

The Pragmatics of Space Expressions in Spoken Jordanian Arabic

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This study aims at studying space expressions in Spoken Jordanian Arabic (SJA). Moreover, it aims at discussing the pragmatics of space expressions in SJA. The researchers use two methods to collect colloquial space expressions. Firstly, the researchers use eight specific images for a little girl who is asked to determine her position. Secondly, space expressions are extracted through unstructured interviews and general observations. It has been found that using space expressions is vital for speakers. Moreover, some space expressions do not carry a pragmatic function. Some of space expressions may express different pragmatic functions, such as hospitality, threat, and encouragement. Some of the colloquial space expressions are culture-specific; they would not be clear apart from their culture, since they might not be found in another dialect or language.

Keywords: pragmatics, pragmatic functions, space expressions, Spoken Jordanian Arabic

Introduction

Language is a means of communication. People use language to exchange their knowledge, ideas, concepts, opinions, and feelings. Moreover, ordering, promising, arguing, and convincing are some of the functions that people use language to achieve. Hamdan (2008) confirmed, "Language is not only a means of communicating pure linguistic information. Rather, it is an important humanistic tool for establishing and maintaining social relationships amongst participants of speech in all communities" (p. 1).

Weddon (cited in Baxter, 2007) stressed that language is the common factor in any analysis of power, social meanings, and the construction of identities. He maintained language is the domain where actual and possible forms of social organisation are pinpointed and contested. Yet, it is also the place where our subjectivity is built.

Arabic has an important rank among other languages; it is considered as a universal language and it is the language of millions of people.

Al-Abed Al-Haq and Al-Masaeid (2009) focused on the universality of Arabic and described it as "one of the world's greatest languages", which unifies Arabs and non-Arab Muslims who share the language and its heritage. Furthermore, they mentioned: "Like any language in the world, Arabic is a means of communication. However, like only very few languages of the world it is also a vehicle for a renowned culture and civilization" (p. 1).

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Ryding (2005) pointed to Arabic as: "It possesses a rich literary heritage dating back to the pre-Islamic era, and during the rise and expansion of the Islamic empire" (p. 1). He also added: "It is today the native language of over 200 million people in 20 different countries as well as the liturgical language for over a billion Muslims throughout the world" (p. 1).

Using adverbs is a way to add more information to the speech: more information about place, time, manner, cause, or degree. Hurford (cited in Ryding, 2005) defined adverbs as the most typical adverbs add specific information about time, manner, or place to the meanings of verbs or whole clauses. Moreover, Ryding (2005) claimed that Arabic refers to adverbs as adjunct or complement parts of a sentence and that the major form classes (nouns and verbs) received more attention from linguistic researches than adverbs, although they are very common in both spoken and written discourse.

Hassanein (1986) mentioned that adverbs in Arabic are limited when contrasted with English adverbs. In Arabic, there are two main kinds of adverbs: adverbs of time and adverbs of place. Adverbs of place tell us about the place of action or where action occurs/occurred/will occur.

Ernst (2002 cited in Alfoqaha, 2009) showed the difficulty of handling adverbs in English lies in the fact that adverbs can occur in a wide range of positions in a clause structure, serve a number of different functions, and show different meanings in different positions. Moreover, Alfoqaha (2009) mentioned the types of adverbs in Arabic: an adverb of place, an adverb of time, an adverb indicating degree, and adverbs of manner.

Bishai (1971) pointed to the idea that it is better to explain Arabic adverbs in semantic and syntactic terms and he mentioned that to modify (without modification agreement) a verb, an adjective, another adverb or less frequently, a noun is the main syntactic function of the adverb in Arabic. Furthermore, he divided adverbs into several types semantically: adverbs of time, adverbs of place, adverbs of manner, adverbs of kind, and adverbs of purpose. Moreover, the writer mentions some examples of adverbs of place which may occur non-constructed, such as "to the north شمالا, to the south جنوبا", and some adverbs of place which occur in construct, such as "beside بجانب, in front of امام, near بالقرب, between بين, opposite to مقابل, above قوف".

It is obvious that we cannot understand a language separately from its culture; it is worth knowing and understanding the culture in order to recognize the language correctly. Pesola (1991 cited in Hamdan, 2008) argued that without cultural insight and skills, even fluent speakers can seriously misinterpret the messages they hear or read and the messages they intend to communicate can be misunderstood and deformed.

