A Linguistic Analysis of Jordanian Proverbs; a Syntactic, Semantic and Contextual Study

by

Abdullah Ahmad Jaradat

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(Committee Members)

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The Dissertation Committee of Abdullah Ahmad Jaradat
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation

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Committee:

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Chairperson

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II

To those who work silently

To those who persevere patiently

To those who dedicate infinitely

………… You are the real builders

the real teachers

the real people who deserve to live.

Abstract

This dissertation is a linguistic analysis of proverbs in Jordanian Arabic. The study is panoramic since it covered different linguistic aspects in proverbs. The dissertation discussed four aspects in proverbs: syntactic, stylistic, semantic, and pragmatic.

The syntactic part focused on the syntactic structures of proverbs. The study shows that proverbs have limited syntactic formulae. Moreover, the dissertation provides evidence that some syntactic structures are purely proverbial due to being borrowed from Standard Arabic as in the case of *man* relative clauses; due to being the norm in proverbs while they are the exception in JA as in the case of headless relative clauses; or due to their relative frequency in proverbs and their absence in JA as in the case of vocatives. Moreover, the study proves that structural deviations are the most frequent deviations in proverbs whereas morphological and phonological deviations are minimal and they are motivated by rhyme.

In addition, the dissertation investigated the internal structure of proverbs which reflects how proverbs are uttered. The study proves that proverbs in general are uttered as if they contain two divisions. The binary structure of proverbs can be considered as one definitional characteristic of proverbs. Furthermore, it enhances understanding and predictability.

Closely connected to syntax and semantics is negation. I claim that the negation exhibited in proverbs is categorical negation that involves all the individuals in a category. The marker of this type of negation is the deletion of the negation

suffix -ʃ. In this sense, I regarded categorical negation as one means of achieving genericity in proverbs. I also considered categorical negation as another definitional feature of proverbs.

Under semantics, the dissertation studied genericity in proverbs. I claimed that genericity in proverbs is of three types: syntactic genericity which is manifested in structures that yield a generic meaning including, headless relative clauses, vocatives, categorical negation, and generic tense; semantic resulting from the non-negotiable themes encoded in proverbs as well as metaphoricity; and lexical which is exhibited in the use of generic gender and the avoidance of proper names.

Finally, under discourse, the dissertation handled the contextual use of proverbs. The study provides evidence through real life recordings that proverbs are generally projected towards the end of a topic to provide support for one's argument. I found that proverbs are projected without a discourse marker that may signal the type of the upcoming statement. The study has also found that proverbs are used to serve general primary functions witnessed in every conversational situation including: supporting a previous argument, social solidarity, and authenticity. However, context-dependent functions are also witnessed including: mocking and urging to cease arguing.

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List of Phonetic Symbols

Symbol	IPA	Description
ʔ	ʔ	Glottal Stop
θ	θ	Voiceless Dental Fricative
ð	ð	Voiced Dental Fricative
dʒ	dʒ	Voiced Retroflex Fricative
tʃ	tʃ	Voiceless Retroflex Fricative
ʃ	ʃ	Voiceless Post-alveolar Fricative
x	x	Voiceless Velar Fricative
ɣ	ɣ	Voiced Velar Fricative
ħ	ħ	Voiceless Pharyngeal Fricative
ʕ	ʕ	Voiced Pharyngeal Fricative
S	sˤ	Voiceless Postdental Fricative (Emphatic)
T	tˤ	Voiceless Postdental Stop (Emphatic)
D	ðˤ	Voiced Interdental Fricative (Emphatic)

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Chapter One: Introduction

1. Purpose of the Study

This dissertation presents a detailed and a panoramic account of proverbs in Jordanian Arabic (JA). Two major issues will constitute the core of this study. The first issue, which is theoretical in nature, is concerned with providing an elaborate description of the differences between proverbs and non-proverbs towards establishing what might be called a proverbial code. In my pursuit of investigating this issue, I examined some linguistic features that relate to the sentence structure of proverbs. Furthermore, the study goes beyond the superficial, repeatedly-studied, structural differences to investigate some implicit factors including negation at the morphological level and generics at the semantic level.

The above mentioned aspects are chosen since, I believe, they immensely contribute to the themes of proverbs. In other words, they can be regarded as one building block among the several building blocks proverbs exploit in order to convey their messages effectively and briefly. I maintain that using other constructions would make the process of interpreting proverbs more difficult and proverbs would not be as effective as usual.

The second issue, which is pragmatic in nature, is concerned with the contextual use of proverbs. This approach focuses on how proverbs are used in real life situations, and how they are responded to, regardless of whether the response is approving or disapproving as well as other conversational issues such as discourse markers and the use of proverbs in different levels of discourse. Yassin (1988), one of

the prime studies of proverbs, proposed that proverbs are mainly introduced to culminate a social situation; however, he did not propose the rationale behind this practice or even social situations to support his claim. This study provides evidence that proverbs are conversational in nature and gives examples from recordings of language.

A third goal of studying proverbs stems from the unique utilization of one kind of negation i.e. categorical negation in proverbs. This kind of negation enhances the general meaning of proverbs in the sense that it negates categorically. In other words, negation in this sense does not pertain to individuals, but rather all the members of the same category are targeted. In this respect, negation is another means of providing the proverbs with a generic meaning.

One final goal in studying proverbs is to arrive at the sources of currency proverbs enjoy through investigating genericity at three different levels: structural, semantic, and lexical. This issue will be handled for the purpose of unveiling the omnipresence of proverbs in our lives. They are omnipresent since they are easily accessible and since they touch every single aspect of our life.

2. **Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study emerges from various sources. First: this study has handled some unprecedented topics including negation and generics. However, handling unprecedented topics is not, by itself, a point of strength for the study. What this study has done is to unveil the influence of negation and generics on the

genericity and the currency of the proverbs. To put it in a different way, it has clarified how the structure itself can enhance the meaning of the proverb.

Second, this study has attempted to arrive at the major differences between the proverbial language and the non-proverbial language. These differences constitute what can be termed a proverbial code i.e. the characteristic features of proverbs. This code can be employed in real life situations as a rubric or as a grid against which new or unfamiliar proverbs can be judged and evaluated. In other words, the proverbial code can be used as a recognition test each proverb must pass in order to be accepted as a proverb. Moreover, the proverbial code can be used to analyze the correctness or the validity of proverbs in terms of structure. The simplest example that can be given at this stage is that any potential proverb having the main clause positioned before the subordinate clause can be considered not valid since no example of this order was found in the corpus though this order is quite acceptable in everyday language

Third: the proverbial code can serve as a mold for coining new proverbs. Knowing the latent structures would enable us to form new proverbs and at a later stage would pave the way to uncover the concealed factors behind the currency of the proverbs. I assume that if someone comes up with a proverb which follows the structures suggested in this study and whose theme is publicly acceptable then that proverb would circulate and be used frequently.

Fourth: this study has supported the findings of the theoretical sections with real life recordings, conducted by the researcher himself.

Finally: to the extent of my knowledge, this study is the first of its kind to discuss the discourse nature of proverbs as well as generics. Generics in JA have not been studied at any level in either the proverbial language or the non-proverbial language.Furthermore, the real-life recordings served as a solid reference to make generalizations regarding how proverbs are introduced in life and what their functions are.

3. **Outline of the Dissertation**

The dissertation is composed of eight chapters. Chapter one includes two sections: the introduction as well as the methodology adopted in this study. In the introduction, the purpose of the study is introduced and the significance of the study is pointed out. The methodology section presents a detailed account of how the study is planned to be conducted. It also presents the corpus of the study; the other two resources employed in the study i.e. the recordings and the news paper articles, and the respondents.

Chapter two presents the most recurrent structural patterns of Jordanian proverbs as well as their frequencies. It also discussed word-order in both JA and proverbs.

Chapter three is a presentation of the deviations between proverbs and JA. The deviations will be presented at three levels: syntactic, morphological and phonological. The syntactic section focuses on structures that are uniquely proverbial; the order of clauses in proverbs and the order of constituents in clauses. The

morphological section focuses on coining new words while the phonological part focuses on different pronunciations of certain lexical items.

Chapter four is a presentation of some stylistic features of proverbs including the bipartite structure of proverbs, parallelism, gapping, repetition and rhyme. Unlike previous studies that have discussed the binary structure of proverbs in Arabic including Yassin (1988) of Cairene and Gulf proverbs and Bergman (1992) of Moroccan proverbs, this study has attempted to determine the exact locations of division between the two parts of the proverbs positing that this division is mostly grammatical coinciding with phrases.

Chapter five presents a detailed description of negation in proverbs. The chapter begins with a description of negation in JA as presented in the literature. Instances of real life recordings are presented to support the functions of negation in real life situations. Primarily, this chapter presents a unitary account of negation in proverbs and the influence of this account on the meaning of proverbs.

Chapter six discusses genericity in proverbs. The chapter starts with a brief presentation of generics in JA supported with examples from recordings of real life situations. In addition, this chapter presents the most common types of generic structures. Primarily, this chapter provides evidence that genericity is detected at three different levels: sentential, semantic and lexical. The genericity of each type is distilled from different sources. Finally, this chapter claims that these three types of genericity may co-occur.

Chapter seven is a description of proverbs in discourse. The chapter discusses the following issues: the level of discourse, spoken or written, at which proverbs are most prevalent; the occurrence of proverbs in monologs; the society's perspective towards the proverb user, discourse markers that are commonly used with proverbs and their imperative nature; how proverbs are introduced in conversation and how people respond to them.

Chapter eight includes the summary and the conclusion; it summarizes the findings and the main points of the study.

4. **Methodology**

This study examines proverbs found in two published collections of proverbs. The two sources will be given and described in full in the corpus section below. I examined the collections for the linguistic phenomena presented above and accordingly presented my generalizations. Furthermore, I supplemented my generalizations with real life recordings of social situations.

The major hypothesis to be verified here is that the proverbial language constitutes a deviation from the non-proverbial language. Seeking to achieve this purpose, I will try to provide satisfactory answers to one central question and five subsidiary questions:

First: How is the proverbial language different from the non-proverbial language? Are the differences between the two abundant and systematic to form patterns and to form a linguistic definition of proverbs?

Second: At what level of language (syntactic, morphological, semantic, etc), are the differences between the two abundant and systematic?

Third: Do the structural differences (syntactic or morphological) reflect deep underlying differences at the semantic or interpretation level? (Generics are taken as an example)

Fourth: Why is categorical negation is the most common means of negation in proverbs.?

Fifth: Does the proverbial language employ generic expressions? Are they used similarly to generic expressions in the non-proverbial language? What are the sources of the genericity in proverbs? To what extent, do proverbs distill their genericity from the structure, the morphology or the lexicon?

Sixth: How are proverbs used in discourse?

4.1. The **Corpus**

Throughout my study I relied upon two collections of proverbs. The first one, the one I inaugurated my study with, is a collection of 305 proverbs compiled in a cultural book. The title of the book is Tʊrmʊsʕaɪja (1976). The title of the book is the name of one of the villages in Palestine. The purpose of the book is to restore the heritage of the Palestinian culture. Proverbs were only one small section the writers included under this wide topic. For example, the writers included other topics including, traditional anecdotes, the role of the father, the role of the mother, weddings, funerals, i.e. the writers tried to cover all aspects of life.

Scrutinizing these proverbs, I found out that they are the same proverbs we use in Jordan. However, to end up with purely Jordanian proverbs, I excluded some proverbs that have references to names of cities in Palestine, though these proverbs are commonly used in Jordan, as well as two proverbs that I could not understand. I ended up with 295 proverbs. Accordingly, I claim that the proverbs studied here are not exclusively Jordanian; they are Palestinian as well. This means that the findings of this study can be generalized to what might be referred to as Palestinian proverbs.

I heavily relied on this corpus to investigate all the linguistic issues to be discussed here. Furthermore, I resorted to Al-Amad's (1976) encyclopedic collection of Jordanian proverbs which includes around 6000 proverbs. This collection has one advantage over the first collection, namely, it provides a line next to each proverb whose primary function is to disambiguate the proverb and to tell when it is used or its general meaning. I resorted to this collection for two purposes. The first is to determine the correctness of the proverbs given in the first source. The second is to test the validity of the linguistic judgments based on the first collection. In other words, the linguistic generalizations given here were first made relying upon the first collection and then these generalizations were evaluated through the second corpus.

Nonetheless, the two sources do not present proverbs in any real-life situations or how they are introduced. The pure goal of these sources is to list proverbs to preserve them.

The reliance on published collections is motivated by two factors. First: these collections present a large number of proverbs and make them readily available for

readers and researchers. The process of gathering proverbs is really time-consuming. By relying on ready-made collections, the researcher can chiefly focus on his study rather than on the process of gathering proverbs. Second: the resort to two sources provides validity for the study and reduces bias.

4.2. **The Recordings**

I relied upon two recordings of real life situations. The situations are simply weekly gatherings of young people studying and working in Lawrence and Kansas City. The first recording, 2 hours long, was for 9 conversationalists. The second recording, 1 hour long, was for 7 of the 9 conversationalists. The recordings were conducted in January 2005. The recordings were taped a long time before choosing the topic of the dissertation. I did not have specific purposes in taping these recordings. Moreover, being recorded a long time before choosing the topic of the dissertation means that the participants have no idea about the topic under investigation.

Although the recordings are natural and represent real life conversations, they are by no means faultless. The first shortcoming of the recordings is that they are restricted to male conversationalists. I was not able to have recordings of females or of both sexes. The second defect in the recordings is that all the participants belong to one or two age groups. The ages of the participants range from 24 to 35. The third fault in the recordings is the level of education of the participants. Nearly all the participants have obtained a B.A. or a B.Sc. degree and most of them have obtained or in pursuit of obtaining an M.A. or a PhD degree. In other words, they nearly have

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the same educational level. However, the purpose of this study is not to determine the effect of these demographic factors including sex, age, or level of education on the occurrence of proverbs in conversation.

4.3. **The Press Corpus**

In order to measure the frequency of proverbs in writing, I chose to do so through writings from the press, newspapers exclusively. The rationale of choosing newspapers over other kinds of writing is motivated by diverse factors. For one thing, newspapers writings are changing and dynamic due to the fact that they are based on daily situations. Second: newspaper articles are written by different writers and hence they do not reflect the characteristic features of the style of a certain writer. Finally: newspaper articles cover all aspects of life. There are sections for politics, sports, economics, culture, art, and opinions. In other words, they are as varied as real life situations. The variability of the topics and the writers may create a fertile atmosphere for the use of proverbs.

The articles have been randomly chosen from Al-Rai newspaper, the second oldest but the most popular newspaper in Jordan, over a 10-day period. The articles were read and analyzed for proverb occurrence. The sole purpose of doing so is to compare the occurrence of proverbs in writings and in daily conversations. However, the use of proverbs in writings will not be discussed any further i.e. questions such as how proverbs are introduced in writings, and what their functions are will not be elaborately discussed though they will be answered in brief in chapter 6. The types of

newspaper articles, their frequency and proverb frequency are provided below in table 1.

<div align="center">Table 1</div>

<div align="center">*Categories of News Articles, Frequency & Proverb Frequency*</div>

Type of articles	Frequency	Proverb frequency
Political	15	1
Economical	15	---
Art & theater	22	---
Sports	15	---
Cultural articles	16	5
Total	83	6

4.4. Final Remark:

Due to the lack of study about JA which mirrors the lack of well-established Arabic terms for the English ones including: generics, discourse markers, and phrases, I ventured using these terms as defined in English. However, this usage has been very cautious trying to apply them to the most matching instances.

Chapter Two: Structural Patterns of Proverbs in Jordanian Arabic

1. Introduction

This chapter examines the structural patterns of proverbs in Jordanian Arabic (JA). This chapter investigates whether there are certain formulae, models, or structural patterns that are common in proverbs. The structural regularities can be regarded as distinctive features that can be relied upon to differentiate proverbial language from non-proverbial language.

Proverbs are the reflection of culture and a treasury of its values, traditions, customs, beliefs and above all language. Proverbs play a unique role in people's life due to the evaluative theme they present. A proverb, by definition, is a 'self-contained, pithy, traditional expression with a didactic content and a fixed poetic form' (Norreck: 1985). Proverbs reserve the culture's experiences and values, and they can be considered as the most common type of formulaic expressions. In this context, Webster (1986) states that formulaic expressions are an integral part of the verbal art among the Arabs. She further claims that 'of the numerous formulaic forms in the Arabic language, probably the most pervasive is the proverb.'

Despite the prolific literature on proverbs, the linguistic structure of proverbs has hardly been studied. In fact, the vast majority of studies focus on the themes of the proverbs including gender, customs, traditions, etc (Parker: 1958; Zenner: 1970; Yassin: 1988 among others). Another group of studies tackle how people interpret or process proverbs; most of these studies try to determine whether there are two levels of processing: literal and metaphorical or one level which guarantees direct access to

proverbs. Among the prominent studies in this field are Gibbs, R. W. JR. (1994); Katz&Ferretti (2001); Katz & Ferretti (2003). A third group of studies focuses on proverb translation. Farghal (1995), focusing on the translatability of proverbs from JA to English, argues that referential gaps, defined as expressions that refer to an element existing in one culture, hinder translation. He further states that when this is the case; the only solution is over-translation to clarify the new terms.

The structural patterns of proverbs, in general, and Jordanian proverbs, in particular, have not been studied seriously. Bergman (1992) who studied Moroccan proverbs claims that proverbs have very limited sentence structures. According to Bergman, the limitation serves two functions. First: the existing structures would serve as modals for forming new proverbs. Second: identifying the structures of proverbs would serve as a means of recognition. One can use the existing templates to recognize proverbs and to differentiate proverbs from non proverbs. However, she has not provided generalizations which account for a large number of proverbs; most of her discussions concentrated on individual examples. Moreover, most of her argumentation was poetic; it focused on rhyme, alliteration, and parallelism.

Along with Bergman, I argue that proverbs have limited formulae which help make them distinct from every day language. However, I argue that proverbs involve some deviations or variations which constitute what might be termed a proverbial code. These deviations are witnessed systematically at the sentence level and sporadically at the morphological and phonological level. I maintain that the variation

at the sentence level is free while those at the morphological and phonological levels are motivated.

The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part, I discuss word-order. In this section, I present the most frequent word-order and discuss some factors that might influence word order in both JA and proverbs. In the second section, I describe the most frequent proverbial structures in detail and explore the merits of each structure.

2. **Word-order**

I discuss word-order in JA and then in the proverbs. This section explores the dominant or the most frequent word order. Special word orders dictated by the syntactic structures will be described under the section that discusses the targeted structures.

2.1. **Word-order in Jordanian Arabic**

Word order in Arabic dialects has been thoroughly studied. Most of the studies of word order adopted a syntactic analysis. In nearly every study, the basic goal is to establish the normal word order and then to build hypotheses regarding movement or agreement.

Fasi Fehri (1993) states that Arabic, by which he means 'Standard Arabic', is a VSO language although 'it seems to belong to a mixed VSO/ SVO type.' In another place, he mentions that VSO is the unmarked or basic word-order. Shlonsky (1997), who studied Standard Arabic and Palestinian Arabic as well as Hebrew, considers VSO as the unmarked word order in Standard Arabic and SVO as the unmarked word

order for Palestinian Arabic. Palestinian Arabic is mostly similar to Jordanian Arabic. Shlonsky further claims that PA, and perhaps JA, 'manifests alternate word orders under a variety of circumstances'. However, he does not state what these situations are.

Aoun et al (1994) who focused on agreement in Lebanese, Moroccan and Standard Arabic have not indicated any preference for one word order over the other. They treated both word orders SVO and VSO equally as if both of them have the same status.

Mohammad Mohammad (2000) who elaborately studied word order in both Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Palestinian Arabic (PA) did not indicate any preference for any word-order. Rather, he discussed the permissible orders. He proposes that some other factors determine word order. For example, in both languages an indefinite noun cannot be placed preverbally i.e. it must follow the verb. However, when the noun is modified by an adjective, or by another noun, it can occupy the initial position. Furthermore, he proposes that two coordinated indefinite nouns can occupy the preverbal position, but he was not able to justify this phenomenon. These two cases can be accounted for under the heaviness of the subject which will be discussed later.

Holes (1997) states that the claims that SVO is the basic order in Arabic dialects are far from being true. He proposes that the order of sentence elements is largely based on some syntactic and semantic constraints as well as discourse-related factors. The constraints he proposed are given in (1) below:

(1)   a.   ***Definiteness***: VS Comp is the norm when the subject is indefinite. However, a   sentence tends to start with the subject when it is definite.

         b.   ***Predicate type, transitivity, and aspect***: the norm is VS Comp if the verb describes an action rather than a state and when the event actually occurred. When the verb describes a state or a habitual or continuing action the norm is SV Comp.

         c.   ***Weight of the subject***: heavy subjects may override the above constraints.
                By Heavy subjects, he means subjects which are made of more than one element or word.

In fact, Holes's constraints apply to Jordanian Arabic as well. Heavy subjects including relative clauses and compound subjects tend to be positioned preverbally. Consider the following examples:

(2)   **ʔɪz-zalamɪh ʔɪlli saaʕad-ak** saafar ʔɪmbaarɪħ
        the-man who helped-you traveled yesterday
        'The man who helped traveled yesterday.'

(3)   **ʔɪbɪn xaalt-ɪ** bɪ-ʃtaɣɪl b-ʕamman
        son aunt-my IMPERFECT-work in-Amman
        'My cousin works in Amman.'

Another factor that affects word-order is definitness. Definite nouns are favored sentence initially in JA, whereas indefinite nouns are usually positioned post verbally or before the verb with an expletive before it. Definiteness in JA is achieved via the addition of the definite article, via the addition of a possessive pronoun, via being a proper name and via being added to another definite noun having any of the previous definiteness means. Holes claims that an indefinite noun cannot occur preverbally in the dialects. This claim has been supported by Mohammad (2000) for PA and El-Yasin (1985) for JA. In JA, a sentence containing a preverbal indefinite

noun is not tolerated. It is considered ungrammatical and the way out is either to prepose the verb or to use an expletive *fiih* 'in' as the examples below show:

(4) a.* zalamıh ʔadʒa
          man   came
          A man came.

     b.   ʔadʒa zalamıh
          came man
          'A man came.'

     c.   fiih zalamıh ʔadʒa
          in man   came
          'There is a man (who) came.'

However, the heaviness of the subject outranks its definiteness. A heavy indefinite subject is usually placed preverbally as in:

(5) **zalameh wo walad** ʔadʒʊ ʔımbaarħ
     man   and boy   came yesterday
     'A man and a boy came yesterday.'

The third factor that influences word order is the aspect of the verb. Imperfective verbs are disfavored sentence initially, whereas perfective verbs are favored sentence initially. Again, heavy subjects are placed initially regardless of whether the verb is perfective or imperfective as in (3) and (5) above.

El-Yasin (1985) is the only researcher who has elaborately studied word-order in JA. To determine word-order, he relied upon counting the number of NPs that can occur preverbally. He has found that verbal sentences can only be preceded by two topics. The third nominal element preceding the verb is interpreted as the subject. Consider the following examples:

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(6) a.   Tʊllab mʕallɪm mɪdrast ɪl-gɪrjɪ raħʊ
          students teacher school the-village went
          'The village's school teacher's students went.'

     b.   mʕallɪm mɪdrasɪt ɪl-gɪrjɪ   Tʊllab-**ʊ** raħʊ
          teacher school the-village students-his went
          'The village's school teacher, his students went.

     c.(?) mɪdrasɪt ɪl-gɪrjɪ mʕallɪm-**ha** Tʊllab-**ʊ** raħʊ
          school the-village teacher-its students-his went
          'The village's school, its teacher, his students went.

     d.*   ɪl-gɪrjɪ mɪdrasɪt-**ta**   mʕallɪm-**ha** Tʊllab-**ʊ** raħʊ
          the-village school-her teacher-its students-his went
          'The village, its school, its teacher, his students went.

In (6a), the sentence is a typical subject-verb sentence. In (6b) the noun *mʕallɪm*

'teacher' has been topicalized. This topicalized element is connected to the rest of the

sentence through a resumptive pronoun. The sentence in (6c) contains one extra topic

which is *mɪdrasɪt ɪl-gɪrjɪ* 'the school of the village'. Again the topic is connected to

the comment through a resumptive pronoun. The sentence in (6d) is not grammatical

due to having three topics. El-Yasin argues that (6c) is the border-line. In this

sentence the first two NPs are topics and the third one is the subject.

Other studies that have discussed word-order in JA include Al-Tamari (2001),

Abu-Joude (2005) and Onizan (2005). All these studies maintain that JA is a SV

language. However, Onizan claims that the order can be freely turned into VS when

the verb is intransitive. She gives the following examples:

(7) a   Naam ɪl-walad
          slept the-boy
          'The boy slept.'

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    b.   ʔɪl-walad naam
            the boy slept
            'The boy slept.'

I propose that JA is typically an SVO language though the converse order i.e. VSO is quite acceptable and frequent when the verb is perfective. Nonetheless, the order is S Predicate when the sentence is verbless as in:

(8)   ʔɪħmad ʔʊstaað
        Ahmad teacher
        'Ahmad is a teacher.'

Furthermore, some pragmatic factors play a crucial role in determining the order of constituents in a sentence. Finally, it is worth mentioning here that some structures like conditionals, vocatives and exceptive sentences dictate certain word orders. Word order in JA will be included under the discussion of word order in the proverbs. Differences between the two will be given when they occur.

2.2**. Word Order in Proverbs**

Word order in proverbs has scarcely been studied. Bergman (1992) who studied the syntax of Moroccan Arabic proverbs did not discuss word order in her study. Nevertheless, in every single description of a proverb, the proverb is given as starting with an NP followed by a predicate or a verb; a fact which suggests that the basic word order in the corpus is SVO.

In order to determine word-order in the proverbs, I divided the corpus into two categories: verbal and verbless. Verbal proverbs include verbs at different positions with regard to nouns; verbless proverbs do not include a verb. The two categories, their frequent types and their frequencies are given below in tables 1& 2.

Word order in the proverbs seems to reflect the preference for SV order over VS order. In the first part of the table, proverbs starting with an NP are simply subject verb proverbs. In addition to this group, verbless sentences in the second part of the table are instances of subject predicate proverbs. Furthermore, proverbs starting with topic NPs are cases of proverbs starting with NPs.

The dispreference for verbs initially is reflected in the small number of verbs in initial position. The total number is 47 if imperatives, whose regular position is the initial position, are disregarded. Moreover, the dispreference is even intensified when we know that some of the imperfective verbs occur initially by virtue of the structure containing them. In other words, they are structure determined.

Table 2: Types and Frequency of Verbal Proverbs

NO.	Type	frequency

1.	Start with a NP
	    a. followed by a perfective verb
	    b. followed by an imperfective verb
		68
		 17
		 56

2.	Start with imperative verbs	40
3.	Start with perfective verbs	31
4.	Start with imperfective verb	16
5.	Start with time/ place adverbial	18
6.	Start with topic NP	25
	Total	202

Table 3: *Types and Frequency of Verbless Proverbs*

NO.	Type	Frequency
1.	Verbless sentences	54
2.	Proverbial phrases	16
3.	PP + PP	6
4.	NP + PP	5
5.	Vocatives(non-verbal)	5
6.	NP + NP	4
	Total	91

Nonetheless, following Holes (1997), I argue that various factors influence the positioning of a NP preverbally. The factors are the heaviness of the subject, definiteness and aspect of the verb. These factors will be presented in the following paragraphs.

The first thing to notice about proverbs is that heavy subjects are always located preverbally. This phenomenon supports Holes's proposal. In all proverbs containing subject relative clauses, which are relatively the heaviest subjects, not a single case was the order VSO; rather, the subject always precedes the verb as in:

```
        S                V
(9)   man sara      baaʕ wɪʃtara
      who started-early sold and-bought
      'He who starts early, will do his affairs easily.'
```

      S   V

(10) ʔıllı biidʊ l-maɣrafah maa <u>bı-dʒuuʕ</u>

   who in-hands-his the scooper NEG IMPERF-feel starve.

   'He who has the scooper won't starve.'

The second heaviest subject is the construct state. These constructions are quite common in proverbs. Construct phrases in JA involve the 'juxtaposition of two nouns which may have one of a number of syntactic relationships' (Holes: 1995). Typically, they are made of an indefinite noun followed by a definite noun as in (11) and (12). The second part of the construct phrase is definite due to being a proper name or by virtue of the definite article as in the examples below:

(11)   <u>gılıt ʔıʃ-ʃʊɣʊl</u> bı-tʕallım ıt-taTriiz

    lack the-work will teach the-weaving

    "The lack (of) work teaches a person to weave.'

(12)   <u>Danab ıtʃ-tʃalb</u> maa bı-tSıħ

    Tail the-dog   not will-straighten

    'The tail of the dog will not be straightened.'

However, the corpus contains many proverbs which have indefinite nouns preverbally. These nouns are base-generated in the preverbal position; they have not undergone any kind of movement. Consider the following examples:

(13) <u>fassa</u>   bʊɣlʊb miit ʕaTaar

   wind-breaker IMPERF-defeat a hundred perfumer

   'A wind-breaker defeats a hundred perfumers.'

(14) <u>dʒaahıl</u> rama ħadʒar ʔıb-biir, <u>miit ʕaagıl</u> maa Tallaʕ-ʊh

   ignorant threw stone in-well hundred wise man not bring-it

   'An ignorant person threw a stone in a well; a hundred wise men won't bring it back.'

(15) dʒaadʒıh ħafrat ʕa-ras-sa ʕafrat

   chicken dug on-head-her sprayed

   (when)a chicken dug in the ground it would surely spray its head.

(16)   ?ıħSaneın maa bırrabTʊ ʕa-Twaala
        two horses not tied   on-feeding bowl
        'Two horses cannot be tied to one feeding bowl.'

Finally, it is worth mentioning that most of the definite NPs in the subject

position in proverbs appear preverbally in a very similar manner to JA as in:

(17)   a.   ?ıl-marah   'the-woman'
        b.   ?ıʃ-ʃaħaad   'the-beggar'
        c.   ?ıʃ-ʃadʒarah   'the- tree'
        d.   ?ıl-gaSiir   'the short person'
        e.   ?ıT-Tawiil   'the tall person'

A third factor which influences word order is the variation in aspect. This

factor was first discussed by Holes (1997) for Arabic dialects. By 'variation in aspect'

I mean the difference in the utilization of perfective and imperfective forms.

Perfective and imperfective verbs do not appear proportionally. Imperfective verbs

are disfavored sentence initially, and they are structurally-dictated i.e. they appear

sentence initially due to the structure in which they occur including exceptive

sentences and sentences where the subject is an understood pronoun 'he'. The number

of proverbs starting with imperfective verbs is 16 whereas the number of proverbs

starting with perfective verbs is 31. However, the number of proverbs containing

imperfective verbs in the second position is 56 while the number of perfective verbs

in the second position is 17.

Proverbs start with imperfective verbs by virtue of two reasons: structure and

rhyme. By structure I mean that some structures dictate having verbs initially.

Examples of such structures are: exceptive sentences; subjectless sentences where the

subject is understood as 'you' and subjectless sentences where the subject is

understood as 'he'. These three types as well as rhyme will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

An exceptive sentence is a sentence with a negative statement in which the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or a prepositional phrase is postposed at the end of the sentence after exceptive particles for emphasis (Schulz:2004). Exceptive sentences will be handled in detail in the next part of the chapter.

Sentences lacking an overt subject constitute the second type of proverbs starting with imperfective verbs. The subject in these sentences is understood as 'you' and the verb is not imperative, rather, it is imperfective due to the existence of 'bi-' which is a grammatical prefix indicating imperfection. The pronoun used here can be termed as the generic 'you' since it refers to the hearer whosoever he is. The verb is inflected to agree with the second person singular masculine pronoun. These structures start with a negative particle *maa* and they involve inserting the exceptive particle *ɣeɪr* 'except for' before the last element. The proverbs in (18) and (19) are typical examples of these structures.

(18)   maa   b-ɪtlaagɪ   l-manaafɪs   ɣeɪr   <u>ʕa-lxanaafɪs</u>
         not   IMPERF-find-you the-arrogance except on-beetles
         'You only find arrogance on the people who do not deserve it'

(19)   maa   b-ɪtlaagɪ   ʔɪl-fʊS   ɪl-ħɪðɪg ɣeɪr   <u>ʕa-dʒ-dʒaħɪʃ</u> lɪ-mʕafrɪT
         not   IMPERF -find-you the-fart the-good except on-the-mule the-weak
         'You can only find a good fart on a weak mule.'

Similarly, some proverbs start with an imperfective verb and lack an overt subject; the subject in these proverbs is understood as 'he'. This pronoun has a

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generic reference since it does not have a specific referent. This pronoun is retrieved

from the inflections on the verbs as in (20) and (21):

(20) bʊ-gtʊl   ɪl-gatiil   wo   bɪ-mʃɪ   b-dʒanaazt-ʊ
      IMPERF-kills   the-murdered and   IMPERF-walk   in-funeral-his
      '(he) kills the murdered and walks in his funeral i.e. he does horrible deeds
      and pretends that he is doing good.'

(21) bɪ-ʕmal   mɪn ɪl-ħabbɪh gʊbbah
      IMPERF-make from the-seed   dome
      '(he) makes from a seed a dome i.e. he exaggerates things.'

These proverbs give the speaker the chance to insert the name of the targeted

person in the preverbal position. For example, if one is not happy with his neighbor

who always aggravates trivial mistakes done by children, he can simply insert the

name of his neighbor before the verb:

(22) (Ali) bɪ-ʕmal mɪn ɪl-ħabbɪ gʊbba
      Ali   IMPERF-make from the-seed   dome
      'Ali makes a dome from a seed i.e. he exaggerates things.

Finally, some proverbs tend to start with an imperfective verb due to rhyme.

To create rhyme two identical syllables must co-occur at the end of morphological or

syntactic entities (Fabb: 1997). This phenomenon occurred only twice in this group of

proverbs and they are:

(23) maa b-tʊSdʊg   <u>lɪ-ħmaarah</u>   wo-bɪnt-ha   <u>bɪ-l-ħaarah</u>
      NEG IMPERF-tell the truth the-donky-FEM and daughter-her in-the neighborhood
      'The female-donkey won't be believed as long as her daughter lives in the
      neighborhood.'

(24) bɪ-ðuub   <u>ɪθ-θalɪdʒ</u>   wo   bɪ-baan   <u>ɪl-marɪdʒ</u>
      IMPERF-melt   the-snow   and   IMPERF-appear the-meadow
      'Snow will melt and the meadow will appear i.e. the truth will appear.'

In (23), the NP *lɪ-ħmaarah* 'the donkey' is definite while the verb is imperfective, and according to the criteria set previously, the NP should precede the verb ; however, it has been repositioned after the verb to create rhyme with the PP at the end of the proverb. The proverb in (24) contains two definite NPs and two imperfective verbs. The definite NPs should precede the imperfective verbs; however, the two NPs have been repositioned after the verbs to create rhyme in order to give the proverb a poetic sense.

Perfective verbs, on the other hand, can occupy the initial position without restrictions. This finding supports Holes (1997) who proposes that in the dialects, word order is VS when the verb expresses a complete action. Most of the verbs occurring initially are perfective and most of the verbs occurring after the subject are imperfective: 31 proverbs start with a perfective verb in comparison to 16 starting with imperfective verbs. Consider the examples below:

(25) ɣaab-PERF   ɪl-gʊT   ʔɪlʕab   jaa   faar
      was-absent   the-cat   play-IMPERATIVE hey   mouse
      'When the cat is absent, you play mouse.'

(26) raaħ-PERF lɪ-nhaar ow walla   w-om   ʊl-gamʊl   tɪtgalla
      went   the-day and elapsed and-mother (of) the-lice   revolving
      'Day time is nearly over and the mother of lice has not started her work yet.'

3. The structural Patterns of Jordanian Proverbs

In this section, the most frequent patterns of proverbs are presented in detail. In each section, the frequency, and the stylistic features of each structure are given. The number is given instead of the percentage due to the fact that the structures co-

occur i.e. two structures more may appear in the same proverb. The structures and their frequency are given in tables 3 below:

Tables 4: *The most frequent structures and frequency*

No.	The most frequent structures	Frequency
1.	Topic/Comment	27
2.	Subject verb sentences	68
3.	Relative clauses	35
4.	Imperative proverbs	38
5.	Adverbial proverbs	18
6.	Conditional sentences	19
7.	Vocatives	13
8.	Exceptive proverbs	16
9.	Proverbial phrases	16
10.	Verbless sentneces	54
11.	PP+PP	6
12.	NP+PP	5
13.	NP+NP	4
	Total	319*

* The total number is bigger than the number of the proverbs due to the fact that relative clauses were considered under subject-verb proverbs.

3.1. Topic and Comment Constructions

The total number of proverbs starting with topic NPs is 27. Before unfolding the criteria I relied upon in determining these proverbs, a review of some related studies is imperative. Bergman (1992) defines topic-comment proverbs as those proverbs starting with an NP followed by a complete sentence containing a resumptive pronoun which constitutes the link between the topic and the comment. She further claims that a comma pause usually separates the topic and comment.

The same definition has been adopted by Al-Sharyofi (1992); Mohammad (2000); Rizzi (2000) and Gundel (2004). Al-Sharyofi (1992) who has thoroughly studied topic-comment constructions in Standard Arabic, argues that the term 'topic' is a linguistic-pragmatic phenomenon identifiable in terms of its position and its relation to other constituents in the sentence. According to him, the topic has to be definite or generic; these two characteristics can be associated to the fact that the topic is given and known. He has also reiterated that usually a pause separates the topic and the comment. He introduces initiality, aboutness and lack of primary stress as characteristic features of a topic. The topic lacks a primary stress since it expresses old information. However, he nullified the possibility of having indefinite NPs as topics due to the fact that topics by nature are given or old information; a fact which makes them definite. Gundel on the other hand proposes that indefinite NPs can be topics on one condition; namely, their being used generically; a situation which pertains to the proverbs.

Due to the fact that the corpus involves a large number of proverbs starting with NPs, this feature makes them eligible to be categorized as topic-comment constructions. An additional observation that supports this categorization is that most proverbs are pronounced with a phonological pause between the preverbal NP and the rest of the sentence.

I relied upon multiple factors in determining topic constructions. The first criterion I considered is the inflection on the verb. Some proverbs start with NPs, but the verbs are inflected for another, usually following, noun. Consider the following examples:

```
           T                    V        S
(27)   ʔɪllɪ    ʕɪndʊ ɣanam , ʔɪmuut-l-ʊh  sxuul
       who    has    sheep die-for-him    baby-sheep
       'A person who has sheep; finds it natural for some baby sheep to die'
```

```
            T                          S          P
(28)   ʔɪʃ-ʃadʒarah  ʔɪllɪ  mɪʃ   mɪθmɪrɪh    gaTʊʕ-ha      ħalaal
       the tree           which  not  fruitful   cutting-it      is legitimate
       'An unfruitful tree, cutting it is legitimate.'
```

Clearly, the NP is followed by a complete sentence; a verbal one in (27) and a verbless one in (28). These sentences have their own subjects; and the verbs are inflected to agree with the subject.

