

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF THE SYNTAX OF MODERN STANDARD
ARABIC AND JORDANIAN ARABIC

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis investigates some of the syntactic differences between two forms of Arabic, the standard and the local vernacular of Petra. This vernacular has not been looked at from a syntactic perspective. The attempt here is to bring attention to some of the features characterizing this vernacular by comparing it with Standard Arabic. It attempts also to find reasons for having two forms of the language in one society as well as people's reaction towards that. It also compares and contrasts the grammatical features each form has and tests them against X-bar theory to see the syntactic difference from a theoretical prospective.

The findings show that this society has diglossic characteristics in that they speak in one form and use the second to write. X-bar theory shows that the two forms are very different from each other.

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LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

ʕ	Voiced Pharyngeal
q	Uvular Stop (in non-English words)
dh	Voiced Emphatic Dental
ɖ	Palato-Alveolar
T	Voiceless Emphatic Dental
kh	Voiceless Uvular
H	Voiceless Pharyngeal
'	Glottal Stop

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjective	S	Sentence
Adv	Adverb	s	Subject
AGRo	Agreement with Object	sing	singular
AGRs	Agreement with Subject	SPEC	Specifier
Aux	Auxiliary	T	Tense
CA	Classical Arabic	V/v	Verb
CM	Case marker	VP	Verb Phrase
(f)	Feminine	3sing	Third person Singular
(m)	Masculine	prog	Progressive
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic		
NP	Noun Phrase		
NSA	Non-Standard Arabic		
o	Object		
PART	Particle		
pass	Passive		
pl	Plural		
PP	Prepositional Phrase		
prep	Preposition		

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Languages change and develop all over the world. These changes or developments occur as the result of many factors, for example, internal linguistic and sociolinguistic and historical factors as well as the increase of foreign populations due to immigration factors which in turn enhance the involvement of new cultures and the exposure to new languages. Jordanian society is one of those societies experiencing currently great language change and development. One can notice evidence of language change in this country from one city to the next or in some cases from one neighborhood to the other within the same city. Although variation can be found in all parts of language in Jordan, the greater part of the differences between different groups of people can be marked as phonological.

This research however investigates might be regarded as an even more dramatic change, namely syntactic changes observed from Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) to current colloquial vernaculars, which prominently make use of a different word order than the Classical or the standard forms. The syntactic differences between different vernaculars in Jordan are very slight

compared to phonological differences. Therefore, this study focuses on the comparison between CA and MSA versus Non-Standard Arabic (NSA) based on the syntactic differences between them since these differences are considerable and are highly significant.

MSA follows the VSO ordering which also characterizes CA, while the colloquial forms or the NSA uses VSO in a much more limited number of utterances, and SVO ordering, which is the principle current ordering today in vernacular forms. CA is a flexible language when it concerns word ordering. The observation the author discusses here is the absence of the SVO ordering in CA except for some kind of poetic necessity or special information structuring which would force this ordering in context in order to preserve rhyme or to strongly emphasize the subject over other constituents of the sentence. A discussion of the motives that influenced the appearance of the SVO as a current ordering in NSA will follow.

Jordan is a small country in the heart of the Middle East. It is surrounded by Arabic-speaking countries in all directions, plus a Hebrew-speaking country to the west. Its population numbers approximately five million people of whom 75% live in the middle and northern parts of the country. All Jordanians, regardless of ethnicity or religion, speak Arabic, the official language of Jordan. Throughout the Arab world, the language exists in three forms: CA of the Quraan, the literary language developed

from the classical and known as MSA, and the local form of the spoken language NSA. MSA has virtually the same structure wherever it is used, although its pronunciation and lexicon may vary locally. Educated Arabs tend to know two forms of Arabic, MSA and their own vernacular of spoken form of NSA. Even uneducated Arabic speakers usually can comprehend the general meaning of something said in MSA although they may not speak it themselves and often have difficulty understanding specific expressions. CA belongs chiefly to the domain of scholars; yet many ordinary people have memorized Quraanic phrases by rote but cannot speak the classic form.

Vernaculars of spoken Arabic vary greatly throughout the Arab world. Most Jordanians speak the vernacular commonly heard in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and parts of Iraq and, like others, they proudly regard theirs as the best. (Small numbers of nomads traversing Jordan from Saudi Arabia may speak a variety akin to one used in that country.) Few people believe that their variety is actually good Arabic in the sense of conforming to the ideal. Although they converse in colloquial Arabic, they generally agree that the written form of MSA is superior to the spoken form because it is closer to the perfection exhibited in the Quraanic language, CA. In particular, Arabs generally believe that the speech of the nomadic Bedouin resembles the purer classical form most closely and that the vernaculars used by the settled villagers and townspeople are unfortunate corruptions.

Within a given region, slight differences in speech distinguish a city dweller from a villager and more significant ones distinguish either of these from a nomad. Even within the villages, various quarters often display unique pronunciations, idioms, and vocabulary specialized to particular lifestyles. Grammatical structure differs as well.

Although Arabic is the official language of the country, English is taught widely in schools from the age of six and is used to communicate with tourists visiting the country as well as being used by some universities and private schools as the language of instruction. Jordan attracts millions of tourists from all around the world every year because of the many ancient cities it has, like Jerash, which was built by the Romans, and Petra, which was built by the Nabateans. This research will focus on the southern parts of Jordan, but exclude Aqaba because its society is a composite of Jordanians from all the cities of Jordan who prefer to reside there, and some other nationalities. For this reason, any data collected from that part of the country will not necessarily reflect the southern variety, which is the main focus of this study. The society in Petra is the main source for data in this project because of the high volume of interaction between its people and people from other nationalities who speak different languages or different Arabic vernaculars. The exclusion of the northern part of Jordan for the purposes of this research is the result of some minor syntactic

differences that occur in their society as the result of the different backgrounds of those people. It is a mixture of urban and Bedouin societies which may lead to the assumption that some kind of language influence might have occurred because of the notion of diglossic-talk which some Bedouin speakers feel is a must in the urban areas, so that they are not regarded as landed, rustic, or less educated.

The map below shows the main cities and the neighboring countries of Jordan:

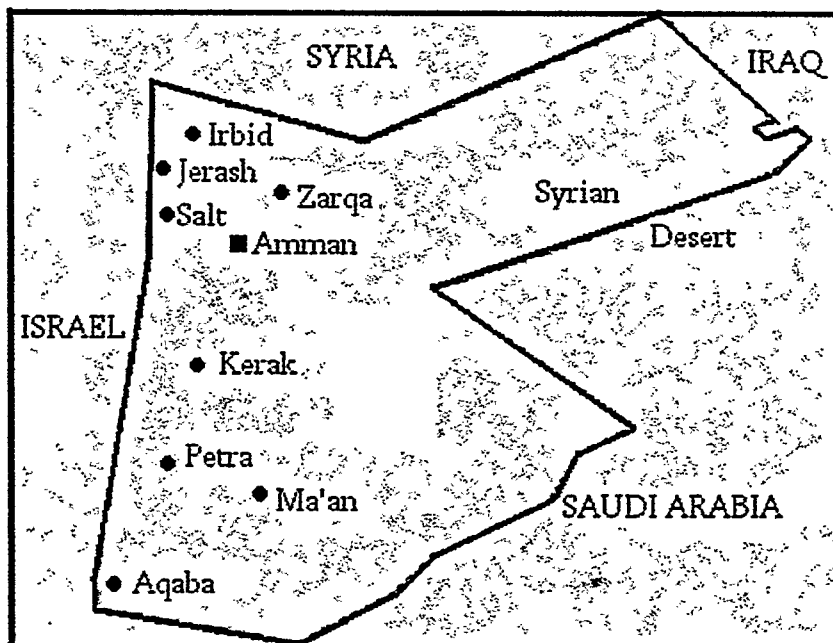


Figure 1: Map of Major Cities in Jordan. Map not to scale.

1.2 Literature Review and Refinement of the Problem

Ferguson (in Al-Ani 1978) makes an important claim clarifying understanding of the origins of the Arabic vernaculars. He says that there were many types during the

pre-Islamic era. These vernaculars continued after the emergence of Islam, and he assumes that the present modern forms are also a further continuation of those pre-Islamic vernaculars. He uses the term *koine* to describe these vernaculars and says:

It is the thesis of this article (1) that a relatively homogeneous koine, not based on the dialect of a single center, developed as a conversational form of Arabic and was spread over most of the Islamic world in the first centuries of the Muslim era, (2) that this kind of koine existed side by side with the Arabiyyah¹ although it was rarely used for written purposes, and (3) that most modern dialects, especially those outside Arabia, are chiefly borrowings or innovations which took place subsequent to the spread of the koine. The situation is thus analogous to the frequently cited case of Greek.... (PP. 49, 50)

He argues that modern forms all together go against CA in some features that increase symmetry in the grammar such as the reduction of the use of the inflectional categories and partial loss of the dual. He adds that the common features of the modern vernaculars support the idea that they have emerged from the same source, which is non-classical.

Stetkevych (1970) summarizes some of the movements that tried to make a change in the structure of Arabic. He mentions that historically many well-known Arab linguists and writers showed their concern regarding the opacity of learning and controlling CA grammar and structures and that this group of educated people tried to simplify this grammar. Among those linguists is Sati al-Husiri, who draws the

¹ *Arabiyyah* refers to Arabic and is pronounced *ʔarabiyyah*

distinction between language characteristics and suggests a revision of the rules of grammar. For example, in traditional grammar words were divided into three main categories: nouns, verbs and particles. Al-Husiri suggested dividing words in a new way in which he isolated pronouns and adjectives from nouns, giving each its own category; and he also isolated participles and infinitives from the verbs, giving each its own category. Al-Husiri believes that CA served a particular way of thinking which is not present now. He adds that the way people act and think today is entirely different from those 1400 years ago. Instead he suggests that the application of the logic of Western philology into Arabic grammar requires that the Arabic language be simplified as a whole, and he said that this should be brought about through an approximation of CA into the colloquial vernaculars. In other words, what he suggests here is that CA needs to develop so it becomes accessible to everyone without the need for formal education. It seems here that Al-Husiri agrees in part with the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis where he relates language to thought.

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis represents language as a mold in which thought categories are cast. Sapir (1958) argued that "No two languages are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality." (P. 69) Whorf (1956), for his part, said "The world is presented in a kaleidoscopic flux of impression which has to be organized by our minds and this means largely by the linguistic system in our

minds.” (PP. 213, 14) Their main hypothesis has two dimensions: the first is *linguistic determinism*, which states that people’s thinking is determined by their language. The second dimension is *linguistic relativity*, which states that people who speak different languages perceive and think about the world differently. What Al-Husiri is suggesting in his theoretical statement goes against the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis in that he claims that language is determined by the people’s thinking not vice versa. Thus, he ended up with an unlikely solution if the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis is to be regarded as valid for Arabic.

Stetkevych, after that, mentions a crucial and valid point about the natural development of Arabic, the disappearance of the ‘iraab’ or desinential flexion. He says that the inflections that appear in the words in the form of vowels indicating the subject and object are no longer present in MSA. He quotes from Ahmad Amin’s ‘Mustaqbal al-Adab al-Arabi’ (The Future of the Arabic literature)

We have failed to teach it [the ‘iraab’] even to the educated minority; and there you have our university graduates who spend at least nine years in primary and secondary schools studying grammar, then a number of years at the university, and, in spite of it, very rarely they are able to write a page free of grammatical errors. This being the case with broadly educated people who have read much by themselves and write much, how then can we aspire to attain any convincing results by spreading the instructions of the Arabic language in lower social media...? (PP. 85, 86)

Suleiman (1994) sees Arabic as a complicated language to teach as a foreign

language. This complexity is the result of the large number of varieties and the large number of vernaculars among the Arab countries. If learners assume that by learning MSA they will be able to communicate with all Arabs then they are wrong. Some Arabic-speaking countries are largely influenced by European culture and language in a way that they would prefer to use a western language to Arabic. Some people in countries such as Morocco and Algeria may comprehend MSA as listeners, but it is problematic for the foreign learner to comprehend what people from these countries say when they use MSA because of their vernacular interference. Suleiman, however, shows that studies that consider this and comparable issues have started as recently as twenty years ago. Credit, he believes, is due to American universities where most of this work had been done and is currently carried out. These studies will contribute to more understanding of Arabic through the Arab countries and among foreign learners of Arabic.

Suleiman sketches a historical overview of the stages that Arabic has passed through in the twentieth century. He mentions three main stages: the first is the pre-nationalist stage in which people's main concern was to make up a unified Arab state in the face of colonial systems in order to preserve a unified form of Arabic. Yet, one may ask, was there only one form of Arabic? In fact, history does not support the position Suleiman sets forth. Islamic history discusses the period in which the Quraan

was first written and it shows the main reasons for having it written. At the time of Caliph Othman there were seven different readings, which made the Muslim Caliph gather all the previously written verses and ask his writers to copy them and send these copies to all Muslim states. The Caliph's thinking then was that one unified copy would better preserve the Quraan from false readings. The reading which was endorsed as accurate was that formed in the language of Mecca. What this tells us is that there were at the same different vernaculars resulting in different readings of the scriptures, yet, it does not provide information about these differences and whether they were phonological or grammatical. One of the features that combine phonology and syntax in Arabic is the use of case markers. Thus, it can be assumed that the inaccurate use of these markers might have led to such different readings. Evidence that shows the inaccurate use of case markers in the current vernaculars of Arabic is widespread.

The second stage Suleiman portrays is the Turkification. This period of time witnessed the conflict between Turkish and Arabic as to which should be the language of state. The Turks tried to impose their tongue on Arabs in all aspects of life. The third stage is what Suleiman calls Al-Husiri's nationalism. Al-Husiri believed that language is the only component that unites Arabs. Neither religion nor history, which most Arabs claim unifies them, does that.

Versteegh (1997) sees that interaction with other cultures could be the source of the variation in Arabic vernaculars. He sees that Arabic was originally mainly spoken in Syria (including Jordan), Iraq and the Arab Gulf, and that other countries were exposed to Arabic after being conquered by the Arabs. These newly conquered countries were forced to adopt Arabic as their first language to understand Islamic teachings. This situation, he claims, resulted in variation in the vernaculars of Arabic. Such variation is, thus, the result of the interference of their mother tongue with the new adopted language, Arabic. The extent of this interference depends on how close that language was phonologically and structurally to the Arabic at that time. The closer it is, the greater the interference is. This brings to mind the idea of Jordan's history as it was a part of the British Empire; English could have influenced Jordanian Arabic as a result. Versteegh shows how many Arabs view their vernaculars: "Many speakers of Arabic still feel that the dialect is a variety of language without grammar." (P.132) What "grammar" do they mean? Do they mean a vernacular that has no grammar at all? Or rather a vernacular that shows less adherence to the grammar of CA? The discussion of this issue will come later. Versteegh adds that it used to be difficult to accept a dissertation in the Arab universities that discussed native vernaculars, because of the concern that such studies might severely weaken SA by inappropriately drawing attention to them. This has led to having little information

about these vernaculars and may cause a problem tracking the development of these vernaculars in future studies.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) believe that syntactic change must be the result of intrasystemic causes. They state that language structural changes are unlikely to be the result of contact with other foreign languages unless that contact has lasted for at least 500 years. Thomason (1997) also defines the so-called mixed languages giving an example using English and Russian. She says that if English were to borrow its vocabulary from Russian to the degree in which all the vocabulary used is 100% Russian, it would still not be called Russian unless English also borrowed the grammatical structures of Russian. In the same way if English borrows the grammatical structures of Russian but use English vocabulary, it is unlikely to say that English has become Russian. In this case the language would be called a mixed language. These observations enlighten the theme of this thesis in that the current Arabic vernaculars may have borrowed some of the grammatical structure from a foreign language that has SVO ordering and had also borrowed some vocabulary from a foreign language, not necessarily from that same foreign language, and at the same time still uses much of the Arabic vocabulary. This means that NSA is a mixed language as Thomason has defined it.