Al-Shorman (2013) stated, "Language is considered as a kind of social phenomenon and a part of the culture. It is also a reflection of society and culture... However, the development of the language is changing with the development of the society" (p. 1).

The place expression may sound strange to non-Arabs, although the translation is understandable, due to lack of knowledge of culture. Valdes (cited in Hamdan, 2008) stated that in order to communicate successfully, language learners should have cultural knowledge because if they are not aware of the nonverbal aspects of communication, they are not able to communicate effectively in many face-to-face cultural contexts.

The researchers intend to examine place adverbs from a pragmatic perspective taking into consideration the various dialects in Spoken Jordanian Arabic.

Using adverbs is a way to add more information to the speech: more information about place, time, manner, cause, or degree. Alish (2005) explained that an adverb of place points to the place where an action occurs. Two types of adverbs have been described, which include variable and invariable adverbs. The variable

adverbs are subdivided into: (1) specific (e.g., بحر, جبل, بلد, مدينة, بيت) and (2) non-specific adverbs (e.g., أمام, وراء, يمين, يسار).

Khalil (2010, p. 250) referred to five types of adverbs in English: “time, place, manner, frequency, and degree”. Moreover, he mentioned some examples about the adverbs of place in English: “here, there, upstairs, above, between”. Khalil (2010, p. 252) listed the types of Arabic adverbs: “the nouns of time ('asmaa'u z-zmaan) أسماء الزمان and the nouns of place ('asmaa'u l-makaan) أسماء المكان. Furthermore, he clarified that these two types are called: 'al-mafuulfihiه في المفعول in Arabic. The writer adds that according to reference, time and place adverbials are classified as: mubhama(t) مبهمه “vague”, pointing to indefinite time and place, and muxtassa(t) مختصة “defined”, pointing to definite time and place.

The present study is an attempt to investigate space expressions in Spoken Jordanian Arabic. The researchers intend to examine place adverbs from a pragmatic perspective taking into consideration the various dialects in Spoken Jordanian Arabic (SJA). There are different dialects in the Jordanian community (Madani, Fallahi, and Bedouin) which increase the diversity of space expressions used. Moreover, space expressions in SJA carry many meanings and are used in different contexts to express different functions. These space expressions create complexity and can be a cause of great difficulty to foreign speakers and learners of Arabic as a second language. For these reasons, there is a need for a study to examine a better framework for understanding these expressions.

Pragmatics

Place expressions cannot be separated from pragmatics and semantics, which overlap with each other. Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics which clarifies the connection between the uttered context and the social context. It focuses on the implicit side of utterances that actually helps people to produce and comprehend meanings through language. Moreover, it bridges the gap between what is said and what is meant by utterances, the thing that facilitates a valuable and worthy communication.

Hurford and Heasley (1983) defined semantics: “is the study of meaning in language” (p. 1). These authors differentiated between “speaker meaning” and “sentence meaning” and clarified that what the speaker intends to convey by using the language is the speaker meaning, while the literal meaning of the sentence is the sentence meaning. They added that one can use the same words and the same sentences to mean different things on different occasions. Furthermore, the writers indicate that one can count and list the meanings of words in a dictionary, but one can never list the speakers' meanings in a dictionary.

Yule (1996) stated that pragmatics investigates the speaker meaning rather than the literal meaning of the utterances. Moreover, he explained that pragmatics is concerned with the contextual meaning since the context determines the interpretation of any utterance. The speaker, the listener, the place, the time, and the circumstances of the utterances determine the interpretation of the utterances. According to Yule, pragmatics is about what is unsaid more than what is literally said. Additionally, the writer points to the importance of pragmatics and remarks that it allows one to know about the meanings, assumptions, purposes, and the kinds of actions that people perform when they speak.

Grundy (2000) pointed to the difference between the literal meaning and the indirect meaning of utterances. He also focused on the importance of knowing the intentions and the strategies of the speakers more than the literal meanings of the sentences while engaging in conversation. Grundy discussed how to understand the indirect meaning by drawing inferences about what the speaker is intending to convey. Moreover, he

clarified that what is heard is unclear, since an utterance might have different possible meanings, until the addressee draws inferences which determine what he thinks the speaker is intending.

Related Studies

Herskovits (1985) studied locative expressions and assumed that in order to understand and to know the accurate meaning of a spatial expression, two main understandings are required: the ideal meaning of spatial prepositions and the geometric conceptualization which mediates between the world as it is and language. In order to explain some deviations from the ideal use of prepositions, she originated a number of pragmatic near principles involving salience, relevance, tolerance, and typicality. The difficulties involved in building computer models for spatial expressions were presented and described at the end of the study.