The second criterion comes from some conditional proverbs. Some proverbs are made of an NP in the initial position followed by a complete conditional sentence introduced by a conditional particle. The normal position of a conditional particle is Spec of CP. Placing the NP before the conditional particle is a fact which shows that

these sentences are typical examples of topic-comment constructions. Consider these sentences:

(29)   **ʔɪl-ḥuudeh** law b-t-ɪTʕɪm ____ b-tɪsrɪgɪʃ ʔɪS-SiiSaan
       the falcon-FEM if IMPERF-FEM-feed IMPERF-FEM -steal-NEG the-chicks
       'If the falcon feeds, it would not have stolen the chicks.'

(30)   **ʔɪl-mara**, ʔɪn   dagg-at ____ ʕa-rʊkbɪt-ta bɪ-Tlaʕ   b-ḥiilɪt-ta
       the-woman, if   hit-FEM   on-knee-her IMPERF -come   with-pretext-her
       'If a woman rubs her knee with her hand, she comes with her pretext.'

The usual order of the underlined NP is after the verb. This NP is related to the comment by a gap as indicated.

Topicalization is the process through which a constituent is moved to the initial position to become a topic leaving a gap behind in a very similar manner to the English construction 'Mary, I like.' Mohammad (2000) claims that topicalization is not found in Palestinian Arabic due to the fact that PA does not permit an OSV structure. However, in another place, he argues that the OSV word order is permitted in proverbs. Consider the following examples:

(31)   **ʔagraʕ** laa tnaagɪr   wa**ʕwar** laa ddaagɪr
       bold NEG throw stones and one-eyed NEG argue with
       'Don't throw stones at a bold person and don't argue with a one-eyed person'

(32)   **maTraḥ ɪl-ʕagrab** laa tɪgrab   **maTraḥ ɪl-ḥaniiʃ** laa tɪdʒii-ʃ
       place the- scorpion NEG come-close place the-haniish NEG come- NEG

       wo maTraḥ ɪl-ḥajje ʔʊfrʊʃ wo naam
       and place the-snake spread and sleep
       'Don't come close to the place of a scorpion; don't come close to the place of a hanish; and where the snake is located spread your bed and sleep.'

The proverb in (31) is made of two prohibitives. In each one, the object of the verb has been positioned initially before the verb. This proverb is a typical example of

topicalization. However, there is not a resumptive pronoun and the object is indefinite. The second example is made of two prohibitives and an imperative. The subject of each is the covert pronoun 'you'; a fact which nullifies the possibilities of considering the NPs in the initial position as the subjects. These nouns are in fact the objects of the transitive verbs and they have undergone topicalization for emphasis.

Instances or proverbs with left-dislocation are more frequent. Left-dislocation, by definition, is the situation where an NP which is sentence initial is connected to a resumptive pronoun in the clause. All of the cases of left-dislocation are introduced by a definite NP followed by a complete sentence containing a resumptive pronoun which is co-referential with the NP. Consider the following examples:

(33) **ʔɪl-ħeɪT ɪl-waaTɪ,** kʊl ɪn-naas bɪ-tnʊT ʕan-**nʊ**
       the-wall the-low, all the-people IMPERF-jump over-him
       'The low wall, all the people jump over it.'

(34) **dʒaħʃ ɪl-waddaʕa**   laa TTiiħ ʕann-ʊh wala sasʕah
       the-mule the fortune-teller NEG get-down from-it not even an hour.
       'The mule of the fortune-teller, do not get off-it not even for a single hour.'

 These examples are clearly typical examples of left-dislocation which is another way of getting a topic. Object NPs are definite and they are placed initially. They are followed by complete sentences with different subjects. A pause usually separates between the topic and the comment.

3.2. **Subject Verb Proverbs**

Subject verb proverbs constitute the largest group. The total number of these proverbs is 68. The NPs that can occupy the subject position can be a relative clause as in (35); a construct state as in (36), or a lexical noun as in (37):

		S		V	O

(35) ʔɪllɪ maa bɪ-Tlaʕ   maʕ ɪl-ʕaruus maa bɪl-ħag-haa-ʃ
      who NEG IMPERF-go with the-bride NEG IMPERF-follow-her-NEG
      'He who does not leave with the bride won't follow her.'

	S		V	O

(36) gɪlɪt ʔɪʃ-ʃʊɣʊl   bɪ-tʕallɪm   ɪt-taTriiz
      lack   the-work   will teach   the-weaving
      'The lack (of) work teaches a person to weave.'

	S	V	O

(37) ʔɪl-mɪstaʕdʒɪl maa bɪsuug ɪdʒ-maal
      the one/in a hurry NEG IMPERF-ride camels
      'A person in hurry does not ride camels.'

Obviously, these sentences are different from topic-comment sentences. The verbs in these proverbs cross-reference the preverbal NP. Moreover, the NPs are directly followed by the VP i.e. they are not followed by other NPs or complementizers.

56 proverbs contain imperfective verbs; a fact which supports the claim made previously that imperfective verbs are disfavored initially. For comparison, 17 of the perfective verbs occur in the subject-verb order.

3.3. Relative Clauses

There are 35 proverbs containing relative clauses. They are introduced with two different relative words both meaning 'who'. Thirty proverbs are introduced with the relative pronoun *ʔɪllɪ*, and five proverbs are introduced with the relative noun *man*. One statement that pertains to all but two instances of relative clauses in the proverbs is that they lack a head NP; they tend to start with the relative pronoun. Holes (1997) described this use of relative clauses as 'non-attributive of general or

vague reference equivalent to the English 'whosoever'. He further states that this type

of relative clause is frequently utilized in proverbs.

3.3.1. Relative Clauses with ʔɪllɪ

In JA, relative clauses with *ʔɪllɪ* 'who' are generally head-initial i.e. they

contain a head NP as in (38) below. They only appear as headless when the speaker

does not know the target of the relative clause or does not want to mention the target

because of some contextual factors as in (39) below. Anyway, the norm in relative

clauses with *ʔɪllɪ* is to be head-initial in non-proverbial speech.

(38)   <u>ʔɪz-zalameh</u> ʔɪllɪ   saaʕadak   sallam ʕalajjeh ʔɪl-juom
          <u>the-man</u>   who   helped-you   greeted-me   today
          'The man who helped you greeted me today'
 (39)   ʔɪllɪ   gallak   ɣalTaan
          whosoever told-you   (is) mistaken
          'The person who told you this is mistaken'

In proverbs, the head NP is left out to give the hearer a chance to think of a wide

variety of referents that might fit that situation. Leaving out the head NP is one way

for proverbs to generate a generic reference. Consider these proverbs:

(40)   ʔɪllɪ   ʕɪndʊ   ɣanam ʔɪmuutlʊ   sxuul
        who   has   sheep die-for him   baby-sheep
        'A person who has sheep; finds it natural for some baby sheep to die'

(41)   ʔɪllɪ   biid-ʊ l-maɣrafah maa bɪ-dʒuuʕ
        who   hands-in the-scooper NEG IMPERF-starve
        'He who has the scooper won't starve.'

Head-initial relative clauses only appear in the corpus in two proverbs. The common feature about these proverbs is that they refer to non-human referents. The examples are:

(42)   **ʔɪʃ-ʃadʒarah** ʔɪllɪ mɪʃ mɪθmɪrɪh gaTʊʕ-ha ħalaal
the-tree-FEM which not fruitful-FEM cutting-it-FEM legitimate
'An unfruitful tree is not worth of living.'

(43)   **ʔɪl-baab** ʔɪllɪ b-ɪdʒii-k mɪnn-ʊ ʔɪr-riiħ sɪdd-ʊh w-ɪstariiħ
the-door which IMPERF-come-you from-it the-wind close-it and- relax
'The door which brings wind, close it and relax.'

It seems that mentioning the head NP is intentional; it is given so as not to be interpreted as referring to humans. Reading the proverb in (43) without the head NP, gives the impression that the referent here is human until one comes to the word *sɪddʊh* 'close-it' which is only used for non-human referents.

As far as the position of relative clauses in the proverb is concerned, they occur in all NP positions. In 9 proverbs, the relative clause occupies the topic position as in (28) above. In 15 proverbs the relative clause modifies a headless subject as in (41) above and (44) below:

(44)   ʔɪllɪ maa bɪ-zraʕ bɪ-l- adʒrad ʕɪnd ɪl-Saliibeh bɪ-dʒrad
who NEG IMPERF-plant in-the-barren when the-cold IMPERF-be lonely
'He who doesn't sow the seeds in the land will regret it when in need.'

In three proverbs, the relative clause stands alone. The proverb is made of a relative clause that follows the words *mɪθɪl* or *zaj* both meaning 'like'. Consider the following example:

(45)   mɪθɪl ʔɪllɪ bɪ-faDDɪ ɪl-baħʊr b-Taagiit-ʊ
        like who IMPERF-empty the-sea with-hat-his
        'Like the one who empties the sea with his hat.'

In three proverbs, the relative clause modifies the object of a preposition. The corpus I used does not include relative clauses modifying a direct object though Al-Amad's encyclopedic book does include such examples.The distribution of ʔɪllɪ relative clauses is given in table (5) below.

Table 5: *The distribution of ʔɪllɪ relative clauses*

No.	Position of relative clauses in the proverbs	Frequency
1.	Topic position	9
2.	Subject position	15
3.	Object of a preposition	3
4.	Alone in a proverbial phrase	3
	Total	30

3.3.2. **Relative Clauses with *man***

Relative clauses with *man* 'who' do not appear in JA except in the proverbs since these structures are borrowed from Standard Arabic as their reading indicates. The word *man* 'who' is never used in JA. It is replaced with *miin* 'who' which is uniquely used as a question word meaning 'who'. This leaves *ʔɪllɪ* as the only relative pronoun in JA.

 Bergman (1992) states that borrowings are infrequent in Moroccan proverbs. In the 2000 words which make up the total number of words in her corpus 'fewer than 30 are borrowed or just over 1%.' The minimum number of structural borrowing reflects a general tendency in proverbs to avoid borrowing as much as possible.

Proverbs are formulaic expressions that try to reflect all aspects of a nation's culture including language.

Interestingly, proverbs that contain *man* have retained their status as standard Arabic proverbs and they have not undergone any changes in terms of syntax, lexicon, or phonology. They are uttered as if the people are still communicating in Standard Arabic. Moreover, the relative noun has not been replaced with the only relative pronoun in JA. Consider the examples below:

(46) man   sara   baʕ   wɪ-ʃtara
      who   left-MAS(3s) early sold MAS(3s) and-bought MAS(3s)
      'He who starts early, would sell and buy comfortably.'

(47) man   dʒadda   wadʒad
      who   works MAS(3s) hard find- MAS(3s)
      'As you sow, so you will reap.'

In (47), the verbs *dʒadda* and *wadʒad* are not used at all in JA. The equivalent words in JA are *bɪ-tʕab* 'tire himself' and *bɪ-laagɪ* 'finds' respectively. This shows that the whole proverb is borrowed from Standard Arabic.

When it comes to position, three cases of *man* relative clauses modify a headless subject as in (47) above. One relative clause occupies the topic position as in:

(48) man ʔammanak laa txuunʊ
      who made-you-guardian, do not cheat-him
      'Do not cheat a person who considered you honest.'

The last relative clause modifies an object of a preposition as in (48) below; however, not a single case of man relative clauses modify a transitive verb object although they are witnessed in the other corpus:

36

(49) ʔal-ʕaSa lɪ-man ʕasa
      the-stick for-who disobey
      'The stick is for he who disobeys.'

3.4. Imperatives and Prohibitives

Due to the nature of proverbs as formulaic expressions involving an exhortation, quite a large number of them include imperatives and prohibitives. I included the two in one section due to the fact that the number of proverbs with imperatives alone or prohibitives alone is small.

Syntactically speaking, the subject of an imperative verb is an understood 'you'; a fact which again leads the reader or the addressee to think that s/he is the one targeted in these proverbs. Consider the examples below:

(50) xʊD   faal-ha mɪn ʔaTfaal-ha
      take(MAS) omen-it-FEM from children-it-FEM
      'Take life's good omen from its children i.e. children are a source of a good omen'

(51) xabbɪ   gɪrʃ-ak   lɪ-bjaD la-joum-ak   lɪ-swad
      hide-(MAS) piaster-your-(MAS) the-white to-day-your-(MAS) the-black
      'Save money for the days in need'

(52) bajjɪn ʕuðrak   wa la   tbajjɪn   bʊxl-ak
      show(MAS) execue-your-(MAS) and NEG show-(MAS) stinginess-your(MAS)
      'show your excuse and don't show your stinginess i.e. appear generous all the time.'

The generic gender is quite evident in the proverbs as the verbs in the imperatives and the prohibitives are inflected to agree with the second person singular masculine pronoun. Females are targeted by these proverbs since the use is generic.

Quantitatively, 40 proverbs include imperative verbs; 26 of them involve an imperative and a prohibitive in the form 'Do…. and don't do ….' These proverbs encourage the hearer to do a favorable deed and to quit doing disfavorable deeds. Consider the following examples:

(53) mʊr ʕan   ʕaduuw-ak   dʒiiʕaan wa-la tmʊr ʕann-ʊ
      pass-MAS by enemy-your-MAS hungry-MAS and not pass-MAS by-him
      ʕarjaan
      naked-MAS
      'Pass by your enemy when you are hungry but do not pass by him when you are naked'

(54) ʔɪtʕɪb ʔɪgdaam-ak   wa-la   tɪtʕɪb   ɪlsaan-ak
      tire-MAS feet-your-MAS and-not tire-MAS tongue-your-MAS
      'Tire your feet and do not tire your tongue i.e. they are unreliable.'

Imperatives and prohibitives are a double-edged weapon. First: since the piece of advice or the warning is presented in the frame of a proverb which is not attributed to any person, the speaker distances himself from the responsibility of blaming a person for some bad deed. It is as if she says 'it is the proverb which says so and so' and 'I am just repeating what the proverb said.' In other words, proverbs impersonalize the role of the speaker.

Second: proverbs, by manipulating imperatives, personalize the experience; each person reading the proverb or has been addressed by it would think that the proverb has been devised for her. Each person would think that he is the first to be addressed by that proverb and she would tend to put herself in the foot of addressee in the proverb.

3.5. Proverbs starting with adverbials

As a general rule, proverbs containing adverbials tend to start with these elements as they help delimiting or defining the context of the action expressed in the main clause. These adverbials do so through providing the time reference of the proverb.

I found that 18 proverbs start with time or place adverbials. However, not a single proverb has an internal adverbial; they are all placed initially. The traditional analysis for adverb preposing regards them as being adjunct to IP. However, Rizzi (2000) assumes adverb preposing as an instance of topicalization in which the adverb moves from its base-generated position to TopP. Following Rizzi's analysis, these adverbials can be considered as topics. Consider the following examples:

(55) **sant   ɪz-zarzuur**   ʔʊħrʊθ   b-ɪl-buur
      year   the-zarzuur   plow   in-the-uncultivated land
      'When this bird appears, plow in the uncultivated land. i.e. It is a good year.'

(56) **sant   ɪl-ħamaam**   ʔʊfrʊʃ   wo   namm
      year   the-pigeons   spread(your bed)   and   sleep
      'When the pigeons appear, spread your bed and sleep. i.e. It is not a good year for agriculture.'

(57) **juom ʔɪTlaʕ ɪl-ħanuun**   Dʊb   ɪbðaar-ak   ja   madʒnuun
      day   appears the-hanuun   hide   seeds-your   hey   nuts
      'When this bird appears, hide your seeds, you nuts. i.e. this year is not good for farming.'

These time adverbials express time since they include lexical words indicating time; namely, *sana* 'year' and *joum* 'day'. However, some proverbs contain adverbials expressed through conditional clauses or through prepositional phrases. Again these phrases appear initially as in:

(58) **ʔɪn gawwasat   Subħɪjjɪ,**   xʊD   ʕaSaat-ak
      if rainbow-appeared morning-time   take   stick-your
      wɪ-lħag   ʔɪr-raʕɪjɪh
      and follow   the shepherds
      'When rainbow appears in the morning, take your stick and follow the
      shepherds i.e. it will a good (sunny)'

(59) **ʔɪn   gawwasat   ʕaSrɪjjɪ,**   dawwɪr ʕa-mɣaarah   dafɪjjɪ
      If   rainbow-ppeared   afternoon-time look   for-cave   warm
      'When the rainbow appears in the afternoon, look for a warm cave. i.e. it will
      rain heavily and be very cold'

(60) **ʕɪnd   seɪd   ɪl-ɣʊzlaan** ,   raaħ   ɪtʃ-tʃalɪb jɪxra
      at(the time of) hunting the-deer(MAS-PL), went the-dog to defecate
      'At the time of hunting deer, the dog went to defecate'

In the first two proverbs, the main clause contains an imperative which makes the

hearer as the target of these proverbs. These proverbs motivate the hearer to carry out

a certain activity when a chronical sign appears. In the third example, the time

adverbial is placed initially to emphasize the juxtaposition between *ɣazaal* 'deer'

which is highly-valued in the Arabic culture and *tʃalb* 'dog' which is degraded in our

culture. It is clear then that the positioning of the adverbials in the initial position is

purposeful and it restricts the scope of the action that is supposed to be carried out

through providing a time limit.

3.6. Conditional sentences

Conditional sentences are one type of complex sentence witnessed in the

corpus. The total number of proverbs containing conditional sentences is 27. Though

the number is small in comparison to other types, these proverbs are interesting due to

the variability witnessed in the particles used to express condition and due to the

meanings of the conditions.

A conditional sentence in Arabic usually consists of two parts: the conditional clause (the protasis) which is the subordinate clause containing the condition particle and the result clause (apodasis) which usually contains a consequence of the conditional clause. Holes (1995) states that the particles of condition in the dialects have the same function they play in standard Arabic.

JA differentiates between two types of conditions: real and unreal. Real conditional sentences are those in which condition is regarded as possible with respect to feasibility. These conditionals are usually introduced with *ʔɪða* or *ʔɪn* and they both mean 'if'. Unreal conditions, on the other hand, are those sentences in which the condition has not been realized or is unrealizable. These conditions are usually introduced with *law* 'if' or *loula* 'but for/unless'. In other words, the type of condition -real, possible and unreal- is marked by the particle used. The types of conditional sentences and their frequency are given in table 6.

Table 6: *Conditional sentences: Types and frequency*

No.	Type	Frequecy
1.	'ʔɪn' conditionals	10
2.	'ʔɪða' conditionals	2
3.	'law' conditionals	6
4.	'loula' conditionals	2
5.	'wa law' conditionals	7
	Total	27

3.6.1. Proverbs introduced with 'ʔɪn'

Proverbs with *ʔɪn* 'if' are the most frequent. These proverbs have a fixed order with regard to position of the clauses in the sentence i.e. the subordinate clause

containing the condition particle is always placed before the main clause. In my opinion, the same generalization that pertains to adverbials applies here. Conditional clauses in this sense can be considered as topics since they express given information; the main clause expresses new information which is supposed to take place when the condition in the conditional clause is achieved. The subordinate clause is placed before the main clause to restrict the scope of the action in the main clause or to set the scene for the action in the main clause. In other words, they try to tell that 'only on the condition given in the subordinate clause a person is expected to carry out the action given in the main clause'. Consider the following examples containing *ʔin*:

(61) **ʔɪn ʔamTarat ʕ-ablaad** baʃʃɪr ɪblaad
if rained-FEM on regions-FEM tell good omen regions-FEM
'If it rains on some regions give other regions the omen i.e. the good will reach all.'

(62) **ʔɪn kɪθrʊ ʃ-ʃaħħaadiin** b-ɪtgɪl ɪS-Sadaga
if increase the-beggars-MAS IMPERF-decrease the charity
'If beggars increase, charity decreases.'

(63) **ʔɪn ɣaab ʕann-ak aSl-ʊh** ʔɪstadɪl ʔɪb-faDl-ʊh
if absent from-you-MAS origin-his guide by-his favor
'If you forget his origin, be guided by his favor (his good deed).'

However, in two proverbs, although they still retain the same order of the clauses, the particle is preceded by a noun phrase, which can be considered as examples of left-dislocation. The examples are:

(64) **ʔɪl-mara**, ʔɪn dagg-at ʕa-rʊkbɪt-ta bɪ-Tlaʕ b-hiilɪt-ta
the-woman, if hit-FEM on-knee-her will-come with-pretext-her
'If a woman rubs her knee with her hand, she comes with her pretext.'

(65) **lɪsaanak ħɪSaanak**, *ʔm ʕʊnt-ʊh Saan-ak*
tongue-your-MAS shield-your-MAS if protected-it protect-you
w-ɪn ħɪnt-ʊh haan-ak
and-if humiliated-it humiliate-you

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'Your tongue is your shield, if you protected it, it will protect you, and if you humiliated it, it will humiliate you.'

The proposition in the conditional clauses with *ʔɪn* can be seen as in the realm of the possible. This is one key for the effective force of the proverbs. Finally, Holes (1995) states that *ʔɪn* is undergoing a process of limitation of use in which it is replaced with *ʔɪða* 'if'. However, the data show completely the opposite. *ʔɪða* appeared only twice and one of them is a case of borrowing from standard Arabic.

3.6.2   Proverbs introduced with 'ʔɪða

ʔɪða appeared in only two proverbs. One of them is borrowed from standard Arabic. The proverb is still pronounced in a way that indicates its origin. Furthermore, the proverb includes a word which is not used in JA. The word is *kalaam* 'speech' which means 'speaking' while in JA, we use the word 'ħatʃɪ'. The proverbs are:

(66)   ʔɪða   ʕɪndʒannʊ   ʔahl-ak   ʕagl-ak   maa   bɪnfaʕ-ak
       if   become crazy   family-your-MAS brain-your-MAS NEG benefit-you-MAS
       'If your family become nuts, your brain won't help'

(67)   ʔɪða kaan ʔɪl-kalaam mɪn fɪDDa, fa-s-sʊkuut mɪn   ðahab
       if   was   the-speech from silver   then-the-silence from gold
       'If speech was from silver, silence is from gold'

In all the examples given above, the subordinate clause containing the condition particle always precedes the main clause and the time of *ʔɪða* conditionals is definitely future.

3.6.3   Conditional sentences with 'law'

Law is used to express unreal or impossible conditionals. *Law* appeared 5 times in the corpus. In this context, Badawi, Carter & Cully (2004) state that the use of *law* is restricted for wishes and hypothetical situations. *Law* also appeared as *walaw* 'even if' in 7 proverbs. *Wa-law* cannot be used initially. In parallel to the other conditional particles, the subordinate clause containing *law* appears initially in the proverbs. Consider the following examples:

(68)   **law dʒʊħa   bɪ-ʕammɪr**,   ʕammar   bɪ-blaad-ʊ
        if Guha(proper name) IMPERF-build ,built-he   in-country-his
        'If Guha builds, he would have built in his native region i.e. he is useless for
        both.'

(69)   **law fiih   xeɪr** maa   rama-ah   ʔɪT-Teɪr
        if in-him   good   NEG   threw-him   the-bird
        'If it is good the bird would not have thrown it.

In all the proverbs, the result clause comes after the conditional clause though the reverse order is acceptable. Conditional proverbs with *law* deviate from their counterparts in JA in that they lack the verb *kaan* (literally 'was') which is used along side the perfective verb in the main clause to express the counterfactuality of the proposition. Instead, the proverbs use the perfective verb alone. In the protasis, the particle is usually followed by an NP or a PP. The apodasis starts with a perfective verb.

Old Arab grammarians described *law* as a particle of 'prevention because of prevention'; the proposition in the main clause was prevented from taking place due

to the fact that the proposition in the subordinate clause is prevented from taking place (Badawi, Carter & Cully 2004).

In one single proverb, however, the subordinate clause is preceded by a NP which is a case of topicalization:

(70)   **ʔɪl-ḥuudeh** law b-t-ɪTʕɪm _____ b-tɪsrɪgɪʃ ʔɪS-SiiSaan
       the falcon-FEM if IMPERF-FEM-feed IMPERF-FEM -steal-NEG the-chicks
       'If the falcon feeds, it would not have stolen the chicks.'

This example shows that the NP in the initial position has been topicalized.

Most of *wa law* 'even if' clauses tend to be adjuncts to the main clause, and they can be left out without influencing the meaning of the sentence syntactically or semantically. They are used to foster the theme expressed in the main clause as in:

(71)   l-ɪḥmaar ɪḥmaar   **walaw   rɪbɪ   beɪn lɪxuul**
       the-donkey donkey even if   raised among horses
       'A donkey remains a donkey even if it had been raised among the horses i.e.
       Origin cannot be hidden.'

(72)   *xʊDha*   *beɪDa* **walaw madʒnuunɪ**
       take-her   white   even if nuts
       'Take her white even if she is crazy i.e. Whiteness is preferred in beauty.'

3.6.4   Conditional sentences with '*loula*'

Loula 'but for' appeared in only two proverbs. In the two proverbs, the subordinate clause is made of the condition particle followed by a clitic meaning 'you' and then a perfective verb. The subordinate clause presents the reason for the event proposed in the main clause.

The proposition in these *loula* conditionals is impossible. Consider the following examples:

(73) loula-ak   gareɪt ʕaruus maa   lageɪt
      but for-you-MAS studied bride NEG   found
      'If you had not studied, you wouldn't have found a bride.'

(74) Loula-ak   jaa lsaan , maa ʕθɪrtɪ jaa gadam
      But for-you   O tongue, not stumbled O foot
      'Hadn't I talked, I wouldn't have had problems.'

In (73), the proverb emphasizes the importance of literacy through telling the hearer
that only because you had studied that you found a wife. In (74), the proverb is
blaming the tongue for the stumbles the foot had undergone.

    Old Arab grammarian described *loula* as a particle of 'prevention because of
existence'; the proposition in the main clause was prevented from taking place due to
the occurrence of the proposition in the subordinate clause.

3.7. Vocatives

    Another frequent structure in proverbs is vocatives. Vocatives are expressions of
direct address. All the vocative proverbs are introduced with the particle *jaa* 'O' or
'hey'. The vocatives that appear in the proverbs show a crystal-clear deviation from
every day language. In JA, vocatives and forms of address are determined by the
power and solidarity relationship between the interlocutors. Due to the nature of
proverbs, the vocatives used are those which suit all the members of the community.
Accordingly, participles are frequently used. The use of participles is functional.
Participles are simply descriptive words that describe or refer to entities involved in
an action. Accordingly, any person whose characteristics match the participle in the
proverb is targeted by the proverb. In proverbs, vocatives is vacuous i.e. there is not a
specified person targeted by them. This kind of vocatives is not evident in JA.

Old Arab grammarians differentiated between two kinds of vocatives: intended definite vocatives and intended indefinite vocatives. The first takes place when the speaker is targeting a specific person but his name is not known as in: *jaa radʒʊl* 'hey man'. In the second type, vocation is not targeting a certain person; rather, it is used to call an absent person or any person who might have the characteristics given in the vocation as in *jaa faaʕıl al-xaɪrɪ* 'O good doer'. This second type is evident in proverbs.

The number of vocative proverbs is 13. Since vocation is a kind of addressing, in all the proverbs the particle is followed by a present participle which is inflected for second person masculine or by an occupation. Consider the following examples:

(75)   jaa mɪstarxɪS   ʔɪl-laħɪm, ʕɪnd ɪl-marag tɪndam
        O   buyer cheap   the-meat   at the-gravy regret-you
        'O you cheap-meat buyer, you will regret it when it comes to the gravy'

(76)   jaa mrabbɪ   b-ɣeɪr walad-ak,   jaa baanɪ b-ɣeɪr   mʊlk-ak
        O breeder   in-not children-your,   O building in-not   ownership-your
        'O you breeder of others' children, you are like a builder in the others' property.'

(77)   jaa baaħɪʃ   dʒuurt ɪs-suu,   jaa   wagɪʕ bii-ha
        O digger   fosse   the-evilness, O you   faller in-it
        'O you a fosse-of-evilness digger, you will surely fall in it.'

3.8. Exceptive Sentences

An exceptive sentence is a sentence with a negative statement in which the subject, the object of a transitive verb, or a prepositional phrase is postposed or relocated at the end of the sentence after exceptive particles for emphasis (Schulz 2004). In Arabic, the restricted NP takes on the case of the NP in its original position. However, in dialects case on NPs does not appear. Consider the examples below:

(78) maa   b-tʊħrʊθ   ɪl-ʔarD   ʔɪlla   ʕdʒuul-ha
      NEG   IMPERF-plough the-land   except calves-its
      'Only the native calves of a land can plough it best. i.e. the native people of a country can build it.'

(79) maa   b-ɪstaħɪ   ʔɪlla   n-naDar
      NEG   IMPERF-get-ashemed   except the-vision
      'Only the vision gets ashamed.'

(80) ma   tʃðab   mɪn   ʃab   ɪtɣarrab   ʔɪlla
      NEG   lies more from   a young man   traveled   except
      ʃaajɪb   matat   ɪdʒjaal-ʊ
      old man   died   generation-his
      'An old man whose generations died is a bigger liar than a young man who traveled abroad.'

In these proverbs, the underlined phrases are moved to the end of the sentence for emphasis. The existence of negation is essential in these sentences; it helps focusing at the end of the sentence.

As the examples show, exceptive statements contain two parts: the general thing from which the exception is made (the antecedent), usually precedes the particle of exception, and the excepted element (Badawi, Carter & Cully 2004).

The particles of exception in JA are *ʔɪlla* 'except for' *ɣeɪr* 'except for' and *maʕada* 'but for'. These particles are considered negative polarity items by Onizan (2005); a fact which explains their use in negative sentences. In the corpus, only two of the particles   appear.

The excepted elements that appeared after the exception particle are variable. They include NPs and PPs. In fact, the later appear 7 times.

(81) ʔɪ-naʕdʒɪ ɪdʒ-dʒarba maa b-tɪʃrab ʔɪlla   mɪn raas ʔɪl-ʕeɪn
the-sheep the-mangy NEG IMPERF-drink except for from head the-spring
'The mangy sheep likes to drink from the head of the spring.'

(82) ʔɪl-waħad maa b-ɪʃbaʕ ʔɪlla <u>mɪn gɪdɪrtʊ</u>
the-person NEG IMPERF-become full except from pot-his
'A person does not become full except from his pot.'

The function of exception is to emphasize the role of the excepted element. The normal order of words does not focus any element as mentioned before.

3.9. Proverbial Phrases

Proverbial phrases by definition are proverbs that include a particle expressing the similarity to the real life situation. These proverbs can also be called 'simile proverbs' which are different from regular proverbs by having an overt word expressing similarity. In the corpus, the word expressing similarity is *mɪθɪl* 'like'.

The corpus contains 16 proverbial phrases. Generally, proverbial phrases are made of *mɪθɪl* and a NP with no other words to clarify the grounds of similarity between the proverb and the real life situation. Consider the following examples:

(83) mɪθɪl ɪθ-θour   lɪ-brag
like   the-ox   the-
'Like an excited ox."

(84) mɪθɪl ɪl-ɣanam   ɪs-samra
like   the-sheep   the-brown
'Like the sheep.'

However, the NP position can also be filled by a construct phrase as in (85); or a headless relative clause as in (86):

(85) mɪθɪl ɪħraaθ ɪ-dʒmaal
like plowing the-camels
'Like the plowing of the camels i.e. it is not well-done.'

(86) mɪθɪl ʔɪllɪ bɪfaDDɪ l-baħʊr ba-Taagiit-ʊ
like who emptying the- sea with hat-his
'like the one who is trying to empty the sea with his hat'

Mɪθɪl can also be followed by an NP followed by a sentence clarifying the

grounds of similarity between the real life situation and the proverb as in:

(87) <u>Mɪθɪl ɪdʒ-dʒamal</u>, bʊkɪl bɪ-l-bɪrkɪ wo ʕeɪn-ʊ ʕa-ɣeɪrha
like the-camel, eat-he in-the-pool and eyes-his on another one
'Like the camel eats its food and looks at the others' food.'

(88) <u>Mɪθɪl ɪl-garʕa</u> b-tɪtbaaha b-dʒadaajɪl bɪnt xaalɪt-ha
like the-bold-FEM IMPERF-praise with-hair locks daughter aunt-her
'Like the bold (who) praises her niece's hair locks.'

3.10. Verbless Sentences

This group of proverbs constitutes the second largest group of proverbs. Their

exact number is 54. Verbless sentences consist of a subject and a predicate. The

predicate might be a noun as in (89), an adjective as in (90), or a prepositional phrase

as in (91):

(89) ʔɪT-Tuul Tuul naxla wɪ l-ʕagʊl ʕagʊl saxla
the-height height a date-tree and the-brain brian baby-goat
'The height is the height of a date tree and the brain is the brain of a goat.'

(90) farx ɪl-baT ʕawwaam
duckling the-duck floater
'Like father like son.'

(91) ʔɪl-maal fii rɪdʒleɪn lɪ-rdʒaal
the-money in legs the-men
'Money is in the men's legs.'

3.11. Noun phrases and prepositional phrases

The last group of proverbs includes three small subgroups given in table (1). The first subgroup of proverbs includes six proverbs made of two prepositional phrases as in:

(92)　　mɪn ɪʃ-ʃadʒar la l-ħadʒar
　　　　from the-tree to the-stone
　　　　'Olives are from the tree to the stone.'

(93)　　mɪn TagTag la　salaamʊ ʕa-leɪkʊm
　　　　from knocking to peace　on-you
　　　　'From the start to the end.'

The second subgroup includes five proverbs made of an NP followed by a PP as in:

(94)　　wardeh mɪn zaradeh
　　　　rose　　from bone
　　　　'A rose from a bone.'

(95)　　razɪjjɪh　　bɪ-l-maal wa-la　　bɪ-l-ɪʕjaal
　　　　catastrophe in-the-money and-not in the-children
　　　　'A catastrophe in money (is bearable than) one in children.'

The last subgroup of proverbs includes four proverbs made of two NPs. The NPs are connected by the *wa-la* 'and not'. These proverbs give a favorable option placed before *wa-la* and a disfovorable option placed after *wa-la*:

(96)　　Sabaaħ lɪ-gruud wa laa Sabaħ lɪ-dʒruud
　　　　morning the-monkey and NEG morning the-hairless
　　　　'The morning of monkeys is better than the morning of hairless people.'

(97)　　tʃalb ħajɪm wala sabɪʕ naajɪm
　　　　dog roaming and not lion sleeping
　　　　'A roaming dog is better a sleeping lion.'

The structure in the last three examples is utilized in JA to provide a comparison between two entities; one is favorable and one is disfavorable. Consider the following example:

(98)   ba-naam ʒʊʕaan wa laa b-oukɪl ʕɪndʊh
        IMPERF-sleep hungry and NEG IMPERF-eat beside-him
        'I'd rather sleep hungry and not to eat with him.'

(99)   ba-ʃħad walaa baTlʊb mɪnʊ maSaarɪ
        IMPERF-beg and-NEG IMPERF-ask from-him money
        'I would rather beg than to ask him for money.'

4.   Conclusion

The focus of this chapter is primarily structural. It has been a serious attempt to categorize and describe the most recurrent structures employed in proverbs. The chapter started by addressing the issue of word order. It has been shown that JA is generally a SVO language. This pattern is reflected in word order in proverbs. However, other factors have been detected to play a major role in determining word order in the proverbs. Among these, given according to their strength, are: the heaviness of the subject which is a mere reflection of its length, definiteness and the aspect of the verb.

The remaining sections of the chapter present the most recurrent structures employed in proverbs, their frequencies and their peculiarities. The most interesting finding about these structures is their stability. Variability in the order of clauses, or constituents in clauses, although it is permissible in JA, is not allowed in the proverbs. This stability of order can be looked at as a device to help accessibility and

memorability. A detailed account of the deviations of proverbs from non-proverbial

language will be presented in chapter three.

Chapter Three: Structural Deviations

This chapter examines the deviations the proverbial language exhibits from the non-proverbial language. These deviations will be investigated at three levels: syntactic which will focus on the order of clauses in proverbs and the order of constituents in clauses as well as the uniquely proverbial formulae; morphological which focuses on the new vocabulary items that solely occur in proverbs; and finally phonological where the focus is the different pronunciation of some lexical items due to their occurrence in the proverbs.

3.1. Deviations in Syntax

This section will be concerned with two issues. First, it investigates whether there are structures that are restricted to proverbs. This issue will be investigated at the structural level without studying the components of the structures. Second, the order of constituents in the proverbs is investigated and then compared to the non-proverbial language.

3.1.1. Structural patterns of the proverbs

In this section, the structures that are uniquely proverbial are studied. The term 'uniquely' includes the structures that are not used in JA at all, and those that are used in JA in a restricted manner but appear abundantly in the proverbs. In addition, the order of clauses in compound or complex sentences will be discussed.

One structure that is not used in JA and which can be considered as uniquely proverbial is vocatives. Vocatives are expressions of direct address. The deviation between proverbial vocatives and vocatives in every day language can be explained

by the following points. First, the vocative particle used in the proverbs is not used in JA in the same manner. In every day language, the vocative particle is not used in the first place to call a person; the person's first name is usually used. However, when the person is called for a second time, the vocative particle *jaa* along with another word *heɪ* 'hey' plus the person's first name are used. Moreover, the vocative particle can be used in interjections in which Allah is called as in *jaa raħiim* 'O you merciful'.

Second, vocatives are expressions of direct address. In other words, a certain person is targeted. Vocatives in proverbs are not targeting a specific person. Consequently, they can be considered as vacuous. In other words, the targeted person is whosoever his condition matches the description given in the proverb. This explains the frequent use of participles. The abundant use of participles in the corpus is one device of providing a generic meaning i.e. to refer to whosoever his or her descriptions match those in the proverb. This usage of vacatives is not used in JA at all. The gap between vocatives in the proverbs and those in JA becomes bigger in proverbs containing two vocatives as in (1) and (2) below:

(1)   jaa Taalɪb ʔɪz-zoud jaa wagɪʕ bɪ-n-nagʊs
        O asker the more O falling in-the-less
        'O you seeker for more, you would (surely) have the less.'

(2)   jaa baaħɪʃ   dʒuurt ɪs-suu,   jaa   wagɪʕ bii-ha
        O digging   fosse the-evilness, O you   falling in-it
        'O you a fosse-of-evilness digger, you will surely fall in it.'

These proverbs contain two vocatives. The first impression for a reader of these proverbs is that there are two vocatives each one is targeting a different addressee. Yet, the function of the second vocative is to present the consequences of

the event taking place in the first vocative. This usage of the vocatives is not witnessed in JA. The generalization that can be made here is that whenever a proverb contains two vocatives, both of them target one person. The first vocative addresses person as a doer of a misdeed; the second vocative addrresses the same person after having received the punishment or the aftermaths of his misdeeds. In other words, the structure reflects the meaning. The use of the same structure indicates that the same person is targeted and signals that two characteristics about the same person will be provided.