Blair (2000) sees that diglossia is the issue that Arabic studies should

concentrate on now instead of dialectal studies. She argues that Arabic societies have two forms of language. One is acquired through education and the other is acquired through interaction within the local Arabic society. Only people who receive education in schools may be able to speak MSA. She claims that MSA is not appropriate in some contexts, but she does not mention examples to support her claims. She adds that NSA is acquired before formal education begins because children usually attend schools only at the age of six and it is then when they begin receiving CA and MSA education. The point in her discussion is language acquisition. If any form of the language was acquired, then would it not be easy for the person to use it fluently? Why do most speakers of MSA do well while they are reading a text and not as well when they try to speak spontaneously? Is MSA really acquired by Arabs? The answer to this final question is probably yes. MSA is acquired as a written form starting from the age of six, as is the case with most world-written languages. In Arabic, people have the required knowledge of spoken MSA but the degree of their competence is in question, i.e. the extent to which they can use it. To sum up, MSA is acquired as a written form because it is the first written form people are exposed to. NSA, on the other hand, is acquired as a spoken form since it is the first spoken form to which they are exposed. NSA may be the only input children receive until they are six. At this age another input begins but is still accompanied by the original one, NSA.

MSA input may become weaker or even stop at the age of eighteen while NSA continues on. MSA, as a spoken form, may fit into the definition of language acquisition as a language a person is exposed to before the age of puberty, but since it is preceded and followed by NSA, there are fewer for people to become competent in it.

The syntax of MSA is almost entirely different from NSA, and when someone is asked to report some event which he/she has read in MSA, he/she will find it easier to do so in NSA, and, in fact, if he/she attempts to do it in MSA, it may take considerable time. The assumption made in this research is that reporting events in MSA requires more cognitive processing, while doing so in NSA takes less. This can be the case in any instance in which the speaker is using a language that is not his/her first language. It is assumed that a speaker monitors and filters his/her utterances when he/she is speaking a second language. This subtle filtering requires some time that is not necessarily needed when using his/her first language unless the setting requires a less-accustomed higher register, as in political discourse. An experiment to count the timing of reporting events in both forms will be discussed later. Blair claims there have been no syntactic changes separating MSA and CA: "MSA differs from CA only in vocabulary and stylistic features; the morphology and the basic syntactic norms have remained unchanged." (P. 44) What can be said here is that

MSA is basically a form of CA. The question of whether the syntactic features of MSA and CA are similar or not will be discussed thoroughly later.

MacDonald (in Al-Ani 1979) sees that current regional vernaculars must gain respect in competition with all world languages. He noticed that standard forms of these languages had almost vanished in favor of current regional vernaculars. This, he thinks, is for a good reason: new forms better serve as the spoken medium of interaction. Recognizing the developments and changes these standard forms have passed through, makes the use of their original forms problematic. He compares the Arabic case to English. English, he claims, has also "scarified" its standard form for the current regional vernaculars which have already gained respect as a distinguishing element for that region. He claims that CA and NSA are things apart. They are no longer the same. He goes further in demonstrating this fact by showing how form and theme of sentences makes a difference in comprehension. His demonstration was mainly focused on case markers and regional differences. For example, in Jordanian Arabic the word *keifak* is a question word that functions as the English equivalent 'How are you?' In Iraqi this same word functions as the English equivalent 'As you like,' used as a response to a request or invitation.

Greenberg (1963) put forward some language universals. These universals determine the ordering of words in the sentence. A summary of the universals that

treat word ordering is significant here: Universal one puts the subject in a position preceding the object in declarative sentences; Universal two states that in languages with prepositions, the genitive always follows the governing noun; Universal three states that VSO languages are always prepositional; Universal six states that all languages with dominant VSO order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order. These four universals (numbered as Greenberg 1963 Pp 77-79) indicate (especially the fourth, number six here) that a language like Arabic has two basic forms and that each of these forms is used for a certain setting. Greenberg's implicational universals are the output of his empirical observation of the surface forms of such languages.

Versteegh (1984) examines the differences between MSA and NSA. He shows that MSA and NSA have some distinctive differences between them, such as the loss of the case endings of words in NSA which led to the need to find replacement processed to identify the function of the word, especially in the case of the subject and object. This process, although Versteegh does not explain it, manifests itself in the change of the ordering of the constituents from VSO into SVO where the subject precedes the verb and the object follows it. Assumptions about the reasons for this reordering and their movement will be discussed thoroughly in the coming sections. Versteegh also draws attention to some points where NSA differs from one region to

another. These differences are, for the most part, lexical, but also phonological as well as structural. This implies that the language has at least some changes in almost all aspects creating probably a new language or a new system of that language. Among those features that have changed over time are the following: the replacement of synthetic (inflecting) constructions with analytic (isolating) ones, the development of a new aspectual system, the reduction or the disappearance of a large number of grammatical categories, and the introduction of new rules for agreement. He concludes that history and structural change are connected.

Suleiman (1985) tries to defend MSA as not being SVO in the D-structure. He notices that Arabic has a construction created by a rule called "NP-fronting", which advances NPs to sentence-initial position (P. 34). The point of his argument is to argue against the idea that Arabic is underlyingly an SVO language and support the claim that it remains VSO+ NP-fronting. For example,

(1) Thahaba al-awlad-u ela al-madrassat-i
 went the-boys-s to the-school-prep.CM

'The boys went to school.'

This is a VSO sentence and, as Suleiman assumes, it could be taken as the underlying structure. Why would such a sentence change to SVO? His answer lies in the application of the suggested NP-fronting rule. Suleiman puts the rule in words and

provides no adequate explanation; however, the rule can be formulated as: VSO+ NP-fronting rule → SVO. This rule ignores some other changes that will take place besides the fronting. These changes are exemplified in the following new SVO/SV sentence:

(2) Al-awlad-u thahab-u ela al-madrassat-i

The-boys-s went-pl to the-school- prep CM

'The boys went to school.'

Here in this example the plural suffix *-u* appears on the verb while it does not occur in the underlying sentence (1). Thus, the application of the NP-fronting rule resulted in another significant change, which is NP-VP agreement, although this change does not necessarily appear in all cases. Yet, Suleiman limits NP movement to the subject and object, neglecting NPs within PP. These NPs can also be emphasized in Arabic and their movement forces the preposition to move too. He says "Other than order, the two NPs in a transitive clause are not structurally equivalent, which makes it feasible to distinguish results of topicalizing the subject from the result of topicalizing the object." (P. 34) The following are examples of sentences where the NP-object and PP are emphasized (emphasized elements are underlined):

(3) al-ka's-a kassarat al-bent-u

the-cup-o broke the-girl-s

'The girl broke the cup.'

(4) fi al-sharef taqatal al-awlad-u

in the-street fought the-children

'The children fought in the street.'

He, then, tries to show the significance of case markers in a sentence in which the NP-fronting rule has applied. He adds "One of the distinctive features of subjects and objects in Arabic is that of the inflectional case markers." (P. 34) These case markers make it easy for the listener to determine what function the NP has. Although Suleiman mentions no examples, the following examples are found in spoken forms of both CA and MSA,

(5) qatala al-rajul-u al-maradh-a

fought the-man-s the-disease-o

'The man fought the disease.'

The two inflectional suffixes show who the subject *-u* is and who the object is *-a*. Thus, if the ordering of the subject and the object changes, still, the listener will be able to distinguish the function of the two arguments based on the inflection,

(6) qatala al-maradh-a al-rajul-u

fought the-disease-o the-man-s

'The man fought the disease.'

To conclude, in MSA *-u* and its variant *-un* mark the subject in the sentence, while *-a*

and its variant *-an* mark the object no matter where they fall linearly in a grammatical sentence. The choice of the variants of these two inflections is conditioned by the use of *al* 'the', however; if the definite article *al* is used, then *-u* alone must be used; *-n* can never occur with *al* 'the' in the same word,

(7) a. qatal rajul-un musinun maradh-an sharessan

fought man-s old disease-o cruel

'An old man fought a cruel disease.'

b. * qatal al-rajul-un al-musinun al-maradh-an al-sharessan

fought the-man-s the-old the-disease-o the-cruel

'The old man fought the cruel disease.'

The question to be investigated here is: do case markers appear in written MSA? The answer to this question is: yes and no. They are used if they are in the form of suffixes attached to the main word and they are not used if they are in the form of an inflection that marks the function of an NP probably because of the difficulty of typing these inflections which requires great attention and accuracy. The following are examples in Arabic script as used in newspapers: (they are read from right to left; therefore the constituent ordering is VSO)

(8) المعلم الولدان سأل

the.teacher the.boys.dual asked

'The two boys asked the teacher.'

(9) الولدين المعلم سأل

the.boys.dual the.teacher asked

'The teacher asked the two boys.'

(10) المعلم الولد سأل

The.teacher the.boy asked

'The boy asked the teacher.'

Although there are no case marker inflections used in these examples in their written form, the function of each word is determined by position since MSA is believed to have a fixed VSO ordering, yet in CA it is unlikely to find written sentences like these without printed case markers because CA does not have a fixed but a variable order, and it allows more options in word order. This does not claim that spoken MSA does not use case markers in the form of inflections; on the contrary, they must be used. In examples (8) and (9) case markers in the form of suffixes are used and they are underlined here. The following is an example (compare with example (10)) that shows all of the written inflections that a simple sentence may have, (they are printed as diacritics.)

(11) المُعَلِّمِ الولدُ سألَ

The.teacher the.boy asked

'The boy asked the teacher.'

This kind of printing is only found in some textbooks especially in primary grades because they are considered as a main part of MSA teaching.

Vernacular Arabic or NSA is, by contrast, hard to write. Beeston (1970) thinks that NSA cannot be written within the Arabic script. He tries to give some reasons for this statement in his introduction. He states,

The vernaculars are almost entirely spoken forms of language; a few attempts have been made at rendering them in writing, but Arabic script is ill-adapted for this purpose, and such attempts have no greater linguistic value than an English novelist's attempts at recording, say, Lancashire dialect. (PP. 11, 12)

What Beeston is saying is that some of the sounds used in vernaculars are not represented in MSA or CA; thus, they have not been assigned an orthographic description. For example, in some local Jordanian vernaculars the initial consonant of the word for *dog* may be pronounced in two different ways,

(12) a. [kalb] كلب

b. [čalb] (There is no graph to reflect č in Arabic script)

However, the [č] has no written description because at the time when the Arabic orthographic system was invented, this sound was not present. This sound is present in English, however. This situation might suggest that Arabs took this sound from another language, an idea that Beeston also supports. He assumes that Arabic has been

influenced by European thought: "In the nineteenth century the centuries-old Muslim-Arab culture had to face the challenge of European culture and new modes of thought demanding new modes of expression." (P.15)

Watson (1995) in her article 'The Syntax of Arabic Headlines and News' (in Suleiman, 1999) believes that newspapers do not use MSA; instead they use a language that is specially designed for newspapers. She discusses the syntax of Arabic news headlines and compares them to English. She notices that case in the Arabic headlines which are shortened but not to the degree of English news headlines. She adds that there are some constituents that cannot be omitted due to rules of Arabic syntax, like the definite article, conjunctions, and possessive pronouns. For example, (Al-Rai 2/19/2003 P.15)

(13) al-khuTuT al-Kwaeteah tuflen khetah le-zeadat reHlate-ha
 (the-airlines the-Kuwait); announces plan to-increase flights-(its);

'Kuwaiti airlines announces plans to increase flights.'

In this example the possessive pronoun is present in *reHlate-ha* 'flights' although it does not seem necessary. The absence of this pronoun will not change the meaning or the understanding of the sentence. The following is another suggested form of the example in (13) and it shows that the absence of the possessive pronoun is not significant:

- (14) al-khuTuT al-Kwaeteah tuflen khetah le-zeadat al-reHlat
 the-airlines the-Kuwait announces plan to-increase the-flights
 'Kuwaiti airlines announces plans to increase flights.'

Watson adds that the structural changes that headlines in Arabic have undergone are related to word order and omitting words. She concludes that there are three syntactic structures in Arabic headlines: Noun phrase; Verbless nominal clause; and Nominal clause with an imperfect verb following the subject. She notices some exceptions in the syntax of the headlines. However, these exceptions are due to the punctuality of the event, and to the continuity of an event. The crucial point in her conclusion centers on the claim that there are no differences between headlines and the summaries that follow, that they are similar in their syntax. This statement may lead the reader of her article to the conclusion that the language used in newspapers is not cast in MSA but instead in a newspaper-specific language, an assertion which needs reconsideration. For example, the headline of an article that reported deadly rain in Pakistan in a Jordanian daily newspaper (AlRai 2/12/2003) used SVO ordering,

- (15) al-amTar taqtul sabf ashkhaas fe Pakistan
 the-rain kills seven people in Pakistan
 'The rain kills seven people in Pakistan.'

While Watson claims the opposite, the main article uses VSO ordering,

(16) fe Pakistan laqy sabf ashkhaas masraf-ahum

in Pakistan faced seven people death-their

'Seven people faced their death in Pakistan.'

Further discussion of the language of newspapers and the question whether it is MSA or not will follow.

Yushmanov (1961) examines word ordering in CA and claims that in the vernaculars of Arabic, the word order is similar in principle although non-Semitic languages have influenced these vernaculars. He mentions some examples of changes in word order that have taken place in NSA. He uses examples from Iraqi and Egyptian NSA such as the replacement of the indefinite Article *-n* with *fard* or *fad* in Iraqi and with *wahad* 'one' in Egyptian. In CA *-n* follows the noun (as in 15) while in these vernaculars the indefinite article replacing it is used before the noun (as in 16):

(17) waladu-n muhathab

boy (-a article) well-mannered

'A well-mannered boy.'

(18) fad walad muhathab

a boy well-mannared

'A well-mannered boy.'

In Jordanian NSA, which Yushmanov does not mention, this appears not to be the case. Neither CA *-n* is adhered to nor is a new article used to replace it. Rather, no indefinite article is used at all:

(19) walad muhathab

boy well-mannered

‘A well-mannered boy.’

The only indication of the use of indefinite noun is the absence of the definite article *al* ‘the’ before that noun. This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.5.

The structure of cardinal numerals in NSA is another feature that distinguishes it from MSA and CA. Yushmanov explains the structure of numerals in CA which is adhered to in MSA. Note that *waHid* ‘one’ and ‘*ethn-an/ayn*’ ‘two’ agree in gender and case marker with the noun,

(20) waladun waHidun

boy one (m)

‘One boy’

(21) bentun waHidatun

girl one (f)

‘One girl.’

(22) waladaan ethnaan

boy.dual two.dual

'Two boys'

Numbers from *thalath* 'three' up to *ʃasher* 'ten', however, are generated in a different way in which the gender of the number should be set to the opposite of the noun:

(23) *thalathatu rejalen*

three (f) men

'Three men.'

(24) *thalathu banatin*

three (m) girls

'Three girls.'

Numbers from *aHada ʃasher* 'eleven' up to *tesʃ wa tesʃun* 'ninety-nine' show no gender agreement, and the noun that follows them must be used in its singular form:

(25) *thalathuun rajulan*

thirty man

'Thirty men.'

(26) *thalathuun bentan*

thirty girl

'Thirty girls.'

Yushmanov states "Of course, such a complicated system of constructing the numerals

could not be retained in the living spoken idioms, whose structure is in general so much simpler than that of Classical Arabic.”(P. 72) Indeed, in Jordanian NSA the rules that apply for numerals from ‘three’ to ‘ten’ do not apply anymore, especially those that have to do with gender agreement. This issue will be discussed in the section 3.2.6.

Chapter Two

Issues on the Current Status of Arabic

2.1 The Necessity for CA in Arabic Society

Language is a very important aspect of the life and structure of any society. It reflects the national, political and ethnic identity of that society as well as its religious identity, as in the Arabic case. CA used to be the language of the followers of Islam in all the Arab countries as well as some non-Arabic countries. It is a must for a devoted Muslim. Today it is the only language used in Muslim prayers no matter what the speaker's mother tongue may be. One should know it because without it, one cannot do his/her religious duties towards Allah. In Muslim prayers, people perform certain physical acts, but these acts themselves are not the basics of the prayer. The basic element is what people say while doing these acts. As the worshiper performs a certain act, a verse from the Quraan or a saying taught by the Prophet is said. If someone is handicapped and unable to stand or move certain parts of his/her body, saying the prayers (which are solely from the Quraan and the Prophet's sayings) will be enough and acceptable; however, doing the acts without saying the prayers does not suffice.

Interviewing some Muslims from Pakistan and India revealed that they say the prayers but they do not understand what they are saying. It would be unfair to accuse Muslims from these parts of the world of being the only people who do not understand what they say in their prayers, however. This is the case also for many Arabs who would find themselves faced with the need to look up some vocabulary in the dictionaries and then they still cannot tell which meaning is intended (among the many they may find) for a certain word unless they ask specialist in Quraanic studies or a teacher of Arabic . Add to this, the complexity of the grammar in CA makes the understanding of certain verses difficult and limited to those who are specialized in Quraanic studies. It can be generalized that if it were not for Islam and Islamic duties, CA would have been history by now.