Kitchin (1996) examined whether there were differences in everyday geographic and spatial knowledge between females and males. The researcher introduced a number of studies which indicated that males and females were usually different in their geographical knowledge and that their ability to remember, comprehend, and communicate spatial concepts were different. The researcher found, in contrast to most studies, that females and males were equal in their geographical knowledge, especially when giving them the same geographic training and similar patterns and spatial behavior.

Napoleon (2007), in her study entitled "From Here to There: A Sociolinguistic Study in Gender and Direction Giving", aimed to find out whether different types of route information were used by males and females in order to give spatial directions. The sample size was 18 (nine males and nine females) and they were familiar with the Wellesley College campus. The researcher asked the participants to perform two tasks: The first task was to describe how to get from a coffee bar in the Luluto the main entrance of the campus science center and the second task was to describe how to make a grilled cheese sandwich. The responses were collected through email. The hypotheses for the study were: longer and more complex directions would be given by females, more topographical and directional markers would be used by males in spatial tasks, and more explicit directions for neutral tasks would be given by females. However, these predictions were not supported by the results of this study. Napoleon found that long and complex directions were used by females only for the first task. Furthermore, males completing the first task used fewer topographical markers than females. Contrary to Napoleon's expectations, males performed the best on the neutral task. At the end of this study, the researcher concluded that directions were given differently by men and women because of their different conceptual strengths and perspectives.

Proquier (2009) studied the expression and the development of spatial relations in French and Jordanian Arabic; adult French learners of modern standard Arabic L2 and adult Arabic learners of French L2. The researcher used four images for a cat and a window. The mission was to orally describe the four images, taking into consideration two variables: the location of the cat in relation to the window and the intrinsic orientation of the cat. The cat was pictured behind the window in two images and in front of the window in two images. The orientation of the cat differed in the respective images in that the cat was looking in the direction of the outside space in the first and the third images, while the cat was looking in the direction of the inside space in the second and the fourth images. The participants were children of four, seven, and ten years old. The comparison between them aimed to explore the interaction between cognitive and linguistic factors and to determine if children of different languages would use the same or different concepts. The conclusion of this study was that four-year-old children paid attention only to the position of the cat in relation to the window, without paying

attention to the orientation. The seven-year-old children focused on the two variables: the location and the orientation of the cat in relation to the window. At 10 years old, children recognized the two variables, but unlike the children at seven years old, they intended to express the information implicitly. For example, they used "It looks inside" to indicate that the location was still the same. The utterances produced in both languages differed only syntactically.

Al-Shorman (2013) accomplished a sociolinguistic study to investigate route directions given by students at Yarmouk University. This study was interested in the impact of age, gender, level of education, college, and place of residence on the choice of the route direction expressions. The researcher used tape recording and note taking to collect the data. The sample was comprised of 110 students studying at Yarmouk University and the students were familiar with the target destination they were asked about. The researcher found that the variables of gender, age, and place of residence affected the students' choice of certain expressions more than others. Additionally, school of study and level of education of the students did not affect their choice for certain expressions in giving route directions. Moreover, the researcher noted that male students reflected their manhood and seriousness by giving short and direct answers and female students were more accurate in giving the route directions than the male students.

Method and Procedures

The objective of this study is to analyze the pragmatics of space expressions that are being used in Spoken Jordanian Arabic. Two approaches were adopted to attain the maximum number of frequently used space expressions: The first approach used structured interviews and the second approach relied on unstructured interviews and personal observation.

In the current study, the first approach depended on structured interviews. Thirty participants, who live in Al-Nuaimah/Irbid, were interviewed. The place was chosen for logistical purposes. All of these participants were native speakers of Jordanian Arabic.

The structured interviews involved a selection of eight images of a girl positioned in different locations with respect to other subjects (i.e., a tree, an adult female). In the procedure of data collection, the 30 female and male participants were asked to look at these images and were encouraged to use space expressions while answering specific questions in spoken Arabic about these images that were translated into English. Two specific questions about the images were asked in order to ascertain the position of the girl in the images using their own dialect:

(1) "Where is the little girl in relation to the tree?"

أين الطفلة بالنسبة إلى الشجرة؟

(2) "Where is the little girl in relation to the adult female?"