Another structure which can be regarded as typically proverbial is the headless relative clause. Headless relative clauses appear in JA, but with a restricted use. They appear in JA when the speaker does not want to name a person frankly by virtue of some contextual factors including: fear (from the targeted person), the presence of the targeted person, having doubts that a certain person has carried out a misdeed or because of any other reason determined by the context. However, headless relative clauses are the norm in proverbs. Head-initial relative clauses appeared only twice, and both have non-human references. Consider:

(3)   **ʔɪʃ-ʃadʒarah** ʔɪllɪ mɪʃ   mɪθmɪrɪh   gaTʊʕ-ha   ħalaal
       the-tree-FEM   which not   fruitful-FEM   cutting-it-FEM legitimate
       'An unfruitful tree is not worth of living.'

(4)   **ʔɪl-baab** ʔɪllɪ   b-ɪdʒii-k   mɪnn-ʊh ʔɪr-riiħ sɪdd-ʊ w-ɪstariiħ
       the-door which IMPERF-come-you-MAS.S. from-it the-wind close-it and- relax
       'The door which brings wind, close it and relax.'

In these two proverbs, mentioning the head is purposeful. Leaving out the head in proverbs with a non-human referent, would make the interpretation of these

proverbs ambiguous as referring to humans when in fact they do not. In fact, these proverbs can not be applied at any level to humans i.e. the word for door cannot be used metaphorically to describe a person. However, they can be applied to matters or affairs related to humans including: living next to a nasty neighbor, or establishing a company with a malicious person, or making friendship with a heavy-blooded person.

In all the other cases, relative clauses are headless. The purpose of leaving out the head is to widen the scope of the proverb by making it applicable to a wide range of referents. In other words, leaving out the head provides these clauses with a generic reference. It goes without saying that using a head with the proverb would restrict its scope and applicability. Moreover, mentioning the head noun would make the tasks of interpretation and matching harder. Compare the proverb in (5) to its hypothetical headed counterpart in (6):

(5)   ʔɪllɪ   ʕɪndʊ ɣanam ʔɪmuut-lʊ   sxuul
       who   has   sheep die-for him   baby-sheep
       'He who has sheep; finds it natural for some baby sheep to die'

(6)   **(ʔɪr-raʕɪ)** ʔɪllɪ   ʕɪndʊ ɣanam ʔɪmuutlʊ   sxuul
       the-shepherd who   has   sheep die-for him   baby-sheep
       'The shepherd who has sheep; finds it natural for some baby sheep to die'

In (6), the relative clause is introduced with a head, namely, *ʔɪr-raʕɪ* 'the shepherd'. This overt use of the head of the relative clause restricts the scope of the proverb. Moreover, it requires more effort on the side of the hearer to interpret this NP. The hearer has to decide whether this NP is used literally or metaphorically, and in case it is used metaphorically, what the situations that the proverb can apply to are. The generalization that can be posited here is that relative clauses referring to humans are

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always headless to provide proverbs with a generic meaning, while relative clauses referring to non-humans generally retain their head NPs to disambiguate interpretability.

A third structure which is purely proverbial is *man* 'who' relative clauses. These relative clauses deviate from JA in the following aspects. For one thing, *man* is not used in JA; JA has the word *miin* 'who' and it is solely used as a question word. *ʔillɪ* 'who' is the only relative pronoun in JA. Second, these proverbs are still read in a way indicating that they are borrowed from standard Arabic. One example is:

(7)　　man　　dʒadda　　　　wadʒad
　　　　who　　works MAS(3s)　hard　find- MAS(3s)
　　　　'As you sow, so you will reap.'

This proverb contains lexicons which are not used in JA. The words *dʒadda* 'works hard' and *wadʒad* 'finds' are not part of the JA lexicon. The equivalent words are *bɪʕab* and *bɪlaagɪ* respectively. The whole proverb had it been said in JA, would have been

(8)　　ʔillɪ bɪ-tʕab　　　bɪ-laagɪ
　　　　who IMPERF-tire　　IMPERF-find

The generalization that can be stated here is that *man* relative clauses are cases of whole borrowings from standard Arabic.

A fourth structure which can be also regarded as proverbial is a conditional sentence that expresses impossibility. In JA, these sentences usually contain the verb *kaan* 'was' in the main clause to give the meaning 'would have' along the lines of the following real life utterances:

(9)   law gʊl-ɪt-lɪ, kaan saaʕat-tak
        if   told-you-me was helped-you
        'Had you told me, I would have helped you.'

(10)   law gʊlɪt-lɪ, kaan ma-ʃtareɪt-haa-ʃ
        if told-you-me was NEG bought-it- NEG
        'Had you told me, I would not have bought it.'

However, in the corpus, this type of condition is expressed without the *kaan* as in the

following proverbs. (The position of *kaan*, had there been one, is indicated by the __)

 (11)   law dʒʊħa   bɪ-ʕammɪr, ___   ʕammar   bɪ-blaad-ʊ
        if Guha(proper name) IMPERF-build ,built-he   in-country-his
        'If Guha builds, he would have built in his native region i.e. he is useless for
        both.'

(12)   loula-ak   gareɪt ___ ʕaruus maa   lageɪt
        but for-you   studied   bride NEG   found
        'If you had not studied, you wouldn't have found a bride.'

(13)   Loula-ak   jaa lsaan, ___ maa ʕθɪrtɪ jaa gadam
        But for-you   O tongue,   NEG stumbled O foot
        'Hadn't I talked, I wouldn't have had problems.'

    The final issue to be discussed here is the stability of clauses in sentences or, to

put it a different way, the lack of the reversibility of the order of the clauses in

compound or complex sentences. In other words, the position of the subordinate

clause with regard to the main clause is fixed all through the corpus though the

reverse order is acceptable in JA.

    In all the complex sentences or the sentences introduced with adverbial clauses,

the subordinate clause and the adverbial clause always precede the main clause except

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for some minimal cases in which the connector cannot be used sentence initially.

Consider the following examples:

(14) **sant   ɪz-zarzuur**   ʔʊħrʊθ   b-ɪl-buur
year   the-zarzuur   plow   in-the-uncultivated land
'When this bird appears, plow in the uncultivated land. i.e. It is a good year.'

(15) **ʕɪnd   seɪd   ɪl-ɣʊzlaan** ,   raaħ   ɪtʃ-tʃalɪb jɪxra
at(the time of) hunting the-deer(MAS-PL), went the-dog to defecate
'At the time of hunting deer, the dog went to defecate'

(16) **ʔɪn kɪθrʊ ʃ-ʃaħħaadiin**   b-ɪtgɪl ɪS-Sadaga
if   increase the-beggars-MAS IMPERF-decrease the charity
'If beggars increase, charity decreases.'

(17) **ʔɪða ʕɪndʒannʊ ʔahl-ak**   ʕagl-ak   maa   bɪnfaʕ-ak
if   become crazy   family-your-MAS brain-your-MAS NEG benefit-you-MAS
'If your family become nuts, your brain won't help'

The proverbs in (14) and (15) start with adverbial clauses, while those in (16) and (17) start with subordinate clauses. As the examples show, the clauses appear at the beginning of the sentence. The main purpose of having these at the beginning of the proverb is to set the scene for the action coming in the main clause. In other words, the role of these clauses is to delimit the scope of the action in the main clause i.e. the action in main clause should be done or witnessed under the conditions presented in the subordinate clause or the adverbial clause. For instance, (17) suggests that one's mind is of no benefit if one's family become crazy. This proverb asks the hearer to adopt the family's stand regardless of its appropriateness or benefit. The total number of these proverbs is 39 proverbs divided between 20 conditional clauses and 19 proverbs with adverbial clauses.

Proverbs containing subordinate clauses following the main clause include those headed by a subordinator which cannot be used sentence initially such as *walaw* 'even if'. This connector cannot be placed sentence initially. In all the proverbs containing this connector, 7 in number, the subordinate clause follows the main clause. Consider the following examples:

(18) l-ɪħmaar ɪħmaar   **walaw   rɪbɪ   beɪn lɪxuul**
      the-donkey donkey even if   raised   among horses
      'A donkey remains a donkey even if it had been raised among the horses i.e.
      Origin cannot be hidden.'

(19) xʊDha   beɪDa **walaw madʒnuunɪ**
      take-her   white   even if nuts
      'Take her white even if she is crazy i.e. Whiteness is preferred in beauty

To sum up, this section has discussed the unique proverbial structures. They are considered uniquely proverbial since they only appear in proverbs, or since they appear in all the instances in a different way from the way they appear in JA. The second issue that has been discussed as well is the stability of clauses in complex sentences. This stability can be considered as a definitional feature of proverbs and can be further used as a mold to coin future proverbs.

3.1.2. The Order of Constituents in Proverbs

Some proverbs show word orders which vary from the word order discussed earlier in the first section. The orders that will be discussed here, following Steele (1978), do not show the frequent SVO order. The list of structures that she introduced includes: subordinate clauses, non-declarative sentences, constituents other than

SOV i.e. indirect objects, prepositional phrases and adverbs and highly-marked word order including topicalization.

In other words, these structures cannot be included in the dominant word order. Most of the proverbs discussed here involve internal change in the order of the constituents. The most frequent phenomenon is the inversion of the order of the verb and the prepositional phrase (PP) allowed by the verb. The PP is placed before the verb although it is allowed and consequently should follow the verb. This phenomenon does not reflect a general pattern in proverbs; a fact which accounts for the scarcity of this phenomenon. The number of these proverbs is 6. The rationale behind this change of order is to achieve rhyme. Consider the following examples:

(20)   ʔid-diik ʔil-faSiiħ **mnɪ-l-beɪDah** bɪSiiħ
the-rooster the-eloquent from-the-egg IMPERF-shouts
'An eloquent rooster shows his eloquence from the egg.'

(21)   dʒaadʒɪh ħafrat **ʕa-ras-sa** ʕafrat
chicken dug   on-head-her sprayed
'When a chicken digs a hole, it sprays some sand on its head.'

(22)   ʔɪllɪ maa   bɪ-zraʕ bɪ-l- adʒrad   **ʕɪnd ɪl-Saliibeh** bɪ-dʒrad
who NEG IMPERF-plant in-the-barren when the-cold IMPERF-be lonely
'He who doesn't sow the seeds in the land will regret it when in need.'

In each of these proverbs, the underlined prepositional phrases have been positioned before the verb to create rhyme. In (20), the PP *mnɪ-l-beɪDah* 'from the egg' is positioned before the verb to create rhyme between the verb at the end of the second phonological division and the adjective at the end of the first phonological division; both have the same syllable *Siiħ*. The same analysis applies to the second proverb; through positioning the prepositional phrase before the verb, rhyme is

created between the two verbs located at the end of the first division and at the end of the proverb. The same analysis can be extended to account for the order in (22). The adverbial phrase has been repositioned before the verb to create rhyme between the verb at the end of the proverb and the noun at the end of the first division.

The following examples display extreme deviations from JA. These proverbs, involve repositioning the direct object before the verb. According to Mohammad (2000), the order in which the object occupies the initial position in the sentence is not allowed in Palestinian Arabic. However, the same generalization applies to JA. Any sentence containing the object in the initial position is ungrammatical. Moreover, Mohammad proposes that this order is bearable and frequently witnessed in proverbs. I claim that any order containing the object in the initial position can be uniquely proverbial and can be considered as a definitional characteristic of proverbs. The number of proverbs that display this phenomenon is 5. The motive behind this reorder is to create rhyme which could not have been achieved had there been no change. Consider the following examples:

(23) loula-ak   gareɪt ___ **ʕaruus** maa   lageɪt
but for-you   studied bride not   found
'If you had not studied, you wouldn't have found a bride.'

(24) ***maTraħ il- ʕagrab*** laa tɪgrab   ***maTraħ il-ħaniiʃ*** laa tɪdʒii-ʃ
place the- scorpion NEG come close place the-haniish NEG come- NEG
wo ***maTraħ il-ħajje*** ʔʊfrʊʃ wo naam
and place the-snake spread and sleep
'Don't come close to the place of a scorpion; don't come close to the place of a haniish ; and where the snake is located spread your bed and sleep.'

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(25)   **ʔagraʕ** laa tnaagɪr   wa**ʕwar** laa ddaagɪr
       bold NEG throw stones and one-eyed NEG argue with
       'Don't throw stones at a bold person and don't argue with a one-eyed person'

In (23), the word _ʕaruus_ 'bride' is in fact the direct object of the verb _lageṇ_ 'found'. It has been placed before the verb to create rhyme between the two verbs located at the end of the proverb and at the end of the first division. This same phenomenon is witnessed in (24). In fact, in (24) the phenomenon is repeated twice. In the first two clauses, the verb is a transitive one which dictates the existence of an object. However, the object in each clause has been preposed to the initial position. These sentences would be ungrammatical if the NP in the initial position of the proverb is not interpreted as an object; the verbs would be left without an object NP. Therefore, _maTraħ ɪl-ʕagrab_ 'place of the scorpion' and _maTraħ ɪl-ħaniiʃ_ 'place of haniish' are the objects of the transitive verbs _tɪgrab_ 'come close' and _tɪdʒii-ʃ_ 'come to' respectively. The phenomenon is yet clearer in the last proverb which contains two prohibitives. Prohibitives by nature require _you_ to be their subjects, a fact which nullifies the possibility of interpreting the nouns in the initial position as their subjects. Another piece of evidence that is driven against the interpretation of the nouns as the subject of the sentence comes from the nature of the verbs. The verbs in the proverb are transitive dictating the existence of an object. The only way out is to interpret these NPs as objects of the transitive verbs and they have been topicalized for emphasis.

Another type of deviation from JA is witnessed in the following single example:

(26)   ʔɪntʊ dʒʊgʊm wɪħna ʕuur xallɪ haT-Tabɪg mastuur
        you-MAS limp and we one-eyed let this incident be covered
        'We are equally defected, let's not unveil our defects.'

This proverb is interesting because of the order of the phrases. Arabic is a self-centered language. Arabic native speakers tend to start with themselves when they want to talk about a group. In JA, we usually say:

(27)   ʔna wɪ-xwaan-ɪ rʊħna   or   rʊħt ʔna wɪ-xwaan-ɪ
        I and-my bothers-my went   or   went I and-bothers-my
        'My brothers and I went to…'

This proverb is interesting since it starts with the others before the self. This change in order is motivated by rhyme. Rhyme is created between the second division and the last division; both of them have the same syllable /uur/.

When it comes to the deviation in the order of constituents, proverbs do not show enough frequent instances that can be generalized as characteristic features of proverbs. The proverbs at hand include sporadic features that are mainly motivated by rhyme. The only generalization that can be coined here is that proverbs allow or bear more syntactic movements than JA taking in consideration that JA does not exhibit orders like OVS or OSV.

3.2. Deviations in Morphology

The scope of this section includes word-formation and affixes. The range of the proverbial deviations, but for one, from the non-proverbial language is minimal. In other words, the following changes do not form a pattern witnessed throughout all the proverbs. These deviations are sporadic; they occur here and there in a few proverbs.

The total number of these proverbs is 15. The corpus includes the following phenomena:

(28)

    a. Forming totally new words from old ones to be used in proverbs. The motivation behind this phenomenon is rhyme.

    b. The deletion of the negation suffix -ʃ in almost all the proverbs. It only appeared four times without its companion prefix *maa*. This phenomenon is in fact the only patterned one.

    c. Using new plural-formation suffixes.

3.2.1. Forming new vocabulary items

The new vocabulary items can be categorized into two types. The first type involves words which are formed through some modifications on existing words in JA of the same part of speech. The second type involves creating totally new words with different parts of speech from existing ones. The first type results in having a word which is restricted in use to proverbs; the non-proverbial version is still the most frequently used one whereas the second type results in adding a new word to language. The proverbs below best exemplify these two types:

(29)   ʔɪn **gawwasat**   Sʊbħɪjjeh xʊD ʕaSaat-ak w-ɪlħag *ɪr-raaʕejjeh*
        if rainbow-appear morning, take stick-your-MAS and-follow the-shepherds
        'If rainbow appears in the morning take you stick and follow the shepherds i.e. it will be a sunny day.'

(30)   ʔɪn **gawwasat**   ʕaSrɪjjeh, dawwɪr-l-ak ʕa-mɣaarah *dafɪjjeh*
        if rainbow-appeared afternoon, search-for-you for cave warm
        'If rainbow appears in the afternoon, search for a warm cave i.e. it will be cold and rainy.'

(31)   ʔɪl-xara xara kaan maksɪ walla **ʕara**
        the-shit shit whether dressed or naked
        'A shit is a shit whether it is dressed or naked i.e. an unworthy person will
        remain unworthy whether he is dressed or naked.'

(32)   ʔɪl-maktuub maa mɪnn-ʊ **mahruub**
        the-written NEG from-it escape
        'There is no way to escape the destined.'

(33)   kabiir ɪr-raas l-ar-raɪ, wo <u>kabiir ɪs-saag</u> dʒarraɪ, wo kabiir ɪT-Tiiz
        big the-head for-the-opinion, and big the-leg runner, and big the-ass

        <u>xarraɪ</u>
        shitter
        'A person with a big head is good for counseling; a person with a big leg is
        good f for running and a person with a big ass is good for shitting.'

The word in italics in (29) is in fact a modification of an existing word of the same

part of speech in JA. In (29), the word which JA has for shepherds is *rɪʕjaan* which is

formed through some internal changes on the vowel-consonant series. Clearly, using

this word in the proverb would not achieve rhyme and would negatively affect the

poetic sense of the proverb. Consequently, another plural form has been adopted to

create rhyme. The new plural form, I think, is built on an existing plural form that

means 'citizens'. The same phenomenon applies to the proverb in (30). The word JA

has for 'warm' is *daafi* for masculine and *daafjeh* for feminine. The feminine word

has been changed to create rhyme. However, the new form is not completely new.

Other feminine adjectives with the new form are witnessed in Jordanian Arabic. The

new form is usually used to build relational adjectives like nationality and relating

entities to matters and institutes. For instance, an American is *ʔamrɪkɪ* for masculine

and *ʔamrɪkɪjɪh* for feminine; global is *ʕaalamɪ* for masculine and *ʕaalamɪjɪh* for

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feminine. It seems that the new adjective has been coined in the same manner. Finally in (31), the word in JA for naked is *ʕarjaan*. Again this word had been modified to create rhyme.

Furthermore, the first two proverbs contain a new verb which is not used in JA. In JA, if one wishes to say 'rainbow appeared', a complete sentence is used *'bajjan qous quzaħ' or 'Tɪlɪʕ qous quzaħ'*. However, using the same clause would make the proverb lengthy; instead, a new verb has been derived from the noun *gous* 'arch'. The new form is *gawwas*; this pattern, according to Rajihi (1973), means similarity to an entity. In other words, the new verb expresses the time when rainbow appears. As far as I know, this word did not enjoy frequency although this pattern is very productive in Arabic.

The proverb in (32) contains a modification of an existing word of the same part of speech. In JA, the word for 'escape' is *mahrab*; however, it has been modified into *mahruub* to make it rhyme with the word in the first element. This pattern is the conventional pattern for passive participles in Arabic.

Finally, the proverb in (33) contains a new adjective. It seems that this adjective has been coined by analogy. In order to make the last clause rhyme with the previous two, a new adjective has been coined. JA has the adjective *dʒarraɪ* 'a fast runner' and for the purpose of making the two parts rhyme, the adjective *xarraɪ* has been invented. This pattern is mainly used to refer to a person who acquired this characteristic by virtue of the repetition of action. *dʒarraɪ* 'a fast runner' has acquired

this feature due to being noticed in several occasions that she is so. Consequently, one can say that the new adjective has been coined on this pattern for two reasons. First, this pattern is used to express repetition and exaggeration. Second, it is used to achieve rhyme with the first two parts.

Furthermore, this proverb contains a special use of the word *kabiir* 'big'. In JA, this adjective is not used to describe *saag* 'leg'; rather, the word *Tawiil* 'long' is usually used. This special use of *kabiir* is articulated by virtue of lexical parallelism which induces repetition of the same lexical item.

Another proverb that can be listed in this group of proverbs is:

(34)   ʕeɪn **xarbeh** wa laa balad ʕamrɪh
        spring ruined and not town crowded
        'A ruined spring is better than a crowded town.'

In this proverb, the word for ruined has been modified from *xarbaaneh* in JA to *xaarbeh* to make it rhyme with the last element in the second phonological part.

Some proverbs involve using a less frequent lexical element to create rhyme with another word located at the end of the other division. Consider the following examples:

(35)   ʕadʊ   dʒɪd-dak   maa bɪ-**wɪddak**
        enemy grandfather-MAS NEG IMPERF-love-you
        'The enemy of your grandfather does not love you.'

(36)   ʕɪnd lɪ-bTuun bɪ-tɣiib **lɪ-ðhuun**
        at   the-bellies IMPERF-the-minds
        'When one is eating, he forgets the others.'

In these two examples, the underlined words are much less frequent than their synonymous equivalent *bɪħɪbak* and *lɪʕguul* respectively. Using these frequent words would break the rhyme formed by using the less frequent ones.

To conclude, this section shows that the number of new coined words in proverbs is small. This phenomenon is accounted for when one realizes the nature of proverbs as a reflection of all aspects of the society including language. They usually do not pose any structural problems for the hearer besides interpretability. However, the proverbs that exhibit new vocabulary items are driven by rhyme.

3.2.2. The deletion of the negation suffix

The deletion of the negation suffix is the most recurrent morphological phenomenon. It is witnessed in all the proverbs. A full account for the deletion of the negation suffix as well as the functions of its presence and its deletion will be presented in chapter five. Chapter five as well presents utterances from real life recordings displaying the use and the deletion of the negation suffix. However, a brief summary of the types of negation plus the morphemes used in each case is imperative here.

3.2.2.1. Sentential negation

Sentential negation varies according to whether the sentence is verbal or non-verbal. Negation of verbal sentences is formed through the overt morpheme *maa...ʃ*. The verb is usually embedded between the two parts of the morpheme. According to Onizan (2005), this morpheme can be equally used in the negation of perfective and imperfective aspects of the verb. Consider the following examples:

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(37) mħammad maa dʒaa-ʃ
Mohammad NEG came-PERF-NEG
'Mohammad did not come.'

(38) mħammad maa bɪ-graa-ʃ
Mohammad NEG IMPERF-study-NEG
'Mohammad is not studying.'

Negation of non-verbal sentences can be achieved through the use of the morpheme

mɪʃ which is usually positioned before the predicate of the verbless sentence as in:

(39) maħmuud *mɪʃ* ʔɪbɪn ʕammɪ
mahmuud NEG son uncle-my
'Mahmuud is not my uncle's son.'

In the corpus, the most frequent type of negation is the negation of verbal sentences.

In fact negation of non-verbal sentences appeared only four times. However, the most

striking deviation from JA occurs in the first type of negation. In all the cases of

verbal negation, 50 proverbs in number, the negation morpheme in its binary form did

not appear a single time. The second part of the morpheme appeared only once,

discussed below under imperatives. Consider the following examples:

(40) ʔɪllɪ maa bɪ-Tlaʕ   maʕ ɪl-ʕaruus maa bɪl-ħag-haa
who NEG IMPERF-go with the-bride NEG IMPERF-follow-her
'He who does not leave with the bride won't catch her.'

(41) ʔɪtʃ-tʃalɪb maa bɪ-tħaalaaʃ ʔɪlla ʔɪ-b-baab dar-hʊm
the-dog NEG IMPERF- except in-the-door house-their
'A dog feels arrogant only in front of their house.'

(42) ʔɪdʒ-dʒamal maa bɪ-ʕɪd   ʕʊdʒɪt ragbat-ʊ
the-camel NEG IMPERF-count crookedness neck-his
'A camel does not count the crookedness of his neck.'

3.2.2.2. Prohibitives

Due to the nature of proverbs as evaluative statements expressing advice or warning, prohibitives are quite abundant. The conventional way of forming prohibitives is through positioning *laa* before the verb and -ʃ after the verb as in:

(43)   laa touklıʃ gabl l-ħammam
        NEG eat before the-shower
        'Don't eat before having a shower'

(44)   laa tnaam-ıʃ bıduun maatfarʃı ʔısnaanak
        NEG sleep without NEG-brush teeth-your
        'Don't go to bed without brushing your teeth.'

In all the proverbs containing prohibitives, 15 in number, the negation morpheme in its binary form appeared just once (45). However, this use of the second part is functional; it is used since it rhymes with the syllable / iiʃ/ at the end of the second part.

(45)   maTrah ılʕagrab laa tıgrab, maTrah ıl-ħaniiʃ **laa tıdʒji-iʃ**,wo maTrah
        place the-scorpion NEG close, place the ħaniiʃ <u>NEG come-NEG</u>, and place

        ıl-ħajji ʔʊfrıʃ wo naam
        the-snake spread and sleep
        'Don't come close to the place of the scorpion; don't come to the place of ħaniish; spread your bed and sleep at the place of the snake.'

This proverb is interesting for various reasons. First: this proverb is made of three sentences. The first two are prohibitives and the last one is an imperative. In the first sentence, the second part of the negation morpheme is left out to create rhyme between the two words; they both end with -bb. In the second sentence, the second part of the negation morpheme is retained to create rhyme also between the noun *ıl-*

ħaniiʃ at the end of the first division of the second sentence, and the verb and the

negation morpheme *tɪdʒji-iʃ* at the end of the second division. Second: this proverb as

mentioned before involves preposing the construct phrases in each of the sentences to

the sentence initial position to make them more prominent.

In the rest of the proverbs, prohibitives are formed through the use of the first

part only. In fact, the number of proverbs that are solely prohibitive is quite few. Most

of the prohibitives appear along side the imperatives in the form 'do... and don't

do....'. In other words, when the proverb prohibits a deed, it gives the alternative.

Consider the examples below:

(46) Ɂɪtʕɪb ɪgdaamak wa <u>laa tɪtʕɪb ɪlsaanak</u>
      tire feet-your-MAS and NEG tire tongue-your
      'Tire your feet and do not tire your tongue i.e. they are not reliable.'

(47) bajjɪn ʕuðrak wa <u>la tbajjɪn bʊxlak</u>
      show execue-your-MAS and NEG show stinginess-your
      'show your excuse and don't show your stinginess.'

(48) Ɂɪl-fahiim waddi-ih wa <u>laa twaSSi-ih</u>
      the- wise person send-him and NEG advise-him
      'Send a wise man but don't advise him.'

The omission of the negation suffix in all the previous examples can be

considered as another definitional characteristic of proverbs. For a full account of

negation in proverbs, see chapter five.

3.2.3. New Plural Forms

The corpus includes some plural forms which are not used in JA. Two new plural

forms are introduced in one proverb.

(49)   daar ɪl-<u>haaml*iin*</u>   b-tɪxrab   gabʊl daar ɪD-<u>Daalmiin</u>
        house the-careless-PL.MAS ɪMPERF-damaged before house the-unjust
        'The house of the careless gets damaged before the house of the unjust.'

JA has different plural forms for *haamɪl* 'careless' and *Daalɪm* 'unjust'. The plural

forms are hamal and *Dalamah* respectively. These plural forms are trochaic.

However, these plural forms do not rhyme. The form used in the proverb is the sound

masculine plural form. One could argue that this proverb is borrowed from Standard

Arabic in which the two nouns have the plural form given in the proverb.

Nonetheless, this is not right since the proverb contains an imperfective marker which

does not appear in Standard Arabic. Then, the use of this plural form is purposeful;

the goal is give this proverb a more poetic sense through making the two nouns

rhyme through using the *-iin* plural suffix.

        Closely-related to this issue is the functional use of the plural form as given in

the example below:

 (50)   Sabaaħ <u>lɪ-gruud</u> wa laa Sabaħ <u>lɪ-dʒruud</u>
        morning the-monkey and NEG morning the-hairless
        'The morning of the monkeys is better than the morning of the hairless
        people.'

The singular forms do not rhyme and they would not give the proverb a poetic sense

in comparison to the plural forms. The singular forms are *gɪrd* and *ʔadʒrad*

respectively. Therefore, this utilization of the plural form instead of the singular form

can be seen as functional.

        This morphological section has investigated diverse phenomena in proverbs.

However, but for the deletion of the negation suffix, all of the phenomena presented

here are sporadic and cannot constitute patterns that are uniquely proverbial. The total

number of proverbs exhibiting morphological changes is 15. Nonetheless, one can say

that proverbial language is more flexible than ordinary language in accepting these

changes.

3.3. Phonological Deviations

Phonological deviations are quite few and do not constitute a characteristic

pattern of proverbial language. In fact, the number of phonological deviations is just

three out of 293 proverbs included in the corpus. One involves degeminating a

geminate and the other two involve pronouncing a word in a different way from the

way it is pronounced in JA. Both of these cases are articulated by rhyme. The three

instances are given below:

(51)   dʒaadʒɪh ħafrat ʕa-ras-sa **ʕafrat**
         chicken dug   on-head-her sprayed
         'When a chicken digs a hole, it sprays some sand on its head.'

(52)   Tʊbb ɪdʒ-dʒara ʕa-θʊm-ha   b-tɪTlaʕ ɪl-bɪnɪt   **la-ʔʊm-ha**
         turn over the-jar on-mouth-its IMPERF-becomes the-daughter to-mother-her
         'Turn the jar upside down, the daughter becomes like her mother.

 (53)   mɪn gɪlɪt **hadaa-na** ʔɪngalab Seɪf-na ʃtaa-na
         from lack faith-our became summer-our winter-our
         'because of the lack of our faith, our summer has become winter.'

In (51), the verb *ʕafrat* 'sprayed' is pronounced differently in JA. It is

pronounced with a geminate, a long consonant f. The long consonant has been

degeminated to create rhyme between *ʕafrat* 'sprayed' at the end of the proverb and

ħafrat 'dug' at the end of the first phonological division. The pronunciation of the

word with a geminate would make the word end up with three syllables *ʕaf-fa-rat* and consequently would break the rhyme and the lexical parallelism stemming from having two-syllable words at the end of each division.

In (52), the word in the proverb is pronounced differently in JA. In the proverb, the glottal stop and the short vowel /ʊ/ which appear in the word when pronounced separately, have been retained in a situation where they should be deleted. In fact, the prepositional phrase is pronounced in JA as *la-m-ha* 'to her mother' without the glottal stop and the short rounded vowel. They have been kept in the proverb to create rhyme with the last word in the first phonological division *ʕa-θʊm-ha*.

In (53), the word *hadaana* 'our faith' is pronounced differently in JA. It is pronounced as *hadma*. It is clear that it has been modified to create rhyme with *ʃtaa-na*. Although the two nouns end with the same syllable which can create rhyme; it seems there is an attempt to complete the rhyme through this change. In fact, this case of identicality between sub-words is an instance of morphological parallelism.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter investigated the proverbial formulae in Jordanian Arabic and compared these formulae to the everyday language. This study considered the variations between the proverbial language and the non-proverbial language resulting from the brevity of proverbs and their pursuit of keeping a poetic sense through rhyme. The variations between the two varieties appear at all levels of language

including the lexical level, where some lexical items in proverbs are not witnessed in every day language, as well as the structural level where the structures utilized in the proverbs do not match the structures in everyday language or undergo some internal changes for some stylistic purposes which are not witnessed in everyday language.

This study showed that, except for the deletion of the negation suffix, structural deviations are the most prevalent differences between proverbs and JA. These structures can used as definitional characteristics of proverbs. I propose here that the restricted structural formulae that characterize proverbs as well as the thematic lessons encoded in the proverbs in addition to the poetic language the proverbs have are what give the proverbs the everlasting momentum to penetrate everybody's life.

Chapter Four: Stylistic Features of Proverbs

4.1. **Introduction**

      This chapter will be concerned with some stylistic features of proverbs. The stylistic features that will be studied here are: the binary structure of proverbs, parallelism, gapping, repetition and rhyme. I analyzed these features since they relate to the structure of proverbs and since they provide the proverbs with a poetic flavor. The binary structure of proverbs in addition to rhyme makes proverbs similar to classical Arabic poetry whose main components are the binary division of two equal lines and rhyme. This chapter will discuss each feature in detail positing the influence of each on the accessibility of proverbs and their omnipresence in daily life. In the following sections, each issue is handled in detail.

4.2. **The Binary Structure of Proverbs**

      Most proverbs in the corpus have a bipartite structure though tripartite proverbs do exist. By bipartite structure, I mean a structure of proverbs that can be divided into two sections. I maintain that two types of divisions are witnessed. The division is syntactic, when a proverb contains more than one sentence. However, the division is phonological when it takes place inside the sentence. Phonological divisions mostly occur between the subject and the predicate. I consider these divisions as phonological since they are not dictated by syntax though they depend on syntactic constituents. A division between clauses is dictated by syntax while between phrases there is not usually a division. This division is further witnessed in non-sentential proverbs. Moreover, the division is determined pragmatically as will be

shown later. The division is shown through a pause. In this respect, I claim that the division between clauses is witnessed in JA since it is motivated by syntax, while the division between internal constituents is uniquely proverbial. Besides the clausal division, JA manifests another kind of division; namely, the division between the topic and the rest of the sentence. Consider the following examples:

(1)   ʔabu-uk /   lɪ-ħmaar baaʕʊ
       father-your the-donkey sold-it
       'Your father, did he sell the donkey?

(2)   ʔabʊ mħammad /   xaajɪn ʃuu dʒamɪʕ-ha
       father Mohammad traitor what plural it
       'Hey father of Mohammad, a traitor, what is its plural?

In (1), the displacement of the division and the pause after the word *donkey* would result in describing the father of the addressee as a donkey. However, uttering the sentence with a pause after 'your father' would signify that this word is a topic. The same analysis applies to (2); displacing the division after the word traitor would end describing the addressee as a traitor.

The bipartite structure of proverbs seems to be universal. Yassin (1988) maintains that the majority of Arabic proverbs are bipartite in nature. However, his definition of bipartite is slightly different. According to him, bipartite proverbs are those that are made of two propositions. In other words, proverbs that are made of one proposition lack this feature. This explains his use of the word 'majority.'

Tae-Sang (1999) states that Hausa proverbs generally have a bipartite structure. According to him, the two sections of the proverbs have the same number of syllables. He further claims that these structures constitute a pressure towards

having varied morphological changes in proverbs. Bergman (1992) considers the binary structure as one of the most prominent features of Moroccan proverbs. According to her, the binary structure is indicated by a phonological pause which divides the proverb into two unequal parts. The pause does not, but may, coincide with the end of a phrase or clause. Bergman (1992) claims that pause placement 'contributes to the perception of proverbiality', that is, to the perception of an utterance as a proverb.

The importance of the pause is realized when one experiences a proverb without it or with a misplaced pause. The pause can be considered as one of the definitional characteristics of proverbs and the appropriate placement of the pause can be used to manifest the speaker's awareness of this genre and the way it is projected. The pause is essential since it, following Bergman (1992), contributes to the full understanding of proverbs. Furthermore, the pause gives the hearer time to understand the first section and to predict the second section. Another essential aspect of the binary structure can be witnessed in discourse where proverbs are sometimes introduced in two sections. The first section is usually introduced by the proverb user and the second section is produced by the hearer or the person targeted by the proverb. This means of introducing proverbs functions among other things as an indicator of the approval of the hearer of the proposition projected by the speaker.

Another aspect of the importance of the binary structure of proverbs is exemplified in proverbs that are made of two identical structures e.g. two NPs, two PPs, two simple sentences, two imperatives, or two prohibitives. In these proverbs,

the binary structure enables the proverb to present two propositions, one of them is usually favored and the other is unfavorable. In other words, these proverbs do not only disparage a certain feature or behavior, they also suggest the favored option. Examples of these will be given later.

In the following paragraphs, I will pinpoint the exact points of division as realized in the different types of sentences. Moreover, I will unveil the close relationship between the binary structure and the rhyme structure.

Non-sentence structures include proverbial phrases and proverbs which are made of two PP or an NP and a PP. I will start with the second type of proverbs. The division in case of proverbs containing two PPs or an NP and a PP coincides with the grammatical division between the two structures. It coincides with the end of the phrase. Consider the following examples:

(3)   mni ʃ-ʃadʒar// la-l-ħadʒar   (PP+PP)
        from the-trees // to the-stone
        '(Olives) should be squeezed as soon as it is cropped.'

(4)   mɪn TagTag // la-salaamʊ ʕaleɪkʊm   (PP+PP)
        from door-knocking to salaamu Alaikim
        'From door-knocking to saying good bye.'

(5)   ʔɪl-ʕaSa // lɪ-man ʕaSa   (NP+PP)
        the-stick for-who disobey
        'The stick (punishment) is for those who disobey.'

In the first two examples, the proverbs are made of two parts which are structurally identical while in (5), the proverb is made of an NP and a PP. In the above examples, the division coincides with the grammatical division of the two phrases. The division in (3) and (4) is between two identical structures. The division

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cannot be accounted for in terms of rhythm since the PPs in (4) do not have the same number of syllables. It is basically a structural phenomenon. The division occurring between two identical constructions will be further studied in section 2 about parallelism.

The proverbs below are examples of like-proverbs or proverbial phrases. Typically, like-proverbs are made of the resemblance expression *mɪθɪl* 'like' and an NP without giving extra details clarifying the aspects of similarity between the real life situation and the NP in the proverb. It is the role of the cultural affinity between the conversationalists to disambiguate the proverb and make it relate to the situation at hand. If the proverb at hand is made of the resemblance expression *mɪθɪl* 'like' and an NP, usually there is no division between the two. The lack of a pause in these structures is a reflection of the shortness or briefness of these proverbs. Furthermore, one major task the hearer should be occupied with is to find out the points of similarity between him and the situation provided in the proverb although these grounds of similarity are not given. Examples of like-proverbs without the grounds of similarity are (6) and (7) below.

(6)   mɪθɪl ɪl-ɣanam ʔɪs-samra
        like the-sheep the-brown
        'Like the brown sheep'

(7)   mɪθɪl marɪs ʔabʊ Rɪzɪg
        like long-but thin-land father Rizig
        'Like the long land of Abu Rizig.'

However, in some proverbs, the NP is followed by a sentence clarifying the grounds of similarity between the real life situation and the proverb. In such proverbs

the division occurs between the NP and the following sentence. In other words, the division coincides with the end of the noun phrase. In this case, the NP and the sentence can be considered as topic and comment respectively:

(8)　　mɪθɪl ɪdʒ-dʒamal // b-oukɪl　　bɪ-l-bɪrkɪh wo ʕeɪn-ʊ ʕa-ɣeɪr-ha
　　　　like the-camel　　// IMPERF-eat in-the-pool and eye-his on another-one
　　　　'Like the camel // which has its own food and looks at the others' food.'

(9)　　mɪθɪl ɪl-garʕa //　　b-tɪtbaaha　　　　b-dʒadaajɪl bɪnt xaalɪt-ta
　　　　like the bold-FEM //IMPERF-feel-arrogant with-hairlocks daughter aunt-her
　　　　'Like the bold who praises her niece's hair locks.'