Among the examples that show great complexity for the reader is the verse:

(1) enama yakhsha Allah-a men febad-eh-i al-fulama-'u

PART fear Allah-o from slaves-His-prep CM the-scientists-s

'Only scientists fear Allah.'

This verse has been one of the most misunderstood among Muslims. In MSA this verse would be:

(2) enama yakhsh-a al-fulama-'u Allah-a

PART fear the-scientists-s Allah-o

'Only scientists fear Allah.'

The position of the subject and the object are not the same in the two forms, CA and MSA. Yet, knowledge of the case markers of each shall solve the problem: *-u* reveals the subject, the experiencer in this case, while *-a* reveals the object. In the present time, when case markers are no longer used in vernacular speech, this verse could not dependably find its proper meaning, because it would not be clear who the subject is. For reasons like this, many people have held the belief that translating the Quraan is impossible because it cannot be understood or interpreted reliably in NSA. In Jordanian NSA this verse would be:

(3) el-ʔulama' bas bekhaf-u men Allah
 the-scientists only fear-pl from Allah

'Only scientists fear Allah.'

While the meanings of the words used here are all known to ordinary people, the syntax is not because the syntax of NSA is not studied. Yet, it is forbidden to use NSA in prayers.

Many writers, as presented in chapter one, like Taha Hussein, Beeston, C. Versteegh, and many others, have investigated the historical events and upheavals that have influenced Arabic. It became obvious to them that CA remains the only language used only in religious acts up to the present time because of the fact that

NSA is not allowed in religious context since it is believed to weaken the rhetoric of such contexts. CA is also, they believe, is closer to the spirit of Islam and thus it should not be replaced by another language or vernacular and should not be misused¹. They believe that it is not used today either written or spoken because of the many challenges that faced it in the early part of the sixteenth century. Besides the complexity of the grammar (which cannot be the only factor, in fact, it would not have been a factor at all if the language had not faced other problems), CA faced its greater challenges when the Arab Muslims were conquered and ruled by the Ottoman Turks. This historical event helped to gradually eliminate CA. It became no more the language of the state because Turkish took its place in administration. This led to a greater use of the local vernaculars instead of CA, and Arabic had to fight for its survival and reestablishment as a language of the state at that time.

¹ Similar cases like this case were witnessed in Latin Catholic mass and Hebrew. "The Mass of the Roman Catholic Church, while always preserving certain Greek and Hebrew expressions, has from the very first century been conducted in Latin, the language of old Rome, the see of St. Peter and the popes who would succeed him. To preserve the Latin in the Church's public worship is to preserve the link between the Church of today and the Church of the past." See De Pauw '407th anniversary of "Quo Primum". July 19, 1977. <http://www.latinmass-ctm.org/latinmass/why.htm>. Accessed April 10, 2003.

2.2 Is MSA a New Form?

MSA is the old-new formal form of Arabic which is mainly used in Arabic media today as its spoken medium. It is a single form that has been adapted from CA to be used in the media whether spoken or written. It follows the VSO ordering of CA. There is no fair reason for singling out the VSO ordering from all the others to be used in MSA, other than its being the commonly used ordering in CA. The other forms of CA that are not adapted in MSA are those which can be considered to be grammatically and lexically complex. These forms, with the orderings OVS, OSV, SOV and VOS, have disappeared. Yet, in spite of its use in the media, MSA is not used in people's daily speech. Rather, in each geographical area, a NSA form (the current vernacular) is being used as the spoken form in almost all aspects of life. This form cannot be found in either CA or MSA, and it is not a written form, as in each portion of the vast area where Arabic is spoken, various vernaculars or colloquial forms of it have developed, all of which are called here NSA. This NSA is the mother tongue of all native speakers of Arabic. But NSA forms can be quite different from each other based on the location where each is spoken, so students of Arabic are confronted with the dilemma of which form to learn. Without a doubt, MSA occupies a place of prominence above any particular vernacular. It's hard to imagine someone with a serious interest in studying Arabic who does not study MSA, and this literary

language plays an important role in what it means to its speakers. On the other hand, if a scholar intends to study NSA, he should do so on his own because there are no institutions that offer NSA studies and his work may not greatly be appreciated by other scholars and by people in general who may feel that such studies may affect MSA studies..

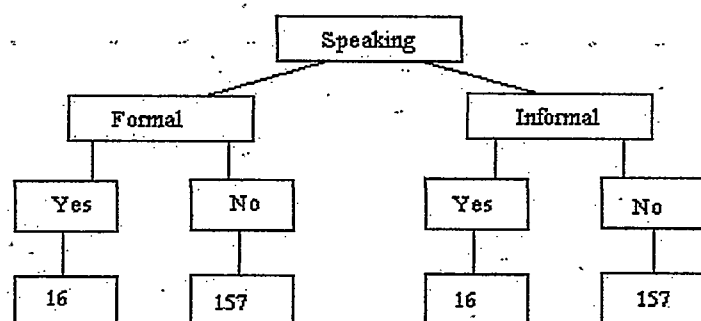
2.3 How do People See Their Language: MSA versus NSA?

The author conducted a survey to investigate the general view of people from the southern part of Jordan concerning the use of MSA and NSA. The number of people surveyed was 173 and included both genders, their ages between eighteen and fifty-eight. The subjects have received MSA formal education for at least twelve years as school students in Jordanian local schools. (See survey questions in Appendix A.)

2.3.1. How Far is MSA Used?

The first question inquiring about language in the survey was "Do you use spoken MSA?" Their answers were divided into two parts: firstly, as a spoken form only sixteen people report using it up to 80% in their speech no matter what the circumstances are; 157 people reported that they do not use it at all. Secondly, as a written form, 164 people use it up to 100% in their writing, whether formal or informal, and only nine people said that they do not use it in their informal writings. The following diagrams (A) and (B) show these generalizations:

A -



B -

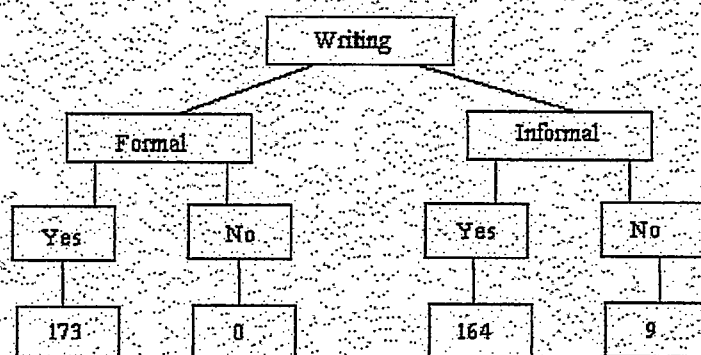


Figure 2. Diagram Showing Numbers of People Using Written and Spoken MSA.

2.3.2. What are the Available Sources for MSA?

The second question investigated whether the subjects have any member of their family, other than themselves, who use MSA. The question was “Does any member of your family use spoken MSA, and if so, who?” The point of this question is to know whether people are exposed to MSA in their homes before they go to school as young children or not. Among the 173 subjects only four said that they had MSA speakers in their families. The other 169 subjects were divided into two groups: the

first group of 144 was sure that they did not have any member speaking MSA and still do not have; the second group of twenty-five was unsure whether they had been exposed to MSA before school or not. These numbers support the assumption that in fact the main venue that provides people with MSA experience is school. Having four people exposed to MSA before the age of six does not necessarily mean that they learned it at that time, but it could be considered an opening step towards better fluency for those people in the future. However, as the survey shows that none of those four subjects does, in fact, use MSA in their daily life in its spoken form, the hypothesis that an MSA-speaking person may influence other members of his family to follow his/her steps cannot be supported. The following table summarizes the findings:

Table 1. Number of People Having MSA Speakers in Their Household.

Have MSA speaker(s)	Do not have MSA speaker(s)	Do not know
4	144	25

2.3.3 Other Sources for MSA

The third portion of the survey concentrated on questions that attempt to show whether the subjects read for enjoyment or not, and what kinds of topics they prefer over others. Reading may develop one's language, and since newspapers, books and other kinds of reading materials, except for some comics, are written in MSA, one

can assume that the basic opportunities for knowledge of MSA are present. Since this is the case, the question needs to be asked: why is MSA not used in its spoken form with all the available resources? Only two said that they do not read for enjoyment. This means that 99% do read for enjoyment. The main subject matter they read are poetry, short stories, newspapers and police dramas. These topics, either original or translated from other languages, are found in MSA. This kind of reading can enhance the reader's knowledge about his language; yet, as the other question of the survey reveal, it does not show any enhancement towards a better spoken-language performance.

2.3.4 How do People Estimate Their Performance?

One of the questions in the survey asked about how people evaluate their performance in MSA in three main categories: reading, writing and speaking. The results show that people in general consider themselves very fluent readers and writers in MSA but not speakers. The question here is: is this a special case of diglossia?

In Jordan young children do not receive any kind of MSA formal education until they go to school at the age of six (in special cases at the age of five). This means that they are not exposed to MSA in their first five years of age. This leads to the assumption that their mother tongue as young children is NSA, simply the form that

they are 90% exposed to. The other 10% of NSA they hear from media targeted at children like cartoons.

MSA is the language of the educational system in Jordan. This applies to elementary and high schools, while in colleges and universities English is widely used. In schools MSA is the language that is used during classes other than English and French classes. Teachers are supposed to explain and discuss the material in MSA and students are supposed to answer and discuss in the same way. While it seems that this is not the case, as many people claim that even teachers who teach MSA use NSA in their classes in their discussions and explanations because they feel that MSA will lack effectiveness in passing their ideas on to their students, the curriculums are written in MSA.

2.3.5 Why is SA (CA and MSA) Still Present?

The survey also concentrated on questions that attempt to discover why MSA and CA are still used in their spoken and written forms in some limited cases while NSA is only used, as a spoken form, in some other cases. The survey also questioned the reasons for the limited use of MSA in daily speech.

In their answer to the question why they think that MSA is still used and why it is still alive, those surveyed gave many reasons. The first reason given was religion, with 170 people stating that this is the basic reason. Arabic is the language of the

Quraan, and Muslims have duties that require the use of the words and structures from the Quraan as they were revealed. SA must be adhered to correctly to perform the prayers. Add to this, the fact that this is the form which The Prophet Mohammad used and in which all his *aHadith* 'sayings' were presented.

The second reason, stated by the majority of the people, is that MSA is the only form understandable throughout Arab countries. 148 people said that two different people from two different Arab countries will need MSA to communicate because using their native vernaculars will result in misunderstandings. For example, if a native of Morocco speaks to a native from Jordan using vernacular style, a translator is necessary. This is evident also in the case when tourists visiting Petra from the western part of the Arab world communicate with the citizens of the city. English is their mode of communication, or sometimes French. Reasons for this phenomenon reside in the fact that Arabs can understand MSA as listeners but in most cases fail to use it as speakers. Reasons for this fact will be discussed later in this chapter. In fact, even when they use it, factors like L1 (their vernacular in this case) interference is present resulting in different pronunciations that are not accurate MSA, and thus the listener who is used to comprehending MSA fully as a listener may find it difficult to understand what the speaker really intends.

The third reason, believed by sixty-two people, is the beauty of the language.

They consider MSA as the language of love and intelligence, and a language that allows great flexibility in the expression of whatever the person wants to say.

The fourth reason given (by twenty-two people) is that MSA is their mother tongue. It seems that ignorance of the meaning of "mother tongue" or "first language" as a technical expression is the reason for such an answer. They know that they were not exposed to this language when they born and they know that MSA is only taught at school, yet they insist on this statement.

The fifth, the survey also showed, is that thirteen people believe MSA to be the language of wisdom. This is why some people work hard on keeping it alive. The impact of a sentence in MSA is stronger than that of NSA. If the political news were presented in NSA, it would look funny, they believe, and this may lead to an interpretation as to whether what is said is intended to be serious or not.

The sixth reason is comprehensiveness. Six people stated that MSA is more comprehensive than any other forms of Arabic used today. They say that it fits all times and settings, and copes with new terminology in an easier way than NSA. The question one might ask here is: what would prevent NSA from adopting new terminology in the same way? In fact, how one can tell that a particular new term is used in MSA not in NSA since, in most cases, the foreign word is pronounced as it is in MSA? For example, the term *teknolojia* 'Technology' is an English word that has

been adopted into Arabic. This term is used in a wide range, even in textbooks. This word is used in MSA and NSA in the same manner. One cannot tell from the word itself whether the vernacular spoken is standard or non-standard. The only way to determine that is to look at its surroundings. Thus, the belief that MSA is more open to adopting new terms than NSA can be refuted since there is no hard evidence to prove that this term is MSA not NSA. The reason for such a conclusion has to do with the pronunciation of these terms. They are pronounced the same in both forms.

The seventh reason is due to religious scholars, who are considered the ones who mainly use MSA besides the media. The survey also showed that three people believe that those scholars restrictively believe that MSA is the only language that should be used and always attempt to discuss this issue with other people in the hope that MSA may one day be the only form used in the Arab world. They believe that the current forms of Arabic (NSA), which have no official status, are the leftovers of the colonial systems and they should disappear. One author wrote the following statement encouraging Arabs to stop using NSA and the adaptation of non-Arabic words. He/she represents the restricted Islamic stream who aims at using CA and not any other form in people's daily life:

Indeed, teaching a kid how to say *lemon*, *handkerchief* or *bus* in Arabic serves no Islamic purpose. Instead, we must have as our goal that people should learn to read the Quraan and aHadith 'Prophet's sayings' with comprehension.... Vocabulary lists should be drawn

mainly from words used in the Quraan and aHadith.¹

To sum up, it seems that people in general have different opinions about the reasons that kept MSA from obsolescence. The observation the author notices about the answers is that the first three reasons are often discussed in televised meetings, which are not limited to Jordanian national television, where two or more people meet and discuss some issues about Arabic. This may indicate that these reasons are the basic ones that people usually refer to as being the resources for the preservation of MSA in all of the Arab countries. The following table summarizes the reasons that influenced the presence of SA and the number of people provided each of them:

Table 2. Reasons for the Presence of SA.

	Reason	Number of people
1	Religion: by doing their duties which require SA.	170
2	Communication: to use it with Arabs from other countries.	148
3	A beautiful language: expresses emotions more deeply.	62
4	Mother tongue.	22
5	A language of wisdom: SA impact is strong on the hearer.	13
6	Comprehensiveness: shows flexibility in adoption.	6
7	Religion scholars: rejection of colonial systems.	3

¹Author unknown. Found in The Purposes of Arabic language Studies. www.islamicedfoundation.com

Date accessed: 2/5/2003

2.3.6 MSA is Not the Basic Spoken Form

Another major question in the survey asked about reasons why spoken MSA might not be used by people in their daily life. People's answers fell in six different categories. (Note that some people provided more than one reason.) Seventy-eight people think that shyness (fear of criticism) is the reason. Ninety-three think that it is the inability to think in MSA due to lack of education. Twelve people think that insufficient vocabulary may be the reason; they think that they do not have enough MSA vocabulary to use it all the time, and as a result, they mix words from NSA with MSA resulting, eventually, in a NS form. Seventy-two people claimed that if they used MSA, other people would make fun of them. This is supported by the answer of another twenty-eight people, who said that elderly people who are illiterate consider the use of MSA inappropriate. The result is that if someone speaks in MSA in a wedding party, for example, other people will ask him/her to shut up and to stop teasing them.

2.3.7 NSA is Not a Written Form

The survey results showed that people do not have confidence in the written form of NSA. All of the surveyed people said that this form is basically an unwritten language, although it is used in some comics. Therefore, when sending a letter or an e-mail, they use MSA.

An experiment was conducted to examine the validity of this claim. Ten individuals were asked to send letters addressed to the author. They were grouped as follows: Three children under the age of six, three illiterate people who could not read or write, and four literate people. Another individual was assigned the duty of writing what the three illiterate individuals and the children said while he recorded what they said on tape. The purposes of this experiment were to investigate whether young children who do not use MSA can tell even that it exists; whether literate people can easily transfer their NSA thoughts into MSA; whether illiterate people who cannot use MSA still know that it exists; and finally to investigate how the individual writing for the illiterate and children would do his task; i.e. would he write the words the way they said them, or would he transfer them into MSA?