أين الطفلة بالنسبة للفتاة؟

The data of this study for this first approach were collected through tape recording and note-taking to recognize the space expressions used by people who are native speakers of Jordanian Arabic.

In the current study, the second approach relied on unstructured and personal interviews, where various speakers of SJA, who belonged to various social classes, educational background and gender, encouraged to participate in discussions and then all space expressions were collected and recorded, and their pragmatic functions were discussed, if any.

The results of this study might not be generalized, since it does not cover all areas of Jordan. Moreover, the study focuses on the pragmatic side rather than the sociolinguistic side. The collected data are limited and many more expressions can be gathered and discussed.

Findings and Discussion

The researchers discussed the space expressions using two different approaches via structured and unstructured interviews. The pragmatic functions of the space expressions were provided if found.

The researchers found that spatial thinking is vital in daily life; we call the spatial memories all the time, when we look for a certain page in a book, when we draw a map in our minds to the address that we are going to, when we search for lost things in our homes, and when we want to find our way to the kitchen at night.

The 30 participants used different space expressions to describe the images, some of which had a pragmatic function. The participants determined the position of the little girl in relation to the tree, by using expressions like:

بسط الشجرة "buṣṭ a-shajarah", جوا الشجرة "jwa a-shajarah"
داخل الشجرة "daxil a-shajarah"

Although the literal meaning of these expressions in English is: "inside the tree", the reader should not take the meaning literally. Obviously, the girl does not open the tree and sit in it. These are expressions to represent the position of the girl between the branches of the tree. They also used "بلب الشجرة" blub a-shajarah, "deep inside the tree", to indicate that the girl sat between the branches of the tree, although the literal meaning does not reflect this use.

The participants also used additional expressions like "فوق الشجرة" fuug a-shajarah and "فوء الشجرة" fuu? a-shajarah. These two expressions reflect the dialect variation, since a madani will use "فوء الشجرة" fuu? a-shajarah, while a fallahi will use "فوق الشجرة" fuug a-shajarah. These two expressions have the same meaning: "on the tree".

Furthermore, they used the space expression "على ظهر الشجرة" ʿla-ḍa-hir a-shajarah, "on the back of the tree". The tree does not have a back, so the meaning should not be taken literally. In this case, some participants used this expression to clarify that the girl sat "on the tree".

Another rarely used colloquial space expression is "بغية الشجرة" bi-faiyt a-shajarah, "in the shadow of the tree"; the branches of the tree cause a shadow under the tree. So when Jordanians use بغية الشجرة, they want to point to a place under the tree and close from the ground.

بقرمية الشجرة "bi-qurmiyt a-shajarah" "Inside the bottom part of the tree" clearly meant the little girl did not sit inside the bottom part of the tree and it indicated that she sat close from the roots of the tree.

Moreover, two participants used جنبها janbha "beside her" to point to the position of the little girl. The word جنبها is general; it does not specify the position exactly. It does not clarify if the girl is at the right side or at the left side of the adult female and if she exactly beside her or far from her.

هياها "hay-ha" "here she is". It is an expression which has a pragmatic function; its literal meaning indicates a close place, while in a real context, the thing might be not close, not here, it might not be seen.

منها و جاي "min-ha-w-jay", "closer to the participant with respect to the adult female" represents the meaning of "in front of her" and that the position is not far away. In a real context, منها و جاي is not used accurately, the position might not be close, and the distance is not clear. The context clarifies and gives a proximate distance for this expression.

هان "haan" "here she is" is a space expression used to indicate that you can see the little girl easily and clearly, she is near; it is a vague expression which depends on the context; the distance is not determined. In other words, there is a difference between the literal meaning of هان "here it is", it must be very close, and the actual use because the position might be two or three kilometers away.

غاد "gaad" "there she is" is a non-specific place, a vague expression. It does not offer the exact distance. The intended distance could be explicit through the context; it will obviously be changed according to the context. The literal meaning of غاد indicates a near place, while in a real situation, people might use it to express different distances and it might indicate five or six kilometers.

هاظا هي "haḏahii", "here she is" indicates that the little girl is close to the adult female, while people use it differently sometimes to express somehow a far place; a one might use هاظا هي to indicate a position five kilometers away, while another one to indicate a position 10 kilometers away. Moreover, a participant used دوک "duukgariib-ihwa-ra-ha", "look she is near behind her" to indicate the same meaning and point to the same idea; the literal meaning might be changed in the used utterances. Who says it to whom, when, where, and why; these elements determine the intended meaning of these expressions and affect their literal meaning.