In these examples, the split takes place between the NP which is the topic and the following sentence which is the comment.

The bipartite structure in simple sentences is articulated through a pause between the subject and the verb if the sentence is verbal and between the subject and the predicate if the sentence is verbless. Consider the following examples:

(10)　　man　　dʒadda　　/　　wadʒad
　　　　who　　works hard/　　find-FUT
　　　　'He who works hard shall find.'

(11)　　daar ɪl-hamliin　　　　/　　b-tɪxrab gabʊl daar ɪD-Daalmiin
　　　　house the-careless-MAS.PL / IMPERF -ruins before house the-unjust- MAS.PL
　　　　'The house of the negligent gets ruined before the house of the unjust.'

(12)　　bɪnt　　　ɪl-farah　　　　/　　ħaffara
　　　　daughter the mouse-FEM　　/　　digger-FEM
　　　　'Like father like son.'

(13)　　dʒaar-ak　　　ɪl-gariib　/　　ʔa-xaɪr mɪn ʔaxu-uk ʔɪl-baʕiid
　　　　neighbor-your the- close /　　better then brother-your the- far
　　　　'Your close neighbor is better than you far brother.'

(14)　　ʔɪdʒ-dʒaahɪl　/　　　ʕaduu nafs-ʊ
　　　　the-ignorant　/　　　enemy self-his
　　　　'An ignorant person is the enemy of himself.'

In the first two examples, the split occurs between the subject, which is a relative clause in (10), and a construct state in (11), and the verb. In other words, the length of the subject does not influence the position of the division. The division is based on syntactic structure. In the last three examples, the division takes place between the subject which is a construct phrase in (12); a modified NP in (13) and a single-word noun in (14), and the predicate. Again, these examples show that the pause is not affected by the number of the syllables in each section. The proverbs in (10) through (14), by virtue of containing one proposition, cannot be considered as binary under Yassin's classification since he proposed that a binary proverb is the one that contains two propositions. However, as the division marker indicates, these proverbs are uttered as containing two parts. One final remark is that these proverbs lack apparent markers of the binary structure including parallelism and some connectors.

Uttering these proverbs without the pause or with a misplaced pause would apparently makethem non-proverbial or may lead to difficulty in analysis. Consider the proverbs in (13) and (14) given below with misplaced divisions as (15) and (16):

(15)   dʒaar-ak   /   ɪl-gariib   ʔa-xaɪr /   mɪn ʔaxu-uk ʔɪl-baʕiid
         neighbor-your /   the- close better   /   then brother-your the- far
         'Your close neighbor is better than you far brother.'

(16)   ʔɪdʒ-dʒaahɪl   ʕaduu /   nafs-ʊ
         the-ignorant   enemy /   self-his
         'An ignorant person is the enemy of himself.'

 The example in (15) contains two positions for a pause. The first one is unacceptable since it separates between the N   *dʒaar-ak* 'your neighbor' and its modifying

adjective *ıl-gariib* 'the close one'. The second position for division separates the

components of a comparative *ʔa-xaır mın* 'better than'. The example in (16) contains

one misplaced division. This division is not acceptable since it divides the predicate

of the sentence into two parts.

The placement of the pause in imperative and prohibitive proverbs usually

coincides with the end of the clause. Most imperative and prohibitive proverbs are in

fact a mixture of the two in the form 'do … and don't do'. Single imperative proverbs

and single prohibitive proverbs are really few. I believe this is due to the directive

nature of proverbs which seeks to guide people to better solutions. In other words,

these proverbs express two propositions. In this sense, these proverbs are binary

under Yassin's classification. The pause takes place at the end of the imperative or

prohibitive clauses and between them when they co-occur. The lack of an internal

pause in prohibitives or imperatives is due to the nature of these proverbs. Their goal

is to draw the hearer's attention to the end i.e. to the imperative or the prohibitive

action. The placement of the pause in these proverbs is sentential i.e. they do not have

internal divisions due to the fact that they lack a subject. Consider the following

examples:

(17) ʔıtˤˤıb ıgdaam-ak   / wa la tıtˤˤıb ılsaan-ak
      tire feet-your and NEG /   tire tongue-your
      'Tire your feet   /   and don't tire tongue.'

(18) laa tnaam beın   lı- gbuur   /   wa laa tıħlam ʔaħlaam radıjje
      NEG sleep between the-graves /   and NEG dream dreams bad
      'Don't sleep between the graves and don't have bad dreams.'

(19) mʊr ʕan ʕaddʊwak dʒiiʕan   /   wa laa tmʊr ʕannʊ ʕarjaan
      pass by enemy-your hungry   /   and NEG pass by-him naked
      'Pass by your enemy when you are hungry but do not pass by him when you
      are naked i.e. do not let him see you in bad shape.'

The placement of the pause is indicated through rhyme as in (17) and (19). In
these proverbs, the two parts of the proverb share the same rhyme. In addition, it is
indicated by the repetition of the imperative form with or without *laa* to form the
prohibitive. Furthermore, the word *wa* 'and' can be considered as another marker of a
division since all the divisions take place before this word.

The placement of the division in compound sentences coincides with the end
of the clause. However, there is an internal pause between the subject and the
predicate as in (20) and between the subject and the verb as in (21):

(20) ʔɪT-Tuul /   Tuul naxla   //   wɪ-l-ʕagʊl /   ʕaʊl saxla
      the height /   height palm tree   //   and the-brain / brain sheep
      'The height is the height of a palm tree and the brain is the brain of a sheep.'

(21) ʔɪl-maal   /   bɪ-dʒʊr ɪl-maal   //   wɪ l-gamʊl /   bɪdʒʊrr ɪs-iiban
      the money   /   IMPERF-pulls the money   //   and the lice / pulls the
      'Money brings money and lice bring lice eggs.'

In these examples, the placement of the pause is determined through different
factors. First, the pause is almost always placed at the end of the first sentence i.e. at
the end of the first proposition. This position is an anchor point for all the proverbs.
Second, it is placed between the subject and the predicate. This position is fixed for
all the proverbs whether they are subject/predicate or subject/verb sentences. Third:
the division takes place before the word *wa* 'and'. Finally, rhyme as well plays an
essential role here. In (20), the two sentences rhyme. In (21), rhyme takes place

between the subject and the last element in the predicate of each clause. The role of rhyme is not frequently attested due to the fact that it is not available in all the proverbs.

The placement of the pause in complex sentences is conditioned by the same factors. Consider the following examples:

(22)   ʔɪða   ʔɪndʒannʊ   ʔahl-ak   /   ʕagl-ak   maa   bɪ-nfaʕ-ak
        If become crazy family-your-MAS. S / brain-your- MAS. S not IMPERF-benefit-you-
MAS. S
        'If your family become nuts, your brain won't help'

(23)   ʔɪn   gawwasat   Subħɪjjɪ   /   xʊD   ʕaSaat-ak
        if rainbow-appeared morning-time /   take- MAS.S stick-your
        wɪ-lħag- MAS.S   ʔɪr-raʕɪjɪh
        and follow   the shepherds
        'When rainbow appears in the morning, take your stick and follow the shepherd i.e. it will a good (sunny)'

The examples above are conditional sentences. The placement of the pause coincides with the end of the clause. Interestingly enough, these proverbs and the generalization goes for all the proverbs with conditional sentences, do not have an internal division. The division is sentential to draw the attention to the relationship between the two parts. The lack of an internal pause is accounted for by the importance of the sentential pause. Generally speaking, what comes after the pause is far more significant than what comes before. This generalization applies to other sentences. The role of subordinate clauses as well as similar constructions including adverbial clauses is to set the scene for the upcoming significant information in the main clause. The reaction of the hearer is usually provided in the main clause and the hearer acts upon the setting provided in the subordinate clause. Consequently, one can

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make a generalization that locating the pause in complex sentences is much easier since it always coincides with the end of the subordinate clause.

Quite a few proverbs start with time adverbials followed by an imperative. They start with time adverbials to set the scene for the activity required in the main clause. Again, the hearer acts upon the condition provided in the adverbial clause. The time adverbial is placed in the initial position to make it clear that at that certain time, one should do a certain activity. These proverbs contain one pause and it is placed prior to the imperative i.e. it follows the time adverbials.

(24) sant ɪz-zarzuur / ʔʊħrʊθ   b-ɪl-buur
     year the-zarzuur / plow   in-the-uncultivated land
     'When this bird appears, plow in the uncultivated land. i.e. It is a good year.'

(25) sant ɪl-ħamaam / ʔʊfrʊʃ   wo   namm
     year the-pigeons / spread(your bed) and   sleep
     'When the pigeons appear, spread your bed and sleep. i.e. It is not a good year for agriculture.'

Furthermore, the placement of the pause is indicated by rhyme.

Before closing this section, it is worth mentioning that some proverbs are tripartite. They are made of three clauses in which case there should be at least two sentential pauses as well as internal pauses occurring at the phrasal level. Consider the following examples:

(26) maTraħ ɪl-ʕagrab   /   laa tɪgrab //
     place the- scorpion   /   NEG come close
     maTraħ ɪl-ħaniiʃ   /   laa tɪdʒii-ʃ //
     place the-haniish   /   NEG come- NEG
     wo maTraħ ɪl-ħajje   /   ʔʊfrʊʃ wo naam
     and place the-snake   /   spread and sleep
     'Don't come close to the place of a scorpion; don't come close to the place of haniish ; and where the snake is located spread your bed and sleep.'

(27)   kabiir ɪr-raas   /   l-ar-raɪ //
        big the-head   for-the-opinion//
        wo kabiir ɪs-saag   /   dʒarraɪ//
        and big the-leg   /   runner//
        wo kabiir ɪT-Tiiz   /   xarraɪ
        and big the-ass   /   shitter
        'A person with a big head is good for counseling; a person with a big leg is
        good for running and a person with a big ass is good for shitting.'

The proverb in (26) is made of three parts; the first two parts are made of a
construct phrase and a prohibitive while the last part is made of a construct state and
an imperative. In this proverb, the location of the pause is indicated through the
repetition of the same lexical expression, *maTraħ* 'place'; the repetition of the same
constructions and rhyme.

The proverb in (27) is made of three equational sentences. Each of which is
made of a construct phrase and an adjective except for the first equational sentence
which contains a PP. The placement of the pause is indicated through the repetition of
the same structure, through rhyme, through the repetition of the word *kabiir* 'big' at
the beginning of each section, and through the existence of the coordinator *wa* 'and'.

A summary of all the grammatical structures of proverbs and the exact points
of division they might contain is given in table (7) below. The structures are given in
the same order of presentation

4.3. **Parallelism**

Parallelism, by definition, is 'a sameness relationship between two sections of
a text' (Fabb 1997). Yassin (1988) states that since proverbs have a binary structure,
parallelism is evident as well. Parallelism can be either structural or semantic.

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Structural parallelism, which is going to be focused upon here, is manifested when two sections of the text are identical at a certain level i.e. morphological or syntactic. Fabb proposed three functions for parallelism. First: parallelism serves as an organizing principle through which the text is woven. Second: it gives the text the poetic function; when rhyme and parallelism are salient in the text they make the text distinct from every day language. Finally: they reflect parallelism in cultural thinking.

Parallelism is effectively employed in proverbs at various levels. Parallelism is employed in proverbs for diverse purposes. First: parallelism gives proverbs a poetic sense. When accompanied with rhyme, parallelism provides proverbs with sacredness and validity. They make proverbs look like classical Arabic poetry since these two elements are integral components of poetry.

Second: they play a vital role in distinguishing the proverbs from everyday language. Parallelisms may occur in everyday language; however, they may be accidental. In proverbs, parallelisms are abundant and they occur at all levels though the most apparent are syntactic parallelisms.

Finally, parallelism can function as an effective device of accessibility. It helps the users to memorize proverbs. Proverbs are meant to be accessible by virtue of themes and structure. The utilization of identical constructions certainly helps the speaker to memorize the proverb. Recalling one section might help the proverb user to recall the second identical part.

Table 7: *Structural Patterns of Proverbs and Points of Division*

No.	Structure	Place of division
1.	PP + PP (6 Proverbs)	▪ The division is phrasal i.e. it coincides with the end of the phrase
2.	NP + PP (5 Proverbs)	▪ The division is phrasal i.e. it coincides with the end of the clause.
3.	Proverbial phrases (16 Proverbs) 　　a. mithil + NP (12) 　　b. mithil + sentence (4)	▪ No division ▪ The division is between the subject and the predicate.
4.	Simple sentences (68)	▪ The division is between the subject and the verb.
5.	Imperatives and prohibitives (38)	▪ The division coincides with the end of the clause. ▪ The division occurs between each clause if the proverb contains more than one imperative or prohibitive.
6.	Compound sentences (24) (Two simple coordinated sentences)	▪ The division coincides with the end of the clause. ▪ Internal division between the subject and the predicate.
7.	Complex sentences (19)	▪ The division coincides with the end of the clause. ▪ Internal division between the subject and the predicate.
8.	Proverbs starting with adverbials (18)	▪ The division coincides with the end of the adverbial phrase.
9.	Proverbs starting with topics (27)	▪ The division is between the topic and the rest of the proverb. ▪ Internal division between the subject and the predicate.
10.	Tripartite proverbs (6)	▪ The division coincides with the end of the clause. ▪ The division is between the subject and the predicate.

Parallelism will be posited in this section starting with morphological to syntactic parallelism. Morphological parallelism takes place when sub-parts of words or morphemes, mainly possessive morphemes, appear repeatedly as in:

(28) mɪn gɪlɪt   had**aa-na** / ʔɪngalab Seɪf-na   ɪʃt**aa-na**
      from lack   poise-our   became summer-our   winter-our
      'Because of our lack of faith, our summer has become winter.'

(29) xʊD   **faal-ha** / mɪn   ʔaT**faal-ha**
      take   omen-its   from children-its
      'Children bring good luck'

In (28), morphological parallelism is manifested in the repetition of *aa-na* twice; once at the end of the first division and once at the end of the proverb. Although, the two parts rhyme through the suffix – *na* 'our', this section is repeated to make the two sections parallel. The same analysis applies to the proverb in (29) where parallelism takes place between a full word placed at the end of the first phonological division *faal-ha* 'her good omen' and a section of a word *ʔaTfaal-ha* 'her children' appearing at the end of the second phonological division. Unlike syntactic parallelism, morphological parallelism is not usually employed to enhance contrast between propositions.

Syntactic parallelism is the most common type of structural parallelism. It occurs when two identical structures (PPs, NPs, or VPs) take place twice in the proverb. In this sense, syntactic parallelism is closely related to the bipartite structure of proverbs. One essential function for syntactic parallelism is to make contrast between two propositions or entities. The purpose is to clarify that although these propositions or entities are placed in similar constructions, they are greatly different

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and they cannot be combined. In the following paragraphs some instances of syntactic

parallelism are posited. Their influential effect on the meaning of the proverb is

presented as well. Consider these examples:

	NP		NP	
(30)	Sabaaħ lɪ-gruud	wa laa	sabaaħ lɪ-dʒruud	

  morning the monkeys and not morning the hairless
'The morning of the monkey is better than the morning of the hairless.'

	NP	NP
(31)	tʃalb ħaajɪm wa-la sabɪʕ naajɪm	

dog roaming and-not lion sleeping
'A roaming dog is better than a sleeping lion.'

	PP	PP
(32)	mɪn ɪʃ-ʃadʒar	l-al-ħadʒar

from   the-trees   to-the-stone
'Olive should be pressed immediately.'

	S		S
(33)	raaħ gaduum	wa	dʒa mɪnʃaar

went-MAS   axe   and- came-MAS saw
'He traveled as an axe and came back as a saw i.e. nothing has changed in

him.'

	S		S	
(34)	ʔɪT-Tuul /	Tuul naxla	wɪ-l-ʕagʊl /	ʕaʊl saxla

the height /   height palm tree   and the-brain / brain sheep
'The height is the height of a palm tree and the brain is the brain of a sheep.'

	S	S
(35)	ʔɪn kɪθrʊ ʔɪʃ-ʃaħħaadiin	bɪ-tgɪl ʔɪS-Sadagah

if increase the-beggars   IMPERF-decrease the-charity
'When beggars increase, charity decreases.'

In (30) parallelism takes place between two construct phrases i.e. two

compound nouns. Parallelism is supported by rhyme; the two phonological sections

end with the long syllable /ruud/. The use of parallelism is motivated to contrast

between the two entities in the two structures. The contrast is between the morning of the monkeys and the morning of the hairless. Although monkeys are despised in our culture, they are still more favorable than the morning of the hairless.

In (31), parallelism occurs between two prepositional phrases. Again, it is supported by rhyme. The purpose of the parallelism is to clarify the preference of a roaming dog to a sleeping lion. In our culture, the lion is more preferred than the dog and parents compare their sons to them; however, they are derogated when characterized with such traits as sluggishness and laziness.

The proverb in (32) contains parallelism between two PPs. The parallelism in this proverb is further augmented by rhyme. The purpose of parallelism in this proverb is to contrast the source and destination. The goal is to clarify that olives should not be stored after being picked, otherwise they will get rotten. One should press the olives directly. This contrast is clarified through the use of *ɪʃ-ʃadʒar* 'trees' and *ħadʒar* 'stone i.e. the old way of pressing oils.' This idea of contrast is further made clear through the use of the prepositions *mɪn* 'from' and *la-* 'to' indicating the source and destination.

The proverb in (33) has parallelism between two verbal sentences. Parallelism is intensified by having two verbs related semantically and inflected for the same person followed by two names of instruments. The contrast is expressed by the two opposite verbs. However, the focus of this proverb is not the contrast between the two verbs. The goal of this verb is to strengthen the meanness of the person who has traveled and come back with worse behaviors than those he used to have. The bad

behaviors are expressed through the use of the words *gaduum* 'axe' and *mmʃaar* 'saw.'

The proverb in (34) contains parallelism between two verbless sentences. These two sentences make a contrast between one's appearance and his lack of awareness. The contrast is made clear through the use of two entities: one is huge n*axlah* 'a palm tree' and the other is small *saxlah* 'baby goat'. The parallelism is further augmented through the use of rhyme.

The proverb in (35) includes an incomplete parallelism. This proverb contains two clauses; each one contains a verb and a subject in the same order. However, I considered this example incomplete since the first clause contains the condition particle ʔɪn 'if'. However, the role of parallelism is witnessed in the two contrastive verbs increase and decrease. However, parallelism is not frequent in conditional proverbs due to other reasons including: the existence of imperatives in the main clause or due to different kinds of internal constituents.

Clearly, parallelism is witnessed at all levels in proverbs. Syntactic parallelisms can be manipulated to make contrasts between two propositions or entities. Parallelism implicates that although these two propositions are placed in identical constructions, yet they are not equal.

4.4. **Gapping (Ellipsis)**

Gapping, by definition, is a syntactic process with stylistic implications. It usually involves deleting an implied constituent in one structure due to its presence in a previous structure (Fabb 1997). According to Yassin (1988), the purpose of ellipsis

is to reduce redundancy. Yassin used ellipsis or gapping as the opposite of parallelism which, according to him, increases redundancy. He maintains that ellipsis is manipulated in proverbs to reduce redundancy 'to form a message that is maximally effective because of its brevity and conciseness.' However, Yassin is not quite right in his proposal that parallelism is the opposite of gapping.

In order for gapping to take place, it requires lexical repetition rather than parallelism. In repetition, the same lexical or phrasal element is repeated; parallelism is syntactic similarity rather than lexical repetition.

Despite the briefness of proverbs, they do not depend upon gapping. The rationale behind this is not to leave things ambiguous or for guessing. In 295 proverbs, one instance of gapping has been witnessed:

(36) razɪjjɪh fɪ-l-maal wa-la_____ fɪ-l-ɪʕjaal
     catastrophe in-the-money and-not in-the-children
     'Children are more precious than wealth.'

This minimal use of gapping contributes to the clarity of the proverbs. Proverbs are supposed to be accessible to all the members of the community. Not a single part should be left ambiguous so as not to carry different interpretations.

4.5. **Repetition**

Repetition is mainly a rhetorical device that is repeatedly employed at all levels of discourse for diverse functions. Johnstone (1987) states that repetition is disfavored in the west and that normal Americans criticize other's styles as redundant and repetitive. However, she maintains that repetition is omnipresent in our daily life. Brody (1986) argues that repetition is often handled under the rubric of

'communicative redundancy' which is integrated in language for the sole purpose of facilitating communication and reducing errors. Brody (1986) and Johnstone (1987) presented a number of functions for integrating repetition in discourse. Among the most prominent are: discourse cohesion, emphasis, persuasion, keeping track, imitation, rhetorics, and social solidarity. I am not going to discuss each one of them as repetition itself is not the goal of our study. What we want to focus upon here is repetition in proverbs. However, the last function might be of interest to us.

Johnstone (1987) proposes that repetition makes discourse sound elegant. Brody (1986) proposes that, from the hearer's perspective, repetition creates expectations and facilitates memorability, while from the speaker's perspective repetition creates emphasis.

By repetition, I mean identical lexical repetition that is not required by syntax. In the corpus, repetition is scarcely detected. Three exact instances of repetition have been detected in the corpus. The infrequency of repetitions in the corpus is due to two factors. The first factor is the brevity of the proverbs. Proverbs are generally very brief and they do not favor the use of extra or redundant words. The second factor is the nature of proverbs as a device of persuasion. In this respect, proverbs resemble repetitions and they are even stronger since they represent the speaker's as well as the community's beliefs.

The three instances of repetition in the proverbs are motivated to guarantee rhyme. Consider the examples below:

(37) ʕɪddɪ ʔɪrdʒaal-ɪtʃ **ʕɪddɪ**   mɪn lɪ-graʕ la-l-ɪmSaddɪ
      count-FEM.S men-your-FEM.S count-FEM.S from the-bold to-the-rusted
      'Count your men from the bold to the rusted i.e. they are all worthless.'

(38) ʔɪrkab xeɪl-ak **ʔɪrkab**   ʔɪllɪ bɪgTaʕ ʔɪl-baħʊr maa bɪtʕab
      get-on horses-your get-on   who IMPERF-cut the-sea NEG IMPERF-tired
      'Get on your horse, he who crosses the sea does not get tired.'

(39) raaħ lɪ-nhaar wo **walla** w-ʊmm ɪl-gamʊl tɪtgalla
      went the-day and went and-mother the-lice act-sluggishly
      'The day has ended, and the mother of lice has not started doing her chores
yet.'

In (37), the imperative has been repeated twice. The repetition of the imperative is motivated to provide rhyme for the first division. The first mention of the verb suffices for conveying the message of imperativeness. Consequently, the repetition is merely stylistic. The same generalization applies to (38); the imperative is valid and sufficient with the first verb. The repetition provides rhyme for the first section.

The proverb in (39) is slightly different. A different verb with the same meaning of the first verb has been used. The use of a different verb is motivated by providing rhyme for the first section.

Now compare these proverbs to the following proverbs in which the repeated constituent is required by syntax:

(40) lɪ-ħmaar ʔɪħmaar wa-law rɪbɪ beɪn lɪ-xjuul
      the-donkey donkey and-if raised between the-horses
      'A donkey remains a donkey even if it was raised between horses.'

In this proverb the repeated word functions as the predicate of the sentence and its deletion would make the sentence ungrammatical.

To conclude, one can say that repetition is minimally used in proverbs due to the brevity of proverbs and due to resemblance of both devices repetition and proverbs in function as means of persuasion. However, when repetition appears in proverbs it is to achieve rhyme.

4.6. Rhyme

This small section will be concerned with the function of rhyme in proverbs. The various means through which proverbs achieve rhyme will not be in the scope of this section.

The importance of rhyme in proverbs is manifested in the large number of proverbs with rhymes; the exact number is 103 out of 293 proverbs. The function of rhyme in proverbs is to provide them with a poetic sense. Out of 81 that contain syntactic parallelism, 59 of them contain rhyme as well. Rhyme and the binary structure are the two most prevalent features of classical Arabic poetry. To explore these two features in Classical Arabic Poetry, visit www.almotanabbi.com/poemsList.do. It is the website of the most famous poet. His name is Abu ATTajjib Al-Mutanabbi. In the website, one can read and listen to the poems.

The second function of rhyme is closely related to the first function or even can be considered as a consequence of it. Rhyme provides proverbs with sacredness. Rhyme in proverbs makes them appear, for contemporary speakers, as lines of wisdom from former ages taking in consideration that Arabic poetry with the binary structure and rhyme is rarely composed nowadays.

Finally, rhyme can aid the user in recalling the full proverb. In other words, it helps memorability and accessibility. The user is supposed to look for an expression that rhymes with the last word in the first division. The ability of the user to give the proverb in full, when he forgets a part of it, instead of paraphrasing the proverb in his own words, is an indication of the sacredness of the proverb.

Nearly all the examples given in this section are rhyme proverbs. Rhyme accompanied with the binary structure of proverbs and consequently parallelism is the most prevalent distinctive features of proverbs.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter has presented some of the stylistic features of proverbs. The features under study are investigated since they closely relate to the structures of proverbs. Some of these features; the binary structure of proverb, parallelism and rhyme can be considered as definitional features of proverbs. In fact, the first feature is the only feature detected in nearly all the proverbs. A few exceptions to this feature were pointed out. In addition, this chapter has discussed `why features like gapping and repetition are minimal in proverbs.

Negation in the Proverbs

5.1. Introduction

Negation in proverbs is studied for various reasons. First: negation is a linguistic phenomenon that is fundamental for all the language system. Negation appears at different syntactic levels and has different purposes or meanings. Second: negation in formulaic expressions like proverbs has never been studied at any level. Finally: a close look at negation in proverbs shows that negation suffixes behave differently from the normal uses of negation in Jordanian Arabic.

I propose that negation as used in proverbs enhances the generic function of proverbs. I maintain that the type of negation used in the proverbs is categorical negation. Categorical negation as defined by Brustad (2000) is that negation whose scope includes the whole category i.e. it is not restricted to a single entity or two of the category. This same kind of negation has been termed by Abulhaija (1989) as emphatic negation. Form and function of categorical negation will be extensively discussed at the proverbial and non-proverbial levels.

However, I think that, despite that categorical negation and emphatic negation have the same structures as we will see in this chapter, a distintion should be made between the two. Emphatic negation is directive in nature and they reflect the mood of the user or the speaker. Categorical negation has a generalizing meaning; it does not mirror the mood of the speaker. It has a normative aspect that is arrived at after a witnessing the negation of a certain relationship, incident, member of a group.

Despite the extensive research on negation in Arabic, most of it has been in the form of syntactic analysis. Some of the studies are Eid (1991), Benmamoun (1996 & 2000), Fassi Fehri (1993) and Bahloul (1996) among many others.

Brustad (2000) studied negation in four Arabic dialects namely: Egyptian Arabic (EA), Moroccan Arabic (MA), Syrian Arabic (SA), and Kuwaiti Arabic (KA). She studied these dialects from a dialectological point of view. She stated that the four dialects have three strategies of negation: verbal negation, predicate negation, and categorical negation. Reference to Brustad's study will be made when needed.

Negation in Jordanian Arabic has been repeatedly studied from various perspectives. Al-Tamari (2001) studied negation from a syntactic perspective adopting the minimalist approach. However, he studied only one type of negation i.e. sentential negation. He attempted to show how sentential negation in verbal and verbless sentences is formed in English, Standard Arabic, and some dialects of Arabic including: Egyptian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Jordanian Arabic, Syrian Arabic, and Saudi Arabic. Due to the nature of his study, Al-Tamari has not covered many aspects of negation including prohibitives and categorical negation.

Abulhaija (1989) studied the acquisition of negation by Jordanian children. He studied various types of negation at two levels production and comprehension. Abu Alhaija states that negation consists of linguistic structures that permit:

a. the either conjoining

b. not even

c. tag questions without no

Nevertheless, he has not provided examples containing these from Jordanian Arabic. Abu-Alhaija presented a rough description of the negation system as spoken in Jordanian Arabic.

Onizan (2005) studied the pragmatic functions of negative utterances in Arabic literary discourse. She gave a detailed description of sentence structure in both Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic followed by a detailed account of negation in both languages. One shortcoming of Onizan's research about negation is that it has not included the pragmatic variations of negation morphemes. These variations have the influence of determining the relationship between the conversationalists as well as the tone of the speaker as we will see in the following sections.

5.2. Negation in Jordanian Arabic

In this section, an attempt is made to present a unitary description of negation in Jordanian Arabic (JA) based on the studies referred to above, as well as on recordings of real life situations. The recordings were made in 2004 of some Jordanians studying and working in America. Most of them are in their 30's and most of them are not residents of the USA. They are in weekly contact with their relatives in Jordan. In other words, they have not been disconnected from the language as used in Jordan.

Pragmatic variations of negation morphemes, their use and their functions will be presented in this section. The types of negation discussed in this chapter are not comprehensive, i.e. it does not cover all strategies of negation. The types and the

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strategies of negation presented here are those recurrent in the corpus. For instance, negative questions will not be discussed here since the corpus does not include negative questions. The presentation of negation types in JA provides a starting point for better understanding negation in proverbs.

5.2.1. **Negation of Verbal Sentences**

According to Onizan (2005), verbal negation, which is also sentential negation, is formed by the bound morpheme *maa...ʃ.* Moreover, Onizan claims that this morpheme can be equally used in both the perfective and the imperfective aspects of the verb as in (1) and (2) respectively, but they cannot be used with the infinitive mode which explains the ungrammaticality of (3). The examples are taken from Onizan:

(1)   ʕalı maa kal-ıʃ
        Ali NEG ate-NEG
        'Ali didn't eat.'

(2)   ʕalı maa   b-oukl-ıʃ
        Ali NEG IMPERF-eat-NEG
        'Ali doesn't eat.'

(3)*   ʕalı raħ maa you-kl-ıʃ
        Ali will NEG-he-eat-NEG
        'Ali will not to eat.'

However, she did not present the right means to negate the infinitive mode.

Moreover, Onizan maintains that this bound morpheme is used to negate a group of light verbs or pseudo verbs which are, by nature, prepositional phrases and adverbials functioning like verbs. In which case, the first part of the morpheme becomes optional. Consider the following examples taken from Onizan (2005):

(4)   (maa) bad-haa-ʃ xubɪz
        (NEG) want-she-NEG bread
        'She does not want bread.'

(5)   (maa) maʕ-haa-ʃ fluus
        NEG   with-her-NEG money
        'She doesn't have money'
        Al-Tamari (2001) proposes that JA has three negative markers: *maa*, *maa.. ʃ*,

and *mɪʃ*; the first two morphemes are used to negate perfective and imperfective verbs

while *mɪʃ* is used to negate future sentences. He argued that *maa* is not a variant of

maa.. ʃ. He built his argument on Syrian Arabic which contains only *maa*. However,

he states that syntactically both *maa* and *maa.. ʃ* are generated in the same position

and in terms of function, serve the same function. Al-Tamari says that sentences

containing the infinitive mode are usually negated via *mɪʃ* as in:

(6)   Ahmad *mɪʃ* raħ   ʔɪsaafɪr l-amrika
        Ahmad NEG going to travel to America
        'Ahmad is not going to travel to America.'

Abulhaija (1989) states that JA has two morphemes *maa..ʃ,* used to negate verbal

sentences and light verbs and *mɪʃ* used to negate nominal sentences and future

sentences.

        I propose, along the lines of Onizan and AbulHaija, that JA has two negation

morphemes *maa.. ʃ* used to negate verbal sentences as well as light verbs and *mɪʃ*

used to negate future sentences and sentences that contain the infinitive mode.

        However, an important issue previous researchers have missed is the behavior

of *maa.. ʃ* with the various aspects of the verb. Examples from real life situations

show that this morpheme does not behave identically with regard to aspect. When the verb is in the perfective mode, negation can be formed by the two parts of the morpheme as in (1) above or by the first part alone as in (7). Negation formed by the second part alone is not acceptable as in (8):

(7)   ʔana maa rʊħɪt wala baddɪ ʔaruuħ
        I NEG went and NEG want go
        'I didn't go and I am not going to go.'

(8)*   ʔana rʊħtɪʃ wa-la baddɪ ʔaruuħ
        I NEG went and-NEG want go
        'I didn't go and I am not going to go.'

On the other hand, when the verb is imperfective, negation can be formed by three options: the two parts of the morpheme; the first part of the morpheme alone; and the second part of the morpheme alone as in (9), (10), and (11) respectively.

(9)   maa b-aħkiiʃ   maʕ-ak
        NEG IMPERF-talk-NEG with-you
        'I am not talking to you.'

(10)   b-aħkiiʃ   maʕ-ak
         IMPERF-talk-NEG   with-you
        'I am not talking to you.'

(11)   maa b-aħkɪ   maʕ-ak
        NEG IMPERF-talk   with-you
        'I am not talking to you.'

It seems here that *maa* is closely associated to the negation of perfective verbs. In fact, *maa* is the only way of negating a perfective verb in Standard Arabic without the need of modifying the shape of the verb. (In Standard Arabic, negation of perfective verbs can also be achieved through using *lam* and changing the verb into imperfective. This negation particle is not existent in JA.)

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One meaning for the deletion of the suffix has been presented by AbulHaija (1989) for Jordanian Arabic is emphatic negation, while another meaning presented by Brustad (2000) for Moroccan and Egyptian Arabic is categorical negation. They propose that the deletion of the suffix indicates emphasis or absolute negation. However, the conditions they presented for the occurrence of each kind of negation are nearly identical.   Nonetheless, I believe that categorical negation is more or less impersonalized while emphatic negation is personalized and reflects the persons's point of view. This type of negation and its restrictions will be discussed in a separate section.

In terms of frequency, using the morpheme in its two parts is the most common means of verbal negation. In a recording that lasted for 30 minutes, cases of negation with the two parts of the morpheme appeared 12 times while cases with the prefix alone occurred only six times and cases in which the suffix alone was used appeared only five times.

5.2.2. **Negation of Copular Sentences**

Copular sentences, by definition, are those sentences that contain a copula. The copula in JA is *kaan* and its different morphological realizations according to tense, person, number and gender.

According to Onizan (2005), copular sentences are negated via the use of the bound morpheme *maa..ʃ*. Al-Tamari (2001), due to the fact that he considered *maa* as a different morpheme from *maa.. ʃ,* argues that copular sentences are negated by two

morphemes instead of one. He did not specify when each one is used or what meanings are conveyed by using each one.

In copular sentences, the copula is the element to be negated. Consider the following example:

(12)   Ɂıħmad maa-kaan-ıʃ   bı-l-mıdrasıh Ɂımbarıħ
       Ahmad NEG-was-NEG at-the-school yesterday
       'Ahmad was not at school yesterday.'

(13)   maa kʊnt-ıʃ maʕ-hʊm
       NEG was NEG with-them
       'I wasn't with them.'

In my recordings, two cases of copular negation appeared, and they were achieved through using the bound morpheme only. The two cases are given below in (14) and (15):

(14)   maa-kʊn-t-ıʃ Saaf maʕ-na
       NEG-was-you-NEG standing with-us
       'You weren't supporting us.'

(15)   maa-kʊn-t-ıʃ
       NEG-was-I-NEG
       'I wasn't.'

5.2.3. Negation of Verbless Sentences

A verbless sentence is a sentence that lacks a verb. Onizan (2005) proposes that JA has predicative and equational sentences as types of verbless sentences. These two types are similar in containing a subject and a predicate and in referring to the present time. However, equational sentences are differentiated from predicative sentences in containing a pronoun that agrees with the subject in person and number. (17) and (18) are examples of predicative and equational sentences respectively:

(16)   Adham Taalɪb
         Adham student
         'Adham is a student.'

(17)   Adham hʊwa T-Taalɪb
         Adham he the student
         'Adham is the student.'

Predicative and equational sentences are negated via *mɪʃ* which is positioned before

the predicate. Consider the negation of (16) and (17) given below as (18) and (19):

(18)   Adham mɪʃ Taalɪb
         Adham NEG student
         'Adham is not a student.'

(19)   Adham mɪʃ hʊwa T-Taalɪb
         Adham NEG he the student
         'Adham is not the student.'
In the recording, all the cases of verbless sentences are predicative. Consider the

following sentences:

(20)   haaj mɪʃ ʔɪlak
         This NEG yours
         'This is not yours.'

(21)   haaDa mɪʃ gaSd-ɪ
         This is NEG intention-my
         'This is not what I meant.'

5.2.4. **Prohibitives**

According to Onizan (2005), prohibitives are formed by positioning *laa*

before the verb and *-ɪʃ* after the verb as in:

(22)   laa toukl-ɪʃ gabl l-ħammam
         NEG eat-NEG before the-shower
         'Don't eat before having a shower'

(23) laa tnaam-ıʃ   bıduun maatfarʃı ʔısnaanak
      NEG sleep-NEG without NEG-brush teeth-your
      'Don't go to bed without brushing your teeth.'

However, Onizan is partially right since she restricted the strategies of forming

prohibition to just one. Abulhaija (1989) presented another strategy of forming

prohibitives in JA. He proposes that prohibitives can be solely formed through using

the bound morpheme *maa.. ʃ*. This means of forming prohibitives has appeared only

once, without the suffix, in my recordings and has not appeared at all in the corpus.

The strategies presented by Onizan and Abulhaija are only two of several

strategies to form prohibitives. Relying on my recordings, I propose that prohibitves

in JA can be formed through the following means:

a. positioning *laa* before the verb and -*ʃ* after the verb as in (24):

b. using *laa* alone as in (25)

c. using the suffix alone as in (26):

d. using *balaaʃ* (Lit. free)'Don't'followed by a noun or an imperfective verb as

   in (27)

e. using *maa* before the verb as in (28):

(24) laa   tʕammım-ıʃ
      NEG generalize-NEG
      'Don't generalize!'
(25) laa tʃtʃaðıb
      NEG lie
      'Don't lie!'

(26) tıħkiʃ peasant
      Say-NEG peasant
      'Don't say peasant!'

(27)   balaaʃ nɪTlaʕ ʔɪθiir ʕan ɪl-mauDuuʕ
        NEG go a lot from the-topic
        'Let's not digress a lot.'

(28)   ʔɪntɪh maa b-tɪħtʃɪ walaa tʃɪlmɪh
        You NEG IMPERF-say and-not word
        'Don't even say a single word.'

In fact, I claim that the existence of the negation suffix is determined by the power-solidarity relationship between the interlocutors and by the context. The suffix is omitted when the prohibitive is strict and carries the meaning of total prohibition or even a punishment if broken. In (28) for instance, the speaker is using this strong form as he abhors his friend's denial that he has done a hideous act. This finding gives credit to Abulhaija who proposed that emphatic negation is 'reserved for the use of *maa-* without the suffix.' However, he did not indicate that emphatic negation can be used with prohibitives.

Another meaning for the absence of the negation suffix is repetition. A reiterated prohibition carries a stricter meaning and in this sense, it is expressed without the suffix. A mother may tell her son not to throw the cup in the sink using a lenient form of prohibition containing the negation suffix. However, she may reiterate the prohibition which has become stronger using the strict prohibition form which lacks the negation suffix. Under this analysis, the negation suffix carries another meaning besides negation i.e. leniency.