The results of this experiment were thus:

- a. The literate individuals wrote in MSA and tried to use some NSA expressions and jokes putting them within brackets to indicate that this is NSA.
- b. Illiterate individuals made no attempt to use MSA, explicitly asking the individual writer to transform their NSA sentences into MSA.
- c. Children used NSA.
- d. The individual writer transferred what the illiterate and children said into MSA and he made changes in the vocabulary they used.

- e. Literate individuals made spelling mistakes¹ using NSA in their attempt to write the words as they sound.

The results of this experiment confirm that NSA is not a written form. People believe it is not reducible to written form, therefore they use MSA instead. The individual writer's transferring of the NSA speech of illiterate adults and children into written MSA may indicate that people do not approve of NSA on paper or it is written inconsistently and the individual writer did not believe that NSA should be used.

The author conducted another experiment in which the four literate individuals were asked to read one paragraph of the same content one written in MSA and the other in NSA. A speed timer was used for each reading. The aim of this experiment is to see how fast the subjects can read each of the two forms aloud. The diagram below describes the results,

¹ Although there is no written form of NSA, some people attempt to use it. The way words are pronounced is based on each single letter written. Anything written must be pronounced, thus when a letter reflects a sound that is not in the original pronunciation of the word, the author assumed that it is misspelled.

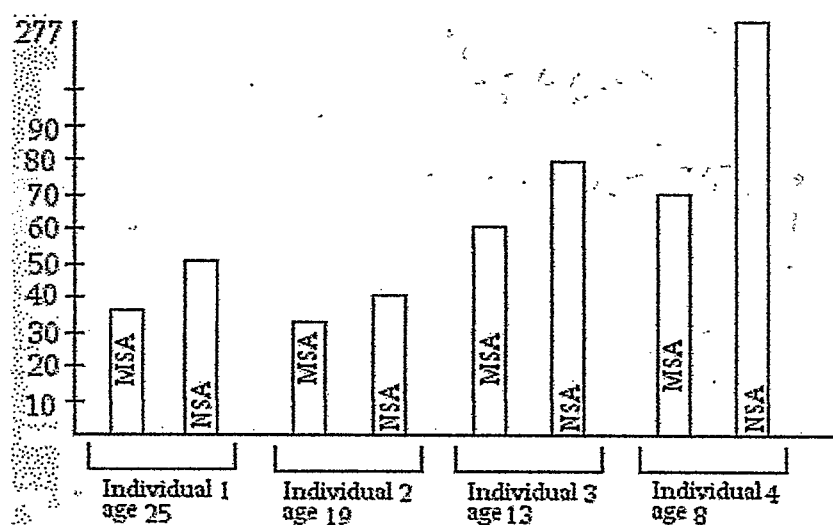


Figure 3. Reading Speed in MSA and NSA

Although the two paragraphs contain the same information, the number of words used in each of them was different. The NSA version contained fewer words than the MSA version; the ratio was three NSA constructions to four in MSA. The ages of the subjects were twenty-five, nineteen, thirteen and eight years of age. The speed at which an individual reads depends on his/her practice and the amount of reading he/she does. Nevertheless, when this experiment took place, the amount of time needed to read the NSA form was more than that needed for reading the MSA form even though the MSA text was read first so the content of the reading was already known. The shortest time for reading the NSA version was thirty-six seconds and the longest time needed was 277 seconds. Although the time required to read the NSA text is only slightly more than the MSA text for one of the individuals, the NSA text needed more time for all of them. The results indicate that people are not used to

reading in the NSA form.

The last question in the survey, although the author misrepresented it¹, asked the subjects to define the meaning of the word *gaʿdin* 'busy doing' which is a NSA word in the sentence:

(4) el-wlad gaʿdin yelʿabu

the-boys are playing

'The boys are playing.'

In MSA the meaning of this word is 'sitting'. The number of people who defined the word as 'busy doing' was sixty-seven, while those who defined it as 'sitting' were eighty-one. Twenty-five people could not articulate a definition. None of the subjects were able to define the word grammatically. The MSA version of this sentence would be:

(5) yalʿabu al-awladu

play the-children

'The children are playing.'

The sentence is interpreted to indicate that the children are playing now. This is what

¹ Some people brought to the author's attention the interpretation that the children could be playing chess and thus need to be sitting.

both the MSA and NSA versions indicate too. MSA has no verb 'to be' as an auxiliary, although the NSA version seems to have it. Looking at other Arabic vernaculars, it seems that all current vernaculars have such an auxiliary. The following is the sentence 'The boys are playing' in four major vernaculars of four Arab countries,

(6) el-wlad gaʔdin yelʔabu (Jordan)

The-boys are playing

(7) el-wlead ʔam yelʔabu (Lebanon)

The-boys are playing

(8) il-weled da yleʔbuun (Iraq)

The- boys are playing

(9) el-wlad be yalʔabu/un (Yemen and most of the Arabic gulf countries.)

the-boys are playing

The sentences above indicate that language change is taking place not only in one region of the Arab countries but in all of them. The use of this auxiliary may support the assumption that they are heading towards the change for the same reasons which might be simplifying the structures of MSA in a way that results in distinct structures. In MSA simple present and present continuous are the same, i.e. the same sentence can be used for either tense. NSA distinguishes these tenses by the introduction of the auxiliary for present continuous. Based on the answers provided in the survey, it

seems true that people, at least in Petra, are quite ignorant about the grammar of their NS version. This is the result of the educational institutions forcing the use of the grammar of MSA and prohibiting NSA.

2.3.8. Conclusion

The results of the survey show that there is much conflict among people concerning the use of MSA. People want to use it; yet, they seem to find for themselves reasons not to do so. The notion of inappropriateness is one of the main problems that the society in Petra suffers under. People try to follow the norms of their previous generations in order to avoid being marked as unordinary persons. Studies that involve local vernaculars had been avoided until recently in some institutions but not in local schools. Scholars are mainly concerned with MSA studies, as the opportunity to investigate more in local vernaculars is almost blocked when it concerns grammar. The question asked here is: why do scholars study the form that is rarely used in daily life and ignore the one that is widely used? Grammar books that deal with MSA grammar are available everywhere but not a single NSA grammar can be found. Is MSA the mother tongue in this society or is it NSA? Does diglossia exist in this society? Is it the religious notion and self-image that make people believe that MSA is their mother tongue?

2.4. Is NSA a New Language?

Based on previous studies conducted on comparable issues in other languages, MSA and NSA are not different languages. Rather, they are different systems of the same language. William Labov's 'Is the BEV a Separate System?' is probably the closest case to compare with. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Labov published the results of some studies he had done on the language spoken among African-American teenagers who were part of inner-city street culture. His conclusion was that their speech patterns constituted a distinct language system, which he labeled Black English Vernacular. According to Labov, this system followed its own grammatical rules, which were different from those of Standard English but which were internally consistent. For instance, one of its features was the use of invariant *be*, which meant that under certain circumstances BEV speakers, instead of conjugating the verb *to be*, would simply use *be* instead. For example, *I be eating*. While most people would assume, hearing someone do this, that he/she just didn't know how to conjugate the verb, Labov's research showed that this was a grammatical rule that had developed in the system and was consistently followed. Labov's point was that speakers of BEV were not simply making random grammatical mistakes when they spoke. They were following rules that their community of speakers had developed, and which they had learned from being immersed in it. What they were speaking, he argued, was not a

flawed and failed attempt at Standard English, but a particular version of English that was just as expressive and fluent as the standard.

Concerning MSA and NSA, there is no hard evidence to prove which one appeared first. Some scholars claim that the current form (NSA) was used before CA, as cited in chapter one, among those is Ferguson, while some others claim the opposite, like Al-Husiri, who claims that these new vernaculars emerged to reflect the new way of thinking which Arabs are currently possessing. The general belief held by the majority of Arabs is that MSA appeared before NSA. Yet, as Muslims, they read in the Islamic history that Prophet Mohammad's grandfather sent him as a young child to el-*badiah* 'the countryside' to learn good Arabic because at that time Bedouins were thought of as better speakers than the citizens of Mecca. This means that at that time there existed at least one local vernacular different from what became CA, the mother tongue of the people of Mecca.

The mother tongue as Gass (1994) defines it is the language that a person acquires from his birth until the age of puberty. In the Arabic society in Petra people are exposed to the NSA form their entire lives, while they are exposed to MSA only from the age of six until the age of eighteen unless they carry on their MSA study at the university. What this may influence is the thought that people receive MSA for twelve years. This period of time is enough for them to be able to read, write and

comprehend in MSA.¹ This period of time seems to have no great influence on speaking, however, since there is another system that exists and dominates MSA. This system, either new or old, has no written form, however. Thus, there is one major spoken form and one major written form. Each belongs to a different system. This means that currently these two systems make up the current language.

2.5 Diglossia

Fasold (1987) in his discussion of multilingualism states that different languages are assigned different social tasks in multilingual societies. He refers to the relationship between language form and function as *diglossia*. Diglossia as a term was first used in English by Ferguson in 1959. He identified four languages, Arabic, Greek, Haitian Creole and Swiss German as being prime examples of languages which fit into his definition of diglossia. He said that diglossic speech communities have a High variety that is very prestigious and a Low variety with no official status which are in complementary distribution with each other (for instance the High variety might be used for literary discourse and the Low variety for ordinary conversation). His original definition of diglossia was that the two varieties which are in a diglossic relationship with each other are closely related, and therefore diglossia is not bilingualism. In his defining examples he points out that the High variety is learned largely by formal education, and that some educated native speakers might even deny

that they ever use the Low variety. An important component of diglossia is that the speakers have the personal perception that the High variety is the "real" language and that the Low variety is "incorrect" usage. In Arabic people talk about the High variety as being "pure" Arabic and the vernaculars as being corrupt forms.

Fishman in 1967 described diglossia in a different way than that of Ferguson. Fishman introduced the notion that diglossia could be extended to situations found in many societies where forms of two genetically unrelated (or at least historically distant) languages occupy the High and Low niches, such that one of the languages is used for religious, educational, literary and other such prestigious domains, while another language is rarely used for such purposes, being only employed for more informal, primarily spoken domains.

In Jordan two language varieties are present and they are related in many ways, MSA and NSA. Each of these varieties serves a specific function. MSA is used for writing purposes while NSA is used for speaking. The wide majority of people do not speak MSA in their daily life but they use it in their writings either formal or informal. NSA, on the other hand, is used for speaking but not for writing. It seems that Ferguson's and Fishman's definitions agree in the concept of language functionality in that each variety serves a certain setting and this is exactly what is happening in Jordan. Yet the similarities between the two varieties and the fact that

they are related support the position that Fishman's definition is problematic. Therefore, Ferguson's definition seems more adequate for Arabic despite the fact that some Arabs are unable to use MSA at all as a spoken form. Add to this, factors like literacy in the society which plays a great role. Ferguson's definition treats the two language varieties as one being acquired (NSA) and the other as being learned (MSA). In Petra there are a considerable number of people who have never received education and thus have been never exposed to MSA except through the media. This group of people knows only one form of the language (knowing that they cannot read or write) and they can only speak it and not write it. The question here is, would not this group of people use NSA all the time, both formally and informally? In fact they do not have any choice other than not speaking. What the author is trying to demonstrate here is that diglossia is only present and true for those who have received education, while it is not the case for those who have not, since they only have one language variety. What this leads to is that these two varieties combined make up the language only for educated people.

As for the function of each variety, the author agrees with both Ferguson and Fishman in that each variety serves a certain setting and conditions in the general sense, but in Arabic some clarification of the situation is required. In Jordan people use MSA only for the purposes of writing, whether formal or informal, and use NSA

for the purposes of speaking, whether formal or informal, with a small minority like some politicians and religious men who use MSA in their formal and perhaps informal speech. The conclusion, generally speaking, is that the two varieties are both used for formal and informal purposes. One of these varieties (MSA) is used to write and the other (NSA) is used to speak. This phenomenon can be a new type of diglossia that is true for one group of people and untrue for another within the same society. The distinguishing point between them, of course, is education.

2.6. Language Choice

Fishman (1964, 1965, and 1968) proposed that there are certain domains in which one language variety is preferred over the other based on the situation and the circumstances that accompany that situation. A person may use one form to communicate some information with his friend, for instance, and use another form to communicate the same information with his teacher. Of course, a friend domain is different from a teacher domain in many aspects such as the choice of lexical items and constructions and prestigious styles. In the case of Petra it seems that the choice is determined based on who the speaker is addressing and not on the situation. In prayers Muslims believe that they are between the hands of Allah and therefore CA is used since Allah sent the Quraan using this language variety. When addressing a friend the language variety used is the same despite the different situations; it is NSA.

A mother's language speaking to her son is different from that used when she is speaking to her husband despite the fact that structurally the varieties she might use are similar and differ perhaps only in style. Here again the choices made by Jordanian speakers do not correlate language variety and domain, but use the same word order variety in different styles.

2.6.1 Overt and Covert Prestigious Language

The fact that MSA lacks the feature of being the spoken form in Jordan leaves room for the NSA form to occupy the spoken medium among ordinary people in all aspects of life. A question that may rise in this perspective is what is the overt and covert prestige in Arabic? Are there both? Are they syntactically different? And who uses each in terms of gender?

Based on Trudgill's (1972 and 1974) studies, he observed that in some language situations men in England were likely to use a different pronunciation standard than that of women. In proposing an account Trudgill also discussed the concepts of covert and overt prestige. Overt prestige generally correlates with the form of the language used by persons of education or power and which is based on the standard. Covert prestige, by contrast, reflects the form of speech used by others, but which some social groups may choose to evaluate and which is based on a vernacular model. These differences can be brought about because in his studies men tended to favor the

'covert prestige' vernacular pronunciations as used by the working class and women tended to favor the 'overt prestige' pronunciations. Trudgill stated that there must be hidden values for the use of non-standard speech, in this case emphasizing the appearance of masculinity.

In Jordan it seems that MSA is not considered as prestigious among ordinary people although it might be thus among high officials and religious men. Since the vast majority does not use MSA, it is not the point of concern here. NSA has one ordering, SVO, and thus syntax may not have a role in reflecting overt or covert prestige here; most likely pronunciation and lexical items are the two components that show this phenomenon as a sociolinguistic matter.

NSA is a vernacular that contains many of the standard lexical items that are present in MSA despite the different pronunciations that vary from one location to the other. Many, if not all, of these pronunciations differ from MSA in one way or another. The situation in Jordan seems to lack any indication of overt prestige among both males and females. In fact, males have their own covert prestige and females also do so. Males prefer to use their local vernacular and usually attempt to have high intonations to show that they are aggressive, strong and to draw focus on their manly features. This way, they think, they may attract females' attention and gain other males' respect, the result of power. Many females, on the other hand, have abandoned

their local vernacular and have started to copy Lebanese female-talk which they believe is more delicate and can show their feminine features better. The source for such beliefs lies in the fact that Jordanian women know that Jordanian men, as many other Arab males, admire Lebanese women and show their attraction to Lebanese female-talk. A male who attempts to use the Lebanese way in Jordan is considered to have feminine features which he should not.

Chapter Three

MSA versus NSA

3.1 What has Influenced NSA to become SVO?

The author stated earlier in this thesis that NSA uses SVO ordering, unlike MSA which differs basically in the position of the subject resulting in a VSO format. This section deals with factors that might have influenced this choice of re-ordering.

Some linguists have suggested different hypotheses about the factors that have influenced this choice for NSA. Here, they are divided into three types based on their arguments. The first group imposes the SVO-is-only-a-variant of-VSO hypothesis. This claim is that SVO is only a surface manifestation of an underlyingly VSO form. Among this group is Suleiman. The application of some grammatical rules, which they created, will result in the SVO form. An example of these rules is the *NP-Fronting* rule discussed earlier in chapter one.

The second group considers the contact with Western languages as the main reason for the use of SVO ordering. Among those is Al-Husiri and Versteegh. They compare NSA to English and French and conclude that these languages have had an indirect influence on Arabic. According to this group the first step was: to suggest

that the way Western people think attracted Arabs as being a model to adopt. By adopting Western way of thinking to a considerable degree, Arabs thought that MSA was incapable of reflecting this new way of thinking. The second step was: to suggest that because of the inability of MSA to adopt this new way of thinking, it needed a change or maybe a development to reflect this thinking. Of course, the change can not happen in a short period of time.