Imagine that you throw a stick. The place where the stick will fall at is the meant place when using the expression مقرط العصا "ma-g-rat-al-ḥaṣa", so it is a close place. In a real context, a person might use it to point to a faraway place, not a close place, so it is an expression which has a pragmatic function. This expression is almost used by old people. The new generation does not use it. Such an expression مقرط العصا "ma-g-rat-al-ḥaṣa" might be misinterpreted if the listener is unfamiliar with the culture.

آخر الدنيا "axir a-dinia", "at the end of the world" is not an accurate description. It is used to indicate that the intended place is far away, almost cannot be seen, although it is used in this case to point to the little girl in image No. 8, where she can be seen easily. Moreover, in a dialogue such when a mother asks her angry son: "Where are you going?", he replies: "I am going to the end of the world". He tries to show his anger. آخر الدنيا "axir a-dinia" is a hyperbolic expression, using for exaggeration.

They also used آخر الشارع "axir a-ḥariṣ", "at the end of the street" and "the street" is a specific place. Moreover, they used بعيدة يا بولها ت مينة "ba-ḥiidah ya-bul-haatmbaynih" which is an expression to indicate that the girl is far away and that you can hardly see her. It is an expression which has a pragmatic function, since it does not offer an accurate description of the place or an accurate distance and it might be used to indicate two, three, or sometimes more kilometers away. The intended place might be so far for someone and not that far for another one. In a dialogue such when someone asks where his book is while it is in front of him and another replies ironically: بعيد يا بولها ت مينة, it is far away, it is barely seen.

Furthermore, هنااك "hunaak" is used by rural people, هنااك "hanaak" used by bedouin people. These two expressions do not give an accurate description. They do not determine the exact position of the girl; it is point to the idea that she is there not here and that she is far away not close. They also used the word بعبيبيدة "bḥiidih", "she is far away". But it is not clear how far the place is; in one dialogue it is used to express three or four kilometers away, while in another dialogue it is used to indicate five or six kilometers away.

The participants used the word بعيدة with a short vowel and بعبيبيدة with a long vowel; the vowel lengthening is used to indicate that the little girl is far away. Moreover, they used غااااا هناك and غااااا غاد with a long vowel in order to differentiate between the distances. The question here is "What is the real and accurate distance that is determined by these expressions?"; is it really a faraway place? Or it might be not so far. Actually, these are

language expressions which have pragmatic functions; they might be used to express six kilometers away or just two or three kilometers away.

The space expressions collected through unstructured interviews and personal observation were listed and their meanings were provided in the next Table 1:

Table 1

Listed Space Expressions With Their Literal Meanings

Space expressions	Translation	Literal meaning in English
1. بوديكآخر الدنيا	bawadiikaxir ?dnia	I will send you to the end of the world.
2. بخفيك عن وجه الأرض	baxfiikʕnwiḏḏh ?l-?rḏ	I will hide you from the face of the Earth.
3. وين يعني أنا هيني عالقمر	wynyaʕnii ?nahayniʕl-qamar	Where do you think I am? I am on the moon.
4. تعال معي نزور خالد هيو هون	taʕalmaʕiinzuurxalidhayuhuun	Come with me let us visit Khaled, he is here.
5. هذا طلع المكان آخر ما عمر الله	haḏaṭiliʕ ?l-makanaxir ma ʕmarallah	The place seems to be at the end of the world.
6. وين بننا نروح؟ - لنفس المكان اللي رحناه المرة الماضية.	wainbidnanruuh? la nafs el-makanellyruhnah el-marah el-maḏyḏh	-Where are we going? -To the same place that we went for, last time.
7. مكانك بقلبي	makanak bi qalbi	Your position is in my heart.
8. وين انت يا زلمة؟ مشيت عشر طعشر كيلو و ما شفتك.	wainentayazalamih? mʕiitʕaʕartaʕlʕrkiilu w maaʕuftak	Where are you man? I have walked for ten, twenty kilometers, and still could not find you.
9. تفضل البيت بيتك	tfaḏal el-bait baitak	You are welcome, the house is yours.
10. الديار طلبت أهلها	el- diaarṭalbat ?-hilha	The house called for its family.
11. صدر البيت لك و العتبة لنا	ṣadr el-bait iilakwel-ʕatabihilnah	The middle of the house is yours and its threshold is ours.
12. اذا ما وسعك المكان تسعك العيون	?ḏa ma wisʕak el- makantisaʕak el- ʕuyuun	If the place is not wide enough for you, the eyes will be wide enough for you.
13. يا أرض اهتزي ما عليك حدا قدي	yaarḏ ?htazii ma ʕalykiḏhadaqadii	O land, shake. No one as good as I am.
14. جارك القريب و لا أخوك البعيد	ḏarak el-qariibwala ?xuuk el-baʕiid	A near neighbor not away brother.
15. الجار قبل الدار	el-ḏaarqabil el-daar	The neighbor before the house.
16. الجنة من غير ناس ما بتنداس	el-ḏaniḏ min ḡairnas ma btindas	Paradise without people, will not be trampled.