5.2.5. **Exceptive Sentences**

Exceptive sentences are worth studying alone since negation is an integral part of them. Exceptive sentences, by definition, are negative sentences that, most of the

time, involve the movement of a constituent to the end of the sentence following an exception particle. In this sense, they are similar to exceptive sentences in Standard Arabic (Schulz: 2004). The exception particles in Jordanian Arabic are *ɣeɪr* 'except/but' *ʔɪlla* 'but for'. Onizan (2005) classified these as negative polarity items (NPIs) since they restrictively occur in negative sentences. The moved constituent can be the subject as in (29), the object as in (30), or a prepositional phrase as in (31):

(29)   maa ʔaadʒa ɣeɪr Ali
        NEG came except for Ali
        'Nobody came but Ali.'

(30)   maa ʃʊf-ɪt ɣeɪr Ali
        NEG saw-I except for Ali
        'I did not see anybody but Ali.'

(31)   maa ba-naam ʔɪlla bdaarɪ
        NEG IMPERF-except for in house-my
        'I will sleep only in my house.'

Exceptive sentences can be considered as cases of absolute or emphatic negation since in each sentence, the speaker negates the inclusion of any other entity besides the excepted entity in the action expressed by the verb. This analysis gives credit to Abulhaija who suggested that emphatic negation is expressed without the suffix.

My recordings did not include any instance of exceptive sentences, however, they are abundant in the corpus and they will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

5.2.6. Categorical Negation

Brustad (2000) defined categorical negation as that kind of negation that refers to 'a whole category rather than to some specific item or member of a

category.' In her dialectological study of four Arabic dialects, Brustad proposes that categorical negation in the western dialects; namely, Moroccan Arabic and Egyptian Arabic, the dialects that have a negation suffix, is formed through omitting the suffix. She further states that categorical negation occurs in oaths like *wallahi* (Lit. and my God) 'by Allah' and in some fixed expressions including ʕʊmr (Lit. age) 'ever', ɣeɪr 'except/only', and ħatta 'any'. Furthermore, Brustad maintains that categorical negation in Syrian and Kuwaiti Arabic, the dialects which lack a negation suffix, is signaled through the syntactic structures *wa-la* 'not a/ none/ at all' and *laa ... wala* ' neither …nor'.

Abulhaija (1989) states that emphatic negation in JA is restricted to 'the use of *maa* without the suffix -ʃ. He claims that this kind of negation occurs with fixed words including ʕʊmr (Lit. age) 'ever' and *waħɪd/ ħadda* 'person' as in (32) and (33) respectively. These words were introduced by Onizan as negative polarity items.

(32) ʔʊmr-ɪ maa ba-ruuħ maʕ-aak
      Life-my NEG IMPERF-go with-you
      'I will never go with you.'
(33) maa ħada adʒa
      NEG person came
      'Nobody came.'

 Moreover, Abulhaija adds that emphatic negation, which has the same structure of categorical negation, occurs with oaths which can take any of the following forms:

(34) Oaths in JA as presented by Abulhaija (1989):

      a. w + Allah + ɪ   (Lit. and+Allah+my) 'by Allah'
      b. wɪ + l + mɪSħaf   (Lit. and+the Quaran) 'by the Holy Quran'
      c. ʔɪn + ʃaa Allah   (Lit. if + will + Allah) 'if Allah will'

Consider the following examples including the above mentioned oaths:

(35)   wallahɪ maa bagdar
        By Allah NEG IMPERF-able
        'No, by Allah, I cannot.'

(36)   wɪlmɪsħaf maa bagdar
        By the Quran NEG IMPERF-able
        'No, by the Quran, I cannot.'

(37)   ʔɪnʃaallah maa rʊħɪt
        If Allah wills NEG went
        'If Allah will, you will not go.'

In the recordings, out of 30 instances of verbal negation, 10 instances appeared without the suffix. All of these cases can be regarded as cases of categorical negation for the following reasons. First: some of them, four to be exact include the NPI *waħɪd/ ħadda* 'person' as in:

(38)   mɪθl-ak maa ħada ħatʃa ʕan-hʊm
        like-you NEG talked about them
        'Nobody talked about them like you.'

Second: in two cases, categorical negation is expressed through the use of the particle *wala* 'at all' as in:

(39)   fiih naas wa-laa sɪmʕʊ ʔɪʃi
        in people and- NEG heard thing
        'There are some people who did not hear anything at all'

In JA, we say:

(40)   Ali laa ʃʊɣʊl walaa maʃɣalah
        Ali NEG job and NEG
        'Ali neither works nor has any thing to keep himself busy with.'

Third: emphatic negation can be witnessed in the context. The context was that of challenge and denial. One example that clarifies these themes is:

(41) ʔıħna bɪ-ndʒiib   la-ʕınd-na maa bɪ-nwaddı
      we   IMPERF-bring to-us NEG IMPERF-send
      'We bring people, we do not send people.'

In this sentence, the speaker expresses his objection to the idea that some of his friends have visited a group of people. In another sentence, a speaker is denying the fact that he has asked the help of another person to achieve a certain goal:

(42) maa Talabt-ʊh wala gʊlɪtl-ʊh
      NEG asked-him and- NEG told-him
      'I haven't asked him nor told him to do it.'

In this last sentence, the speaker negates having asked somebody or even complaining to anybody about his academic problem.

5.3. Negation in the Corpus

Negation in the corpus behaves totally differently from the way negation is formed in Jordanian Arabic. Points of diversion include:

a. The disappearance of the negation suffix -ʃ in verbal sentences and prohibitive proverbs.

b. Lack of variation in forming negation in proverbs containing perfective and imperfective verbs.

c. Lack of variation in forming prohibitives in proverbs.

d. The dominance of categorical negation in the corpus at all levels. In fact, adopting Brustad's, the lack of the negation suffix signals emphatic or categorical negation.

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I propose that the sole use of categorical negation in the corpus is functional. Categorical negation is used to give an extra general sense for proverbs. In this sense, the use of categorical negation is not an instance of negation of individuals or elements; rather, it enhances the applicability of the proverbs to larger contexts and more cases.

The types of negation discussed above will be discussed here for proverbs.

5.3.1. **Negation of Verbal Sentences**

The most frequent type of negation in the corpus is the negation of verbal sentences. However, the bound morpheme in its binary form has not appeared at all in the corpus. Negation in these proverbs has been formed by *maa* alone. The negation suffix has been omitted to achieve the sense of emphasis and generality that this negation is not targeting an individual or two; rather, that it pertains to the whole category or to all members of the group. This phenomenon is witnessed in all the proverbs regardless of the aspect of the verb. Both perfective and imperfective aspects are solely negated through the use of the particle alone. Consider the following examples. Examples (43) - (46) are examples of perfective verbs, while those from (47)-(50) are examples of imperfective verbs:

(43)   dʒaahɪl rama ħadʒar ʔɪb-biir miit ʕagɪl maa Talla-ʕʊ
        ignorant threw stone in-well a hundred wise men NEG bring-it-
        'when an ignorant man threw a stone in a well, a hundred wise men would not bring it back.'

(44)   law fi-i xeɪr maa rama-ah ʔɪT-Teɪr
        if   in-him good NEG throw-it the-bird
        'If it is good, the bird would not throw it.'

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(45)   maa ʃʊfɪt joum saʕaadɪh wa-la bɪs naajɪm ʕa-wsaadɪh
         NEG saw day happiness and-not cat sleeping on-cushion
         'I haven't ever seen a day of happiness nor a cat sleeping on a cushion.'

(46)   loulaak jaa lsaan maa ʕðɪrtɪ jaa gadam
         but for-you oh tongue NEG stumble Oh foot
         'Hadn't been for you, tongue, you wouldn't have stumbled, Oh foot.'

(47)   ʔɪl-mɪstaʕdʒɪl maa bɪ-suug ɪdʒmaal
         the-in hurry NEG IMPERF-ride camels
         'The person in a hurry shouldn't ride camels.'

(48)   maa bɪ-ʃbaʕ Teɪr wo waraa ʔɪfrax
         NEG IMPERF-get full bird and behind-it chucks
         'A bird is never full and there are chucks to feed.'

(49)   ʔɪða ʔɪndʒannʊ ʔhlak ʕaglak maa bɪ-nfaʕak
         if   became crazy family-your brain-your NEG IMPERF-benefit-you
         'If your family becomes crazy, your brain won't help.'

(50)   ʔɪllɪ maa bɪ-Tlaʕ   maʕ ɪl-ʕaruus maa bɪl-ħag-haa-
         who NEG IMPERF-go with the-bride NEG IMPERF-follow-her
         'He who does not leave with the bride won't follow here.'

The use of emphatic negation in (43) signals the impossibility for wise men to bring the stone back. This lack of possibility is further intensified by the number 'a hundred'. The use of categorical negation in (49) indicates the impossibility for a man to live far from his family.

In addition to regular verbs, light-verb predicates or pseudo verbs are negated in the same pattern. These light-verbs, as used in JA, are negated through embedding them between the two parts of negation. Onizan (2005) further claims that *maa* in this case can be left out. Nevertheless, in the corpus they are negated by *maa* alone. Onizan (2005) introduced three light verbs; namely, *badd* 'want to', *maʕ* 'has' and

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fiih 'there is'. However, a fourth light verb that behaves similarly is *(ʔɪ)lʊ* 'has' which

literally means 'to him'. The shape of this form changes depending on the context.

Consider the example in (51):

(51)   maa   l-huu-ʃ   ʔolaad
        NEG   to-him-NEG   children
        'He does not have children.'

In the corpus, two of the four light verbs are introduced; namely, *fiih* 'there is' and

(ʔɪ)lʊ 'has' as in:

(52)   Tiiz kabiire wo baxɪt maa fii
        ass big   and luck NEG in
        'A big ass but without luck.'

(53)   kʊl-na ruus maa fii-na ganaaniir
        all-us heads NEG in-us small
        'We are all bosses, nobody is below that.'

(54)   Deɪf ɪl-masa maa l-ʊ ʕaʃa
        guest the-night NEG to-him dinner
        'A night guest is not served dinner.'

The use of *maa* alone in (52) for instance, gives the sense of a complete lack of luck;

the use of *maa* alone in (53) indicates that the speaker is extravagantly proud of his

tribe. He is negating that his tribe contains other than chiefs and leaders.

5.3.2. Prohibitives

Due to the nature of proverbs as evaluative statements expressing advice or

warnings, prohibitives are quite abundant. All prohibitive proverbs, except for one,

are formed through one means of negation i.e. positioning *laa* before a verb inflected

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to agree with second person. In other words, prohibitive proverbs differ from real life prohibitives in two points:

a. The diverse strategies of expressing prohibition as formed in JA are not witnessed in the corpus. Prohibitives are formed through one means.

b. Prohibitive proverbs appear without the negation suffix -ʃ.

In JA, prohibitives without the negation suffix signal emphasis or strictness. All prohibitive proverbs in the corpus show the strict version of prohibition. It seems that these proverbs express a warning that a disfavored consequence will take place in case one does not abide with the prohibition presented in the proverbs.

In the corpus, there is only one proverb which is solely prohibitive, namely:

(55)   laa tiʃrab mɪn biir wo tɪrmɪ hadʒar wara-ak
        NEG drink from well and throw stone behind-you
        'Don't drink from a well and throw a stone behind you i.e. don't be ungrateful.'

In fact, the number of proverbs that are solely prohibitive is quite few. Most of the prohibitives appear along side the imperatives in the form 'do... and don't do....'. In other words, when the proverb prohibits a deed, it gives the alternative. The form appearing in the prohibitive is the disfavored option while the form appearing in the imperative is the favored option. Consider the examples below:

(56)   ʔitʕɪb ɪgdaam-ak wa la tɪtʕɪb ɪlsaan-ak
        tire feet-your- MAS. s. and NEG tire tongue-your- MAS. s.
        'Tire your feet and do not tire your tongue. i.e. they are not reliable.'

(57)   bajjɪn ʕuðr-ak   wa-la t-bajjɪn bʊxl-ak
        show excuse-your-MAS. s. and NEG you-show stinginess-your- MAS. s.
        'Show your excuse and don't show your stinginess i.e. try to be generous always.'

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(58)   ʔɪl-fahiim waddi-ih wala twaSSi-ih
        the- wise person send-him and do NEG advise him
        'Send a wise man but don't advise him.'

(59)   mʊr ʕan ʕaddʊww-ak   dʒiiʕaan wala   t-mʊr ʕann-ʊh ʕarjaan
        pass by enemy-your- MAS. S. hungry and-NEG you-pass by-him naked
        'Pass by your enemy while you're hungry but don't pass by him when you're
        naked i.e. one should stick to good appearance.'

(60)   Saabɪh ɪlgoum   wa-la t-maasii-hʊm
        meet in the morning the-tribe and- NEG you-meet-in-evening-them
        'Meet the tribe in the morning and don't meet them in the evening.'

Furthermore, conjoined prohibitives are also frequent. Consider the examples below:

(61)   laa tʕaajriinɪ jaa gɪdreh wala ba-ʕaajrɪtʃ jaa maghrafah
        NEG call-names-me O pot and-NEG IMPERF call-you names O scoop
        'Don't call me names and I well not call you names either.'

(62)   laa tnaam beɪn lɪ-gbuur wala tɪħlam ʔaħlaam radɪjjɪh
        NEG sleep among the-graves and-NEG dream dreams bad
        'Don't sleep among the graves and don't have bad dreams.'

Utilizing this form of prohibition is purposeful. These prohibitives signal that the

prohibition here is final; nobody is exempted from putting it into effect. For instance,

the proverb in (57) forbids the hearer, whosoever he is, from showing his enemy his

lack of good appearance so as not to be humiliated.

However, the negation suffix appeared only once in the corpus. Consider the

following example:

(63)   maTraħ ɪl-ʕagrab / laa t-ɪgrab //
        place the- scorpion NEG you come-close,

        maTraħ ɪl-**ḥaniiʃ** / laa   t-ɪdʒii-ʃ //
        place the-haniish NEG you-come- **NEG**

wo maTraħ ɪl-ħajje / ʔʊfrʊʃ wo naam //
and place the-snake spread and sleep

'Don't come close to the place of a scorpion; don't come close to the place of a hanish; and where the snake is located spread your bed and sleep.'

This proverb contains two prohibitives and an imperative. The second prohibitive includes the negation suffix since it rhymes with the first division of the prohibitive. Thus, the use of the suffix is purely stylistic to achieve rhyme. However, the existence of the suffix does not weaken the strength of prohibition. Rather, since it is joined to a previous prohibitive containing categorical negation, and since the purpose behind having the suffix is rhyme, one can realize that this negation is categorical as well.

5.3.3. Exceptive Sentences

Exceptive sentences are worth studying alone since negation is an integral part of them. Exceptive sentences can be judged as cases of categorical negation for two reasons. First: at the syntactic level, these proverbs include particles, judged by both Brustad (2000) as well as Abulhaija (1989) as emphatic or categorical negation particles. The particles used in the proverbs are: *ʔɪlla* 'except/only' and *ɣeɪr* 'only'. Second: at the semantic level, these sentences exclude any other entity from being included with the excepted noun in the action or judgment expressed by the verb.

Exceptive sentences usually involve moving or postposing a constituent to the end of the sentence following an exception particle. In most cases, the moved constituents are either the subject as in (64) and (65); or a prepositional phrase as in (66):

(64)   maa   b-tʊħrʊθ   ɪl-ʔarD   ʔɪlla   ʕdʒuul-ha
       NEG   IMPERF-plough the-land   except   calves-its
       'Only the native calves of a land can plough it best i.e. the native people of a
       country can build it.'

(65)   maa   b-ɪstaħɪ   ʔɪlla   n-naDar
       NEG   IMPERF -ashamed   except the-vision
       'Only the vision gets ashamed.'

(66)   maa bɪ-ʃbaʕ ʔɪl-waħad ʔɪlla mɪn gɪdɪrt-ʊ
       NEG IMPERF-satisfied the-person except for from pot-his
       'A person gets satisfied only from his pot.'

In (64), categorical negation is employed to express that only the calves of a certain

land can plough it best; it excludes any other kinds of calves from being included in

this statement. In (66), categorical negation is utilized to show that a person can only

get full and satisfied from his pot. Any other pots are excluded from satiating a person

fully.

         Sometimes, exceptive sentences are formed without any movement taking

place; they can be formed by the insertion of the exceptive particle before the object

as in (67) or the prepositional phrase as in (68):

(67)   ʔɪl-baħʊr maa   b-ouxʊD ʔɪlla ʔɪlla ʔal-majjɪt
       the sea NEG IMPERF-take except the dead
       'The sea takes only the dead person.'

(68)   ʔɪ-ʕanzɪh   ɪdʒ-dʒarba maa b-tɪʃrab ʔɪlla   mɪn raas ʔɪl-ʕeɪn
       the-sheep the-mangy NEG IMPERF-drink except for   from head the-spring
       'An unworthy person likes to do things which he shouldn't even think of.'

         Some exceptive sentences are formed by the use of *maa* before a comparative

adjective. These sentences do not contain a verb, and they will be discussed in the

next section under verbless sentences.

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5. 3.4. Negation of Verbless Sentences

Verbless negative sentences are quite few in number, four to be exact. All of them contain indicators signaling that they are instances of categorical negation. The first three proverbs contain the word *ʔɪlla* 'only' while the last proverb contain the word *waħad* 'same/ person'. Consider the following proverbs:

(69)   maa tʃðab mɪn ʃabb ɪtɣarrab ʔɪlla ʃaajɪb maatat ɪdʒjaalʊh
nobody lying-more from young traveled except old man died generations-his
'No body lies more than a young person who traveled abroad except for an old man whose generations have passed away.'

(70)   maa Tgaʕ mɪn ʕammar ʔɪlla ʕamiirɪh
nobody worse than Ammar except for Amiire
'No body is worse than Ammar except for Amiireh.'

(71)   maa DraT mnɪ-l-xaal ʔɪlla bnʊxtʊ
nobody is worse than the uncle except for sister's son-his
'Nobody is worse than the uncle except for his sister's son.'

(72)   ʔaSaabɪʕ ʔadeɪk mɪʃ waħad
fingers hand-yours NEG same
'The fingers of your hand are not the same.'

In the first three examples, *maa* is followed by a comparative adjective. This use of *maa* is common in JA. When used in such a context, the negation suffix is not required since it can only be cliticized to verbs or light verbs. In fact, due to the use of *maa* with comparative adjectives, it can be translated in this context as 'nobody'. However, this same context can be interpreted to include an understood NPI *ħadd or ħada* 'person' and sometimes this NPI is frankly expressed in which case *maa* can be translated as 'NEG' and the NPI as 'any'

Categorical negation as applied in (69) expresses the idea that only an old man whose generations have passed away can be a better liar than a young man who lives abroad. In the two cases, these two people are existent in a unique situation in which nobody else can unveil their lies. However, the case of an old man is enhanced since he is more experienced. In (70), categorical negation expresses that there is not any body that is worse than *Ammar* except for *Ammeerh* i.e. only *Ammeereh* is worse than *Ammar*.

5.3.5. Constituent Negation

Quite a large number of proverbs consist of two coordinated noun phrases or prepositional phrases. In most of the cases, the first element is not negated since it stands for the preferred option or the alternative the proverb favors over the second element which is negated due to lack of appreciation or disgrace. The negation particle used here is *wa-la* 'and not'. This particle is considered by Brustad (2000) as a particle of categorical negation. The general meaning of the negative particle here is 'better than' as if the proverb is presenting a comparison between the first disfavored element and the second favored element. Consider the following examples:

(71) Sabaħ l-ɪgruud   wa-la Sabaħ   l-ɪdʒruud
      morning the-monkeys and-NEG morning the-hairless
      'The morning of monkey is better than the morning of hairless people.'

(72) ʕaSfuur bɪ-l-jad wa-la ʕaʃarah ʕa-ʃ-ʃadʒarah
      bird   in-the-hand and-NEG ten on-the-tree
      'A bird in hand is better than ten on the tree.'

(73)   tʃalb ħaajɪm wa-la sabʕ naajɪm
        dog roaming and-NEG tiger sleeping
        'A roaming dog is better than a sleeping tiger.'

These proverbs present general nonnegotiable judgments that the first entity as described in a certain situation is better than the second entity although the second entity, when descriptions are disregarded, is usually favored. This general message is conveyed through the use of the categorical negation particle. For instance, the proverb in (73) expresses that a roaming dog, any roaming dog, is better than a sleeping lion, any sleeping lion although lions in our culture are more favored than dogs.

Clearly, all these examples are instances of constituent negation. In all the cases, the negated element is either a noun phrase as in (71) or a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase as in (72). This type of negation appears frequently in JA.

5.3.6. Negative Polarity Items

Negative polarity items (NPIs) are expressions whose occurrence is restricted to negative verbs. NPIs in JA are: *laħad ɪl-aan* 'until now', *la-hassaʕ* 'until now', *ʔɪlla* 'but', *ɣeɪr* 'but', *bɪ-l-marra* 'at all', *baʕdʊ* 'yet' and *wala* 'any'. These elements can be further used as indicators of categorical negation.

The main three NPIs in the corpus are *ʔɪlla* 'but', *ɣeɪr* 'but' and *ʕʊmrʊh* 'never'. The first two cases have been thoroughly discussed in exceptive sentences. The word *ʕʊmrʊh,* literally means 'his age', always appears before the negative verb as in:

(74)   ʕumr-ʊh maa gaal Sʊbʊ ʔaD-Deɪf
        age-his NEG said pour for the-guest
        'He has never said cook food for the guest.'

(75)   ʕumrʊh maa bɪTlaʕ mɪn ɪ-n-tɪʃ jawaaSiil
        age-his NEG becomes from the-
        'Sons behave like their father.'

In (74), this NPI intensifies the idea that he is stingy by expressing that throughout his

lifetime, he has never, hosted a guest.

5.4. **Conclusion**

      This chapter provides evidence that negation as used in proverbs is variant

from negation in Jordanian Arabic at both the syntactic as well as the semantic level.

At the syntactic level negation appears in the corpus without the suffix. At the

semantic level, negation as used implies general or absolute negation from which not

a single entity is exempted. The abundant use of categorical negation enhances the

nonnegotiable judgments of the proverbs. In other words, it fosters the applicability of

proverbs to more situations and more individuals. In this respect, categorical

negation in proverbs can be regarded as one means of expressing structural genericity

in proverbs.

Chapter Six: Aspects of Genericity in Jordanian Proverbs

6.1. Introduction

Genericity is at the core of proverbs and their function in the society. This is due to the fact that the main purpose of proverbs is to issue general nonnegotiable or factual statements about the past experiences of life that might enlighten people in their present life and give them advice about their future decisions. In one way or another, proverbs touch upon the life of every person. But, how do proverbs achieve this level of publicity and what makes them nonnegotiable as statements about life?

There are two reasons to study generics in the corpus. For one thing, it aims at finding whether the differences between the proverbial language and the non-proverbial language are solely structural or go beyond structure to include some semantic aspects. Second, the study of generics, in my opinion, is imperative due to the fact that proverbs seek to issue general statements about life that might help people in their future life. In this context, I attempt to arrive at the sources of genericity in proverbs. I propose that genericity in the proverbs is evident at three levels: structural, semantic, and lexical.

6.2. **Background**

A review of some generic studies in different languages as well as in Arabic is imperative. In fact, most of the studies about generics discuss the topic at the lexical level. The focus is usually made on issues such as which form, definite or indefinite, singular or plural, languages use to express generics and whether feminine forms can be used generically besides masculine forms. In other words, most of the studies

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adopt a morphological analysis. Some of the studies are Cohen (1999 and 2002), Kearns (2000) and Doran (2002) among others.

Cohen (2002) attempted to give a comprehensive account of generics and their meanings. He provided what he regarded as a unitary approach in which he presents an amalgamation of two previous approaches as well as his view of the topic. What concerns us here is the generalization that he projected about generics in the world's languages:

> No known language contains a specific construction which is exclusively devoted to the expression of genericity. Yet, there is no language that does not express genericity in some form or another. It follows that expressions used for generics have a double nature: they have generic as well as non-generic uses.

However, Cohen states that of particular interest in a study of generics are the forms of NPs that may be interpreted generically. He proposes that bare plurals, definite singulars or indefinite singulars can be used generically. Nonetheless, it seems that Cohen has restricted sources of genericity to NPs. He overlooked other sources of genericity including the imperfective tense and categorical negation besides other grammatical structures that dictate a generic interpretation.

Dahl (1975&1995) maintains that genericity can result from two sources: generic NPs and generic tense. He further claims that generic tense is not restricted to the present tense; it extends to include the past tense. Dahl's work is significant for two accounts. First: he states that some languages including English, at a narrow scale, and Turkish, at a large scale, express generic tense grammatically. In English, for instance, the use of present tense over progressive tense necessitates a generic interpretation as in (1) and (2) below, Dahl (1975).

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(1)   I smoke.

(2)   I am smoking.

Second: Dahl's work is significant since he made a connection between generic tense and generic noun phrases. He even claims that the possibility of interpreting an NP as generic or non-generic often depends on the generic or non-generic character of the verb of the sentence.

The two sources of generics have also been presented by Krifka et al (1995). What is significant to our study here is the two types of genericity. They maintain that genericity stems from generic NPs which refer to kinds; hence, termed kind-referring NPs. These NPs do not refer to individuals or objects. The second type of genericity is sentential and the sentences that display this feature are termed characterizing generics. Definitionally, characterizing generics are 'propositions that do not refer to single episodes; rather, they express regularity. These two types of generics are exemplified in (3) and (4) respectively. The examples are Krifka's.

(3)   The potato was first cultivated in South Africa.

(4)   John smokes a cigar after dinner.

Furthermore, Krifka et al argue that some structures enforce a generic reading regardless of whether the sentences contain generic NPs or not. The constructions are: adverbs (like usually, typically, always, etc.); used to; agentive nouns; verbal predicates in the middle voice; and some special lexical items that express regularity including *have an inclination to, have the habit of, and tends to* and *the like*. Finally,

Krifka et al presented some tests to distinguish generic readings from non-generic readings. These tests will be resorted to when needed in this study.

Generics in Arabic have been rarely studied not to mention generics in proverbs. Fassi Fehri (2004) studied generics in standard Arabic. He claims that Arabic has a binary system based on a Determiner Phrase (DP)/ Bare Noun (BN) opposition to express generic/ existential contrasts. He proposes that definite NPs, whether singular or plural, can yield a generic reading besides the existential reading depending on the context. Consider (5) and (6) below:

(5)   ʔal-kalbʊ janbʊħʊ
         the- dog   barks
         'A dog barks.'

(6)   ʔal-kɪlaabʊ tanbʊħʊ
         the- dogs bark
         'Dogs bark.'

In other words, they are inherently generic and the context delimits its interpretation to become existential. However, along the lines of Krifka et al, Fassi Fehri maintains that BNs can be interpreted generically if 'a DP-external operator of generality exists.' The DP-external operators that he presented are: the habitual verbal aspect and the quantificational adverbs. The BN in (7) below cannot be interpreted generically due to the use of the perfective aspect; however, it yields a generic meaning in (8) and (9) due to the existence of the generic operators:

(7)   fɪjalat-ʊn   baɪDaa-ʊ   ʔaθaarat ʔɪʕdʒaab-a   n-naas-ɪ
         Elephants-NOM white-NOM   attracted admiration-ACC   the-people-GEN
         '(some) white elephants have attracted the admiration of the people.'

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(8) fɪjalat-ʊn baɪDaa-ʊ   <u>t-ʊθiirʊ</u> ʔɪʕdʒaab-a ʔannaas-ɪ
     Elephants-NOM white-NOM   3F-attract admiration-ACC   the-people-GEN
     'White elephants attract the admiration of the people.'

(9) fɪjalat-ʊn baɪDaa-ʊ   tʊ-θiirʊ <u>daajɪman</u> ʔɪʕdʒaab-a ʔannaas-ɪ
     Elephants-NOM white-NOM   3F-attract always   admiration-ACC   the-people-GEN
     'White elephants always attract the admiration of the people.'

Hachimi's (2001), who studied generic gender, argues that plural masculine nouns are used generically to refer to a group of females and males. He further states that when agreement is considered, the inflectional specifications of the masculine always win out. However, Hachimi has not referred to singular nouns as potential generic expressions.

6.3. **Genericity in Jordanian Arabic**

Genericity at the non-proverbial level should be studied to pave the way for the investigation of this phenomenon at the proverbial level. Moreover, discussing generics in JA helps determining the pattern of deviations the proverbs display from everyday language. I will rely on my recordings again to discuss genericity in JA. However, his presentation is not exhaustive. More about generics in JA will be presented later.

In the recordings, both kinds of genericity are witnessed. In a 45-minute recording, 24 instances of generic NPs occurred. Two instances of these are non-plurals: one of them is singular definite (count) NP as in (10) and the other is singular definite (non-count) NP as in (11):

(10) <u>ʔɪl-ʕaskari</u> mɪn lamma jɪfuut   ʔɪdʒ-dʒeɪʃ bɪ-ballɪʃ jɪʕammɪr
      the- soldier from time gets into the-army   IMPERF-start build
      'The soldier starts to build a house from the time of entering the army.'

(11) ʔa t-astabdɪl <u>ʔal-gravɪ</u> bɪ-<u>dʒ-dʒamiid</u>
do you-exchange the gravy with-the-(jamiid)
'Do you exchange the gravy with jamiid? (A yoghurt product used in Jordan)

Out of the other 22 instances of generic NPs, 21 of them appeared in the masculine plural definite form. Examples include:

(12) <u>ʔɪl-wɪħdaatɪjjɪh</u>   bɪ-ħkuu-ʃ   ʔɪʃɪ
the-wahdaat(fans)-PL-MAS IMPERF-say-NEG thing
'The fans of Al-Wihdaat team do not say anything.'

(13) haaD <u>ʔɪs-sii fuud</u> la-<u>l-mɪdʒ-dʒauziin</u>
the   the-sea food for-the-married-PL-MAS
'The sea food is just for married people.'

(14) <u>ʔɪl-ʕarab</u>   lamma jɪħkuu-ha
the-arabs-PL -MAS when say-it
'When the Arabs say it.'

(15) ʔɪnteh Tleʕɪt maʕ <u>ʔɪT-TanTaat</u> ʃɪklak
you   became with the-spoiled-FEM seems
'It seems that you are one of the spoiled people.'

(16) zaʕiim <u>ʔɪl-baldʒiikɪjjɪh</u>
chief   the Belgian-PL-MAS
'The chief of the Belgians.'

In the examples given above, all the nouns, except for (15), appear in a plural form that is prevalently used as the plural of masculine nouns; nonetheless, they are used generically to refer to both sexes. In this sense, these NPs are bidirectional. Their feminine counterparts are: *ʔɪl-wɪħdaatɪjjaat*, *l-mɪdʒ-dʒawzaat*, *ʔɪl-ʕarabɪjjaat*, and *ʔɪl-baldʒiikɪjjaat*. The noun in (15) has the feminine plural suffix since it is a new plural form and since this word is a borrowed one. (See Al-Shboul:2007 for more about plurals in JA).

One NP with a restricted generic reference appeared in the corpus. This NP is *ʔm-nɪswaan* 'women'. This NP has a restricted scope since it refers to women and only women; its scope cannot be enlarged to include any other group than women. This NP can be termed as unidirectional. Consider the following example:

(17) ʃaaf-ʊ-nɪ   maʃɣuul bɪ-dʒ-dʒiizɪh   w-ɪn-nɪswaan
      saw-they-me busy with-the-marriage   and-the-women
      'They saw me busy with marriage and women.'

The same generalizations apply to generics about animals. Definite singular NPs as well as definite plural NPs are conventionally used to refer to groups of animals in general. The definite singular form is commonly used to refer to kinds while definite plural NPs are used to refer to characteristic features of the whole species. Consider the following examples:

(18) ʔɪl-asad malak ʔɪl-ɣaabah
      the-lion king the-jungle
      'The lion is the king of jungle.'

(19) lɪ-gruud   bɪ-tħɪb ʔɪl-mouz
      the-monkeys IMPERF-love the bananas
      'Monkey love bananas'

In the recordings, two generic expressions referring to animals were detected. The two NPs are definite plural. The two instances are:

(20) lɪ-gruud
      the-monkeys

(21) ʔɪS-Sʊquur
      the-falcons

These two expressions refer to monkeys and falcons restrictively i.e. they do not exceed the border to refer to other animals. However, cases where generic

expressions are used inclusively i.e. include more kinds than what they usually refer to are witnessed in cases of generic statements. Consider this statement:

(22)   Birds fly.

(23)   lɪ-Tjuur bɪTTiir
        The birds IMPERF-fly
        'Birds fly.'

In these two sentences, birds and the equivalent Arabic word are used generically to refer to all birds. However, not all birds can fly. The penguin is a bird but cannot fly. The chicken is a bird but it cannot soar high. This generic expression then does not refer to any bird that can fly but one can say that it refers to any bird that has wings. In this respect, generics referring to animals are distinct from those referring to human beings in that the latter are restricted; they are controlled by gender.

In the corpus, proverbs containing animal generics are abundant. However, they appear in three forms: definite singular NPs, definite plural NPs and indefinite singular and plural NPs. The three forms are given in (24), (25) and (26) respectively:

(24)   mɪθɪl ɪdʒ-dʒamal b-oukɪl bɪ-l-bɪrkɪh wo ʕeɪn-ʊh ʕa-ɣeɪr-ha
        like the-camel IMPERF-eat in-the-lake and eye-his on-another
        'Like the camel which eats in the lake and looks for another one.'

(25)   Sabaaħ lɪ-gruud wa-laa Sabaaħ lɪ-dʒruud
        morning the-monkeys and-NEG morning the-hairless
        'The morning of the monkeys (is better than) the morning of the hairless.'

(26)   dʒaahɪl ramaa ħadʒar ʔɪb-biir miit ʕagɪl maa Talaʕ-ʊ
        ignorant threw stone in-well hundred wise-men NEG bring-it
        '(when)an ignorant threw a stone in a well, a hundred wise men would not bring it

Some generic indefinite NPs appeared in the recordings. Nevertheless, their genericity seems to have been distilled from the constructions containing them as in:

(27) wa-la <u>waaħad sˤuudɪ</u>   bɪ-gdar   jɪħtʃɪ ʕala <u>waaħad ʔʊrdʊnɪ</u>
and NEG one-SING-MAS Saudi-SING-MAS IMPERF-can talk   about one Jordanian
'Not a single Saudi can talk about any Jordanian.'

This example apparently has a generic interpretation. The same expression can appear in a particular reading:

(28) fiih <u>waaħad sˤuudɪ bʊ-drʊs</u>   b-lowrans
in   one   Saudi IMPERF-study in-lawrence
'There is a Saudi man studying in Lawrence.'

As generic NPs and generic sentences are not restrictively used to enforce a generic meaning, some diagnostic tests and typical properties are proposed to distinguish them from non-generic NPs and non-generic sentences. Krifka et al (1995) maintains that these tests are not 'by any means exhaustive.' One of the tests that he and collaborators applied to distinguish generic sentences from non-generic sentences is combining the sentence with a frequency adverb like *usually* or *typically*. If the sentence undergoes a slight change, then it is a generic sentence; however, if the sentence undergoes a drastic change, the sentence is then not generic. Applying this test to (27) and (28), rewritten as (29) and (30), shows that the first sentence is a genuine generic sentence while the second is not:

(29) wala <u>waaħad sˤuudɪ</u>   bɪ-gdar   jɪħtʃɪ ʕala <u>waaħad ʔʊrdʊnɪ</u> bɪ-l-marrah
And-NEG one-S.-MAS Saudi-S.-MAS IMPERF-can talk about one Jordanian   in-the once
'Not a single Saudi can ever talk about any Jordanian.'

(30) fiih <u>waaħad sˤuudɪ</u> daɪjman bʊ-drʊs   b-lourans
in   one   Saudi always IMPERF-study in-lawrence
'There is always a Saudi man studying in Lawrence.'

The difference in meaning the adverbs caused is easily detected. In (29), the adverb intensifies the meaning of the sentence. However, in (30), the addition of the adverb changed the sentence from a report of a single incident to a general rule.

One of the tests that are used to differentiate generic NPs from non-generic NPs is that generic NPs are consistently used with well-established kinds. The NPs in the examples 12-16 refer to well-established kinds.

Another test which is applied, though with restrictions, is the insertion of the universal quantifier *kʊl* 'all'. Krifka et al (1995) states that the restrictions on using the universal quantifier stem from the fact that universally quantified sentences do not allow for exceptions. More tests will be presented when needed.

6.4. Genericity in the Corpus

This paper attempts to investigate aspects of genericity as presented in proverbs. I claim that genericity in proverbs can be detected at three levels: structural, semantic, and lexical. Structural genericity is exemplified in structures that enforce a generic interpretation including: headless relative clauses, vocatives, categorical negation and finally imperfective aspect. Semantic genericity, which is closely related to the two other types, is exemplified in metaphoricity as well as the generic theme of the propositions of the proverbs. Lexical genericity is derived from generic gender and the avoidance of proper names. These three levels of genericity are not exclusively used; rather, most often they co-occur.

6.4.1. **Structural Genericity**

Jordanian proverbs utilize a limited number of structural formulae; most of which are used in every day language. However, there are some structures whose interpretation is uniquely generic. These structures dictate a generic interpretation regardless of the theme expressed in the proverbs. I claim that the structures that enforce a generic interpretation are: headless relative clauses, vocatives, imperfective aspect and finally categorical negation. These structures help guarantee currency for proverbs and they help make the proverbs applicable to more situations and individuals.

6.4.1.1. **Relative clauses**

Relative clauses are a universally used formula for proverbs. In JA, relative clauses usually appear with a head NP as in:

(31)   ʔɪz-zalamɪh *ʔɪllɪ* saaʕad-ak ʃʊf-t-ʊh   ʔɪmbaarɪħ
        the man   who helped-you saw-I-him yesterday
         'The man who helped you I saw him yesterday.'

Nonetheless, headless relative clauses can be also be used in JA.

(32)   ʔɪllɪ gall-ak ɣalTaan
        Who told-you mistaken
        'He who told you is mistaken.'

The motives behind this usage of headless relative clause are varied. Most of which are contextually determined. In one situation the speaker might be reluctant to name the person frankly simply because the targeted person is listening or because she is afraid to mention it. In another situation, the speaker might suspect that somebody has committed a misdeed, when actually there is no body. In this sense, the

speaker is not referring to any particular person, rather, he refers to anybody who can be suspected of as committing this incident. In other words, reference here is vacuous. This vacuous reference does not elevate to a generic meaning since it is connected to a certain context.

Headless relative clauses are abundantly used in the proverbs. The rationale of employing headless relative clauses in proverbs is to generate a wide reference. The head of the relative clause is left out to give the proverb a generic interpretation by giving the hearer a wide range of options to retrieve. This structure implies that any person who meets the literal or the metaphorical interpretation of the proverb is targeted by it. Consider the following examples:

(33)   ʔɪllɪ   ʕɪnd-ʊ   ɣanam   jɪmuut-l-ʊ   sxuul
         who   with-him   sheep   die –for-him   sheep
         'He who has sheep (finds it natural) for some baby sheep to die.