The gradual change from VSO to SVO differs from one Arabic-speaking country to another based on the duration of the exposure to Western culture; the longer the exposure is the more the changes are. In support of this hypothesis, one can notice that the unchanged structures of Jordanian NSA are comparable to those of English, i.e. structures that are similar in MSA and English need not change in NSA since the target is an English-like structure. Question formation, for example, is completely comparable to English in MSA. Thus, not only has VSO changed to SVO but also NSA shows *wh-movement* in questions,

(1) matha Hadatha fi al-ʔsemah yawma ʔams?

what happened in the-capital day last

‘What happened in the capital yesterday?’

In NSA the same ordering is used although different lexical items are used,

(2) shu sar fi el-ʔasmeh embareH?

What happened in the-capital yesterday

‘What happened in the capital yesterday?’

In non-interrogative sentences, however, the case is quite different. The following are examples of MSA and NSA respectively:

(3) kharaja al-maliku ela shawarḥ ḥman duuna Haras

went out the-king to streets Amman without guards

‘The king went out in the streets of Amman without guards.’

(4) elmalek Teleḥ fi shawarḥ ḥman mндуun Haras

the-king went out in streets Amman without guards

‘The king went out in Amman streets without guards.’

From the examples in (3) and (4), one can observe the fact that unlike MSA, the structure of NSA resembles the basic order of languages much as English and French with a subject-verb format. However, one can hear sentences like (5) and (6) from time to time, which may support the claim that there is presently a gradual shift taking place in NSA into a structure like English. This shift is gradual because the same sentence can be heard from the same speaker in both ways without necessarily having each of them used to mark a specific setting. Another way to think about such sentences is that since they do not have the same word ordering and are used for similar situation is to say that there are other factors besides syntax that play role in

the timing and situations when they are used¹,

(5) a. Telfet el-shames

rose the sun

'The sun rose.'

b. el-shames Telfet

the-sun rose

'The sun rose.'

(6) a. tkharaj-u el-ʔyal men el-jamʔeh

graduated-pl the-children from the-university

'The children (young men) graduated from the university.'

b. el-ʔyal tkharaj-u me el-jamʔeh

the-children graduated-pl from the-university

'The children (young men) graduated from the university.'

The third group claims that NSA is a reaction to the complexity of the grammar of CA. This reaction has led to singling out one derived form of CA being adopted as the form used by speakers, MSA. Among this group are Sati Al-Husiri and Ahmad Amin. After that first step towards simplification, MSA, as the society

¹ See Ward and Birner. 2001. *Discourse and Information Structure* for further discussion.

developed, was seen as unduly complex because of the difficulty involved in mastering the case markers. As a result, people adopted the SVO ordering, which, in their view, allowed them to eliminate case markers, a source of complexity, and rely on the position of the constituents to tell of their functions. Examples like this are found in English; Lass (1987) sees that the syntax of Old English was much more flexible than modern English because of the declensions of the nouns. The case endings told the function of the word in the sentence, so word order was not very important. But as the stress began to move to the first syllable of words, the endings were not pronounced as clearly and began to diminish from the language. So in modern English, word order is very important because there are no longer declensions to show case distinctions.

As for CA which is mainly found in the Quraan and poetry, sentences may have six different orderings. Any combination of a subject, a verb and an object that may combine to make an acceptable meaningful sentence can be used in a CA sentence provided that case markers are strictly adhered to everywhere. These ordering are VSO, VOS, OVS, OSV, SOV and SVO, which is the current vernacular.

The following table shows the six different orderings possible CA:

kataba 'wrote' *Aliu* 'Ali-subject' *resala-tan* 'a letter- object'

Table 3. Sentence Order in CA.

Order	o	s	o	v	o	s	o
VSO				<i>kataba</i>		<i>Aliu</i>	<i>resala-tan</i>
VOS				<i>kataba</i>	<i>resala-tan</i>	<i>Aliu</i>	
SOV		<i>Aliu</i>	<i>resala-tan</i>	<i>kataba</i>			
SVO		<i>Aliu</i>		<i>kataba</i>	<i>resala-tan</i>		
OVS	<i>resala-tan</i>			<i>kataba</i>		<i>Aliu</i>	
OSV	<i>resala-tan</i>	<i>Aliu</i>		<i>kataba</i>			

Nevertheless, in CA this SVO ordering is very limited and used only for the sake of topicalizing the subject over all other constituents. An example of SVO found in the Quraan is:

(7) *al-raHmanu*¹ *ʔalama* *al-Quraan*²

The-Merciful taught the-Quraan

‘Allah taught the Quraan.’

¹ In Islam Allah has ninety-nine names. *Al-raHman* is one of these names.

² This verse appears like this in the spoken form with a pause after *al-raHman* (The Merciful). In the written form there is a complete stop after this word. Thus, it is unclear whether this verse contains one sentence or two different sentences. Yet, since the Quraan was at first spoken then written, the pause is the only indication that might influence the assumption that they were in fact two sentences.

While the hypotheses of the three groups compete to, it seems that the hypothesis of the first group is weak. It proposes a rule (NP-fronting) that solves a problem, yet, it ignores many other problems. In fact, some of these problems are the result of the application of the rule. They claim that topicalization of an NP enforces the application of the NP-fronting rule, but why was the VSO ordering retained over other orderings as the underlying structure? This is undetermined. Further, NP-fronting may also apply to the NP object. As shown above, there are no limits in CA as to which constituent of the sentence can be topicalized. Therefore, the sentence may be recognized as OVS or VOS, which are not present in NSA. This indicates that there must be another motivation for the current SVO ordering other than NP-fronting for topic formation. For this reason the NP-argument seems not to be completely convincing.

The argument of the second group seems perhaps more persuasive than the former in that it is well known that interaction between languages may influence some change or development in one of them or maybe both. However, the way people think may reflect their behavior as individuals and a society, but how would it influence language? And why should Western thought require SVO structure?

It is evident that Western and European cultures and ways of thinking are not necessarily similar in all countries. Thus, how can one assume that one culture is

preferred over the other and then influences the adoption of the grammatical structure of the language of that culture? Add to this that most scholars believe that syntactic or structural borrowing requires extensive long term contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). The argument of this group thus also seems unconvincing. English and French are the languages most widely used by second-language speakers. This is because of economic and political influences of the English- and French-speaking world and the need to interact with these worlds. English, of course, occupies the first position in popularity in Jordanian society, for it is taught in schools from the age of six until the age of eighteen. English is a SVO language that has neither inflections nor case markers. NSA is, in a great part, similar to English in its grammar. In Petra, people use English widely. It is their main means of interaction with tourists from all around the world. Many people speak it, although not fluently, without having received education in it. It is a matter of survival for them, for most people work in the tourism sector and English is a must. Even among themselves, people sometimes speak English to show off and sometimes use English words intentionally in Arabic sentences. This has become a widespread practice and most of the time it is understood by almost all people. The following are examples that people use:

(8) el geim over

the game over

'The game is over.'

(9) el busnes tafban

the business tired

'The business is weak.'

While this may look like a literal translation of Arabic into English because of the lexical borrowings the sentences have, however, it may have some influence on the overall performance by people. However, the claim that Arabic has changed its structure as a result of language contact is questionable. In MSA, there are many cases of adopted English lexical items. As a new word is invented in English, Arabic either finds an equivalent or borrows the word as it is, and this is similar to what happens in NSA. Add to this fact is that English is easily translatable to Arabic and vice versa. To some extent translation is a matter of reordering words in the sentence in a way that does not violate the grammatical rules of the other language, so the fact that translation is possible between the two arguments indicates that no grammatical changes are required to communicate the same ideas. Add to this that the use of English in Arab countries is mostly instrumental and contact is not based on large numbers of English or French speakers in a dominant social position. Therefore, there must be a better reason that influenced the use of SVO in NSA because structure change from this source seems unlikely.

The argument of the third group of scholars seems the most likely one. CA is morphologically complicated. Historical change in language often occurs because of universal unmarking. If little information is lost while structure can be simplified the change can occur. NSA seems less marked as a means of communication. It requires less linguistic complexity than a scrambled sentence that requires inflections and case markers. NSA could be the easiest alternative available. There is no need to wait until the speaker ends his/her sentence in order to distinguish the subject from the object. The first NP is the subject, there is no other possibility, and the last NP is the object unless a preposition precedes it. This argument is supported by the language universals put forward by Greenberg in 1963. There are two or more varieties of the language and each is used in a context different from the other. This is well manifested in his sixth universal in which he states that each VSO language has SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order. This is true in Arabic as it has six different orderings the basic and most dominant order is VSO and currently there is SVO as an alternative. Nevertheless, as demonstrated all through this paper, in the Arabic-speaking context each form has its unique use. Thus, it would be argued that this sixth universal of Greenberg brings the term "diglossia" back to attention. While Greenberg did not make any sociolinguistic claim, it seems that his discovery well supports the hypothesis that syntactic diglossia is present in Arabic-speaking

countries in terms of word order.

To sum up, CA requires a complicated grammatical system using much morphology to mark actants and thus allows free word ordering. In fact, this can be more helpful than having only one ordering. In other words, more case marking allows greater freedom of word order. VSO and SVO (to a limited extent) are both found in CA, yet VSO is the form used mainly. In CA both orderings use case markers. In MSA today, by contrast VSO ordering continues to use case markers while SVO does not. Thus, one can predict that it is case markers that are, in fact, the main reason for complexity. Once the ordering is fixed, there is no need to use case markers since the position of the NPs in relation to the verb determines their functions. Thus, information structure is aligned with constituent structure.

As for the reasons that might have influenced the adoption of SVO in NSA, it could be any or a combination of all the factors previously mentioned. The restrictions that have prevented vernacular studies make it almost impossible to track their development and eventually set them up to different assumptions and hypotheses, none of which consequently can find a ground to be based on. Thus at this point in the research the author must leave this question without a conclusive answer.

3.2 Characteristics of NSA Grammar As Compared to MSA

Grammar features are one of the main properties distinguishing one language from another. Grammar is the structural relationship among lexical items. NSA like all natural languages must have a grammar; otherwise, it will become impossible for its speakers to exchange meaningful sentences and discourses and their performance would be influenced in turn. The grammar of NSA has not been studied or taught for reasons explained earlier in this thesis.

However, because of the popularity of MSA, people think that using NSA is like using MSA without grammar. They think that *efraab* 'the identification of the functions of words' is only set for MSA and not for NSA. The following example shows how a sentence would be used in MSA, as represented in *efraab*:

- (10) saq-a Ali-u al-syarat-a
 drove Ali-s the-car-o
 'Ali Drove the car.'

In *al-efraab*, we say *saq* 'drove' is a verb in the past and it is marked with *-a*¹ to indicate tense. *Ali* is the subject and its marker is *-u*. *al-sayara* 'the car' is the object

¹ All past tense verb finals are marked with the suffix *-a*. The use of any other marker with past tense verbs will result in an ungrammatical sentence.

and is marked with *-a*. One can notice that both the verb and the object are marked with a marker with the same phonological form in this sentence. It is the speaker's knowledge about lexical categories and subcategories that determines that one word is a verb and another is an object. Now compare the NSA form of this sentence:

(11) Ali sag el-sayarah

Ali drove the-car

'Ali drove the car.'

In this sentence, although one cannot find formal *efraab* for it, we may say that *Ali* is the subject, *sag* 'drove' is the verb and *el-sayarah* 'the car' is the object even though there are no case markers. (The subject is not topicalized here.) It seems that NSA is less complicated than MSA in form, yet, it seems more complicated in that it follows only one rigid order. In the case of NSA one bases his/her *efraab* on the position of the word instead of case markers as in MSA.

One may ask why could it not be the case that the position of a word in MSA would determine the function? The answer to this question lies in the fact that MSA is part of a system that allows scrambling of constituents (see table 3); therefore the determination of the function of the constituents must be based on case markers, not on position, because sometimes literary necessity may require the use of another ordering even in MSA. NSA, on the other hand, allows less scrambling of constituents

and does not use case markers and thus permits less freedom for the position of the words if their syntactic function is to be clear. There are no orderings in Jordanian NSA other than SVO, but sometimes when the subject is dropped, one can assume that there is another form allowed in NSA, VO. V in this case carries an inflection that indicates the gender and number of the NP-subject. The only way to know the subject explicitly is from context. While this feature is also allowed in MSA, the only way to know which form, vernacular or standard, is used is through the pronunciation and lexical items used.

3.2.1 Topicalization

The importance of case markers in CA comes from the fact that it allows different orderings for the same sentence. These orderings, if not for emphasis, have no benefit. Thus, CA would seem to serve emphasis the best because it allows more options than NSA.

Jordanian NSA, on the other hand, has its own way of emphasizing particular constituents, the use of passive sentences. Although this process is not specific to NSA as opposed to CA, it is the only process used in NSA. The following example is from NSA (word in Focus is underlined):

(12) el-bab inkasar

the-door break.pass

'The door was broken down.' / 'Someone broke the door.'

The tense used in this example in (12) is past. The word *inkasar* 'break.past.pass' carries agreement, tense, and passive features. However, when the present progressive tense is used instead of past, a new word is introduced, and it carries the gender agreement and tense features while the verb still carries the passive feature along with gender agreement. For example,

- (13) el-bab gaƒid ytkassar
 the-door prog.present break.pass (m)

'The door is being broken.' / 'The door is breaking.'

- (14) el-bent gaƒdeh tetdarras (f)
 the-girl prog.present teach.pass

'The girl is being taught.'

This construction is close to another one that is used to reflect present progressive sentences that are not passive. The passive feature, which is simply an inflection, does not appear in this case,

- (15) el-bent gaƒdeh tedrus
 the-girl busy.doing study (f)

'The girl is studying.'

As mentioned earlier, the word *gaƒid/gaƒdeh* functions like the English auxiliary 'be'.

This word is present in MSA as a verb that means 'to sit' but it does not function there as an auxiliary (see discussion in pages 45 and 46).

3.2.2 Auxiliary System

MSA has many auxiliaries that function like comparable English auxiliaries including *kan* 'was', *sawfa* 'will' (which precedes an infinitive verb), *yajeb* 'must' (which precedes a particle that itself precedes an infinitive verb), and many others.

The following sentences are examples found in MSA:

(16) *kan-a al-walad-u yarkudh-u*

was-past the-boy-s run-present

'The boy was running.'

(17) *sawfa yarkudh-u al-walad-u*

will run-present the-boy-s

'The boy will run.'

(18) *yajebu an yarkudha al-walad-u*

must Particle run the-boy-s

'The boy must run.'

Some negation words in MSA are also used as auxiliaries that are comparable to English auxiliaries, including *lam* 'did not' and *lan* 'will not'. Besides negation, these words carry tense and require a following infinitive verb:

(19) lam yarkudh al-walad

not.past run the-boy

'The boy did not run.'

(20) lan yarkudh al-walad

not.future run the-boy

'The boy will not run.'

Now consider NSA. In NSA some new auxiliaries have been created and have found their way into the language besides *kan* 'was', such as *raH* 'will' and *lazem* 'must':

(21) el-walad kan yurkudh

the-boy was run

'The boy was running.'

(22) el-walad raH yurkudh

the-boy will run

'The boy will run.'

(23) el-walad lazem yurkudh

the-boy must run

'The boy must run.'

As for *lan* and *lam*, they are not found in NSA, *ma* replaces both of them provided that *raH* follows it to represent *lan*. The following are examples:

(24) el-walad ma raH yurkudh

the-boy not will run

'The boy will not run.'

(25) el-walad ma lazem yurkudh

the-boy not must run

'The boy must not run.'

The positing of *ma* before the auxiliary in examples (24) and (25) is obligatory. If *ma* occurs after *raH*, the meaning of the auxiliary and the negation will be different from that in (24) although it is the same morpheme. *ma* would still express negation to indicate that the action, in fact, did not happen, for example,

(26) el-walad raH ma yurkudh

the-boy was.about.to run

'The boy was about to run.' (He did not and will not perform the action.)

If *ma* occurs after *lazem*, there will also be difference in meaning from that in (25). In (25) the boy is not running and should not run in the future while in (27) the boy may be running while he should not.

