . yimkin &a&aan-ilbaarha maa nimt 'I don't know. Probably because I didn't sleep last night'
- F : laa , laa , @axaaf... 'No, no, I'm afraid ...'
- D : walla maa-dri , ya yaba. 'I don't really know, father.'
- F : @aw-innic yimkin ... 'Or possibly you ...'
- M : @aw-inniha &inhu , ba&id ? 'Or she is what, then?'
- F : ya m&awwada , xalliini @akammil kalaami 'Let me finish my say woman!' xalliini lahsa ma& binti &wayy 'Let me (alone) for a moment with my daughter!'
- M : laa tinsa @innaha mihi bintiki broohik 'Don't forget that she is not only your daughter!'
- F : layla , @inti maa t&uufiin-inni xaal-ummici xaal gariiba?
'Laila, don't you see that the manners of your mother are rather strange?'
- D : tabi-lhaqiqa , ya yuba , @ana @a&uufha xaal &arabiyya
'To speak frankly, father, I see them (as) Arab manners.'
@inta muu ma&aay? fiiha-eealaaba @illi nhibbaha fi-l&arabi
'Don't you agree with me? She has the solid manners we admire in an Arab.'
- F : bassi muu la halkadd 'But not to that extent.' layla , taray @ana wa-na-buuc , @abi sa&aattic 'Laila , you realize, and I am your father, that I wish you happiness.'
- M : w-@ana @a&rif sa&aadit binti @ak&ar minnik 'And I know my daughter's happiness better than you do.'

Text (13)Between A Sick Wife And A Visitor

- V : &asa maa &arr , &-fiic? 'I hope there is nothing wrong with you.'
- W : salaamtic , bass-ahissi bi &wayyit &awaari b-raasi , wi &wayyiti sxuuna 'Thank you, (I feel) only a bit of a headache and a slight temperature.'
- V : maa kalti &ayy? 'Haven't you eaten anything?'
- W : laa walla gaalli eaalih xalna nruuh-iddoktoor giltla ilmas@ala baaiite , muu mihtaaga haggi doktoor 'No , actually, Saleh told me we ought to go to the doctor , but I told him that it was not as serious as that.' bass-alhiin @ahissi bi-l&awaar zaad wi lisxuuna zaadit 'But now I feel the pain has increased and the temperature has risen.' wi laazim -attieili b-eaalih &a&aan yiwaddiini -ddoktoor 'And I have to contact Saleh to escort me to the doctor.'
- V : @iih @ayyi doktoor? &inu-lli ti&rogiina &ind-iddoktoor , willa geera ? 'What doctor? what will you get at (one) doctor or another ?'
- W : balga &inda duwa 'I find medicine (at a doctor's).'
- V : @ana-dillic &ala-dduwa 'I'll show you how to find medicine.'

Text (14)A Doctor's Visit

- Husband : xeer , ya doktoor , @if loonha-lhiin ? 'Tell me, doctor, how is she now?'
- Doctor : b-xeer 'She's all right now.'
- H : &ala-mrik , ya doktoor , &ala-mrik 'As you say, doctor, as you say.'
- D : kaan &indaha tasammum fiwayya wi-&milnalha gasiil mi&da 'She had a little poison and we performed a washing to her stomach.'
- H : tasammum ? 'Poison?'
- D : @ay na&am 'Yes!'

Text (15)A Visit On Feast Day

- W : @in zeen , @in zeen , @ummi feeaal , ya hala w-ya markaba , @itfaddali 'Well, well (I'm coming to open the door) , welcome , Faisal's mother, please come in.'
- V : ya hala fiic . &-loonic? 'Thank you. How are you?'
- killi &aam wi-ntawi-bxeer . @il&iid &aaleekumi mbaarak . 'Happy new feast. I wish you many returns of the day!'
- W : &aaleena w-&aaleekum -in&aalla , w-&ala jimii& -ilmuslimiin ' (I hope the return of the day) to you and all muslims.'

zaaritna librica ya-m feesal 'We have been cheered
by your visit, Faisal's mother'.

V : @allaah yibaaric fiic , ya-m xaalid , haa@a min tiibic.
@intu bxeer bass ? 'God bless you. This (good will of
yours) is (because of your) kindness. I hope you are fine.'

W : @ilhamdu lillaah , ya-m feesal 'Thanks, Faisal's mother.'

.....

(At the end of the visit)

V : zeen , @ana @astarixis ya-m xaalid 'Well, I take my
leave to go.'

W : ma&quula &aad ? laa caay , wala gahwa ? 'Is it possible?
Will you leave without having tea or coffee?'