(34)   ʔɪllɪ bi-id-ʊ ʔɪl-maɣrafah maa bɪdʒuuʕ
         who in-hand-his the-scooper NEG IMPERF-starve
         'He who has the scooper, won't starve.'

(35)   ʔɪllɪ maa bɪ-Tlaʕ   maʕ ʔɪl-ʕaruus maa bɪlħag-ha
         who NEG IMPERF-go with the-bride NEG IMPERF-catch-her
         'He who does not leave with the bride won't catch her.'

Applying some of the diagnostic tests proves that these are generic structures. Consider (32) and (33) when an adverb is added, given below as (36) and (37) respectively:

(36)   ʔɪllɪ gall-ak daaɪman ɣalTaan
         Who told-you always mistaken
         'He who told you is always mistaken.'

(37)　ʔıllı　ʕınd-ʊ　　　ɣanam daaıman　　　jımuut-l-ʊ　　　sxuul
　　　who　with-him　　　sheep always　　　 die –for-him　sheep
　　　'He who has sheep (finds it natural) for some baby sheep to die.

In case of (36), the addition of the adverb has changed the sentence from reporting a single incident to a rule; while in (37), the addition of the adverb does not change the meaning. Another test that can apply to these sentences is the addition of adverb *bas marrah* 'just once.' This adverbial, as the meaning indicates, can be used with incidents i.e. it cannot be used with sentences indicating regularity. Applying this test to these sentences shows that the proverb does not accept this adverb while it is acceptable in the real life situation as shown in (38) and (39):

(38)　ʔıllı gall-ak ɣalTaan bas marrah
　　　Who told-you mistaken just once
　　　'He who told you is mistaken just this once.'

(39)　ʔıllı　ʕınd-ʊ　　　ɣanam　　　jımuut-l-ʊ　　　sxuul bass marrah
　　　who　with-him　　　sheep　　　 die –for-him　sheep just once
　　　'He who has sheep (finds it natural) for some baby sheep to die just once.

A third test that can be presented for the generic interpretation of leaving out the head NP is entailment. Let us suppose that the proverb is presented with the NP that is most likely to appear with sheep i.e. shepherd, then at the literal level, only shepherds will be targeted with this proverb. At the metaphorical level, every body is targeted by it. However, leaving out the head NP, the restrictor, entails that any person owning some sheep is targeted by it. In this way, any NP can be inserted in the head NP position.

Nearly all the cases of headless relative clauses in the proverbs have a human referent. Headed relative clauses usually have inanimate nouns as their heads. The

head NPs in these proverbs are given simply because they make generalizations about non humans; in other words, nobody is targeted by these proverbs and no body will be offended by the mere mention of the head NP. Consider the following examples:

(40) ʔɪl-baab   ʔɪl-biidʒii-k   mɪnn-ʊ   r-riiħ   sɪd-ʊ w-ɪstariiħ
the-door comes-you-MAS   from-him the- wind close-it and-rest
'The door which lets some wind in, close it and be rested.'

(41) ʔɪl-ʕeɪn ʔɪllɪ b-toukɪl
the eye which IMPERF-eat
'The eye is the thing that eats.'

Apparently, these proverbs target no body and can never be interpreted to refer to humans. However, they can be interpreted to refer to some affairs related to humans. The proverbs in (40), can be said to a person to advice him to quit his partnership with a troublesome partner or to quit his work with a troublesome boss. Thus, the word *ʔɪl-baab* refers to partnership or work. The proverb in (41) asks the host to feed the eye by decorating the food and by serving it properly before feeding the stomach.

To conclude, headed relative clauses have restricted genericity since they cannot be generalized even when interpreted metaphorically, to refer to humans. This explains the scarcity of this pattern in the corpus; only three proverbs out of 35 have this structure.

6.4.1.2. **Vocatives**

Vocatives in the proverbs are not used in JA. Vocatives in the proverbs are formed through the vocative particle *jaa* 'O' followed by a participle. Krifka et al

(1995) proposes that one of the structures that enforce a generic or a characterizing meaning is agentive nouns along the lines of:

(42)   John is a pipe smoker

Similarly, vocatives in the proverbs contain participles. The participles occurring in the proverbs are active participles which are equivalent to present participles in English. According to Holes (1995), active participles do not have fixed time reference; hence they are named active instead of present participles. This fact by itself gives support to the generic meaning participles hold. Participles, characteristically, are general descriptions whose scope is any person whose descriptions match the participle. In this sense, they yield a generic meaning. Consider the following examples:

(43)   jaa mɪstarxɪS   ʔɪl-laħɪm, ʕɪnd ɪl-marag tɪndam
         O buyer-cheap-MAS   the-meat   at the-gravy regret-you-MAS
         'O you cheap-meat buyer, you will regret it when it comes to the gravy'

(44)   jaa mrabbɪ   b-ɣeɪr walad-ak,   jaa baanɪ   b-ɣeɪr   mʊlk-ak
         O breeder-MAS in-not children-your -MAS, O builder-MAS in-not   ownership-
your
         'O you others'-children breeder, you are like builder in the others' property'

(45)   jaa raajɪħ kaθθɪr ʔɪl-malaajɪħ
         O leaver increase the-good-deeds
         'O you leaver increase your good deeds.'

The genericity of these sentences is apparent when some diagnostic tests are put into effect. The addition of an adverb of frequency does not affect the regularity of these sentences as in (43) given as (46) below:

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(46)   jaa mɪstarxɪS   ʔɪl-laħɪm <u>daajman</u> , ʕɪnd ɪl-marag tɪndam
        O   buyer-cheap-MAS   the-meat always   at the-gravy regret-you-MAS
        'O you always cheap-meat buyer, you will regret it when it comes to the gravy'

Furthermore, the use of the adverbial *bass marrah* 'just once' restricts the genericity of the proverb. Then, one doubts the effectiveness of the proverb since one is not likely to regret buying cheap meat for jus one time as a trial:

(47)?? jaa mɪstarxɪS   ʔɪl-laħɪm bass marrah, ʕɪnd ɪl-marag tɪndam
        O   buyer-cheap-MAS   the-meat only once   at the-gravy regret-you-MAS
        'O you cheap-meat buyer just once, you will regret it when it comes to the gravy'

The generic interpretation of participles can be accounted for morphologically. Holes (1995) maintains that from the root KTB the active participle *kaatɪb* 'writer' can be derived. The meanings of this participle are 'one who is/was/will be writing', 'has written' or 'habitually writes.' Ryding (2006) proposes another pattern for active participles. He states that the active participle of the verb *darrasa* 'taught' is *mʊdarrɪs*' which means teacher and a teacher is the person who habitually teaches. One can conclude that the active participles used in the proverbs are instances of generic structures which express regularity rather than episodes or individual incidents.

This generic sense is further augmented by the fact that all the participles are masculine i.e. they are making use of generic gender.

6.4.1.3. **Categorical Negation**

Categorical negation is that kind of negation that does not refer to individuals or separate cases of a group. As the definition indicates categorical negation provides a generic meaning. Categorical negation as mentioned in a previous chapter is the sole kind of negation witnessed in the corpus. According to Brustad (2000), categorical negation is formed through the use of the negation particle *maa* and the deletion of the negation suffix. Consider the following proverbs:

(48) ʔɪllɪ <u>maa</u> b-Tlaʕ   maʕ ʔɪl-ʕaruus maa bɪlħag-haa
who <u>NEG</u> IMPERF-go with the-bride NEG IMPERF-catch-her
'He who does not leave with the bride won't catch her.'

(49) laa tnaam beɪn   lɪ-gbuur wa-la tɪħlam ʔaħlaam raadɪjjɪh
NEG sleep between the-graves and-NEG dreams dreams bad
'Do not sleep between graves and do not have bad dreams.'

In (48), categorical negation means 'any person who might not accompany the bride on the spot.' In other words, there is nobody who is excluded from the lack of ability to catch with the bride if he did not leave with her. In (49), the negation gives the meaning of complete prohibition of doing these acts.

In order to evaluate these sentences as generic, they must pass the diagnostic tests. The proverb in (48) has passed genericity tests previously since it is a headless relative clause. The proverb in (49), can accept an adverb of frequency without being affected meaning-wise.

(50) laa tnaam beɪn   lɪ-gbuur <u>bɪ-l-marrah</u> wa-la tɪħlam ʔaħlaam raadɪjjɪh
NEG sleep between the-graves in-the-once and-NEG dreams dreams bad
'Do not sleep ever between graves and do not have bad dreams.'

The genericity of this proverb is made clear when the same proverb is rewritten with the negation suffix. When the negation suffix is used, the use of the adverb *bɪ-l-marrah 'ever'* looks weird:

(51)??? laa tnaam-ɪʃ beɪn   lɪ-gbuur <u>bɪ-l-marrah</u> wa-la tɪħlam ʔaħlaam raadɪjjɪh

The addition of the adverbial *bass marra* 'just once', which is used with single incidents, makes the proverb unacceptable:

(52) ?? laa tnaam beɪn   lɪ-gbuur <u>bass marrah</u> wa-la tɪħlam ʔaħlaam raadɪjjɪh
        NEG sleep between the-graves just once and-NEG dreams dreams bad
        'Do not sleep between graves just once and do not have bad dreams.'

6.4.1.4. Generic tense

Generic tense by definition is that tense or aspect that is mostly used to express regularity. Generic tense has been discussed by Dahl (1975& 1995), Krifka et al (1995) and by Fassi Fehri (2004). Dahl (1975) maintains that there is 'a clear connection between generic tense and generic NPs.' He further states that the possibility of interpreting an NP as generic or non-generic often depends on the generic or non-generic character of the verb of the sentences. Comrie (1976) states that genericity is an aspectual notion that should be treated under habituality or habitual aspect. Dahl (1995) argues that the episodic/generic distinction is manifested in the grammars of languages, in particular their aspect. Krifka et al (1995) proposes that genericity in some sentences, he termed them characterizing generics, is a feature of the whole sentence. Genericity in these sentences does not result from the genericity of a particular NP.

Dahl (1975) states that the term generic tense is not restricted to a specific tense; rather there is generic past and generic future. One example that he provided is:

(53)   When I was a child, I wrote with my left hand, but now I write with my right hand, although I will probably write with my left hand again.

This same fact is emphasized by Krifa et al (1995) who state that sentences with verbal predicates in the simple tense, the past tense, or the future tense can have a characterizing reading. Dahl(1995) argues that differences between generic and episodic sentences tend to be subsumed under tense/apect. This statement is made clear by Krifka et al (1995) who claim that 'progressive and perfective sentences show a strong tendency toward a particular, non-characterizing interpretation. In Arabic, Fassi Fehri (2004) argues that non-generic sentences as in (7) above can be turned into a generic sentence through the use of habitual tense as in (8) or quantificational adverb as in (9).

In the corpus, the imperfective aspect is the most prevalent verb aspect. Consider the following proverbs:

(54)   daar   ɪl-haamliin   b-tɪxrab   gabʊl daar ɪD-Daalmiin
         house the-reckless-**PL-MAS** **IMPERF**-damage before house the-unjust-**PL-MAS**
         'The house of the reckless gets damaged before the house of the unjust.'

(55)   gɪlɪt ɪʃ-ʃʊɣʊ bɪ-tʕallɪm ʔɪt-taTriiz
         lack the-work **IMPERF**-teach the-weaving
         'Lack of work teaches one weaving.'

(56)   ʔɪn kɪθrʊ   ɪʃ-ʃaħħaadiin   bɪ-tgɪl   ʔɪS-Sadaga
         if   increase the-beggars-**PL-MAS** **IMPERF**-decrease the-charity
         'If beggars increase charity decreases.'

These three proverbs do not contain any of the previous generic enforcing structures. However, these sentences are generic in nature. They are law-like and express generality. In order to consider these sentences generic, they should pass some tests. If these sentences are generic, they should accept the insertion of an adverb like usually without a drastic change of meaning. Consider (54) and (55) given below as (57) as (58) with the adverb *ʔadatan* 'usually':

(57)   daar ɪhaamliin   ʔadatan b-tɪxrab gabʊl daar ɪD-Daalmiin
        house the-reckless-**PL-MAS** usually **IMPERF**-damage before house the-unjust-**PL-MAS**
        'The house of the reckless usually gets damaged before the house of the unjust.'

(58)   gɪlɪt ɪʃ-ʃʊɣʊ ʔadatan bɪ-tʕallɪm ʔɪt-taTriiz
        lack the-work usually **IMPERF**-teach the-weaving
        'Lack of work usually teaches one weaving.'

Krifka (1995) claims that the addition of an adverb like this might mean that there are exceptions to the rule the sentence expresses. In such cases, the sentences are generic.

Another test that these sentences pass is transforming these sentence into the progressive aspect. Krifka argues that a generic sentence cannot be transformed into a progressive aspect without losing its genericity. In fact, these sentences lose their genericity when they are turned into progressive:

(59)   daar ɪl-haamliin <u>gaʕdɪh</u> btɪxrab gabʊl daar ɪD-Daalmiin
        'The house of the reckless is getting damaged before the house of the unjust.'

(60)   gɪlɪt ʔɪʃ-ʃʊɣʊl <u>gaʕdɪh</u> bɪ-tʕallɪm-nɪ ʔɪt-taTriiz
        'Lack of work is teaching me weaving.'

Fassi Fehri(2004) maintains that in a sentence like (61) below which contains a past tense, the only available reading is the existential reading.

(61)   fɪjalat-ʊn   baɪDaa-ʊ   ʔaθaarat ʔɪʕdʒaab-a   n-naas-ɪ
        Elephants-NOM white-NOM   attracted admiration-ACC   the-people-GEN
        '(some) white elephants have attracted the admiration of the people.'

I cannot claim that the past tense can be generic as well unless there are adverbials

that indicate the repetition of the act. These adverbials include: *yaa maa* 'many time'

kʊnɪt 'was' (followed by a verb in the present form) to mean 'used to'.

(62)   lamma kʊn-ɪt zɣaɪjɪr <u>yaamaa</u> daxxanɪt sagaajɪr
        When was-I   young so much smoked cigarettes
        'When I was young, I smoked cigarettes very often.'

(63)   lamma kʊnɪt b-amriika <u>kʊnɪt ʔa-lʕab</u> ʔɪrjaaDah kʊl joum
        when   was-I in-America used I-play sports   every day
        'When I was in America, I used to work out every day.'

Besides these sentences, the corpus contains some proverbs in the past tense

containing a bare NP. These proverbs can be interpreted generically as well. Consider

the following examples:

(64)   dʒaahɪl ramaa ħadʒar ʔɪb-biir miit ʕagɪl maa Talaʕ-ʊ
        ignorant threw stone in-well hundred wise-men NEG bring-it
        'An ignorant threw a stone in a well; a hundred wise men would not bring it.

In this proverb, the word *dʒaahɪl* 'ignorant' can be interpreted generically although it

is indefinite. I think that the genericity of this sentence is derived from the fact that

dʒaahɪl is an active participle. Nonetheless, this usage of the word is not used in JA.

In every day life, this word does not take place without a noun phrase.

In addition, the corpus contains some proverbs that contain BNs that are used

generically. Consider:

(65) d͡ʒaad͡ʒıh   ħafrat ʕa-raassa   ʕafrat
      chicken   dug   on-head-its   sprayed
      'when a chicken digs in the ground, it will surely spray its head.'

(66) ʕaSfuur bı-l-jad   wa-la   ʕaʃarah ʕa-ʃ-ʃad͡ʒarah
      bird   in-the-hand and-NEG   ten   on-the-tree
      'A bird in hand is better than ten on the bush.'

In (65), genericity stems from using an indefinite NP, a form which is not usually used to express genericity in a conditional sentence. Conditional sentences are made of an antecedent i.e. the if-clause and a consequent i.e. the main clause. This sentence means that every time or in every episode in which a chicken digs in the ground, it will surely spray its head. In other words, the occurrence of the verb in the main clause is closely connected and it is even a consequent of the occurrence of the verb in the if-clause. Nonetheless, the genericity of the last proverb can be a result of categorical negation.

6.4.2. Semantic Genericity

The semantic genericity in proverbs stems from two aspects: generic theme and metaphoricity. The generic theme is that aspect of proverbs that make them applicable and valid for all times and for all places. Metaphoricity is responsible for the matching process in which the real life situation is compared to the proverb. Metaphoricity is responsible for providing a wide range of applicable situations. However, these aspects are accompanied with other types of generics including: generic tense, kind-referring NPs and categorical negation.

6.4.2.1. Generic Theme

A generic theme is the theme that is suitable and valid regardless of time and place. Proverbs, by definition, are pithy expressions whose sole target is to present a theme that could be of help for people in their current daily life or in future. In other words, proverbs are examples of depersonalized or impersonalized experiences. They are considered so since the experiencer or the initiator who originally has undergone the experience and who might have issued the proverb is never referred to or even mentioned. The only thing that is remembered is the lesson behind the experience coined in the mold preserved until now. By resorting to proverbs, the speaker evades the burden of blaming others directly and getting blamed. Furthermore, proverbs are remembered because of the evaluative judgments they make; because of the nonnegotiable and natural facts they have. Consider the following examples:

(67) ʔɪllɪ   ʕɪnd-ʊ   ɣanam   jɪmuut-l-ʊ   sxuul bass marrah
       who   with-him   sheep   die –for-him   sheep just once
       'He who has sheep (finds it natural) for some baby sheep to die just once.

(68) dʒaadʒɪh   ħafrat ʕa-raassa   ʕafrat
       chicken   dug   on-head-its   sprayed
       'When a chicken digs in the ground, it will surely spray its head.'

(69) ʔɪllɪ bɪdʊg ɪl-baab   bɪ-smaʕ ɪl-dʒawaab
       who knocks the-door will-hear the- answer
       'He who knocks the door will surely be answered.'

All these examples present non negotiable situations. In (67), it is known in our culture as well as universally that some baby sheep die. In (68), there is not a chicken which can dig in the sand without spraying some sand over its head; usually when a chicken digs in the ground, it puts its head as low as possible to catch the worms as

fast as possible. The proverb in (69) presents a universal theme. It is known everywhere that if a person knocks on the door, she will surely be answered. All the previous examples express a generic theme despite the fact that the metaphorical aspect which links the proverb to the real life situation is disregarded.

This aspect of the proverbs gives them currency and makes them acceptable among the members of the community. Proverbs are indirect expressions of the common beliefs among the members of the whole community. More examples that express factuality, unanimity and even universality are given in (70), (71), and (72) below:

(70)   ʔɪn kɪθrʊ *f- ʃaħħaadiin* b-ɪtgɪl ɪS-Sadaga
         if increase the-beggers will-decease the-charity
         'If beggars increase, charity decreases.'

(71)   bɪnt   ɪl-faara   ħaffaara
         daughter   the-mouse-feminine   digger
         'Like father, like son'

(72)   farx ɪl-baT ʕawwaam
         son the-duck floater
         'Like father like son.'

These proverbs and nearly all the proverbs in the corpus present a generic meaning since they encode essential properties. Krifka et al (1995) proposes that generic sentences express essential properties; they do not express accidental properties. All the examples given above can be categorized according to Dahl (1975) as normative; they are not simply descriptive. It is taken for granted for the daughter of the mouse to be a digger as well as for the duckling to float in a similar manner to their parents.

Another test that can be used to determine the genericity in these proverbs is the test presented by Krifka et al (1995). They propose that generic sentences do not report particular events; rather, they express regularities. Consequently, generic sentences tend to be stative while sentences that give a particular reading are non-stative. This means that generic sentences lose the generic reading if they contain a dynamic reading. Applying this test to (71) and (72) shows that these sentences are genuinely generic.

(73) bɪnt   ɪl-faara   gaʕdeh btɪħffɪr
     daughter   the-mouse-FEM sitting digger
     'The daughter of the mouse is digging right now.'

(74) farx ɪl-baT Saɪjɪr ʕawwaam
     son the-duck became floater
     'The son of the duck has become a floater.'

The resulting sentences are no longer generic due to the limitation provided by the change of the tense as well as the lack of regularity sense the sentences used to have. The generic meaning is further fostered by the metaphorical interpretation of the words. This issue will be handled in the next section

6.4.2.2. **Metaphoricity**

Metaphoricity is an integral component in providing the proverbs with a generic meaning. It is the link between the real life situation and the theme encoded in the proverb. If metaphoricity is disregarded, most of the proverbs will be irrelevant to the incident and even meaningless. Metaphoricity in proverbs is the force that makes the proverb applicable to inumerable situations as long as the situations match the descriptions given in the proverb.

Mataphoricity in proverbs is cumulative and it results from the metaphoricity that exists in the individual components of the proverb. Metaphoricity is more easily witnessed in nouns than in verbs or adjectives. In this context, Ghaotly (1997) states that noun-based metaphors are the most common and the most effective due to the facts that nouns are bundles of meaning. When a noun, in comparison to adjectives or verbs, is used, all the connotations of that noun jump to the mind. Ghoatly argues that noun-based metaphors are the most common and the most effective simply because nouns are used to refer, and when they are used metaphorically i.e. to refer to an entity which is not the conventional referent, it becomes apparent to every body that the targeted meaning is not the literal one. Thus, nouns are effective in conveying the message effectively i.e. through a poetic style and easily i.e. since every person will be able to figure out the meaning.

In this sense nouns are better metaphorical expressions than verbs and adjectives which in turn are better than adverbs and prepositions. Ghoatly (1997) states that verbs can be used metaphorically only when used with their colligates i.e. nouns. Moreover, he argues that adjectives can be a less efficient metaphor-expresser than nouns simply because adjectives represent only one aspect of the entity while a noun referring to the same entity will evoke all the connotations the referent has. Adjectives can be metaphorical when 'used with their colligates.' They are closely related to nouns and depend on nouns to explain their meanings. Consider the following examples:

(75) maa   b-tʊħrʊθ   ɪl-ʔarD   ʔɪlla **ʕdʒuul-ha**
     not   will-plow   the-land   except calves-its
     'Only the native calves of a land can plough it best. i.e. the native people.'

(76) dʒaadʒɪh   ħafrat ʕa-raassa   ʕafrat
     chicken   dug   on-head-its   sprayed
     'If a chicken digs in the ground, it will surely spray its head.'
     'One should bear the consequences of her work.'

(77) raaħ   gaduum   wadʒa mɪnʃaar
     went   axe   came saw
     'He went as an axe and came back as a saw.'
     'He went bad and came back worse.'

(78) farx ɪl-baT ʕawwaam
     son the-duck floater
     'The son of a duck is a floater.'
     'The son will surely become like his father.'

(79) maa bɪʃbaʕ   Teɪr wo   wara fraax
     nor will-get satisfied bird and   behind-it checks
     'A bird won't get enough as long as he has chicks.'
     'The father won't rest as long as he has children.'

In (75), the word *ʕdʒuul* 'calves' has been used metaphorically to refer to the native residents of a region; 'building the country' has been expressed indirectly through the use of 'plowing the land'. The proverb in (76) can be used to talk about a person who has faced the consequences of his evil deeds; he is similar to a chicken which cannot dig a hole without spraying its head with sand. The whole proverb is interpreted metaphorically. The same proverb could be used to describe a person who did not follow advice and as a consequence she received what she does not favor.

The proverb in (77) shows clearly the metaphorical use of nouns. *Gadduum* 'axe' and *mɪnʃaar* 'saw' are used metaphorically to describe a person who is entirely

evil. He went to pilgrimage to change his character however, he returned with the same manners.

The proverb in (78) is a good example on the preference of nouns over verbs as good metaphorical meaning carrier. (78) is a verbless sentence containing a topic and a predicate. The topic *farx il-baT* 'the son of a duck' and the comment which is an adjective *ʕawwam* 'floater' carry metaphorical meanings. The proverb can be used to refer to the son who adopts his father's manners or who walks on his fathers footsteps behaviorally or professionally. It could refer to the son of a generous person who in turn is generous; or to the son of a stingy person who adopted this bad manner and became stingy as well. It is clear then that the metaphoricity at both the lexical and the sentential levels is a key factor in providing the proverbs with a generic reference.

In the last proverb, images related to birds are reiterated again to express facts about life. The words *Teɪr* and *fraax* are respectively used to refer to 'a head of family' and 'family members'. The head of the family is never satiated or is restless due to the fact that he has a family which he must provide with essentials of living.

All these examples provide evidence that but for metaphoricity proverbs would not be relevant to real life situations and they would not be used generically to a large number of incidents in life.

6.4.3. **Lexical Generics**

This section is concerned with instances of generics at the lexical level. Proverbs achieve lexical genericity through the use of generic gender and through the avoidance of proper names.

6.4.3.1. Generic Gender

6.4.3.1.1. Generic Gender in JA

Gender is a crucial component in the grammatical structure of sentences in general and proverbs, in particular. According to Hellinger& Buβmann (2001), a gender language is the language which has a very small number of gender classes and in which the noun does not necessarily carry markers of class membership. However, the gender on the noun induces obligatory agreement on the other word classes.

Following this definition, JA is a gender language. JA distinguishes between two types of gender: grammatical and lexical. In grammatical gender, gender is an inherent property of the noun; in other words, a noun can be classified as masculine or feminine (Hellinger& Buβmann: 2001). In case of JA, masculine nouns have zero inflections while feminine nouns can be derived from masculine nouns by the addition of the suffix -*ah*:

(80)   mʕallɪm   'teacher-MAS.'   mʕallɪm-ɪh   'teacher-FEM.'
       Taalɪb   'student-MAS.'   Taalɪb-ɪh   'student-FEM.'

Lexical gender is evident in nouns which are arbitrarily categorized as feminine or masculine. Most of these nouns do not have the feminine suffix. Consider the examples in:

(81)   Ɂɪl-walad   'the boy'
         Ɂɪl-bɪnɪt   'the girl'
         zalamɪh   'man'

Nouns which are lexically-categorized as either masculine or feminine do not have a counterpart of the other sex as in:

(82)   Ɂɪʃ-ʃamɪs   'the sun-FEM'
         Ɂɪl-gamar   'the moon-MAS'

In both kinds of gender, the nouns induce agreement on other elements, mostly adjectives, pronouns, and verbs.

Corbitt (1991) proposed that one of the solutions languages resort to when the gender of the referent is unknown or when referring to a group of people of both sexes is the use of one possible form by convention. This form can be referred to as the generic use of gender. Corbitt states that generally languages tend to use masculine nouns generically. Hellinger& Buβmann (2001) called this kind of gender 'generic masculine'. They further state that 'grammatically feminine nouns tend to be female-specific while grammatically masculine nouns have a wider lexical and referential potential.'

However, Corbitt (1991) argues that feminine nouns can be used generically but sparsely. This same fact is reiterated by Hellinger& Buβmann (2001) who state that generic feminine used to refer to both men and women 'is the rare exception'.

Nevertheless, Corbitt (1991) claims that the generic use of *he* in English has failed due to the dominance of the male-specific interpretation.

Generic gender in Arabic has scarcely been studied. One of the recent studies is Hachimi (2001). In his overview of Moroccan Arabic, he proposes that plural masculine nouns are used generically to refer to a group of females and males. In terms of agreement, he proposes that when 'the subject includes both a grammatically masculine and a grammatically feminine word in a sentence, it is the inflectional specifications of the masculine that always wins out.' Hachimi has not referred to singular nouns as potentially generic.

JA expresses genericity with regard to gender in two different ways. The first form is the definite singular masculine noun. Definiteness plays a crucial role here. When the noun becomes indefinite the reference becomes restricted and the masculine/feminine dichotomy appears. Compare:

(83)   lɪ-mʕallɪm 'the teacher-MAS.'   'Any teacher; all the teachers'
       mʕallɪm 'a teacher-MAS.'   'A specific masculine teacher'
       mʕallɪm-a 'a teacher-FEM.'   'A specific feminine teacher'

Definite masculine nouns are purely generic in the sense that they refer to both sexes, and they nullify the possibility of thinking of a feminine counterpart. This fact leads to the conclusion that grammatical singular masculine nouns can be used generically across gender. It is worth mentioning here that these NPs can have a particular reading depending on the context.

Definite singular nouns which are grammatically feminine can be used generically to represent the members of the same sex besides the existential reading it has. In other words, gender is a barrier in this case.

(84)   lɪ-mʕallɪma   'the teacher-FEM'   'the   teacher(any   feminine

teacher.)'

However, lexically-categorized definite singular nouns can be used generically, but

with a limited scope; they only refer to members of the same gender.

(85)   ʔɪz-zalame   'the man'   'any man'
       ʔɪl-walad   'the boy'   'any boy'
       ʔɪl-mara   'the woman'   'any woman'
       ʔɪl-ħamaah   'the mother-in-law'   'any mother-in-law'

The second form JA utilizes to express genericity is the definite plural

masculine noun. Again, only grammatical nouns are used generically. For instance:

(86)   lɪmʕalmiin   'the teachers-MAS'   'all the teachers'
       lɪ-mhandɪsiin   'the engineers-MAS'   'all the engineers'

These expressions appear in the following names of institutions whose members are

from both sexes:

(87)   naadɪ lɪmʕalmiin   'the teachers (MAS)' club
       naqaabɪt ʔɪl- mhandɪsiin 'the engineers (MAS)' union

A prominent example on the dominance of the generic masculine appears in the

example below:

(88)   naqaabat ʔɪl-mʊmarrɪDiin   'the nurses (MAS)' union

Most nurses in Jordan are females, yet the union is named with the generic masculine.

Grammatically definite plural feminine nouns can be used generically to refer

to members of the same group i.e. gender is a barrier in this case. Consider (89) and

(90):

(89) lɪmʕalmaat   'the teachers (FEM)   'all the female teachers'

(90) ʔɪl-mʊhandɪsaat   'the engineers-FEM'   'all the female engineers'

Lexically-categorized plural nouns are never used generically to refer to both sexes except for some expressions expressing family relationships. Again the masculine term is favored over the feminine term. Consider the following examples:

(91) *lɪw-laad*   'boys   'children, sons and daughters'
      lɪx-waan   'brothers'   'brothers and sisters'.

6.4.3.1.2. Generic Gender in the Corpus

The proverbs in the corpus seem to reflect this distinction. Feminine gender is sparsely used. This is mostly due to the nature of proverbs as generic evaluative statements which target every member of the community.

In proverbs, in all the nouns or the nominal adjectives where masculine or feminine gender is expected or possible, the masculine form is preferred. Consider these examples:

(92) <u>ʔɪl-mɪstaʕdʒɪl</u>   maa   bɪ-suug   ʔɪdʒmaal
      the dashing person-Sing-MAS. not   IMPERF-ride   camels
      'A person in a hurry does not ride camels.'

(93) <u>lɪ-skaafɪ</u>   ħaafɪ   w-ɪl- ħaajɪk   ʕarjaan
      the shoemaker-Sing-MAS bare-foot and-the weaver-Sing-MAS naked
      'The shoemaker is bare-foot and the weaver is naked.'

In these sentences, the underlined nouns are grammatically masculine. They have feminine counterparts which do not appear. These nouns in turn induce obligatory agreement inflections on the other parts of speech. The verb in (92) *bɪ-*

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suug is inflected for masculine gender since the nominal adjective is masculine. The adjective in (93) *ħaafɪ* is inflected to agree with the noun which is third person singular. The genericity of the whole proverb can be determined through applying other tests.

In proverbs, adjectival nouns i.e. adjectives which have become nouns by virtue of the definite article are very common. These expressions in the corpus are solely masculine. Examples of these nominal adjectives are:

(94)   ʔɪl-fagiir   'the poor person'
         ʔɪs-saʕiid   'the happy one'
         ʔɪl-fahiim   'the wise one'
         ʔɪl-ħaziin   'the sad one'

The feminine counterparts of these expressions, given in (95), are as common as the masculine expressions; however, they do not appear in the corpus. This is due to the restricted genericity feminine expressions have. Gender is a barrier for feminine NPs in Jordanian Arabic.

(95)   ʔɪl-fagiir-ɪh   'the poor woman/girl'
         ʔɪs-saʕiid-ɪh 'the happy woman/girl'
         ʔɪl-fahiim-ɪh 'the wise woman/girl'
         ʔɪl-ħaziin-ɪh 'the sad woman/girl'

Another manifestation of generic gender in proverbs is the definite plural nouns which are grammatically masculine. These reflect the genericity adopted in JA. In all the cases, when a masculine version of the noun appears as in (96) and (97), the interpretation is generic and both sexes are targeted by the expression; however, when

the feminine version appears as in (98), genericity is limited to members of the same group:

(96)   daar *ʔɪl-haamliin* b-tɪxrab gabʊl daar *ʔɪD-Daalmiin*
        house the- careless will-damage before house the-unjust
        'The house of the reckless gets damaged before the house of the unjust.'

(97)   ʔɪn kɪθrʊ *ʃ-ʃaħħaadiin*-PL-MAS b-ɪtgɪl ɪS-Sadaga
        if increase the-beggers   IMPERF-decease the-charity
        'If beggars increase, charity decreases.'

(98)   ʔɪl-banaat mɪn   ɪS-duur *ɪl-ʕammaat*
        the-girls   from   breasts the aunts
        'Girls are from their aunts' chests'

In fact, (98) is the only single example with grammatical feminine nouns; a fact which supports the preference of generic masculine over their feminine counterparts. Again, this NP is generic and refers to all girls; it does not cross the gender boundary.

    Lexically-categorized nouns, singular or plural, appear in a limited generic sense in the proverbs. In other words, they refer to members of the same sex. Lexically-categorized nouns as human feminine, for instance, can only refer to the members of the same gender:

(99)   *ʔɪl-mara*,   ʔɪn dag-at   ʕa-rʊkbɪt-ta b-tɪTlaʕ   b-ħiilɪtta
        the-woman   if rubbed-she on-knee-her will-come   with-means
        'A woman comes with her pretext as simple as rubbing her knee.'

(100)   *ʔɪl-banaat*   mɪn   ɪSduur ʔɪl-ʕammaat
        the-girls   from   breast the-aunts (father's sisters)
        'Girls are from their aunts' chests'

    A morphological analysis can be adopted to show the preference of the masculine gender over the feminine gender. All the verb phrases following the relative pronoun ʔɪllɪ or the relative noun *man* are inflected for singular masculine;

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not in a single case has the verb been inflected for feminine though in Jordanian

Arabic the verb can be inflected for feminine in the singular and in the plural.

Compare the sentence in (101) to the proverbs in (102) and (103):

(101)   *ʔıllı*   gaalat   lı-tʃ   ɣalTaanıh
        who   told-S.FEM   to-you mistaken
        '(The woman) who told you is mistaken.'

(102)   ʔıllı   ʕınd-ʊ   ɣanam   jımuut-l-ʊ   sxuul
        who   with-him   sheep   die –for-him   sheep
        'He who has sheep finds it natural for some baby sheep to die.'

(103)   ʔıllı bi-id-ʊ   l-maɣrafa   maa b-ıdʒuuʕ
        who in-hands-his the- scoopernot   will-starve
        'He who has has the scooper won't starve.'

Although Jordanian Arabic allows verbs inflected for feminine to appear, proverbs do

not bear them. This is, however, a universal tendency. In English, for instance, the

proverbs do not bear a form like 'she who….'; the only form of relative clauses in

English is 'he who…'

        Generic masculine also appears in the proverbs containing imperatives. In JA,

the imperative form targeting females is formed by simply adding the suffix -ı to the

imperative form targeting males.

(104)   xʊð   'take-SING.MAS'   xʊðı   'take- SING.FEM'
        ʔʊdrʊs 'study- SING.MAS'   ʔʊdrʊsı   'study- SING.FEM'

However, in all the proverbs containing imperatives, the masculine form is the

prevalent one. The feminine form has not appeared once. Consider the following

examples:

(105)   xʊD faal-ha mɪn ʔaTfaal-ha
        take-MAS omen-its from children-its
        'Children are a source of a good omen'

(106)   laa tɪʃrab   min biir   wo   tɪrmɪ   fii   ħadʒar
        not-drink- SING.MAS from well and   throw-SING.MAS in-it a stone
        'Do not drink from a well and throw a stone after you.'

(107)   xabbɪ   gɪrʃ-ak lɪ-bjaD   la-joum-ak   lɪ-swad
        hide-SING.MAS   piaster-your the-white to-day-your the-black
        'Save your white piaster to your black day.'

Corbitt argues that the use of the generic *he* in English has failed due to the male-specific interpretation. Nonetheless, this does not work for proverbs, a woman reading a proverb containing generic masculine cannot claim that she is not targeted by the proverb. Moreover, the feminist movements have not asked for having a feminine version of the proverbs. Males, on the other hand, are not targeted by proverbs which include lexically-categorized feminine nouns.

Furthermore, generic expressions, which are generic in nature since they do not have a referent, like *ʔɪl-waaħad* 'someone' appears in the proverbs in the masculine form 4 times to refer to a male and a female while the feminine equivalent has not appeared. Consider the following example:

(108)   ʔɪl-waħad maa bɪ-ʃbaʕ ʔɪlla mɪn gɪdɪrt-ʊ
        the-one NEG IMPERF- get full except for from his pot.
        'A person does not get enough except from his pot.'

(109)   kʊl waħad bɪ-ħadʒdʒɪz   ʕa-ɣmuur-ʊh
        every one IMPERF-protect on-pile-his
        'Every person protects his piles of hay.'

6.4.3.2. Avoidance of Proper Names

Another means of achieving genericity is manifested in the avoidance of proper nouns. Proper nouns are simply avoided due to the fact that they are specific as they name a specific person or group. Needless to say that specificity is the opposite of genericity and the involvement of specific referring expressions in the proverbs will negatively affect the scope of genericity in the proverbs.

Another reason for the avoidance of proper nouns is to evade the referents shame and disgrace. The first impression that jumps to the mind is that the referents of the proper nouns must have done an hideous act, mostly a negative one, that has led to his or their being mentioned in the proverb. In other words, they have become a lesson to avoid.

The only cases of proverbs containing proper nouns, three in number, appear in proverbial phrases only. Proverbial phrases, structurally, are made of an expression of similarity mɪθɪl 'like' followed by a NP. The proper nouns are simply given following the resemblance expression without providing the grounds of similarity which the speaker and the hearer should know by accessing their shared native culture. Consider the following examples:

(110)   mɪθɪl saħdʒɪt banɪ fheɪd
        like clapping   family Fheid
        'Like the clapping of Fheid's family.'

(111)   mɪθɪl ʃabaab   ɪr-reɪne
        like young people   Raine(a village)
        'Like the young people of Raineh'

(112)   mɪθɪl mSaɪfɪt riiħa
        like summer Jericho
        'Like the summer spender of Jericho.'

These names as they appear in the proverbs do not specify a single person. In (97), the proper name is the name of a big tribe; in the other two cases, the names are names of villages.

6.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I attempted to provide a rough sketch of generics in JA as well as in the proverbs. I claim that besides the generic enforcing structures used in JA, proverbs distill their genericity from other various other resources; most of which are not similarly used in JA.