(27) el-walad lazem ma yurkudh

the-boy must not run

'The boy must not be running.' (He is running while he should not)

3.2.3 Case Markers

Case markers are the most distinctive feature of MSA. They appear in the words as suffixes and/or inflections. Any violation in their use may disturb the grammaticality of the sentence and may result in misunderstanding the intended meaning of the sentence. Examples of such cases are discussed in earlier chapters. In this section focus will be on the use of case markers in NSA.

Although case markers that appear in the form of inflection as the final letter of the word to distinguish subjects from objects are no longer present in NSA, other case markers such as suffixes are still in use. *-in* is the most common suffix used in NSA, but its use is different from that in MSA. In MSA, this suffix marks a plural masculine NP that falls either in the object position or within PP:

(28) shahad-a al-walad-u al-mudares-in
 saw-past the-boy-s the-teachers-pl.(m).

‘The boy saw the teachers.’

(29) thahab-a al-walad-u ela al-mudares-in
 went-past the-boy-s to the-teachers-pl.(m).

‘The boy went to the teachers.’

Any misuse of this suffix, like using it in the wrong place or replacing it with the plural-masculine subject NP *-un*, will result in ungrammatical sentences,

(30)* shahad-a al-walad-u almudares-un
 saw-past the-boy-s the-teachers-pl.(m).s

'The boy saw the teachers.'

(31)* thahab-a al-walad-u ela al-mudares-un
 went-past the-boy-s to the-teachers-pl.(m).s

'The boy went to the teachers.'

(32)* shahad-a almudares-in al-walad-a
 saw-past the-teachers-pl.(m).o the-boy-o

'The teachers saw the boy.'

When the plural NP falls in the subject position in MSA, the suffix *-un* must be used:

(33) shahada almudares-un al-walad-a
 saw the-teachers the-boy

'The teachers saw the boy.'

By contrast, in NSA, the suffix *-in* is still used to indicate plurality but not to express syntactic function; *-un* is no longer present and *-in* is used in all the cases of plural either as the subject, object or within PP function and the sentence will be fully acceptable and understood:

(34) el-mʔalm-in shafu el-walad
 the-teachers-pl saw the-boy

'The teachers saw the boy'

(35) el-walad shaf el-mʔalm-in

the-boy saw the-teachers-pl

'The boy saw the teachers.'

(36) raH el-walad ʔala el-mʔalm-in

went the-boy to the-teachers-pl

'The boy went to the teachers.'

The listener to NSA would assume that despite the fact that it is different from MSA, it still has features used the same way as those in MSA. Their assumption can be supported to a certain extent because there are many words that are phonologically similar. Yet, it is evident that the use of suffixes in NSA is quite different than in MSA as this example shows. In MSA they mark syntactic function, while in NSA they only mark plurality.

3.2.4 Newspaper and TV Forms

The language of official media is mainly MSA, except for the headlines of the news either spoken or written. Headlines appear usually as SVO in form, while the main news appears as VSO. Thus, headlines are syntactically comparable to NSA except lexically. In fact, vernacular lexical items do not appear in the media at all except in comics, which are intended to make people laugh, and in local spoken

entertainment. While those comics that treat a political question use MSA to communicate ideas, most comics in Jordanian newspapers do not use any language at all, only the drawing itself appears.

The use of SVO as headlines may be justified in different ways. First, it could be the result of emphasis, yet could it be the case that the subject is in focus all the time? How then would the news focus the verb? In fact reporters with the flexibility of Arabic can focus the verb yet use SVO. However, they do so by changing the verb into a noun, for example:

(37) *qatala al-thuḥban walad-ain*

killed the-snake boys -dual

'The snake killed two boys.'

The verb *qatala* 'killed' can be changed into a noun called in Arabic *masdar* 'gerund'.

Therefore, the new headline sentence will be,

(38) *maqtal walad-ain bethḥban*

killing boys-dual with-snake

'Snake kills two boys.'

The second justification for the use of SVO in headlines assumes that the use of the syntactic construction of NSA may have a stronger impact on the hearer or reader in a way that attracts him/her to listen or read more. The striking fact in the

language of the media is that it is a mixture of the syntax of MSA and NSA but uses only MSA vocabulary.

Nevertheless, the two hypotheses set forth here are weak and cannot be strongly defended. It remains unclear to the author what the purposes and benefits of the use of SVO would be if it were thus. Blair 2000 assumed that newspapers use some special language, and this may turn out to be convincing if we consider only the headlines, but as for news stories themselves, they remain VSO.

While news occupies a small portion of the programming found on Jordanian Television, the remaining programs use for the most part Jordanian vernacular except for some entertainment series from Egypt and Syria which use their own vernaculars. The author has noticed that in some educational programs where MSA is a must, most presenters read from a written source and do not speak spontaneously. This is also the case in the news summary, where presenters read from a screen that is set in front of them. They might be doing this to insure that the news is complete and has no errors, but on the other hand, when there is live coverage of an event, language mistakes find their way into the news reports. The following sentence is rendered in MSA, newspaper language and NSA respectively, and it shows the basic differences that have occurred in the production of the sentence:

(39)

a. tulghi al-Hukumat-u al-qanun-a al-lathi la yakhdimu masaleHa al-ʕamah
cancel the-government-s the-law-o which not serve benefit the-people

b. al-Hukumah tulghi al-qanun al-lathi la yakhdim masaleH al-ʕamah
the-government cancel the-law which not serve benefit the-people

c. el-Hukumah btulghi el-qanun el-li ma bekhdim masaleh el-nas
the-government cancel the-law which not serve benefit the-people

‘The government cancels laws that do not serve people.’

In the previous example, the MSA sentence (a) is VSO, the newspaper headline sentence (b) and the NSA sentence (c) are SVO. Other than the ordering of constituents, (a) and (b) differ in the use of case markers; they appear in (a) but does not appear in (b) although both sentences share the same lexical items. (b) and (c) share the structure but differ in some lexical items. (a) and (c) seem not to share anything except for some of the lexical items. What this example shows is that newspaper headline language is a mixture of MSA and NSA. It uses the lexical items of MSA but neglects the structure.

3.2.5 Articles

al- ‘the’ is probably the only article used in MSA. It can be attached to NPs and adjectives. In NSA this article is *el-*. There are no special cases where this article

differs in use from that of MSA.

The author stated earlier that there are no indefinite articles in MSA and that the only way to know that an NP is indefinite is by observing the absence of the definite article *el-*. However, in NSA in Petra there is a word that functions like an indefinite article, but besides carrying the meaning of the indefinite, it also shows the speaker's disregard for the NP that follows it. This word is *khalagat* 'a/an'. Elderly people are the ones who mainly use it and it is used only with singular countable nouns. The following are examples:

(40) *el-walad ishtara-l-uh khalagat banTalun*

the-boy bought-for-himself indefinite trousers

'The boy bought himself a pair of trousers.' (i.e. the trousers are not highly valued)

(41) *jab khlagat waragah*

brought a paper

'He brought a sheet of paper.'

3.2.6 The Cardinal Numeral System

MSA has a complex numeral system as discussed in chapter one. In this section focus will be on the NSA numeral system. In contrast with MSA, NSA exhibits a cognitively simpler numeral system. Besides the disappearance of the case-marker endings that characterize MSA, NSA is free of gender agreement and disagreement

with numerals, which is the most problematic issue in MSA. In addition, numbers standing for 'one' and 'two' have greatly changed. The following chart shows MSA and NSA:

Table 4. The cardinal numerals in MSA and NSA.

MSA	Jordanian NSA
<i>waHid</i> 'one' (m)	<i>waHad</i> 'one' (m)
<i>waHidah</i> 'one' (f)	<i>weHdeh</i> 'one' (f)
<i>iHda-wa-fishrun</i> 'twenty-one'	<i>waHad w-fishrin</i> 'twenty-one'
<i>ithnan</i> 'two' (m) subject	<i>thnein</i> 'two' (m)
<i>ithnatan</i> 'two' (f) subject	<i>thentin</i> 'two' (f)
<i>ithnayn</i> 'two' (m) object	
<i>ithnatayn</i> 'two' (m) object	

The chart shows that NSA has fewer options than MSA. The complexity of the MSA form basically lies in the case markers that distinguish the function of the number as subject in the sentence or as object while in NSA there is only one single form used for all the cases. As for the numbers from 'three' up to 'ten', they follow a similar process in all of them: the number, then the noun with no regard to gender, for example:

(42) khams zlam

five men

'Five men.'

(43) khams neswan

five women

'Five women.'

By contrast in MSA, these higher numbers should disagree with the nouns in gender.

3.3 Sentences without an Overt Subject

Arabic is a *pro*-drop language where one commonly finds either a null subject or a null object. Omitted items are not difficult for native speakers to recover because Arabic is an inflectional language and native speakers can determine the reference of that null form. The dilemma that reveals itself here is to determine the ordering of such sentences: is it VSO or SVO? Indeed, without the presence of clause-level subject and object the ordering cannot be determined. Still, to tell that a sentence is vernacular or standard is not problematic since the pronunciation of words and the use of vernacular lexical items will decide. Consider the following example in MSA:

(44) akhth-a-hum ela al-madrasah

Took-he-them to the- school

'He took them to the school.'

In this example the root verb is *akhath* 'took', the *-a* is the inflection that would indicate the subject and *-hum* is the pronoun that functions as the object. In NSA the sentence is:

(45) *akhth-hum* *ʃala* *el-madrasah*

Took-them on the- school

'He took them to the school.'

The inflection that identified the subject in (44) is not present in (45). What can be concluded from this is that even though the morphological marking is lacking, the form of language being used is clear from the vocabulary.

3.4 Conclusion

There are many ways in which the change from VSO to SVO can be motivated. However, the lack of solid evidence makes support any of the proposed hypotheses impossible. There are changes that have taken place over a period of time and may be in progress currently. Making predictions about how the language will end up is not possible because circumstances may change anytime without notice. This is probably what has happened in the past; because of the circumstances Arabs witnessed, the language changed and became as it is today.

It seems that the past prohibition of studying NSA forms made people hold the belief that it has no grammar. Case markers seem to exemplify their notion of

grammar. When TV presenters use SVO structures, it would seem to them that what is being used is nevertheless MSA because presenters still use case markers and have to be able to use them perfectly in order to be hired. Even presenters while presenting the news feel that using VSO is problematic and intend to simplify their structure in a special way; one way of simplifying structure would be to repeat the verb twice in the same sentence to make sure that the listener does not miss what the verb was, using a form of their creation, VSVO. For example,

- (46) *Haqaqat* al-lajnat-u al-munbatheqatu ʕan majlesi al-Twa'efi
 achieved the-committee-s coming.out from councils the-tribes
 al-badaweyati fe al-urduni lel-ʕam-i al-maunsaremi *Haqaqat*
 the-bedouin in the-Jordan for.the-year the-past achieved
 najaH-an bahiran
 success-o distinguished

'The Bedouin council achieved distinguished success last year.'

Here the verb *haqaqat* appears twice. Certainly, the listener may forget what the verb is after such a long subject, thus repetition in this example is for the sake of recovering short-term memory lapses and not for emphasis. This and many other cases are found in the news. The use of SVO is becoming more common as a cognitively simpler encoding; it is not imitation or adoption of other cultures. SVO

seems simpler than VSO in communicating sentences that have long subjects and it seems that TV presenters are trying to compromise and use both forms, NSA and MSA, to satisfy both the listener and their office.

Chapter Four

X-Bar Application: MSA versus NSA

4.1 Introduction

X-Bar is a theory that claims that the phrase structure rules of all languages are similar, although there can be differences in the ordering of constituents in different languages. Here in this chapter the author will attempt to show the differences between MSA and NSA based on the movement of the constituents in each form and will attempt to see if there is any syntactic justification for the change to SVO ordering in NSA.

4.2 Basic Assumptions of X-bar Theory

X-bar theory is the module of the grammar that regulates constituent structure. The main purpose is characterizing a possible syntactic configuration. In interaction with the other principles of the grammar, X-bar theory determines structural representations of the sentence. X-Bar theory makes use of four major constituents: the head, the specifier, the complement, and the adjunct. It proposes rules that show the relations between constituents. These rules are:

- (1) $XP \rightarrow \text{Specifier } X'$

$X' \rightarrow X' ZP$ (adjuncts)

$X' \rightarrow X YP$ (complements)

With these rules, X-bar syntax accounts for the phrase structure of most languages. However, some languages are problematic because of the order of their constituents, such as VSO languages. These languages are called “nonconfigurational” because there is no evidence that the analysis of these languages is based on structural configuration. (Chomsky 1982)

In the trees generated by these rules, the top node is known as the mother, with two daughters that are introduced by the right side of the phrase structure rule. The daughter nodes at the same level are called sisters. The following tree shows these relationships:

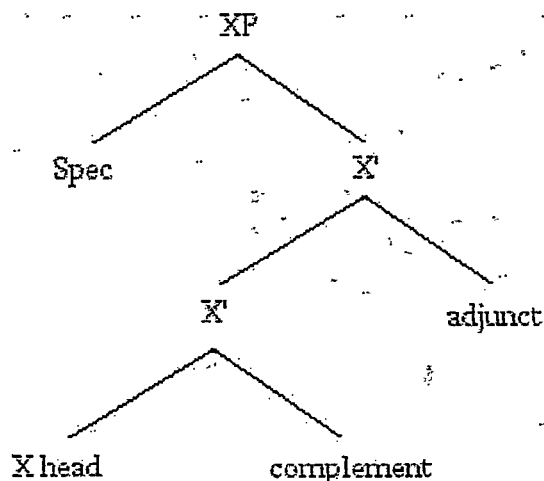


Figure 4. Basic X-bar Structure.

MSA as a VSO language is problematic for X-bar theory because the verb and

its complement NP are not adjacent, i.e. the subject intervenes between the verb and the object, thus, X-bar theory is violated because the complement to the lexical V head is not explicitly characterized as being the sister to V (Burquest, 2000), while NSA as SVO may have fewer problems. Yet, the author here will adopt the proposal by Chomsky and Lasnik (1991) that the D-structure is approximately the same for all languages, a hypothesis which deals with all languages, including nonconfigurational ones. This choice is used in the hope that the motivations for the ordering of MSA and NSA become distinct.

4.3 Chomsky and Lasnik's Proposal for Nonconfigurational Languages

This proposal treats all languages as having approximately the same D-Structure in terms of the relationships between the constituents (specifiers, heads, complements, and adjuncts) but not the specific constituent ordering. It also assumes that the level of representation which is input to the semantic component (Logical Form) is the same for all languages. It assumes that in a derivation the constituents are raised into a higher position in the phrase marker tree to receive or check features of tense and agreement. This checking process of constituent-raising takes place in the S-Structure, and it is here that differences in word order are accounted for. After the necessary movements have taken place to account for the S-Structure orderings, other movements take place in the Logical Form so that all languages have the same Logical

Form as input to the semantic component for comparable sentences. This proposal differs from the traditional X-bar account (e.g. Jackendoff 1974 and 1977) in the way phrase trees are drawn, for example, IP is split into AGRs and AGRo¹ in order to separate raising processes for NP into subject and object types. Splitting the INFL into separate functional heads was argued by Pollock in 1989. In addition, Following the Subject-in-VP hypothesis² (Sportiche 1988 in Sportiche 1998), it can be proposed that at the D Structure NP subjects are in [Spec, VP] in every language. In a derivation, then, rules of Verb-Raising, Subject-Raising, and Object-Raising, apply to yield the appropriate surface form, with languages differing as to which specific rules apply at S-Structure and which are left to apply at Logical Form. It is assumed that constituents must be motivated to move, for example, verbs may be motivated to move in order to check or receive tense and agreement features. The following phrase marker trees explain how this proposal works:

¹ See Haegeman 1994 (The Split-INFL Hypothesis) P. 592

²See also Haegeman 1994: 353 for further discussion.