V : caayici-w gahwitic ma&ruuba ya-m xaalid. '(Consider)
your tea and coffee as good as drunk.' wi ti&rafiin
haa@a-l&iid 'And you know this feast.' ma yxaalif
ya-m xaalid saambiini , ma&a-ssalaama , ma&a-ssalaama
'It's all right (with me to leave without drinking anything).
I take my leave to go. Good-bye.'

W : ma&a-ssalaama , ma&a-ssalaama , &asaakum ti&iiduun-assana
w-killi sana 'Good-bye. I hope you have many returns
of the day.' sallimiili &ala-bu feesal , w-ilyihhaal ,
ya-m feesal 'Give my best wishes to Faisal's father
and the children.'

Text (16)suug haraag 'Auction Market For Used Cars'@iddallaal 'The auctioneer'

@iddallaal : cam-aguul? cam-aguul? 'What do I start the bidding at?' cam fath-ilbaab 'What do I open at?' fath-ilbaab (lit. 'opening the door') sab&a w-sittiin , cam fath-ilbaab? 'Car model 67, what is the opening bid?' maaku @ahad? (Is there) no one? lukum xa&atir? 'Do you have a mind (to join the auction)?' weenu? &indi walla &indik-ilmiftaah? yuba maalha muftaah 'Where is it? Do I have the key or do you?' 'Man, it (the car) has no key.' b-@imiya w-xamsa w-@alaa@iin 'For 135 dinars.'

Buyer : @arbi&iin ruuk laa tiz&al '40, don't get sour!'

@iddallaal : xamsiin ... ta&aal ya-bu xamsiin ... 'Fifty ... come over here (you) who offered 50' @abu xamsiin (lit. 'father of fifty'). haat liswiij xalna nharrik-ilmakiina 'Bring the switch let's start the engine.' ya &ali @i@aman ya &ali bi miyya w-@imaaniin , likum xa&atir? likum xa&atir ? likum xa&atir? 'Ali (owner and seller of the car) , do you have a mind selling it for the price of 180?'

Owner : la yuba , laa 'No, man, no!'

@iddallaal : min baḡaaha bmiteen , &aḡra luh wi &aḡra l-abu
mṡaami? &ala mraaja&at @ahlāha. 'Who will buy
 it for 200 , 10 for him (Ali, the seller) and
 ten for Mtami's father (sc. the auctioneer
 himself)? And this is subject to its owners'
 approval.' @amiyya w-@imaaniin yiguuluun 'They
 say 180.' ya wildā l-ahmad , @isma&ni ya-buuk
 'Son of Ahmad, listen to me, my son!' ya-xuuy ,
sab&a w-sittiin b-@imiyya w-@imaaniin , haat ya
fathi , haat ya fathi 'My brother, (the car is
 model) 67, for 180 dinars, Fathi! bring (the
 books to register the sale)!'

fiiha biima , ya wlidi 'Is it insured, my son
 (the seller) ?' fiiha biima ya jima&a , fiiha
biima ya-rrabi& 'It is insured, follows!' jima&a/
@irrabi& (lit. 'group') ya-bn-axuuy , wild-axuuy ,
bi miteen , bi miteen 'I say, son of my brother,
 for two hundred.' @alla& yibaariklik bi miteen
diina& 'Congratulations, it is sold for 200
 dinars.'

Text (17)The Writer Bargains With A KuwaitiWoman Selling A Goat

- Writer : &ala kam tibi&iiha 'For how much do you sell it?'
- Seller : diinaareen 'Two dinars!'
- Writer : hassigiira diinaareen ? 'This small one for two dinars ?'
- Seller : @iy 'Yes!'
- Writer : @ilwaahda ? 'Each one (for two dinars)?'
- Seller : @ilwaahda hay bi diinaareen wi hay bi diinaar
'This one is for two dinars and this one for one dinar.'
- Writer : bassi gaalya b-diinaareen 'But it is expensive for two dinars!'
- 2nd Buyer : bee£ haa@i , ya hajjiyya 'How much is this , Hajjiyya ?'
- Seller : @alaa@a , ya yuba 'Three , man!'
- 2nd Buyer : &ala diinaareen 'For two dinars!'
- Seller : laa yuba , la@ 'No, man, no!' bee£ tabiiha ?
'How much will you pay for it (said to the writer)?'
- Writer : gaalya , gaalya 'It is too expensive.'
- Seller : tikallam 'Speak (i.e. say your price)!!'
- Writer : @inti tguuliin diinaareen 'You say two dinars!'
- Seller : muu tikkiyy ? 'Why don't you say something?'

Text (18)Grandfather, Son And Grandson In Converse

Gf : &ali , ya &ali 'I say, Ali!'

Son : na&am , yuba , na&am 'Yes, father!'