The most distinctive structures that are exclusively available to proverbs are headless relative clauses, vocatives, and categorical negation. In fact, categorical negation is the sole kind of negation used in the corpus. Furthermore, proverbs have other types of genericity including semantic genericity as well as lexical genericity. Both of which can be variably used in JA.

The genericity of the proverbs has been determined through applying some diagnostic tests that were originally proposed for the same purpose. The tests have proved that the types of genericity proposed are valid.

Finally, at the lexical level, proverbs deviate from JA in having indefinite NPs interpreted generically without the need of other generic operators.

Chapter Seven: Proverbs in Discourse

7.1. **Introduction**

Despite the prime emphasis on creativity and individuality, verbatim proverbs are still repeatedly employed in discourse without undergoing any change at any level. Proverbs are a ubiquitous phenomenon and their omnipresence indicates their importance. In this context, Webster (1986) states that formulaic expressions are an integral part of the verbal art among the Arabs and that 'of the numerous formulaic forms in the Arabic language, probably the most pervasive is the proverb.'

Participants, whether they are speakers or writers, often do not only accept proverbs without reservations, but they also reverently appreciate them. Participants are expected to manifest their knowledge of proverbs through coordinating when to say a proverb, to whom, how and why. According to Louwerse & Mitchell (2004), this task of coordination is much easier for speakers than for writers due the simultaneous presence of the hearers in the same situation.

The extensive use of proverbs has various implications at different levels as should become apparent in the following. The implications will constitute the major research questions of this chapter.

The first question relates to the types of discourse in which proverbs are most often detected. Are proverbs as frequent in written forms as in face-to-face conversations? Which level of discourse exhibits more proverbs? In answering this question, real life recordings as well as news paper articles from Al-Rai newspaper,

the most popular newspaper in Jordan are analyzed and compared. News Arabic is used since it is dynamic and does not reflect characteristic features of a certain writer.

The second question concerns the participants. Do proverbs require two parts? Can proverbs be used in a monolog as well as in a dialog? What is the perspective of the society for the person who utilizes proverbs? In answering this question, I will depend on my recordings again.

The third research question will address the functions of proverbs. Why are proverbs used and what are are their functions?

The fourth question will shed light on how proverbs are introduced in discourse. The following sub-questions will be addressed as well. Are there fixed discourse markers for introducing proverbs? What are the most common discourse markers that are used to introduce proverbs? Can proverbs be used without a marker? How are proverbs received and responded to?

7.2. Proverbs and Kind of Discourse

This section will address the issue of the level of discourse in which proverbs are most prevalent. It attempts to answer the following two questions: at what level of discourse, written or spoken, are proverbs more abundant? Why? In order to answer these two questions, I relied on the previous literature, newspaper articles from the Al-Rai newspaper, the most popular paper in Jordan, and real life recordings.

When it comes to discourse types, all previous discourse studies, regardless of whether they are related to proverbs, meet at one point: the supremacy of the spoken

language over the written language for natural language analysis. Lambrecht (1996) preferred spoken language to written language for natural language analysis. He states that spoken language is supreme to written language. Tae-Sang (1999) maintains that proverbs are abundant in novels, newspapers and magazines, yet they are more prevalent in interpersonal communication. He states that 'although the contexts of proverbs are quite diverse such that proverbs can appear in novels, newspapers, magazines and the like, proverbs are an integral part of the interpersonal communication of everyday life.' In his own words, 'proverbs oil the wheel of human interaction in day-to-day social contexts.'

Agbaje (2002) claims that proverbs often occur in day-to-day discourse or conversation. He stresses the influence of spoken language by saying ' in face-to-face interaction, the spoken word, despite its evanescence, acquires extra potency.' Louwerse & Mitchell (2004) in their beautiful analysis of discourse markers say that language is an act of communication between participants. While in the case of dialog, the act of communication is made easier due to the presence of the participants in the same context. In writing, however, the act of communication is delayed due to requirements of writing including thinking, editing and publishing. As a consequence, the speaker is not given the time available for the writer to present her ideas in the way she likes.

Aziz (1988) maintains that Arab gatherings are marked by 'highly formalized relationships' which lead to 'highly predictable and normalized language' such as idioms and proverbs.

In sum, all the previous studies of discourse, in general, and proverbs in specific indicate the superiority and the eminence of spoken discourse over written discourse in examining the use of proverbs.

I claim that proverbs are naturally a conversational phenomenon since they are usually context-dependent, spontaneous and above all improvised. Instances of proverbs in writing do not reflect the real nature of proverbs, hence their scarcity. However, one might pose a question as why proverbs are common in face-to-face conversation while they are scarce in writing. An answer for this question will be provided after presenting the written data I relied upon.

As I mentioned before, I relied upon two sources for my data: newspapers and recordings. For the newspaper articles, I read and analyzed 83 newspaper articles of different types and lengths from the Al-Rai newspaper. I selected the articles randomly from different sections over 10 days. I tried to cover the most important sections of the paper. I checked the pieces of news for proverbs. The categories of news articles, their frequency and the frequency of proverbs are provided in Table 8.

Table 8: *Categories of News Articles, Frequency & Proverb Frequency*

Type of articles	Frequency	Proverb frequency
Political	15	1
Economical	15	---
Art & theater	22	---
Sports	15	---
Cultural articles	16	5
Total	83	6

The category art & theater includes news related to theater, criticism, as well as some short stories. Cultural articles are those articles which talk about local

phenomena that are closely related to people, their way of thinking, beliefs, and behaviors. One of the articles, for instance, was talking about the national dish of Jordan. The purpose of these articles is to enhance people's awareness of their culture and to make them attached to their traditions, customs and beliefs; hence, the relative abundance of proverbs in this category. The use of proverbs in these articles is one means a writer may adopt to display his knowledge of local traditions. In addition, the use of proverbs, gives the writer the opportunity to favorably approach large groups of people. In other words, proverbs in writing function as a means for the writer to integrate with the readers.

In fact, the scarcity of proverbs in writing is due to several reasons. For one thing, it is a direct reflection of the formal style of writing used in newspapers and an indirect reflection of the conversational nature of proverbs. Second: in writing, the writer has time and space to posit and organize his ideas in the way he likes. The writer may present other means of persuasion including photos, facts, and authentic references. Moreover, the writer is not rushed by other participants who are urging him to terminate his turn. In other words, the writer is not improvising. A third reason for the avoidance of proverbs in writing is that the writer is presenting pieces of information in order to be approach all the readers. In other words, the writer tries to be as literal as possible.

I have analyzed 2 recordings of dialogs in real life situations. The first was for 9 male conversationalists and lasted for 2 hours. The second was for 7 of the 9 conversationalists in the first recording and this recording lasted for 1 hour. 12

instances of proverbs appeared in these 2 recordings. This number is really big (Most of the proverbs will be presented in section 3). This number has diverse implications. First: it can be presented as a support for the claim of the conversational nature of proverbs. Second: it can indicate that proverbs are context-dependent; the two hour recording, for instance, involved at least 5 different unplanned-for topics. Finally, this number illustrates that proverbs are not premeditated; they are extemporaneous. They may appear when the speaker's wit helps him in accessing one from the repertoire of proverbs stored in his mind. This last finding indicates that whenever proverbs appear in writing that means that the writer has exerted an effort to come up with it.

Before closing this section two points need to be clarified. First: I predict that proverbs will be abundant in novels due to the fact that novels seek to mimic real life in every aspect. That means that novels are liable to include conversations identical to those occurring in real life.

The second issue is that I will forsake talking about proverbs in writing and focus on proverbs in conversation i.e. proverbs in their natural context.

7.3. **Proverbs and speakers**

This section will focus on two issues. The first point concerns the community's perspective of the proverb speaker. This study is not trying to classify proverb users according to demographic factors such as age, education, sex, etc. Rather, the main purpose of this section is to provide a picture of how a proverb projector is looked upon.

Relying on the findings in the previous section, the second issue relates to whether proverbs are manifested in monolog as well as dialog.

7.3.1. **The Community's Perspective towards a Proverb Speaker**

As the findings in the previous section indicate, proverbs are prevalent in face-to-face conversations since they are dictated by the spontaneous course of events. Proverbs are not premeditated; rather, they are projected whenever the speaker's wit tells her that a certain proverb is suitable for the context at hand. In this sense, proverbs stand out as the ideal means to express the proposition at hand since they create a shared universe of discourse demonstrating the shared traditions, beliefs, and language.

Nonetheless, proverbs are not accessible to everybody. Agabaja (2002) states that the elders in the community usually have a full command of proverbs. They are fully equipped with the dual qualities of wisdom and eloquence which enable them to manipulate proverbs as required. In addition, he argues that anyone who cannot apply proverbs effectively is considered to be unwise. Yankah (2001) maintains that 'a good proverb speaker does not only know its logical application and the meaning, but also its appropriate social uses: which proverb imagery to select or avoid in what social situations.'

When it comes to the Arabs and proverbs, the literature provides evidence that the Arabs are quite skilful in manipulating proverbs for diverse purposes and at various social situations. Rayess (1969) argues that 'if proverbs are a sign of wisdom,

the Arabs are wise indeed' since 'they accumulated an incomparable treasury of acute observation, perceptive comments and sage advice on all aspects of life.' Dickson (1951 cited in Webster 1980) maintains that 'the Arab is forever quoting proverbs or sayings of some poet or another and he seems to enjoy this as much as story telling.' Similarly, Webster (1980) proposes that the 'masterful orator', whether he be a poet, a conversationalist, a politician or a proverb user, gains respect through his or her linguistic skill. Webster adds that the delivery of a message is as vital as its content. Barakat (1980) argues that Arabs take 'vast pride' in being able to resort to proverbs whenever the need necessitates. Moreover, he argues that Arabs pay great respect to any person who is able to use these proverbs appropriately.

Webster proposes that proper usage of proverbs can be evaluated based on two criteria. The first is the sufficient familiarity of proverbs. This criterion manages the person to access his repertoire of proverbs easily. The second criterion is the proper application of the proverb to the situation at hand.

Conventionally, the appropriate use of proverbs is a credit for the conversationalist; the use of proverbs does not disrepute the conversationalist for not being able to express the same proposition via his own words. Rather, the use of proverbs show that the speaker is fully aware of the situation at hand and that this situation is suitably comparable to the situation in the proverb which in turn can be considered as the best formula to describe it.

The application of proverbs to real life situations shows that the proverb user is quite aware of norms of discourse and tradition. This is obvious through his usage

of what is considered 'the glue of conversation'. Moreover, taking in consideration that proverbs are never premeditated, the application of proverbs manifests the user's wit. This is traced in various points. The first is his ability to witness a thread of similarity, which the other participants may have missed, between the proverb and the real life situation. The second is his wise judgment of when to insert the proverb at the appropriate time and place in the curves of discourse. Finally, his choice to use a proverb instead of his own words is in itself a manifestation of the speaker's wit. This last point is closely related to the functions of proverbs as we will see later.

7.3.2. **Dialog or monolog**

This section, as the heading indicates, deals with whether or not proverbs can be used in monolog. The findings of the previous section indicate that the proverbs are prevalent in face-to-face conversations. This finding is supported by Tae-Sang (1999) who proposes that 'proverbs are an integral part of the interpersonal communication of every day life.'

I claim that proverbs can be used in monologs though I cannot prove my claim through my recordings since I do not have recordings of monologs. However, my experience of real life situations proves that proverbs can occur in monologs. Imagine a situation in which the monologist is blaming himself for the miserable situation he has come up to, he may address himself with the following proverb:

(1)   man dʒaab   ħaal-ʊ l-r-rada laa jɪluum-ha
        who brought-MAS self-his to-the- NEG blame-it
        'He who brought himself to a bad condition should not blame it.'

In using this proverb, the monologist is first nullifying the involvement of any other person in the miserable condition he ended with. Moreover, he excessively blames himself for this condition through the use of a form that is usually used by the speaker to teach the hearer a lesson. In other words, he is insultingly blaming himself.

Another monolog situation to which a proverb can be applied is the following. Imagine a situation in which the monologist has relied on some other person to perform a task for him. However, she has not performed that task. The monologist may first blame the other person for not fulfilling the task; nonetheless, he may blame himself for not doing the task by himself using the following proverb:

(2)   (fɪʕlan ʔɪnn-ʊ) maa ħakka dʒɪldʊka mɪθla Dɪfrɪka
        (truly that-he) NEG rub skin-your like nail-your
        '(It is really true that) nothing will rub your skin better than your nail.'

By using this proverb, the monologist is injuriously rebuking himself for depending on others who might not have any interest in fulfilling the assigned task.

7.4. **Proverbs and Discourse**

This section will tackle two issues. The first is concerned with the markers that are commonly used with proverbs while the second discusses the functions of proverbs in conversation. The focus here will be on spoken discourse in which proverbs are prevalent. These two questions will be answered from the analysis of the recordings.

7.4.1. **Proverbs and Discourse Markers**

One imminent question that should be answered here is whether the markers mostly used to introduce proverbs can be considered as discourse markers. In order to answer this question, a good definition of discourse markers should be provided. Blakemore (2004) defined discourse markers as 'a syntactically heterogeneous class of expressions which are distinguished by their function in discourse and the kind of meaning they encode.' Levinson (1983) provided what can be considered a one distinctive feature of discourse markers: they are expressions whose utterance is usually a response to or a continuation of a previous part in the prior discourse. Louwerse & Mitchell (2004) define discourse markers as those expressions that glue the interaction between the participants. They glue the interaction through the various functions they have. Some of the functions they presented are drawing the attention of the participant, indicating turn-taking and marking agreement with the other participants. Schiffrin (1987) proposes that discourse markers equip the participants with the knowledge they require to handle the upcoming utterance. By doing so, discourse markers guarantee the integration of discourse.

Furthermore, Schiffrin provided a number of conditions an expression should have in order to be classified as a discourse marker. For example, a discourse marker should be a 'sequentially dependent' element that separates units of talk. A discourse marker is also commonly used in initial position as it connects two segments of discourse together. Knott & Mellish (1996) propose that any phrase that can be

isolated from the clause containing it and which cannot be interpreted without further context is a cue phrase i.e. a discourse marker.

To sum up, a discourse marker is a dependent expression that can be commonly used between segments of discourse, mainly, sentences or turns and whose primary function is to glue discourse together,

When it comes to proverbs, Kwesi Yankah (2001) states that in several African cultures, the phrase 'the elders say' is the preferred 'prefatory' marker indicating that the upcoming utterance is a proverb. Furthermore, he proposes that in several Western cultures, the proverb is introduced through a formula expressing an indefinite source: 'they say' or with a 'factivity' expression such as 'You know that' and 'remember that' whose main function is to indicate that the upcoming utterance is a proverb that should be paid close attention to. One interesting situation presented by Yankah is that when one is addressing a social superior; the speaker may use an apologetic expression as 'It is you elders that said' to nullify the possibility of having a didactic intent.

Katz& Ferretti (2003) studied the influence of explicit markers or introductory formulae on the processing of read proverbs. According to them, an explicit marker is the one that tells the reader that the upcoming sentence should be read non-literally. In other words, it provides the reader with more information regarding the following sentence. An example of an explicit marker is 'proverbially speaking'; examples of implicit markers are 'literally speaking' and 'in a manner of speaking.' They have found that the explicit marker has influenced the reading times of the sentences since

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they not only show that the upcoming sentence is non-literal, but they also tell the type of the sentence as a proverb.

Clearly, the literature provides evidence that the markers used to introduce proverbs are discourse markers. They usually occupy an initial position; they cannot be interpreted alone; they connect what precedes to what follows and they inform the hearer or the reader what is expected from her to receive the upcoming statement. But, what are the discourse markers that are used to introduce proverbs?

In JA, proverbs are introduced through various expressions. Following Katz & Ferretti (2003), the markers can be classified as explicit: indicating that the upcoming utterance is a proverb since they contain the word for proverb and implicit, generally meaning 'they said.' The explicit markers include:

(3)   a.   gʊlaat ʔɪl-maθal
                  sayings the-proverb
                  'The sayings of the proverb ….'

        b.   ʔɪl-maθal   bɪ-guul
                  the-proverb IMPERF-say
                  'The proverb says ….'

        c.   Sadag ʔɪl-maθal ʔɪllɪ gaal
                  true the-proverb that said
                  'The proverb has told the truth that …'

        d.   ʔɪl-maθal maa xalla ʔɪʃɪ maa gaal-ʊ
                  The-proverb NEG left thing NEG said it
                  'The proverb has not left any thing it did not say.'

These expressions, as their meanings indicate, are instances of personification. They look at the proverb as a human being who said something

The implicit markers are:

(4)   a.   w-zaɪ maa bɪħtʃ-ʊ
                And-like what IMPERF-say-them
                'And like what they say

        b.   w-zaɪ maa bɪ-guul-ʊ
                and-like what IMPERF-say-them
                'And like what they say

Obviously, these implicit markers attribute the proverbs to an indefinite group of male speakers. Katz & Ferretti (2003) named markers like these as underspecified markers since they do not clearly indicate the kind of the following sentence in a very similar manner to the explicit markers.

In the recordings, 12 instances of proverbs were detected. All of them but one were introduced without any marker. The only marker that appeared is *ʔɪl-maθal bɪ-guul* 'the proverb says' followed by the proverb:

(5)   ʔɪD-Deɪf ʔasiir lɪ-mʕazɪb
       The-guest-MAS hostage the-host
       'The guest is the hostage of the host.'

In 7 instances, the proverb consumed the whole turn of the speaker i.e. the speakers uttered solely the proverb. However, the introduction of some of the proverbs was accompanied with what Yankah (2001) called factive expressions. The factive expressions that appeared are: *ʔɪsmaʕ* 'listen-imperative' + name of the addressee (before the proverb), and *maa smɪʕɪt* 'haven't you heard'. These factive expressions function as a means of attracting the addressee's attention; they by no means signal the kind of the upcoming utterance. This last claim will be obviated in the next section which handles how proverbs are introduced.

I can make a claim here that it is the resemblance between the real life situation and the proverb that makes conversationalists comprehend and digest proverbs though on the surface they look irrelevant. This semantic similarity is the cohesive means through which the proverb is integrated in the conversation. Thus, the thematic relationship is seen as the glue for discourse. This claim will be investigated in the following section.

7.4.2. **Functions of discourse**

This section attempts to reveal some of the functions of proverbs in real life conversations. Functions of proverbs in the press will not be discussed further though some of them have already been given in the second section. Basically, proverbs are employed by writers to signal integration and belonging. Norrick (1985) termed this use of proverbs in writing as group membership. In this context, Norrick argues that proverbs as well as other expressions including jokes, clichés, and quotes can lead to bonding between people. In this respect, proverbs perform this function at the two levels: spoken and written.

Yassin (1988) adopted Halliday's basic language functions and applied them to proverbs. According to Yassin, proverbs can serve three functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational function of proverb is related to the content of the proverbs. In this respect, Yassin proposes that proverbs can be statements of facts, metaphors drawn from daily life, brief summaries of experiences, or an allusion to a particular trade. The interpersonal function of proverbs is concerned with

establishing and maintaining social relations. This function of proverbs is represented in imperative and interrogative proverbs. Finally, the textual function of proverbs is concerned with using proverbs relevant to the real life situations. Yassin maintains that proverbs are the 'summing up of every day experience in getting on with the world as it is.' Obviously, Yassin's presentation of the functions of proverbs is not contextual. His presentation mainly relates to the structure and the themes of the proverbs. However, Yassin, at the outset of his paper presented a generalization regarding the conventional point of using proverbs. He states 'whereas an idiom is a transition point, a necessary introduction to the forthcoming discussion, a proverb is, instead, the climax of that event, the most important domain for the display and evaluation of verbal art.' In other words, Yasin claims that proverbs are projected following a previously made proposition.

Barakat (1980) presented a contextual function of proverbs. He argues that when proverbs are used in conversational situations, they usually present a great influence since the speaker is linking his proposition to the past and by doing so he 'shifts the responsibility' of proposition to past 'traditions and authorities whose wisdom cannot be questioned.'

Yankah (2001) enumerated some general functions proverbs may perform. Among the functions he presented are: warning, advice, reprimanding, advocating favorable traits, and despising disfavorable traits. He further added that proverbs may be used to educate, and as a tool of persuasion in social situations.

Tae-Sang (1999) proposes that through employing proverbs, the speaker is expressing his point of view regarding a certain issue while at the same time maintaining the interpersonal relationship with the addressee. Furthermore, Tae-Sang states that all of his respondents agreed that 'using proverb instead of direct expression is good manners.' In this respect, Agbaja (2002) suggests that a proverb garnishes a situation that could have been worse in case one's own words are used. Agbaja further introduced an interesting function of proverbs. He claims that proverbs can be employed for conciliatory purposes. They are usually presented by the elders at a critical point in conflicts to settle a rift between parties. However, this use of proverbs is different. In all the situations he provided, the proverb is not used separately from a short narration or an allegory in which the proverb has originally been invented. In other words, it is the allegory plus the proverb that are used to reconcile the two parties. After all, one cannot imagine a conflict that is completely solved by one single sentence.

In sum, proverbs are utilized for various functions depending on the social situation. However, the primary and maybe the universal function for proverb in social situations is to culminate a previously mentioned topic. The proverb in this sense gives support to the topic and the speaker. In most cases, the proverb is presented towards the end of the social situation. Nearly all the instances of proverbs in the recordings have been used to give credit or support a proposition presented earlier in the conversationalists' words.

However, I claim that proverbs serve several primary functions witnessed in nearly all occurrences of proverbs among which are: supporting a previously made proposition, social solidarity or face-saving to avoid confrontation, and providing authenticity for a proposition. Besides, proverbs serve secondary functions determined by the context. I will support my claim with proverbs as used in the recordings. In order to show that the proverbs occur to support an argument, at least five turns before the one including the proverb will be given; a fact which explains the lengthy conversational passages given below.

The prime function of most of the proverbs in my data is to support a previous proposition. In 10 out of the 12 proverbs witnessed in the recordings, the proverb appears towards the end of the social situation and closely related to the topic of discussion. Consider the following conversational passage:

(6)   S   Tab leıʃ ʔıħna ka ʕarbaʔah ʔurdʊnıjjiin leıʃ taankuun buuz madfaʕ
            then why we the four   Jordanian   why be opening cannon

            w-ınħaarıb-hʊm
            and-fight-them
            'Why should we be the only ones to fight them?'

      M   ʔıħna ʔıl-mʊdaafıʕiin ʕan ħʊquuq ʔıl-ʊmmah kʊl-ha
            we   the- defenders about right the-nation all-it
            'We the sole protector's of people's rights.'

      W   (addressing S) w-allaah-ı   ʔıntıh taqlıb ʔıl-ʔaswad ʔabjaD
                          And-allah-my you   turn the-black white
                          'By Allah, you change the white black.'

      AS   ʔamma mʊmkın kʊl fatrah jımsı-kʊ ʔıθneın   ha ʔıtfaDDal ʕa-n-naadı
            or   possible every period catch-they two   welcome to-the-club
            'or sometimes they would catch two people and invite them to the club.'

M   haaɪ ʔɪsɪm-ha ʕamalɪjjɪt taftiit   ʔɪl-qawmɪ ʔɪl-ʊrdʊnɪ
     this name-her process demolishing the-national the-jordanian,

     bɪ-gðab-ʊk   **ʔʊkɪlt-ʊ   jawma ʔʊkɪl-a   ʔaθ-θawr ʔal-abiaD**
     IMPERF-catch-you was-eaten-I day   was-eaten-he the-ox the-white
     'This is called the process of demolishing the Jordanian national spirit,
     they would catch you, **I was eaten when the white ox was eaten**.

W   kama ʔʊkɪla   lakɪn ʔɪħna nattaħɪd wa-la   nʊʔkal   ʔɪθ-θiiraan
     as   was-eaten but   we   unite   and-NEG get-eaten the-oxen
     ʔɪllɪ   ʔɪtaklat ʔɪttaklat
     which eaten eaten
     'As it was eaten, but we unite and we do not get eaten. The oxen,
     which deserve to be eaten, have already been eaten.'

In the passage above, M is supporting his proposition that by not having a
unitary background, or terms of agreement that bond all the members of the group,
each person will be doing what he thinks best for himself, and members of the group
will no more form a unitary one. In this sense, they will be similar to the three oxen
who were ruling the jungle when they were united. However, the lion gained the
sovereignty of the jungle by dividing between them. The story of the proverb tells
that the proverb was uttered by the last remaining ox who could not defeat the lion at
the end realizing at that point that his destiny has been determined from the first
moment he consented for the lion to eat the white ox.

M projected the proverb in his second turn in the passage. However, M has
about 10 turns before these two. This shows that the proverb has been projected
towards the climax of the situation. Actually, W's statement given above was the last
statement about this topic and a new topic was initiated later on.

Furthermore, this proverb serves another primary function. It serves as glue for relationships. It indicates social solidarity and evades one animosity that could have occurred as a result of using one's own words. It is then a face-saving means to avoid confrontation between the conversationalists. The speaker by using a proverb evades direct blame through impersonalizing the saying. Imagine the same situation expressed in M's own words. He would have said, 'you are separatists', 'you do not care about the benefits of the group' and each side will start to throw accusations.

This proverb serves a couple of secondary functions stemming from the situation at hand. The first secondary function is to clarify to the separatists the potential grave consequences of their deeds. They would break the unitary stand of the group and would have no body to help them in case of emergency. The second function of this proverb is to urge the separatists to stop arguing, to admit their hideous action and to rejoin the group.

The following passage presents another context-dependent function for proverbs. In fact, this passage is closely related to the previous passage. The passage goes as follows.

(7)　　M　　fiih ħarakɪt xɪjaanɪh Saajrɪh wana bɪ-l-ʔʊdʊn, fii-ha kʊl ɪS-Sɪfaat ʔɪllɪ
　　　　　　in movment treachery become and-I in Jordan, in-it all the-traits which

　　　　　　xalag-ha rabba-na ʔɪl-ʔɪnhɪzaamɪjjɪh, ʔɪl-xʊnuuʕ,ʔɪt-tazʊlʊf
　　　　　　created-it God-our, the-defeatism, the-subservience, adulation
　　　　　　'There is treachery that took place while I was in Jordan that involves the (negative) traits God has created (including) defeatism, subservience, adulation.'

W   ʔɪt-taradʒʊʕ
         the- withdrawal
         'withdrawal'

M   ʔɪt-taradʒʊʕ
         the- withdrawal
         'withdrawal'

S   ʔɪt-taʕaamʊl maʕ dʒɪhaat xaarɪdʒɪjjɪh
         the- dealing with sides outside
         'dealing with outsiders'

W   ʔɪr-rɪtriit
         the-retreat
         'retreat'

S   ʔɪð-ðawabaan bɪ-l-aaxar
         the-dissolving in-the-other

M   xall-uu-nɪ taa-mannɪ dɪrt Dahr-ɪ mɪn houn   ʕarfiin   ʔɪnn-ɪ maʃɣuul
         Let-they-me until-I   turned back-I from here, knowing that-I busy

         bɪ-dʒ-dʒiizɪh wɪ-n-nɪswaan
         with-the-marriage and-the-women
         'They let me travel and knowing that I am busy with marriage and
         women.'

A   **ʔɪn ɣaab ʔɪl-gʊT ʔɪlʕab jaa faar**
         if   was-absent the-cat, play O you mouse
         'When the cat is away, O mouse, you can play.'

S   mʊsalsal ʔɪt-tanaazʊlaat mɪʃ Taniiʕɪ Saajɪr
         series   the-relinquishments NEG natural become
         'The series of relinquishments has become implausible.'

In this passage, A, one of the two people accused of penetrating the group's

unitary stand i.e. one of the treacherous persons, has uttered the proverb to mock M's

previous utterance. M says that when they saw me busy in marriage, they did their

hideous misdeed. A, who does not believe that he has done anything wrong, projected

the proverb to indirectly inform M of his disbelief of what he says and even to mock him. The idea that A wants to pass to M is 'What do you think you are?' Clearly, this function is a secondary one since it stems from the situation at hand.

The primary function this proverb serves is social solidarity or face-saving to avoid confrontation between the convarsationalists. Apparently, A has conveyed his message successfully without arousing M's animosity or even violating the code of behavior. This proverb has not been presented to support a previously-made proposition. In fact, it is the only statement by A in the entire passage.

The proverb in (8) below serves another function. It serves to support a general proposition i.e. a proposition that has received approval from all the conversationalists. Consider the following passage:

(8)   S   ʔamma fiih mawDuuʕ ʔaham mın heıtʃ
              some   in   topic   more important than this
              'There is a topic which is more important than this one.'

        M   ʔaham mın heıtʃ,   ʔaham mın heıtʃ   fiih mawDuuʕ
              more-important than this, more-important than this in topic
              'There is no other topic that is more important than this one.'

        S   X mınSadım w-allah
              X shocked   and-Allah
              'By Allah X is shocked.'

        MA   ʕaʃaan huu wo MU maa nıdʒħuu-ʃ
              Because he and Mu NEG succeed-NEG
              'Because he and Mu did not succeed.'

        A   ʕırıf X ʔınnʊ lı-sʕuudıjjiin maa ntaxabuu-huu-ʃ
              Knew X that the-Saudi's NEG vote-for-him-NEG
              'X has known that the Saudis did not vote for them.'

W   bɪ-llah ʕaleɪk ʃuu ʔɪllɪ ʕarraf-ʊh
by- Allah on-you what knew-him
'By Allah, how did he know?

U   **ʔɪddam ʕa-baʕD-ʊh θagiil**
blood on-some-his heavy
'Relatives do not like goodness for relatives.'

A   maa huu mbaɪjɪn lɪ-sʕuudɪjjiin law bad-hʊm ʔɪnadʒħ-ʊ bɪ-nadʒħ-ʊ
it obvious the-Saudis if want-they make-successful IMPERF- succeed
'It is very clear. If the Saudis want to make some body succeed they would it.'

U supports the idea that the Saudis did not elect one of them although they were the majority in the community by saying that relatives usually do not like to benefit relatives through the proverb. The word *damm* 'blood' is used in the proverb to indicate relation and *θagiil* 'heavy' is used to indicate abhorrence and hatred. Support for this interpretation comes from the idiomatic expression *dammʊh θagiil* 'heavy-blooded' which is normally used to express lack of tolerance of or even hatred of a certain person.

Though closely related to the previous function, proverbs can provide authenticity for one's propositions. Proverbs are authentic since they are true at the semantic level and at the social pragmatic level. Proverbs are authoritative as well since they reflect the shared affinity between the conversationalists. The proverb given above for instance can be viewed as an authentic description of the relation between relatives. In this respect, Al-Amad (1976) argues that a proverb does not circulate among people unless it meets their desires and expectations, and their traditions and beliefs.

The passage of conversation in (9) below provides other functions of proverbs. W has doubt about what S presents. The passage goes as follows.

(9)   S   ʃuu   ba-guul la-ʕabdallh w-allaah-ɪ maa Tɪlʕʊ maʕ-ɪ
                what IMPERF-say to-Abdullah and-Allah-my NEG became with-me

                raas fii-ha
                head in-it
                'They were not able to overcome me.'

        W   w-allahɪ rabbaT-uu-k zaɪ ʔɪl-ʔarnab
                And-Allah-my tied-they-you like the-rabbit
                'By Allah, they have tied you like a rabbit.'

        S   laa, laa, laa
                'No, no, no.'

        U   Daleɪt-ak gaaʕɪd zaɪ ʔɪl-faar
                Remained-you sitting like the mouse
                'You kept sitting like a mouse.'

        S   w-allaah-ɪ badd-ɪ ʔadʒaamɪl-kʊ walla ʔanɪ mʊqtanɪʕ bɪ-l-kalaam
                and-Allah-my want-I flatter-you or   I convinced with-the-speech
                'I would just like to flatter you, but I am convinced with what I say.'

        M   w-allaah-ɪ haaɪ Saʕbah, haaɪ Saʕbah   ʔa-saaʕdak fii-ha
                and-Allah-my this difficult, this is difficult I-help-you in-it
                'By Allah, this is difficult for me to help you with.'

        W   jaʕnɪ ʔɪz-zalamɪh leɪʃ maa Saddag-ak ma-huu**ʕagɪl jɪħkɪ wo**
                then the-man why NEG   believed-you it is sane say and

                madʒnuun jɪsmaʕ walla l-ʕakɪs **madʒnuun jɪħkɪ wo ʕaagɪl jɪsmaʕ**
                crazy hears   or   the-opposite crazy talks and sane listens

                ʃaajɪf ʕal-aj
                seeing on-me
                'Then why the man didn't believe you. It is (said) (let) wise man speak
                and mad man listen or the opposite a mad man speaks and a wise man
                listen.'

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U   ʔɪS-Saħiiħ ħaawal-na nsaʕd-ak bass maa gdɪrna
        The-truth   tried-we help-you   but   NEG can-we
        'The truth is that we tried to help you but we couldn't.'

S   bɪħtʃʊ ʕala AB, Saddɪg ʔɪntɪh AB
        IMPERF-talk-they on AB, believe you AB
        'They talk about AB. believe it or not! You are AB.'

W used the proverb for three functions. The first function, which is a primary one, is to support his previous proposition that S has been overcome by his conversationalists. The proverb has been presented in the second turn of W. In fact, W has two other turns that I could not present. The second purpose which is secondary and context-dependent is to urge S to stop bragging and arguing since what he was saying cannot be believed or even be sensical to any sane man. A third function for this proverb is a primary one. The proverb served as a face-saving or a social solidarity device. By using the proverb, W avoids animosity that might result form using his own words to express the proposition. What W would most likely say is 'you are a lair,' and 'this is not the truth.' Again the proverb served as glue for the relationship between the conversationalists.

The following passage is really interesting. The following passage provides other functions for proverbs. The passage includes a proverb that has been introduced twice.

(10)   U   SA   (he is calling SA in order to pay attention to him)

M   S, xʊD-ʊh ʔɪsmaʕ
        S, take-him, listen
        'S, take him, listen' (He did not complete his turn.)

U   S   ʔıntıh zalamıh maa b-t-ıfhamıʃ   ʕadam ʔıl-mʊaaxıh
           S   you man NEG   IMPERF-you-understand-NEG without the-taking
           'S, you are a man who does not usually understand things, sorry for saying so.'

S   ʔana ba-Tʕam-ʊh ka-ax w-ka-zamiil w-ka-waaħad   Talab
           I IMPERF-feed-him as-brother and-as-friend, and-as-person asked

           ʔamma ʕala qaDıjjıt ʔıddıraasıh ʔana maa Talabt-ak wala gʊlıt-l-ak
           as-for on   issue   studying, I NEG asked-you and-not said-to-you

           'I'll feed him because I regard him as a brother and as a friend and because he asked for food. As for studying, I did not ask for his help or even talked to him.'

U   **ʔıD-Deıf ʔasiir lı-mʕazzıb**
           The-guest hostage the-host
           'The guest is the hostage of the host'
           'U is urging SA to consent to S's conditions since SA is the guest.

SA   badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah
           want-I-NEG this-the invitation
           'I do not want this invitation any more.'
.
.
S   M ba-ʔaʕın   bı-n-nıhaajıh ʔınn-ʊh jʊ-Tlʊb ʔıl-ʔaklıh ʔıllı badʊh ʔıjjaaha
           M IMPERF-declare in-the-end that he-asks the-food that want-he it

           wı-l-makaan ʔıllı bad-ʊh ʔıjjaah mın baab ʔıl-ʔʊxʊwah mıʃ mın baab door
           and-the-place that want-he it   from door brotherhood NEG from door

           ʔıd-dıraasıh
           the-study
           'M I declare at the end that he can ask for any food he likes at any place he likes out of brotherhood not out of helping me in my study.'

U   **S, S, S ʔıl-maθal bı-guul ʔıD-Deıf ʔasiir lı-mʕazzıb**
           S, S, S the-proverb IMPERF-say the-guest hostage the-host
           'S, S, S , the proverb says the guest is the hostage of the host.'

S   bass
enough
'enough.' (This is the truest saying)

U   deɪn-ak b-ragbat-ʊh ʔameɪt maa badd-ʊh b-iidʒɪ bɪ-gʊl-l-ak
Debt-your in-neck-his when any want-he IMPERF-come IMPERF-say-to-you

S ʔana ʔɪl-joum ʕaazm-ak
S I   the-day   inviting-you
'Your debt is in his neck, any time he wants, he may come to you and say I am inviting you today.'

SA   maaʃɪ, maaʃɪ ,   badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah
walking, walking, want-I-NEG this-the invitation
'Ok, Ok, (but) I do not want this invitation any more.'

In this passage, the same proverb appeared twice; however, in the second time with a factive expression and with a discourse marker. The repetition of the proverb signals the importance of the proverb in this situation. The use of a factive expression indicates that the speaker would like the hearer to listen carefully to him; that he would like the hearer to consider and meditate over the latent meaning of the coming proverb and finally to stop arguing. The use of the marker indicates the speaker's hope for the hearer to realize that the upcoming statement is not his; it is a proverb that reflects the community's beliefs and traditions. The repetition with the marker may account for the SA's lack of appreciation for the proverb when it was first mentioned. Furthermore, the proverb reflects U's sincere intent that SA would stop arguing.

The proverb serves a primary function; namely, to support U and S's previously mentioned propositions that S would treat him to a meal out of friendship

and out of generosity, not out of returning SA's favor i.e. helping S in the study. Moreover, the proverb serves a secondary function implied in the meaning of the proverb itself. The secondary function is to ask SA to stop arguing and surrender to the widely believed fact that a guest should not make conditions for being a guest; the guest should submit to the host's generosity. The way the host receives his guest reflects his generosity or the lack of it.

The last situation to be considered here is related to the previous situation. SA is bragging that everybody is need of him since he is a computer expert. The other conversationalists did not like the way he talks about himself and the way he reminded them of their need for his help:

(11) SA   kʊl-kʊ   bad-kʊ   maʕalɪħ mɪn-nɪ
            all-you-MAS-PL want-you- MAS-PL benefits from-me
            'All of will need me sooner or later.'

      M   ʕʊmr-ɪ Talab-t-ak   ʔɪb-ʃaɣlah
            Age-my asked-I-you- MAS-SING in work
            'Have I ever asked you to do me any thing?'

      W   baddi-iʃ   ʔTrʊg-ʊh maθal   ʔa-xallɪjj-ɪh ʔɪʕajjɪT hassaʕ
            Want-NEG slap- him proverb I-make- him weep now
            'I do not want to give a proverb about him that would make him cry.'

      U   b-n-ɪʃtarɪ   mʊhandɪs kʊbuutar mɪʃtara wa-laa   b-n-ɪħtaadʒ-ak
            IMPERF-we-buy engineercomputer buying and-NEG IMPERF-we need you
            'We would buy a computer engineer for money so as not to need you.'

      W   **ʔɪħmaart-ak   ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wa-laa** ʔeɪʃ bʊ-guulʊ U
            donkey-your- MAS-S. the-lame   and-NEG what IMPERF-say-they U
            'Your lame donkey and not what do they say U?'