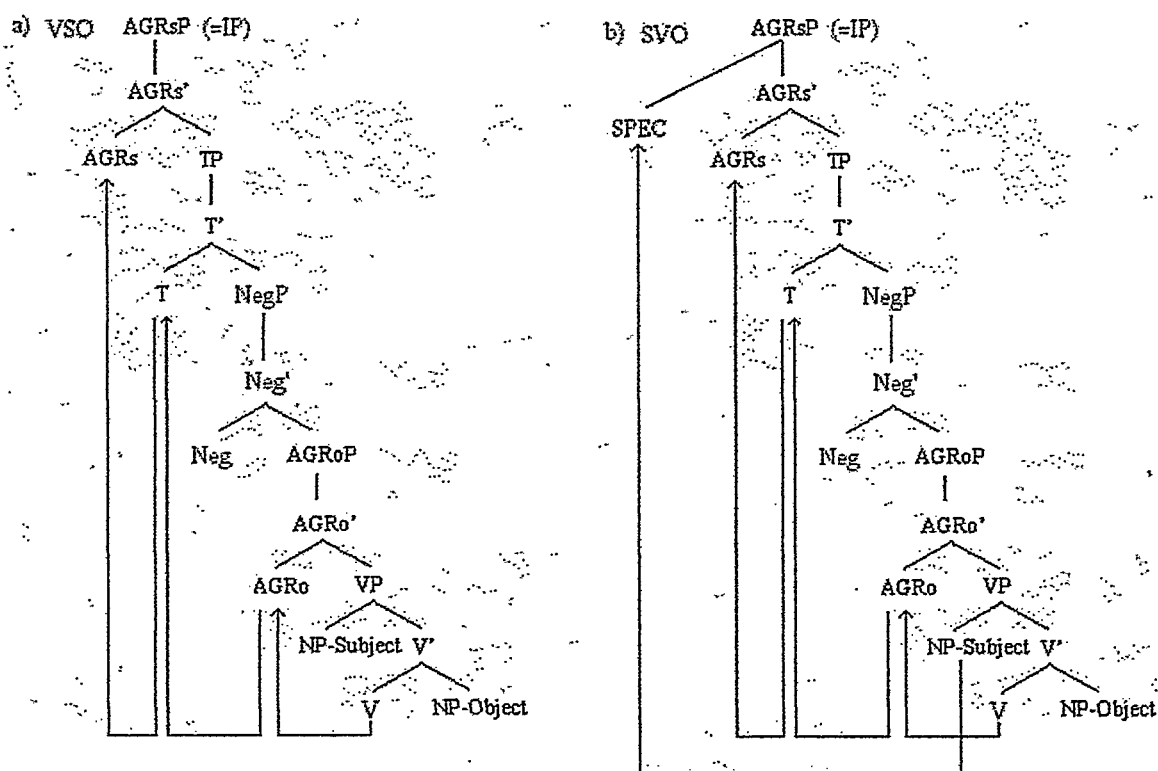


Figure 5. Phrase Marker Trees Representing VSO and SVO Languages.

Here in the VSO language the verb is raised at S-Structure with Subject-Raising and Object-Raising left to Logical Form. In the SVO language, by contrast, Subject-Raising occurs also at S-structure leaving only Object-Raising to Logical Form. The VSO vs. SVO surface ordering contrasts results.

In the Minimalist Program the same hypotheses are used, with the additional hypothesis that movement is motivated in terms of strong and weak features carried by the various nodes in the tree. The hypothesis is that strong features must be obliterated at S-Structure and weak features may remain. Under this hypothesis it is assumed that in the VSO language in (a) which represents MSA there are strong V

features on AGR and T whereas there are weak N features on AGR and T. Therefore, V moves and checks AGR and T and lands on AGRs. Other movement takes place in the Logical Form. In the same way, in the SVO language in (b) which represents NSA there are strong N features on T and AGR has weak N features. This explains NP-subject movement to [Spec, AGRsP] at S-Structure. The NP-subject moves to that position because it is forced to do so to obliterate the strong N features.

In both languages constituents are not allowed to move in the S-structure unless there is a motivation for this movement.

4.4 MSA

4.4.1 Constituent Order

The following are the informal rules for MSA:

1. NP-subject must follow V.
2. NP-object must follow V.
3. MSA can be considered a head-first language because V precedes NP object, despite the fact that the ordering of the NPs within the clause must be stated explicitly.
4. NP follows P in PP, thus PP head-first.

4.4.2 Tentative List of Simple Clauses

The following clauses exemplify the sets of structures that are found in MSA:

(2) katab Ahmad qissah

wrote Ahmad story

'Ahmad wrote a story.'

(3) nahaq al-Hemar

Brayed the-donkey

'The donkey brayed.'

(4) yaqtareb al-jayesh besurfah

approach the-army with.fast.adv

'The army is approaching fast.'

(5) banat al-dawla manazel le al-foqra'

built the-government houses for the-poor

'The government built houses for the poor.'

(6) al-jaw barid

the-weather cold

'The weather is cold.'

(7) Mohammad Tabib

Mohammad physician

'Mohammad is a physician.'

(8) al-walad fi al-madrassah

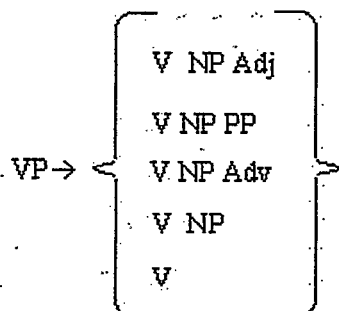
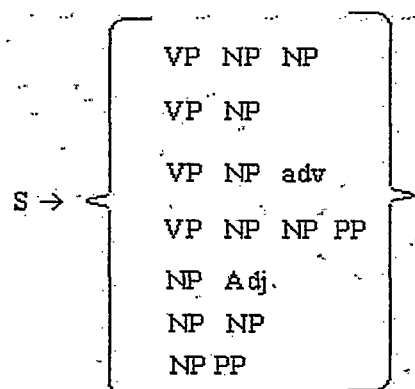
the-boy in the-school

'The boy is at school.'

4.4.3 Surface Structure Rules

The following rules summarize the structures exemplified above:

(9)



4.4.4 Basic Clause Constituents

Using the traditional notational conventions, the rules are:

(10) $S \rightarrow (VP) \ NP \ (NP) \ (PP)$

(11) $VP \rightarrow V \ (PP)$

(12) $PP \rightarrow P \ NP$

V appears in (10) as the first constituent of the sentence. NP-subject appears after the

verb if the verb is used. These structures in (10) show three sentence types among which two structures do not have an explicit verb. These types of sentences are called *jumal ismiyah* 'nominal sentences' and they are nevertheless complete sentences. They must contain an NP as sentence-first constituent and PP, NP or an AP that is predicated of that first NP.

4.4.5 NP Subject Agreement

MSA, being an inflectional language, shows a great deal of variety of NP subject agreement. In general the subject and verb do not necessarily need to agree in number but must agree in gender, for example,

(13) thahab al-walad

went the-boy

'The boy went.'

(14) thahab al-'awlad

went the-boys

'The boys went.'

(15) thahabat al-bent

went the-girl

'The girl went.'

(16) thahabat al-banat

went the-girls

'The girls went.'

Here the suffix *-at* at the verb indicates agreement with a feminine subject, its absence indicate agreement with a masculine subject. If a pronoun is used instead of the noun, number-agreement is adhered to as well,

(17) thahabu hum

went-pl they(m)

'They went.'

(18) thahabn hun

went-pl they(f)

'They went.'

Here the *-u* and *-n* show both number and gender agreement with the plural pronominal subject.

4.4.6 Other Agreement

Adjectives, anywhere in the sentence, agree most of the time with the NP in subject position and with NP in PP in number and essentially in gender, but this cannot be generalized to cover all the cases in MSA. The following are examples of adjective agreement:

(19) thahab al-musafarun wa hum Hazenun

went the-deportees and they sad

‘The deportees went and they were sad.’

(20) *estamar al-musafarun mashian ela al-Ta’erat al-jahezat*

continued the-deportees walking to the-planes the-ready

‘The deportees continued walking to the ready planes.’

The adjective in (20) agrees with the NP within the PP and not with the NP-subject.

MSA has many different types of plurals; some of these types require agreement while some other types do not. These plurals that end with suffixes like *-at* ‘plural feminine in subject and object position’, *-un* ‘plural masculine subject position’ and *-in* ‘plural masculine object position’ require such agreement. Add to this, that Arabic has a certain plural form for groups of two people called ‘dual’, for example:

(21) *al-mudares-un nashitun*

the-teachers-pl.(m) active

‘The teachers are active.’

(22) *al-mudares-aan nashitaan*

the-teachers-(m).dual active.dual

‘The two teachers are active.’

(23) *al-mudares-at nashitat*

the-teachers-pl.(f) active

'The teachers are active.'

(24) al-mudares-taan nashitataan

the-teachers-(f).dual active

'The two teachers are active.'

NP that occurs in a complement agrees with the NP subject in number and gender.

4.4.7 Transformational Rules

Although it is expected that the specifier-head agreement holding between subject and verb, and the agreement holding between a noun and a modifying adjective are the result of requirements of Universal Grammar, it is still helpful to record the details found in a particular language. The following are the rules of MSA,

(25) Subject-verb agreement (obligatory)

SD:	[X	NP	INFL	Y]	IP
			[αgender]				
		1	2	3	4		
SC:		1	2	3	4		
				[αgender]			

(26) Subject-adjective agreement (obligatory)

SD:	[NP	AdjP]	IP/NP
		[αgender]			
		[αplural]			
		1	2		
SC:		1	2		
			[αgender]		
			[αplural]		

4.4.8 Phrase Marker Trees

As discussed above, following Chomsky and Lasnik's proposal, it may be proposed that at the D-Structure all languages are alike as regards the relationships holding between verbs and their arguments.. For a VSO language like MSA, Verb-Raising applies at S-Structure:

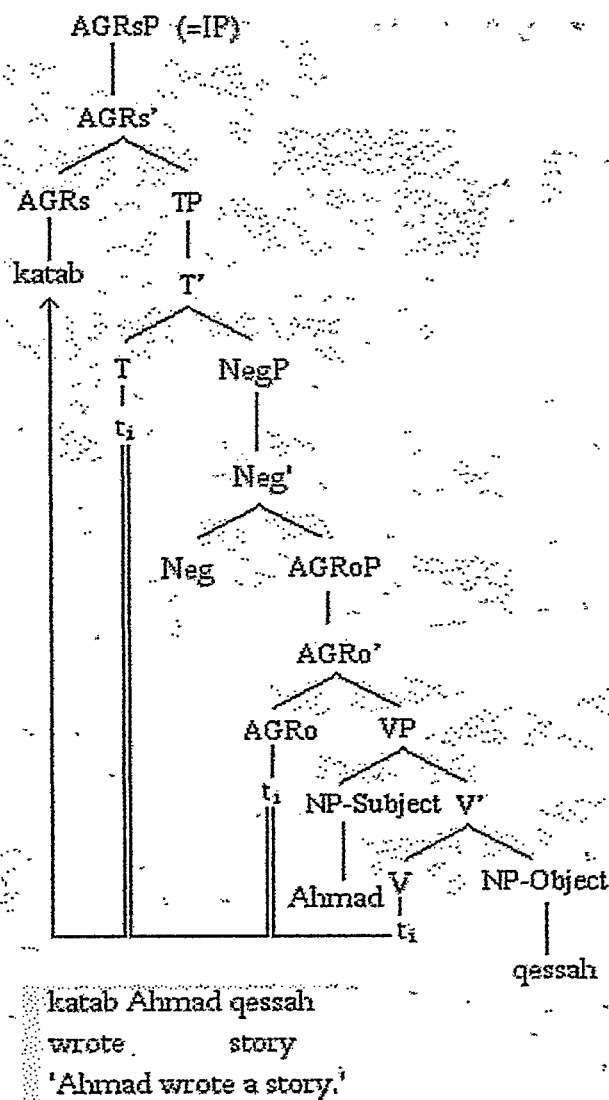


Figure 6. Phrase Marker Tree Showing Verb-Raising in MSA

The phrase tree shows the Verb-Raising movement that takes place in the S-Structure. The movement leaves traces t_i behind. The Subject- and Object-Raising is left to the Logical Form. The movement of the verb is motivated in that the verb moves to a higher position to receive or check agreement. The verb is raised leaving a trace to a higher position AGRo but it moves again leaving a new trace to T in order to check its tense. The hypothesis is that the verb is motivated to move to AGRs to ensure that the agreement with the subject is not violated. Yet, in the Minimalist Program it is proposed that tense features are strong for the verb which motivates it to move in the first place to check the nodes that carry these features. Some verbs do not agree with their NP subjects and this can be interpreted as supportive of the hypothesis that Tense and not Agreement is the basic motivation for V movement.

4.5 NSA

4.5.1 Constituent Order

Consider now comparable structures in NSA. The following are the informal rules for NSA:

1. NP-subject must precede V.
2. NP-object must follow V.
3. NSA is a head-first language. (verbs precede their complements)
4. NP follows P in PP, thus PP is head-first

4.5.2 Tentative List of Basic Clauses

The following clauses exemplify the sets of structures that are found in NSA:

(27) Ahmad 'alaf gesah

Ahmad wrote story

'Ahmad wrote a story.'

(28) el-Himar naahag

the-donkey brayed

'The donkey brayed.'

(29) el-jeish gafed iygareb bsurfah

the-army is approaching quickly

'The army is approaching fast.'

(30) el-dawlah banat beout la-l fogra

the-government built houses for-the poor

'The government built houses for the poor.'

(31) el-jaw msgef

the-whether cold

'The whether is cold.'

(32) Mohammad baʔduh Taleb

Mohammad still student

'Mohammad is a student.'

(33) el-walad fe el-madrasah

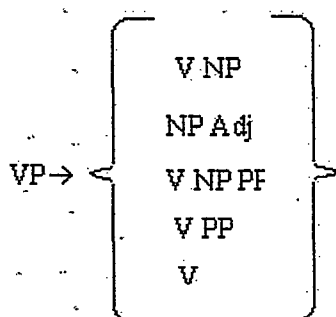
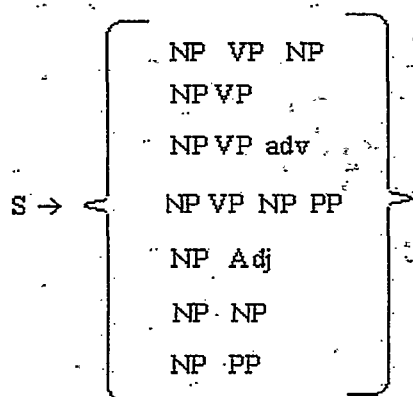
the-boy at the-school

'The boy is at school.'

4.5.3 Surface Structure Rules

The following rules summarize the structures exemplified above:

(34)



4.5.4 Basic Clause Constituents

Using the traditional notational convention, the rules are:

(35) S → NP {(Aux) VP/ NP}

(36) VP → V (NP) (PP)

(37) PP → P NP

4.5.5 NP subject agreement

NSA, in contrast with MSA, requires agreement in both gender and number in all the cases,

(38) el-walad raaH

the-boy went

'The boy went.'

(39) el-fyal raaH-u

the-boys went-pl.(m)

'The boys went.'

(40) el-bent raaH-at

the-girl went-(f)

'The girl went.'

(41) el-banaat raaHan

the-girls went-pl.(f)

'The girls went.'

4.5.6 Other Agreement

Adjective agree with NP-subject anywhere in the sentence except with NP within PP because in this case the adjective should agree with that NP. Agreement includes gender and number, for example,

(42) el-khaleji-yin megrsh-in la'anuh fend-hum batrol
 the-Arab.gulf.citizens-(m)-pl rich-(m)-pl because have-they oil

'The citizens of the Arab gulf are rich because they have oil.'

(43) el-saf-at el-li jab-u-hin mratab-at
 the-watches-(f)-pl which bought-they-them.pl.(f) beautiful-pl.(f)

'The watches which they brought are beautiful.'

(44) el-mudir-ah gafed-eh teHk-i maf el-mflm-at el-jdid-at
 the-headmaster is talking with the-teachers-(f)-pl the-new-(f)-pl

'The headmaster is talking to the new teachers.'

The case of the two-element plural "dual" is no longer adhered to and instead the group plural is used. This does not mean that dual totally disappeared from NSA, however. It is sometimes used with nouns, for example, *waladin* 'two boys' and *ithnin* 'two'. The point of argument here is that such nouns do not require agreement with other constituents, for example:

(45) wlaad ithnin

boys-pl two

'Two boys.'

(46) siyar-tin kbar

cars.dual big-pl

'Two big cars.'