Gf : laa tga&&id &iyaalik naaymiin , laa sala&at , wi la &baada

'Don't let your sons sleep till mid-morning without
(doing their) prayers or worship!' @inta rayyaal @abu

&yaal , tanaam li halkazza? 'You are (now) a father
of many children ... Do you (have to) sleep till now?'

Gs : sabb&ah&ak-alla bi-lxeer ya yaddi 'Good morning, grand-
father!'

Gf : sabb&ah&ak-alla&ah bi-lxeer . bassi wa-na-yaddik ... @uxuuk-
il&ood ... 'Good morning. But (as I am like your father)
your elder brother ...'

Gs : yaddi ... yaddi ... 'Grandfather , grandfather!'

.....

(At Breakfast)

Gf : bismillaah-irra&h&maan 'In the name of God.'

Son : @al&hamdu li-lla&ah bismilla&ah 'Thanks be to God.'

Gf : sammi billa&ah inta &aad 'Say in the name of God, you
(grandson)!'

Gs : &ala-mrik , yaddi . 'As you say, grandfather!'

Gf : m&baarak ta&aala killik tamra wi-&r&ab finyaali ghawa

'Mubarak, come and have a (palm-) date and drink a
cup of coffee!'

Gs : zeen , zeen 'All right!'

Gf : ta&aal-int , ta&aal 'Come over here , you !'

Gs : &ala-mrik ya yaddi-in&aalla 'As you say, grandfather !'

Son : @ummi s&uud 'Saud's mother !'

(Enters Mother)

M : xeer 'Yes !'

Son : &-itsawwi gadaana-lyoom ? 'What will you prepare for our lunch today ?'

M : keefkum , @illi tibuuna @asawwih 'As you wish . I'll prepare whatever you wish.'

Son : &uuf ya-yuba ... ya-buuy ... 'Father , see (what food you wish) !'

Gf : @ey 'Yes !'

Son : @aba &-tabi gadaana-lyoom , taal &umrik? 'Father, what would you like to have for lunch ?'

Gf : walla ya-buuk , mi&tihi-aana , mi&tihi ... @iy... mi&tihi @immawwaf &ala xall 'I would like to have a dish of rice and vinegar.'

M : wi leef maa naakuli dyaayi m&hammar? 'Why don't we have fried chickens ?'

Son : laa txarribiin &aleena-l&iyaal ya mara 'Don't spoil the children , woman !'

Gf : yalla , ya mara &iilli ga&fic , &i mga&&idic ? 'Get going, woman, go out! What keeps you here ?'

Text (19)A Husband Angrily Sends His WifeOut of His House

H : xiili ga&ic , xiili ga&ic , ya mara , tali&i &an beeti
 'Carry your baggage ,woman and get out of my house!'

W : @ana &-sawweet ya-bu &yaali ? 'What (wrong) have I done,
 father of my children ?'

H : wallaahi lsaanic tiwiil 'By God ,you have a sharp tongue !'

W : ween-aruu& ilhiin , ya rayyaal ? 'Where shall I go now ,
 man ?'

H : @ixi&i lbuk&a wi l&abaaya wi ruuhi l-ummic , ya mara
 'Take your bundle (of clothes) and cloak and go to your
 mother ,woman!'

W : xiinhu ga&fi ,xiinhu ga&fi ,geer &abaati wi exala ?
 'What is my luggage except my cloak and my goat ?'

H : lisaanic tiwiil , yalla ruuhi &aad ,ruuhi ' You have a
 sharp tongue . Go away !'

Text (20)Between A Teacher And Her Small Pupil

T : £inu smic ,ya £a@tra ? 'What's your name ,clever girl ?'

P : wafaa@-ihmuud 'Wafaa Humuud.'

T : bi@ayyi eaff inti ? 'In what class are you ?'

P : £aanya jiim '2nd Year C.'

T : cam &umric ? 'How old are you ?'

P : £amaan-isniin 'Eight years.'

T : ya&ni maa ga£ eaqatti ? 'Does this mean that you haven't ever failed ?'

P : heh 'Yes!'

T : &afya &aleec hazzeena . 'Good for you , good girl !'

Text (21)In A Government Office¹

Office-boy : @ustaaz &ali 'Mr. Ali !'
(non-Kuwaiti)

Employee : na&am 'Yes!'
(Egyptian)

Office-boy : ra@iis ilqism yabiik 'The Head of the
Department wants to see you.'

Employee : &alafaan ? 'What for ?'

Office-boy : walla ma-adri 'I don't know.'

.....