      U   **ʔɪħmaart-ak ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wala sʊʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**
            Donkey-lame the-lame   and-NEG request the-mean
            'Your lame donkey is better than asking the help of a mean person.'

W   **wala suʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**
And-NEG asking a mean person
'better than asking a mean person.'

S   (laughing)   ʃuu   ʃuu
                          what   what

U   **ʔɪħmaart-ak ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wala suʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**

SA   ʔɪ-Tlɪʕɪt ʔana ʔɪl-lajiim ʔɪstanna la-joum ʔɪdʒ-dʒʊmʕah b-ɪn-ʃuuf
      I-became I   the-mean one, wait until-day the-Friday IMPERF-we-see

      keɪf raħ tSiir ʔɪl-laʔaamɪh
      how going become the-meanness
      'I am the mean person then, wait then until Friday and you'll see my
      true meanness.'

The proverb has been employed by W to provide support for a general argument that SA should not have reminded them of his favors. In fact, W has three turns before introducing the proverb. W insistence to use the proverb appeared in different stages. At the beginning, he warned SA that he is reluctant to use a proverb to describe him that might make him cry. His reluctance to use the proverb may account for giving an incomplete proverb. However, the importance of the proverb forced him to project it looking for completion from other conversationalists.

To conclude, this section attempted to investigate the functions of proverbs as they are used in real life situations. It provides evidence that the primary function of proverbs is to support a previous proposition. Other primary functions of proverbs are social solidarity and a source of authenticity. Moreover, this section provides other

secondary functions of proverbs determined by the context including: mocking, blaming, and urging to quit arguing.

7.5. **How are proverbs introduced in discourse**?

This section will be concerned with how in dialog proverbs are usually introduced, and how they are received and responded to by the conversationalists. I will rely upon the same situations given in section 4.2. above. However, the passages will be shortened. Only the turn containing the proverb besides a preceding and a following turns will be introduced here. When there is a need, more turns will be introduced.

The first situation to be discussed here is situation (7) repeated below as (12). In this situation, M is accusing A and S that they have committed a serious mistake by doing a deed he had not done since the time of his arrival to Lawrence. M and his supporters are enumerating the negative aspects of this hideous action. The conversation goes as follows:

(12)   W   ʔɪr-rɪtriit
               the-retreat
               'Retreat'

       S   ʔɪð-ðawabaan bɪ-l-aaxar
               the-dissolving in-the-other

       M   xall-uu-nɪ taa-mannɪ dɪrtDahr-ɪ mɪn houn   ʕarfiin   ʔɪnn-ɪ maʃɣuul
               Let-they-me until-I   turned back-my from here, knowing that-I busy

               bɪ-dʒ-dʒiizɪh wɪ-n-nɪswaan
               with-the-marriage and-the-women

'They let me travel and knowing that I am busy with marriage and women.

A **ʔɪn ɣaab ʔɪl-gʊT ʔɪlʕab jaa faar**
  if was-absent the-cat, play O you mouse
  'When the cat is away, O mouse, you can play.'

S mʊsalsal ʔɪt-tanaazʊlaat mɪʃ Taniiʕɪ Saajɪr
  series the-relinquishments NEG natural become
  'The series of relinquishments has become implausible.'

In this passage, the proverb has been projected without a marker of any kind. Moreover, it has been presented without any factive expressions whose primary function is to attract the addressee's attention. Following Norrick (1985), it has consumed a complete conversational turn; A uttered only this proverb. By saying the proverb, A is indirectly repeating what M said in his turn. What is more interesting here is that the proverb has passed without any reaction whatsoever. What was going on before the proverb is listing the negative features or traits that can be included under treachery. However, the process of listing continued after the projection of the proverb. Obviously, it is the semantic resemblance between the proverb and situation that makes the proverb cohesive with the conversation. The function of this proverb is to inform M of A's disbelief in what he says and even to mock him. Through using this proverb, A has conveyed to M an implicit message entailing 'who do you think you are?'

In a continuation of the same topic, M, who is the most abhorrent of the treachery (metaphorically), provides another proverb. The context is given in (6) above and repeated here as (13):

(13)　AS　ʔamma mʊmkın kʊl fatrah jımsı-kʊ ʔıθneın　ha ʔıtfaDDal ʕa-n-naadı
　　　　　　or　　possible every period catch-they two　welcome to-the-club
　　　　　　'or sometimes they would catch two people and invite them to the club.'

　　　　M　haaı ʔısım-ha ʕamalıjjıt　taftiit　　ʔıl-qawmı ʔıl-ʊrdʊnı
　　　　　　this name-her process demolishing the-national the-jordanian,

　　　　　　bı-gðab-ʊk　　　**ʔʊkılt-ʊ　jawma ʔʊkıl-a　　ʔaθ-θawr ʔal-abiaD**
　　　　　　IMPERF-catch-you **was-eaten-I day　was-eaten-he the-ox　the-white**
　　　　　　'This is called the process of demolishing the Jordanian national spirit, they would catch you, **I was eaten when the white ox was eaten**.

　　　　W　kama ʔʊkıla　　lakın ʔıħna nattaħıd wa-la　nʊʔkal　　ʔıθ-θiiraan
　　　　　　as　was-eaten but we　unite　and-NEG get-eaten the-oxen
　　　　　　ʔıllı　ʔıtaklat ʔıttaklat
　　　　　　which eaten eaten
　　　　　　'As it was eaten, but we unite and we do not get eaten. The oxen, which deserve to be eaten, have already been eaten.'

The first thing to notice about this proverb is that it has not been introduced with a discourse marker or any factive expression. Moreover, unlike the previous proverb it does not consume the whole conversational turn of the speaker. It has been introduced within the turn of the speaker. In addition, it has been integrated in the conversation without having any of the conversationalists doubting the relevance of the proverb to the context at hand. Following Norrick (1985), this proverb is cohesive with the context at the semantic level. In other words, it is the resemblance between the real life situation and the proverb that makes the proverb cohesive with the context. Finally, the proverb serves as the basis for W's utterance who deconstructed the proverb and used the expression *oxen* metaphorically to refer to the treacherous people. He made a boundary between the two parties in the argument: those oxen which have been eaten and us. He expressed this by using: *ʔıħna nattaħıd* 'we unite'.

By doing so, W showed his approval for the proverb and consequently for M's proposition. The people targeted by this proverb did not have a chance to respond to this proverb since a new topic was opened by other conversationalists.

Moreover, M's proverb provides evidence that proverbs are improvised. He started his clause by the VP *bɪ-gðab-ʊk* '(they) would catch you'. The conventional completion of this VP entails the actions they would do to you once they catch you. However, this conventional completion has not been provided. Instead, an improvised proverb has been projected to simulate and best describe the situation at hand

A third proverb has been projected in the following context in which one of the treacherous is bragging that he has not been overcome by his previous co-conversationalists. The entire context is given in (9) above.

(14)   S   w-allaah-ɪ badd-ɪ ʔadʒaamɪl-kʊ walla ʔanɪ mʊqtanɪʕ bɪ-l-kalaam
                and-Allah-my want-I flatter-you or I convinced with-the-speech
                'I would just like to flatter you, but I am convinced with what I say.'

        W   jaʕnɪ ʔɪz-zalamɪh leɪʃ maa Saddag-ak ma-huu **ʕagɪl jɪħkɪ wo**
              then the-man why NEG believed-you --- he sane say and

              madʒnuun jɪsmaʕ walla l-ʕakɪs **madʒnuun jɪħkɪ wo ʕaagɪl jɪsmaʕ**
              crazy hears or the-opposite crazy talks and sane listens
              ʃaajɪf ʕal-aj
              seeing on-me
              'Then why the man didn't believe you. It is (said) (let) wise man speak and mad man listen or the opposite a mad man speaks and a wise man is listens.'

        U   ʔɪS-Saħiiħ ħaawal-na nsaʕd-ak bass maa gdɪrna
              The-truth tried-we help-you but NEG can-we
              'The truth is that we tried to help you but we couldn't.'

S   bɪ-ħtʃ-ʊ   ʕala AB, Saddɪg ʔɪntɪh AB
           IMPERF-talk-they on AB, believe you AB
           'They talk about AB, believe it or not, you are AB.'

Obviously, the proverb is introduced without a discourse marker or a factive expression. The proverb is just a part of the W's conversational turn. Again, the proverb is cohesive with the context at the semantic level. Furthermore, it was approved by all the participants without any problems of understanding or even doubting the relevance of the proverb to the context at hand. The conversationalists' approval of the proverb can be detected in their previous turns. It is clear from the passage that M and U support W in his proposition. This proverb calls for judging tidings reasonably even when the speaker is a mad man. By projecting this proverb, W is supporting his proposition that what S was talking about is nonsensical. However, S did not have the chance to respond to the proverb due to a malicious smile by an ally for S which S considered as a sign of lack of support. S turned his talk about his supposed ally.

A fourth context containing a proverb is (8) above and repeated below as (15). The situation is about a Saudi student who was not elected as a member in one of the student associations despite the large number of Saudi students. The proverb is given to augment the argument that relatives do not usually wish success to each other. The conversation goes as follows:

(15)   A   ʕɪrɪf X ʔɪnnʊ lɪ-sʕuudɪjjiin maa ntaxabuu-huu-ʃ
              Knew X that the-Saudi's NEG vote-for-him-NEG
              'X has known that the Saudis did not vote for them.'

W   bɪ-llah ʕaleɪk ʃuu ʔɪllɪ ʕarraf-ʊh
by- Allah on-you what knew-him
'By Allah, how did he know?

U   **ʔɪddam ʕa-baʕD-ʊh θagiil**
blood on-some-his heavy
'Relatives do not like goodness for relatives.'

A   maa huu mbaɪjɪn lɪ-sʕuudɪjjiin law bad-hʊm ʔɪnadʒħ-ʊ bɪ-nadʒħ-ʊ
it is obvious the-Saudis if want-they make-successful IMPERF- succeed
'It is very clear. If the Saudis want to make some body succeed they
would do it.'

In this conversation, the proverb has consumed all of U's conversational turn.
It was U's sole participation in the passage. In other words, the proverb is U's
participation in the topic at hand. Furthermore, the proverb is not argumentative; a
fact which explains why it has not been received without any reaction from the
conversationalists. It has been approved by all the conversationalists. Although there
are not explicit markers signaling the co-conversationalists' approval of the proverb,
yet one can say that cultural affinity as well as lack of sentences expressing objection
or doubt can be indicators of their approval.

Furthermore, the proverb is not cohesive syntactically to the context due to
being a complete turn by itself. Thus, one can say that this proverb is semantically
cohesive by virtue of the resemblance between the real life situation and the proverb.
The whole topic is even closed with the last statement given above.

The following context to introduce is really interesting since it involves a new
way of introducing proverbs. The context is given in (11) above. The context goes as
follows:

(16) W *baddi-iʃ   ʔTrʊg-ʊh ma θal   ʔa-xall ɪjj-ɪh ʔɪʕajjɪT hassaʕ*
Want-NEG slap- him proverb I-make- him weep now
'I do not want to give a proverb about him that would make him cry.'
….

W **ʔɪ ̇ḥmaart-ak   ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wa-laa** ʔeɪʃ bʊ-guulʊ U
donkey-your- MAS.S. the-lame   and-NEG what IMPERF-say-they U
'Your lame donkey and not, what do they say U?'

U **ʔɪ ̇ḥmaart-ak   ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wala sʊʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**
donkey-your MAS.S. the-lame   and-NEG request   the-mean
'Your lame donkey is better than asking the help of a mean person.'

W **wala sʊʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**
And-NEG asking a mean person
'better than asking a mean person.'

S (laughing)   ʃuu   ʃuu
                    what   what

U **ʔɪ ̇ḥmaart-ak ʔɪl-ʕardʒa   wala sʊʔaal ʔɪl-laajiim**

SA ʔɪ-Tlɪʕɪt ʔana ʔɪl-lajiim ʔɪstanna la-joum ʔɪdʒ-dʒʊmʕah b-ɪn-ʃuuf
I-became I   the-mean one, wait until-day the-Friday IMPERF-we-see

keɪf raḥ   tSiir ʔɪl-laʔaamɪh
how going become the-meanness
'I am the mean person then, wait then until Friday and you'll see my
true meanness.'

This context is really important for several reasons. First: as in the case of all

the previous contexts, the proverb has been projected without a marker or even a

factive expression.

Second, the proverb has been presented in a brand new way. The proverb user

presented half of the proverb and asked one of the conversationalists about the rest of

it. The proverb has been presented through what is termed a discourse adjacency pair,

in this case a question and an answer. However, his query about the rest of the proverb is real. One piece of evidence on his real query is that earlier in the conversation he uttered the sentence given above in italics. This sentence tells that he had the proverb in his mind at that time and he was still trying to remember the rest of the proverb. Nonetheless, he ventured saying the proverb with the first part looking for a completion from his closest friend in the context.

Third: this context shows the influential role proverbs have in our community. The sentence given in italics obviates this point. The user indicated the great influence of proverbs by saying 'I do not want to slap you with a proverb that may make you cry.' Criticizing through a proverb is compared to an act of slapping and the consequences that might appear on the person who has been criticized through a proverb resembles a situation in which the person has either been punished or at least rebuked.

Fourth: the proverb is glued to the discourse through its semantic resemblance to the real life situation at hand. There are not discourse markers or factive expressions to connect the proverb to the previous or upcoming statements.

Fifth: the repetition of the complete proverb by W is a proof of originality. By doing so, he completed his incomplete turn and claimed originality for using the proverb.

Sixth: the proverb has been approved by all the participants except for SA who is the one criticized by the proverb. This approval is exemplified in three points. The first one is the lack of objection to the proverb or its proposition by any of the

participants. Second, the completion of the proverb by U is an indication of his acceptance of the proverb. Third: the previous statements of the conversationalists tell that they approve W's proposition which can be considered a general proposition.

Finally: the proverb has served as a background for SA's utterance. SA was the sole person targeted by the proverb and consequently the one described as 'mean'. He deconstructed the proverb by using the key word 'mean' in his utterance. Furthermore, he disambiguated the proverb by saying frankly 'then I am the mean person.' Later in his utterance, he used the nominal form 'meanness' to warn his co-conversationalist that you would see my meanness for real this Friday. By saying so, SA indicated his disapproval of the content of the proverb or to be described as mean.

This context has motivated another context in which one proverb has been projected and repeated. SA has helped two of the conversationalists in a certain project. A has treated SA generously for his help, while S was scornful and ungrateful. Previously, S had promised to treat SA to a dinner in case he helped them. In the gathering, SA was reminding S of his promise. It is worth mentioning here that SA is not fully integrated with most of the participants. Most of the other participants meet on an almost daily-basis. This indicates that their relationships with each other are stronger than the relationship of any one of them with SA. This being the case, SA has to encounter the entire group in case he criticized any of them. The context goes as follows:

(17) S   ʔana ba-Tʕam-ʊh ka-ax w-ka-zamiil w-ka-waaħad   Talab
             I IMPERF-feed-him as-brother and-as-friend, and-as-person asked

             ʔamma ʕala qaDɪjjɪt ʔɪddɪraasɪh ʔana maa Talabt-ak wala gʊlɪt-l-ak
             as-for on   issue studying, I NEG asked-you and-not said-to-you

             'I'll feed him because I regard him as a bother and as a friend and
             because he asked for food. As for studying, I did not ask for his help or
             even talked to him.'

      U   **ʔɪD-Deɪf ʔasiir lɪ-mʕazzɪb**
             The-guest hostage the-host
             'The guest is the hostage of the host'
             'U is urging SA to consent to S's conditions since SA is the guest.

      SA   *badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah*
             want-I-NEG this-the invitation
             'I do not want this invitation any more.'
      .
      .
      S   M ba-ʔaʕɪn bɪ-n-nɪhaajɪh ʔɪnnʊ jʊ-Tlʊb ʔɪl-ʔaklɪh ʔɪllɪ badʊh ʔɪjjaaha
             M IMPERF-declare in-the-end that he-asks the-food that want-he it

             wɪ-l-makaan ʔɪllɪ bad-ʊh ʔɪjjaah mɪn baab ʔɪl-ʔʊxʊwah mɪʃ mɪn baab
             and-the-place that want-he it   from door brotherhood NEG from
             door

             ʔɪd-dɪraasɪh
             the-study
             'M I declare at the end that he can ask for any food he likes at any
             place he likes out of brotherhood not out of helping me in my study.'

      U   **S, S, S ʔɪl-maθal bɪ-guul ʔɪD-Deɪf ʔasiir lɪ-mʕazzɪb**
             S, S, S the-proverb IMPERF-say the-guest hostage the-host
             'S, S, S , the proverb says the guest is the hostage of the host.'

      S   *bass*
             enough
             'enough.' (This is the truest saying)

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U   deɪn-ak b-ragbat-ʊh ʔameɪt maa badd-ʊh b-iidʒi bɪ-gʊl-l-ak
Debt-your in-neck-his when any want-he IMPERF-come IMPERF-say-to-
you

S ʔana ʔɪl-joum ʕaazm-ak
S I   the-day   inviting-you
'Your debt is in his neck, any time he wants, he may come to you and
say I am inviting you today.'

SA   maaʃɪ, maaʃɪ ,   badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah
walking, walking, want-I-NEG this-the invitation
'Ok, Ok, (but) I do not want this invitation any more.'

Several remarks should be pointed out about the proverb used in this context.

As mentioned before, the proverb appeared twice. In the first instance, the proverb

has been projected without any marker that the upcoming utterance is a proverb or

even a factive expression to draw the addressee's attention. Furthermore, the proverb

has consumed the whole turn of U. He did not say anything else besides the proverb.

As in the previous cases, the proverb has been projected to support a previous

argument and to give authenticity to the proposition provided earlier. The lack of a

discourse marker in the first occurrence of the proverb tells that the proverb is

cohesive with the context at the semantic level.

SA, the person targeted by the proverb, has exhibited his disapproval of the

proposition of being invited later on by S and consequently, the proposition of the

proverb by saying *badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah* which translates to 'I do not want this

invitation any more.'

The repetition of the proverb has been preceded by both a factive expression

and a discourse marker. The factive expression, whose main role is to draw the

addressee's attention, is the addressee's name, which has been repeated three times to guarantee full attention. The discourse marker used here is *ʔɪl-maθal bɪ-guul* 'the proverb says'. Furthermore, U has paraphrased the proverb to SA in his own words to guarantee full full understanding of the proverb.

S and SA's reaction to the second occurrence of the proverb are really interesting. S, whose the proverb has been given by U to support his stand, approved the proverb by saying the word *bass* 'enough' which means among other things 'say no more' and 'this is the rightist thing said.' SA's response is ambiguous. By saying *maaʃɪ, maaʃɪ* 'OK, OK', one can guess that he indicated his approval or at least his comprehension of the proverb. However, he further said *badd-i-iʃ ha-l-ʕazuumah* 'I do not want this invitation any more' which indicates disapproval. My analysis of the situation is that SA has approved or indicated his comprehension of the content of the proverb by saying *maaʃɪ, maaʃɪ*, and rejected being invited by a scornful person. SA's lack of ability to respond with a proverb may be accounted for through several factors. SA is the youngest in age. He is not a very sociable person; a fact which accounts for his lack of exposure to rituals and norms of speech. Finally, his wit did not help him to come up with a proverb.

To conclude, this section has provided evidence that proverbs are mainly conversational in nature. Also, this section shows that discourse markers are not imperative for introducing a proverb. The conversations provided prove that most often proverbs are introduced alone without a discourse markers or a factive

expression. In addition, the data prove that proverbs most often consume the whole turn for a conversationalist and that they usually provide a background for the preceding utterance regardless of being an approval or a disapproval.

Tables (8) and (9) provide a summary of the proverbs that occurred in the recordings. The tables also present how the proverbs were introduced and the functions of each proverb.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a comprehensive account of proverbs in discourse. Through analyzing news articles and real life situation, this chapter provided evidence for the previously-made claim that proverbs are generally conversational in nature though they may appear in press to signal integration and nationalism. Proverbs are conversational since they motivated by the topic of the situation at hand and they are improvised since topics of conversations change every now and then.

Moreover, this chapter argues that proverbs can be used in monologs as in cases when one is blaming himself for the deterioration he came up to as a result of his stubbornness and arrogance. However, no real life recordings of proverbs in monologs have been provided. In addition, this chapter has proved that discourse markers indicating that the upcoming utterance is a proverb are not imperative as the data show. Out of 11 instances of proverbs occurring in real life conversations, one of them has occurred with a marker; however, it has not been introduced with that marker. The marker appeared in the repetition of the proverb.

As for the functions of proverbs in conversation, this chapter has provided support for Yassin's claim that proverbs when introduced usually culminate the argument. In other words, they are introduced to support a previously introduced claim. Other primary functions of proverbs are social solidarity and authenticity. Beside the primary functions, proverbs can perform other functions determined by the situation. Some of functions of the proverbs occurring in the recordings are mocking, and urging to quit arguing.

Table (9): *The proverbs in recording 1, how they are introduced, and their functions*

NO.	The proverb	How introduced	The functions
1.	**ʔiħmaart-ak ʔɪl-ʕardʒa wala suʕaal ʔɪl-laaʔiim** Donkey-your the-lame and-NEG request the-mean 'Your lame donkey is better than asking the help of a mean person.'	1. Adjacency pair (Question & answer) 2. No discourse markers 3. No factive expressions	Primary : 1. Support a proposition 2. Social solidarity Secondary: 1. We do not need your favors any more
	ʔɪD-Deɪf ʔasiir lɪ-mʕazzɪb The-guest hostage the-host 'The guest is the hostage of the host'	1. A complete turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expressions	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Provide authenticity Secondary: 1. Stop arguing 2. Guest make no conditions
3.	**ʔɪD-Deɪf ʔasiir lɪ-mʕazzɪb** The-guest hostage the-host 'The guest is the hostage of the host'	1. A complete turn 2. A discourse marker 3. A factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Provide authenticity Secondary: 1. Stop arguing 2. Guests make no conditions
4.	Haven't you heard the proverb of the person who went back home and his father asker him to do something? He replied 'I don't know how'. His father answered him: 'hey, have you forgotten (what happened under the tree?)	1. A story 2. A discourse marker 3. A factive expression 4. No known proverb has been used. It is just a sory.	Primary: 1. Support a proposition Secondary: 1. Clarify the difference between 'in the tree' and 'under the tree'. The later carries a pejorative meaning.
5.	**ʔɪn yaab ʔɪl-guT ʔɪlʕab jaa faar** if was-absent the-cat, play O you mouse 'When the cat is away, O mouse, you can play.'	1. A complete turn 2. A discourse marker 3. A factive expression	Primary: 1. Social solidarity Secondary: 1. Mocking
6.	**ʔokɪlt-ʊ jawma ʔokɪl-a ʔaθ-θawr ʔal-abiaD** was-eaten-I day was-eaten-he the-ox the-white **I was eaten when the white ox was eaten**	1. Within a turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Provide authenticity Secondary: 1. Stop arguing 2. Clarification of the situation
7.	**Kabrah ʕa-xaazuug** arrogance on-spike 'An unworthy arrogance'	1. A complete turn 2. No discourse marker 3.No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a general proposition 2. Provide authenticity

8.	**madʒnuun ɪθkɪ wo ʕaaqɪl jɪsma** crazy talks and sane listens 'Let a mad man speaks and a wise man listens.	1. Within a turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Provide authenticity 3. Social solidarity
9.	**ʔɪddam ʕa-baʕD-ʊh θaqiil** blood on-some-his heavy 'Relatives do not like goodness for relatives.'	1. A complete turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Provide authenticity Secondary: 1. Relatives do not like to benefit each other
10.	**ʔana wa-xuu-i ʕa-bɪn ʕamm-ɪ wa-na wɪ-bɪn ʕamm-ɪ ʕa-l-ɣariib** I and brother-my on-son uncle-my and-I and-son uncle-my on-the-stranger 'I help my brother against my cousin and help my cousin against a stranger.'	1. A complete turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a general proposition 2. Provide authenticity

Table (10): *The proverbs in recording 2, how they are introduced, and their functions*

NO.	The proverb	How introduced	The functions
1.	**ʔɪðɪn mɪn Tiin wo ʔɪðɪn mɪn ʕadʒiin** ear from clay and ear from dough 'An ear from clay and an ear from dough.'	1. Within a turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Support a proposition 2. Social solidarity Secondary: 1. lack of attention
2.	**wa-la bɪnʃara b-Saaʕ-ak** and-NEG IMPERF-bought in-measure-his 'Cannot buy with his Saaʕ.' 'a wheat measure'	1. Within a turn 2. No discourse marker 3. No factive expression	Primary: 1. Social solidarity Secondary: 1. You are not trustworthy

Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusions

8.1. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I will briefly review my findings and then suggest some areas of further research. This dissertation has adopted two approaches in studying proverbs. The first approach is mainly structural, and it focuses on proverbs as a purely linguistic phenomenon. In other words, it has studied proverbs without considering the themes encoded in the proverbs or the contexts that might trigger proverbs. This approach is applied in chapters two, three, four, five, and six.

The second approach adopted here is pragmatic, and it has investigated proverbs as they occur in their natural situations. In other words, this approach has investigated the discourse nature of proverbs. In investigating this issue, I relied upon two sources: newspaper articles and real life recordings of social gatherings of some male young men in Lawrence and Kansas City. This approach covers chapter seven and was irregularly referred to in the previous chapters to support the findings arrived at.

Chapter two, which is a mere description of the most frequent structures of proverbs, has shown that word order in proverbs is immensely influenced by some pragmatic factors such as the heaviness of the subject, definiteness, and aspect. The data shows that heavy or long subjects tend to be located preverbally. Headless relative clauses being the heaviest subjects themselves always precede the verb. The same generalization applies to definite NPs. Indefinite NPs, on the other hand, tend to be placed post verbally. This fact accounts for the preference of perfective verbs in sentence initial position and imperfective verbs in sentence final position.

This chapter also provided the structures of proverbs witnessed in the corpus. The main finding of this chapter is that proverbs have limited formulae or structures; the total number of proverbs was 295 while the number of the structures is 13. The limited number of proverb structures makes them predictable and familiar. The familiarity based on structure can be used as a grid for judging new or unfamiliar proverbs. Any proverb that does not follow these structures will not be regarded a proverb. Furthermore, these limited structures can be used as molds to coin new proverbs.

The deviations of proverbs from every day language were presented in chapter three. I showed that structural deviations are the most prevalent while morphological and phonological deviations are sporadic and scarce. The corpus contains two structures that are not witnessed in JA; namely, *man* relative clauses since they are borrowed from Standard Arabic and vocatives with participles. Furthermore, the data show that proverbs exhibit two structures that have undergone major changes. The first is the headless relative clause. These clauses are scarcely used in JA while in proverbs they have become the norm. The abundant frequency of headless relative clauses is accounted for through the pursuit to enhance genericity. By using a headless relative clause, the proverb can be applied to any person whether his features match those in the proverb at the literal level or at the metaphorical level. The second structure is a conditional sentence expressing impossibility. These sentences appear in the corpus without *kaan* 'would have' which is usually used in the main clause in JA.

This chapter presented another aspect of structural deviation. This aspect is the stability of clauses in sentences. In all the instances of complex sentences or sentences

with adverbial clauses, the subordinate clause or the adverbial clause occupy the same position throughout all the cases. A subordinate or an adverbial clause always precedes the main clause although the reverse order is quite acceptable in JA. This stability in structure is driven by the desire to set the scene or to provide a background for the action in the main clause. This strict order can be viewed as another definitional feature of proverbs.

Other syntactic deviations include the order of constituents in clauses. This study has provided evidence that these differences are sporadic and cannot amount towards forming patterns or generalizations characterizing all the proverbs. However, the only generalization that one can make here is that proverbial structures are more flexible and more apt to accept these constituent replacements than everyday language. Finally, it has been shown that rhyme is the main motivator for constituent repositioning in case it has been attested.

At the morphological level, it has been shown that the most prevalent deviation from JA is the omission of the negation suffix -ʃ. In the entire corpus, the negation suffix has been witnessed just once and it is motivated by rhyme. The negation suffix has been retained to achieve rhyme with the first division of the proverb. Again, the omission of the negation suffix can be viewed as a definitional feature of proverbs. As for the other deviations, they are scarce and sporadic and mainly driven by rhyme or the pursuit of restoring brevity in proverbs. Among these deviations are: coining new words from old ones, and using new plural formation suffixes.

Phonological deviations are the least noticeable deviations. They primarily involve pronouncing some lexical expressions in a way distinct from their pronunciation in JA. These phonological changes involve degeminating a geminate as in the case of *ʕafrat* 'it sprayed' which is normally pronounced as *ʕaffarat* and vowel lowering as in *hadaana* 'our belief' which is normally pronounced as *hadma*.

Chapter four discussed the stylistic features of proverbs. These features include the binary structure of proverbs, parallelism, gapping, repetition and rhyme. These features, except for repetition, are rarely witnessed in everyday language since they require an exceptional mastery of language; a fact which accounts for their profuse frequency in poetry and proverbs. It has been shown that the bipartite structure of proverbs is the most frequent characteristic of proverbs; nearly all proverbs show this feature. The bipartite division is usually indicated through a pause. Two types of pauses have been identified: phonological, appearing between phrases inside the clause and syntactic, located between clauses in compound and complex sentences, and between pairs of imperatives or prohibitives or pairs of NPs or PPs when they co-occur.

The importance of the binary structure lies in its liability to present two propositions or elements, one is usually favorable and the other is disfavorable. Furthermore, the binary structure when accompanied with rhyme make the proverb look more sacred or authentic as these two characteristics are the prime features of classical Arabic Poetry which is not regularly composed these days. Moreover, this structure is advantageous for both the speaker and the hearer. It is advantageous for the speaker since

it can be considered a device of enhancing accessibility or memorability. Realizing that the proverb is made of two parts, the speaker would look for another section that is closely related to the one he mentioned. It is advantageous for the hearer since it gives him the chance to analyze and further to predict the completion of the proverb.

The binary structure of proverbs paves the way for the profuse frequency of parallelism. Two types of parallelism have been noticed in the corpus: morphological, when identical sub-parts of words appear at the end of the two divisions of a proverb, and syntactic, which is more frequent, when two identical structures (PPs, NPs,VPs or sentences) take place twice in the proverb. It has been found that syntactic parallelism is a consequent of the binary structure of proverbs. However, the interesting finding about parallelism is its function. It is employed in the proverbs to make a contrast between two propositions or entities. Conventionally, one part of parallelism presents the favorable aspect and the other part presents the disfavorable aspect. In other words, structure is meant to maximize the difference between the two. Although the two sides are placed in identical structures, yet they are completely different.

This chapter has found that gapping and repetition are really scarce in the corpus. The scarcity of gapping or ellipsis is accounted for in terms of brevity and the general goal of proverbs to disambiguate understanding resulting from structure. The hearer's main task is to connect the proverb to situation at hand, not to retrieve gapped constituents. The scarcity of repetitions in the corpus is due to the resemblance between the two devices in terms of goal i.e. to achieve persuasion. However, proverbs are a stronger device since it reflects the community's point of view.

Unlike the previous chapters, chapter five has been dedicated to one issue; namely, negation in proverbs. The rationale behind studying negation is the distinct behavior of negation in the corpus. This chapter presented a detailed account of negation in JA based on the previous literature and instances of negation from real life recordings. The essential part of this account is the fact that verbal negation is formed through the use of *maa* before the verb and the suffix -ʃ attached to the verb. It has been found that the negation of imperfective verbs can be formed with the two parts of the morpheme, with the first part alone, or the last part alone whereas the negation of perfective verbs can be achieved through the two parts or the first part alone; the second part cannot be used alone.

This chapter has found that the above mentioned variability of forming negation is not witnessed in the proverb corpus. Negation is solely performed through the use of the first part of the morpheme *maa*; the suffix -ʃ appeared only once throughout 81 proverbs containing negation. I proposed that the deletion of the negation suffix is simply another kind of negation termed 'categorical negation' or following Abulhaija (1986) emphatic negation. As the name indicates, this kind of negation is used to refer to the whole category; it does not refer to single individuals or to infrequent instances of the category. This feature can then be regarded as another definitional feature of proverbs. Moreover, the use of this kind of negation is another means to enhance the proverbs' genericity which I discussed in chapter six.

Chapter six has investigated sources of genericity in proverbs. I proposed that proverbs distilled their genericity from three sources: structural, semantic, and lexical which can co-occur. Chapter six started by presenting a brief background of generics, types of generics, and related studies. In this background, a distinction has been presented between generic NPs which refer to kinds and characterizing generics which are propositions that express regularity. Then, I presented a brief survey of generics in JA providing examples from real life recordings.

Under structural generics, I suggested four structures that entail a generic meaning. The first structure is the headless relative clause. I claimed that they are generic since they refer to any person whose features match those given in the proverb. The second structure is vocatives. I considered them generic since they are followed by participles which are used to address any person whose features match those in the participle. Furthermore, at the morphological level, one of the meanings of participles is the 'one who usually does' which indicates regularity. The third structure that I considered is the imperfective aspect. These were presented as instances of characterizing generics since they express regularity. The final structure that I considered generic is categorical negation which has been discussed above. In addition, the validity of my findings has been augmented with tests designed for this purpose.

Semantic genericity results from two sources: generic theme and metaphoricity. A generic theme is the one that is suitable and valid regardless of time and place. Proverbs can be defined as pithy statements whose sole target is to present a theme that could be of help for people in their daily life and in the future. In other words, proverbs are the best

container of a generic theme. The second source of semantic genericity is metaphoricity. It is metaphoricity that grants proverbs currency. Metaphoricity makes proverbs applicable to more situations. In fact, I propose that metaphoricity is the link between the real life situation and the theme encoded in the proverb. If metaphoricity is disregarded, most proverbs will be irrelevant to most of the incidents they are usually applied to.

Lexical genericity is achieved in proverbs through the use of generic gender and the avoidance of proper names. Generic gender is the form that can be used to refer to both sexes. The masculine gender is universally used to express genericity. The same generalization is witnessed in JA. It has been shown that JA utilizes two masculine forms to express genericity: singular definite nouns and plural definite nouns. However, the latter is more frequent as the meaning of a group is encoded in the noun through the suffix. Feminine forms, on the other hand, have restricted generic sense as they refer to a subset of members of the same group i.e. they do not include males.

In the corpus, generic gender has been widely used to address both sexes. All the nouns that are grammatically masculine i.e. differentiated from their feminine counterparts through the lack of *-ih*, refer to both sexes while all the nouns that are lexically masculine i.e. inherently classified as masculine, refer to members of the same group i.e. males only. On the other hand, nouns that are grammatically or lexically marked as feminine refer to the members of the same group. In other words, sex is considered a barrier for feminine forms.

At this lexical level, proverbs exhibit a unique phenomenon. I found that unmodified indefinite NPs can be used generically as well. The proverbs that contain these nouns do not contain any of the previously mentioned devices of genericity.

This chapter further presented manifestations of this generic gender on other parts of proverbs. First, in all the instances of headless relative clauses or *man* relative clauses, the verb is inflected for singular masculine. Second, in all the cases of imperatives or prohibitives, generic masculine is manifested. Finally, all cases of generic expressions i.e. expressions which are generic in nature since they do not have a referent are masculine though the feminine forms are frequent in JA to refer a member of the same group.

Finally, the last means proverbs adopt to achieve genericity is the avoidance of proper names. Proper names are avoided since they name specific people. Yet the goal of proverbs is to be applicable to any person his description matches those in the proverbs. Proper names are used to name not to describe. Moreover, the avoidance of proper names is driven by the tendency to avoid embarrassing people. Despite this, three mentions of proper names have been detected in the corpus. Yet these names refer to names of groups of people rather than naming a specific person by himself. These proverbs present a misdeed that these groups have once committed. The focus of these proverbs is not however, the groups themselves rather, the focus is the misdeed itself.

Chapter seven investigated the discourse nature of proverbs. This chapter has discussed diverse issues related to the use of proverbs in discourse. At the outset of the chapter, I discussed the level of discourse i.e. spoken or written that proverbs are most prevalent at. In order to investigate this issue, I relied upon newspaper articles as well as

real life recordings. I found that proverbs are conversational in nature and they are more prevalent in spoken discourse.

This chapter also discussed whether or not proverbs can be used in monologs and the community's perspective of the proverb user. I claim that proverbs can be used in monologs as in the situations when a speaker is blaming himself for the miserable condition he arrived at as a result of his stubbornness or arrogance. As for the community's perspective of the proverb user, I found that a proverb user is considered a wise man who is aware of the norms of discourse and of tradition. Moreover, the nature of proverbs as an improvised phenomenon reflects the user's wit, since she was able to access an appropriate proverb in a short time and use it in an appropriate way.

Another issue which has been discussed in this chapter is the role of discourse markers in presenting proverbs. It has been found, relying on the recordings, that the use of discourse markers whose role is to indicate that the upcoming statement is a proverb is not imperative as most proverbs in the recordings have been introduced without a marker. The proverb is glued to the rest of discourse through its semantic resemblance to the situation at hand.

This chapter has also discussed the conventional point or time of inserting proverbs. This section has addressed when in the curves of discourse proverbs are introduced. It has been found that proverbs are usually introduced to culminate a previously proposed proposition. The introduction of proverbs can be considered as the climax of the situation. In several cases, the proverb has ended the situation at hand. In

this sense, the main function of proverbs is to support one's proposal or claim since proverbs represent the community's consent and agreement.

Finally, other functions that are detected in proverbs include mocking and urging the other conversationalist to quit arguing.

8.2. Recommendations for Further Studies

My vision of further studies is varied. Proverbs can be approached from a historical point view. This approach entails investigating the literary osurces of proverbs. Are there proverbs taken from the Holy Quran? Are there proverbs taken from Classical Arab Poetry? Are there proverbs from Jordanian poetry? What are the anecdotes or the stories in which the proverb was first issued? Have the proverbs borrowed from the Holy Quran or from Classical Arabic poetry undergone some changes towards making them exclusively Jordanian?

Closely related to this approach, is the comparative study of proverbs with Classical Arabic Poetry and Jordanian Poetry? This future study is motivated by the abundance of rhyme and parallelism in all these genres.

Moreover, I want to pursue investigating genericity as it has rarely been studied in Arabic in general and in proverbs in particular. There are still major issues to investigate which I could not investigate here. I really would like to provide a morphological account of generics in proverbs.

Finally, my vision of further studies entails empirical studies of the previously studied phenomena. First: one can investigate the currency of proverbs and people's awareness of the structure-meaning dichotomy through manipulating the structures of

proverbs including repositioning the moved constituents to their original positions or through using coining new proverbs following the patterns provided.

Another study can investigate the validity of negation in proverbs through inserting the suffix in a bunch of proverbs. People's reaction can reflect their awareness of structure besides meaning in proverbs.

A third study can investigate genericity in proverbs through using feminine nouns or expressions instead of the masculine ones or through inserting heads for relative clauses.

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