4.5.7 Transformational Rules

The following are the rules of NSA:

(47) Subject-verb agreement (obligatory)

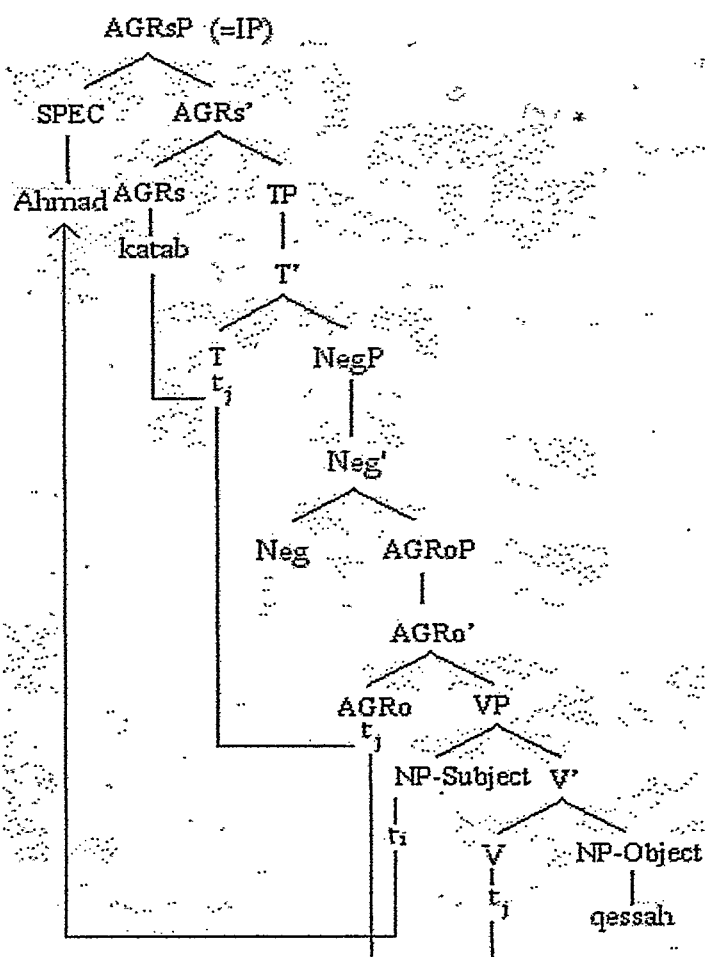
SD:	[X	NP	INF	Y]	IP
		α gender			
		β plural			
	1	2	3	4	
SC:	1	2	3	4	
			α gender		
			β plural		

(48) Subject-adjective agreement (obligatory)

SD:	[NP	AdjP]	IP/NP
	α gender		
	β plural		
	1	2	
SC:	1	2	
		α gender	
		β plural	

4.5.8 Phrase Marker Trees

For the SVO ordering in NSA, not only does Verb-Raising apply at the S-Structure, but Subject-Raising does too, moving NP subject from its D-Structure position as [Spec, VP] to its S-Structure position [Spec, IP]. The NP-object is not moved until Logical Form:



Ahmad katab qessali
wrote story
'Ahmad wrote a story.'

Figure 7. Phrase Marker Tree Showing Subject-Raising in NSA

The phrase tree (in figure 7) shows that the verb moves three times leaving a trace t_j to finally stop at AGRs. The theory hypothesizes that these movements are motivated because of the strong tense and agreement features¹ the verb needs. Yet, the NP-subject also seems to need strong subject features which make it move higher than the V leaving a trace t_i and check AGRsP and finally stop at SPEC of AGRsP. Other movements are left until Logical Form. These movements include NP-object movement higher in the tree to stop at the SPEC of AGRO.

The overt subject-verb agreement in NSA can be proposed as possible overt manifestation of strong N features that thus forces NP-Raising (recall that the agreement is more extensive in NSA than MSA). The Minimalist Program does not require such surface evidence, but since it is found, it can be supportive (see (47)).

The following are examples that show this agreement:

(49) a. MSA: nam al-walad-u

slept the-boy-s

'The boy slept.'

b. NSA: el-walad nam

the-boy slept

'The boy slept.'

¹ See Chomsky 1995. Pp 219-379 and Marantz 1995. Pp 349-382 for further discussion.

(50) a. MSA: nam al-awlad-u

slept the-boys-s

'The boys slept.'

b. NSA: el-wlad nam-u

the-boys slept-pl

'The boys slept.'

If topicalization is considered in NSA again as Suleiman proposed (see Chapter 1) as a motivation for NP-Raising resulting in raising of constituents to [Spec, CP], then, all NSA sentences would be topicalized, and this is not the case. The main means for topicalization in NSA is the passive and in this pattern the subject is omitted. If the subject needs to be topicalized, other techniques must be used such as stress and intonation without the need to use passives. Again Suleiman's NP-fronting rule may be, for some extent, true for MSA but cannot be thus for NSA since the underlying structure of the sentences is not VSO.

4.6 Conclusion

As MSA is problematic for X-bar theory, it does not seem so for NSA because of the different ordering each of them has. Yet the application of one model of analysis showed how great the differences between them are. Besides different ordering, features like agreement in gender and number are considerably different.

The analysis showed that Subject features in MSA are weaker than that of NSA and thus the MSA-subject finds no motivation to move into a higher level in the S-Structure and that its movement is left until Logical Form.

Chapter Five

Conclusions and Summaries

5.1 The Primary Research Questions Revisited

As stated in chapter one, the specific research questions of this thesis were the following:

What are the major syntactic changes that have taken place between the two forms of Arabic used in Jordan? Why do Jordanians speak in one way and read and write in another? Why did this change take place? Why did some forms change and others did not? What problems does this change bring to the modern syntactic theories if there are any? Why is it difficult to read newspaper comics that are written in non-standard Arabic? Does using MSA need more mental processing than NSA? Is diglossia present in Jordanian society?

5.2 Summary of the Findings

It is clear that in Jordan two different forms of Arabic are used largely restricted to different media. The VSO ordering is used in writing by all people and in speaking through official media by professionals who are employed with the condition that they can speak MSA fluently. The SVO ordering is used in speaking by

almost all people and in writing it is used in comics and in the news headlines (using MSA lexical items). The author has argued that people do not approve of NSA as a written form because it has no script that may express all the sounds that are not in MSA, yet no attempt has been made to invent an improved system. Using the MSA orthographic system in writing NSA is possible for the majority of sounds yet it is hard to read and it takes longer to read NSA than MSA.

People fight for the dignity of MSA as their spoken language and yet do not use it. They think of NSA as a language without grammar. The grammar of the two forms is considerably different except for some constructions such as questions. Perhaps the most important differences are that NP-subject is sentence-initial in canonical forms in NSA, while MSA is verb-initial. In addition, MSA gives more word-order options to the speaker, while NSA holds to a rigid SVO ordering. Finally, NSA shows less morphological complexity than MSA in that MSA retains overt marking for syntactic function, which is missing in NSA.

5.3 MSA Means Identity for People

The people of Petra do not speak MSA in their daily life with some exceptions. Even though they use NSA they do not regard it highly, however, they justify their use of the vernacular with the claims that it was left to them during the British Rule and that they have become accustomed to it. Their argument does not

seem to be true, however. In fact, Islam is the major reason for the survival of MSA as the prestige variety of Arabic. Although the Quraan uses CA, people think it is MSA, although of course they do not call it "modern." Still, in spite of the fact that MSA holds such prestige, NSA is the form used in spoken daily life. The author has argued that history indicates that there were other vernaculars besides CA and probably before CA, thus it is more accurate to say that such use of NSA is not an adoption of a new form but rather a continuation of an existing form which has been revived for the sake of simplification. It seems likely that the required use of case markers in MSA has made it more difficult to learn and thus the less prestigious NSA vernaculars have retained their prominence in the spoken language.

5.4 Written versus Spoken

The author has argued that NSA has no written form not only because of the absence of a complete script but more importantly because MSA is the mother tongue for writing. MSA is the first written form that people are exposed to and practiced since they were six. MSA remained written and NSA remained spoken.

5.5 Syntax

The major syntactic differences are those presented in chapters three and four. Mainly the partial absence of case markers and the shift from VSO into SVO are the apparent syntactic changes that can be noticed from a first glimpse. While some

structures remained unchanged, it seems that it is because they are already simple and the need to find other structures for them is not evident.

5.6 Reading

It became clear to the researcher that reading a NSA form requires more time than MSA. This indicates that some mental process is taking more time in one case than the other. Reasons for this delay in reading NSA seem to be the result of lack of practice. NSA is not formally taught anywhere in Jordan thus the ability to read text using it is problematic because people are not used to it. Reasons for this are also related to factors of disregard of NSA as written form, thus not much text is available for reading.

5.7 Diglossia

Diglossia is present in Jordanian society with two distinct varieties used in different domains. In particular, one specific form (NSA) is the spoken form used in all occasions, and another (MSA) is the written form. There is no evidence that the functions of the two forms can be exchanged. The author has indicated specific ways in which the two forms differ phonologically, syntactically, and in vocabulary. Thus language users must have the knowledge of the two systems in their minds and know when to use each of them.

APPENDIX A
SURVEY QUESTIONS

A- Arabic Version

الجنس: ذكر أنثى

العمر:

مكان الولادة:

كم عدد أفراد اسرتك؟

ما هو أعلى مستوى تحصيل علمي حصلت عليه أو تقوم به الآن؟

هل تستخدم اللغة العربية الفصحى في الكلام؟

هل تستخدم اللغة العربية الفصحى في الكتابة؟

هل يستخدم أي فرد من اسرتك اللغة العربية الفصحى في الكلام؟ من؟

هل تحب المطالعة؟ ما هي الأشياء التي تحبها؟

هل تطالع الصحف؟

هل والداك متعلمين؟

كم سنة درست أو تعلمت اللغة العربية الفصحى؟

لماذا ما زالت اللغة العربية الفصحى مستخدمة براك؟

كم تقيم مستواك في اللغة العربية الفصحى في مقياس من 1 إلى 10:

أولاً: كتابة

ثانياً: قراءة

ثالثاً: حديث

كم تقيم مستواك في اللغة العربية المحلية العامة في مقياس من 1 إلى 10:

أولاً: كتابة

ثانياً: قراءة

ثالثاً: حديث

ما هو مدى استخدامك للغة العربية الفصحى:

اولا في الكتابة: كبير متوسط صغير معدوم

ثانيا في القراءة: كبير متوسط صغير معدوم

ثالثا في الحديث: كبير متوسط صغير معدوم

ان كنت ممن حصلوا على تعليم في المدارس, هل تعتقد انك بدون هذا التعليم كنت قادرا على استخدام العربية

الفصحى؟ لماذا؟.....

لو سألك شخص ما سؤال بالعربية الفصحى كيف تجيب؟ بالعربية الفصحى أم العامية؟ لماذا؟.....

هل تعتقد ان الناس يستطيعون التحدث بالعربية الفصحى و لكن لا يرغبون بذلك؟ هل لديك اسباب اخرى؟.....

في الجملة التالية "الاولاد قاعدين يلعبو" ما معنى (قاعدين)؟.....

B- English Version

QUESTIONNAIRE

-Sex:.....

-Age:.....

-Place of Birth:.....

-How many people live in your house?.....

-What is the highest grade you have completed or currently enrolled in?

- Do you use spoken SA?

-Do you use written SA?

-Does any member of your family use spoken SA? Who?

-Do you read for enjoyment? (E.g. Novels, stories, etc) Specify.

-Do you read newspapers?

-Are your parents literate?

-How many years have you (studied) been studying SA?

-Why do you think SA is still alive?

-How do you estimate your performance in SA on a scale from 1-10

a) writing.....

b) reading.....

c) speaking?.....

-How do you estimate your performance in NSA on a scale from 1-10

a) Writing.....

b) Reading.....

c) Speaking?.....

-How far do you use SA in:

a) Writing: great fair small never

b) Reading: great fair small never

c) Speaking: great fair small never

-If you have never been to school do you think you will be able to speak or write in SA?

Why?

-If someone asks you a question using SA which of the following forms would you use:

SA or NSA? Why?

-Do you think that people know SA but don't use it because there do not want to? Do you have any other reasons?

-In the following sentence what is the meaning of *gaɬdin* ?

“el-wlaad gaḥdin yeḥlabu”

“The boys are playing.”

C- ANALYTIC INFORMATION

Number of participants: 220

Males: 132

Females: 88

Educated: 100%

Illiterate: 0%

Age range: 8-58

Number of sheets disregarded 47. These were answers by people under 18 who have not completed their formal education.

2

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11

APPENDIX B

EXPERIMENT TEXTS

1- Text in NSA

a- Begoul -lak el-jeish el-russi Harar el-raha'en. gal gattleen
 Say- past- for you the army the Russian freed the-hostages. Said.arb killed.them

90 rahena wo besamouh taHrer. El-raha'en fadadhum akthar men
 90 hostages and call-they-it freeing the-hostages number-they more than

el-mukhtaTefin.
 The-kidnappers.

b- hatha waHad men elzarga Takh waHad men elkarak. ahel
 this(Particle) one from Al-zarqa shot one from Al-karaq Family

elkaraki raHu fla alzarga wthabaHu thalatha badal elwaHad.
 The.karak.Citizen went to Al-zarqa and.killed three instead the.one

c- ista'jaru madrastain jdad fi ' fein-el-basha maf bedayat el-
 rented.they two.schools new in (city name) with beginning the

fasel ithani fashan iygalelu min el-izdeHam fe-sfuf mdir
 semester the-second for decrease from the-crowd in-classes headmaseter

et-tarbeyah wet-taflim gal inuh raH ysta'jru madrastain fe
 raising and-education said that will rent two.schools in

fein -el-basha w gal Kaman inuhum 'estalamu 22 saf hagen
 city name and said also that.they received 22 class price.their

162 'lf dinar w 'ashraf fleihin gesm esyanah wu
 162 thousand dinars and supervised on.them department maintenance and

gal Kaman inuh hathi elsfuf twazafat fala madrasat um-injasah wu
 said also that these classes spread on school (school-name) and

HaTu feha arbaf sfuf.
 put in.it four classes

2. Text in MSA Al-Rai Newspaper.

a-

انجبت القوات الخاصة الروسية صباح امس عطية احتجاز الرهائن في موسكو بشن هجوم اسفر عن مقتل أكثر من 90 رهينة و 50 خاطفا و الإفراج عن 750 من المحتجزين في المسرح الروسي

b-

وقعت في عوجان احد احياء مدينة الزرقاء امس جريمة قتل ذهب ضحيتها ثلاثة افراد من عائلة واحدة فقد وقعت جريمة قتل امس الاول في الكرك حيث اقدم شاب يسكن الزرقاء على قتل احد الاشخاص في الكرك فما كان من ذويه الا ان ترصدوا لذوي القاتل الذي يسكن عوجان «الزرقاء» حيث توجه عدد من ذوي المقتول الى الزرقاء وقاموا بارتكاب مجزرة بحق ذوي القاتل انتقاما لمقتل ولدهم وقد سقط ثلاثة قتلى

c-

استنجاار مدرستين جديدتين في عين الباشا بداية الفصل الدراسي الثاني للحد من الاكتظاظات. قال مدير التربية والتعليم في لواء عين الباشا علي الحيارى انه سيتم استنجاار مدرستين جديدتين في لواء عين الباش مع بداية الفصل الدراسي في كل من حي الملك عبدالله و حي ام زغرورة استيعابها 150 طالب و طالبة وللتخفيف من الاكتظاظ الحالي الذي تعانيه المدارس في اللواء بشكل عام و اضاف الحيارى ان المديرية تسلمت 22 غرفة صفية جديدة في مدارس اللواء بقيمة 162 الف دينار تحت اشراف قسم الابنية و الصيانة و اضاف الحيارى ان هذه الصفوف وزعت على مدرسة ام انجاصة الاساسية المختلطة و تم فيها اضافة اربعة غرف صفية.

3. Free English Translation (This translation shows only the information communicated.

It does not use all the information mentioned in the original articles)

a. A murder took place in Awajan a neighborhood in Al-Zaraqqa yesterday. Three members of a family were killed as a result. It all started the day before yesterday when a

young man from Al-Zaraqa killed another from Al-Karak. The victim's family headed, after that, to Al-Zaraqa to revenge and killed three members of the murderer's family.

b. The Russian Special Forces released the hostages in Moscow yesterday morning by performing an attack that resulted in 90 deaths in the hostages and 50 deaths in the kidnappers while 750 of the hostages were freed in the Russian theater.

c. Two new schools were rented in order to limit the number of student in classrooms. The headmaster of the circulation of raising and education said that they have rented two schools in Ein Elbasha. The capacity of these schools is 150 students. He said also that the maintenance department has received 22 classrooms and these were divided thus: Um Injasah school four classes....etc.

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