1. Interlocutors : farraaf : an uneducated non-Kuwaiti
office-boy
Employee : an educated Egyptian
Boss : an educated Kuwaiti

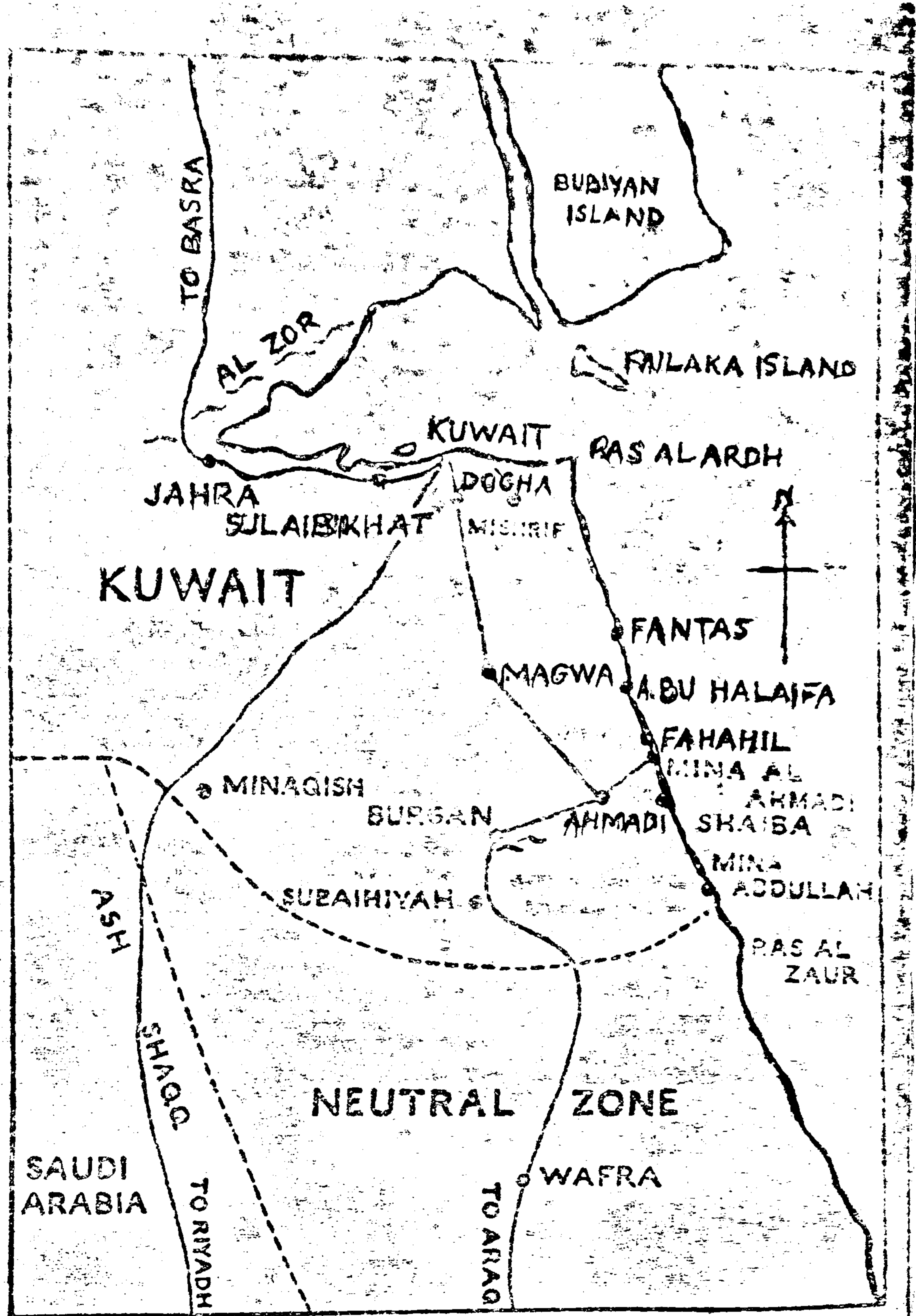
Employee : ya haerat ilmudair , @eeh-illi tamm f-mawduu&i?
@ahibb @antaqil liqism @axar. 'Your honour the
 Head (of the Department), what's happened to my
 request? I want to be transferred to another
 department.'

Boss : xallik fi makaanik , ya &ali , @inta muwaddaf
qadiir , wi kiOr ittanaqqul yixarrib malaffik
 'Keep where you are (in you present department),
 Ali. You are an efficient employee and constant
 transferring from one department to another ruins
 your file.'

Employee : wallaahi , @illi t&uufuu sa&aadatku 'Well ,
 whatever you say, your honour!'

APPENDIX B

Map of Kuwait City and Suburbs



Scale: 1 inch = approx. 16 miles

APPENDIX C

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