Through unstructured interviews and personal observation, the researchers collected some data. For example, the expressions "baxfiikʕnwiḏḏh ?l-?rḏ", "I will hide you from the face of the Earth" and "bawadiikaxir ?dnia", "I will send you to the end of the world" are used for the purpose of threatening. They are used when someone threatens someone else. The intended meaning of these expressions is different from the literal meaning. Notice that the Earth does not really have a face in the expression "baxfiikʕnwiḏḏh ?l-?rḏ", "I will hide you from the face of the Earth"; the word "face" is not taken literally.

If someone asks another one about his location and the addressee thinks that the speaker knows exactly where he is and that the question is silly, he will reply ironically: "wynyaʕnii ?nahayniʕl-qamar", "I am on the moon!". The answer should not be taken literally; the speaker is not on the moon.

For encouraging someone to go with you for a certain place, you might use "taʕalmaʕiinzuurxalidhayuhuun", "come with me, let us go and visit Khaled he is here!". Khaled is not literally here. It is just a way to encourage the addressee to join the speaker.

To show that you are tired and exhausted of going somewhere: "haḏaṭiliʕ ?l-makanaxir ma ʕmarallah", "the place seems to be at the end of the world", the literal meaning shows that the place is hardly reached, which is different from the actual use; the place might be not so far, it is just used to express the speaker's feeling.

In a group of people two friends exchange a talk:

وين بدنا نروح؟

لنفس المكان اللي رحناه المرة الماضية.

wainbidnanruuh?

lanafs el-makanellyruhnah el-marah el-maḍyḥ

A: Where will we go?

B: To the same place that we went for, the last time.

The addressee wants to tell his friend: You know the place, so I do not want to say it aloud in front of others.

To show love and kindness, people use "مكانك بقلبي" *makanak bi qalbi*, "your position is in my heart"; the intended meaning is not the literal meaning and you cannot get inside the heart literally, but it is a way to show love.

"وين انت يا زلمة مشيت عشر طعشر كيلو و ما شفتك" *waintayazalamih? mfiitʕaʕartaʕrkiilu w maaʕuftak*, "where are you man? I have walked for ten, twenty kilometers, and still could not find you", it is a way to say that the distance is far away, *عشر طعشر كيلو* is not an exact number, it is just used for exaggeration.

"تفضل البيت بيتك" *tfaḍal el- bait baitak*, "You are welcome, the house is yours". The addressee does not really own the house. It is a way to show hospitality that you are welcome. The literal meaning is different from the indirect meaning.

"الديار طلبت أهلها" *el-diaarṭalbat ʔ-hilha*, the literal meaning of this expression is "The house called for its family". Obviously, the house cannot call for anyone. The intended meaning is to show that a person feels longing for his house and his family and that he wants to go back to his house.

The spatial expressions, and the words pointing to places, are found in the proverbs and used daily to indicate different pragmatic functions. For example, Jordanians used the proverb "إذا ما وسعك المكان تسعك العيون" *ʔa ma wisʕak el-makantisaʕak el-ʕuyuun*, "If the place is not wide enough for you, the eyes will be wide enough for you". It is a proverb to indicate love, hospitality, and generosity.

Another proverb is "يا أرض اهتزي ما عليك حدا قدي" *yaarḍ ʔhtazii ma ʕalykiḥadaqadii*, "O land, shake. No one as good as I am". The word "land" is used in this proverb to indicate ego and pride.

"جارك القريب ولا أخوك البعيد" *ʕarak el-qariibwala ʔxuuk el-baʕiid*, "A near neighbor not away brother". The words "near" and "away" are not used to indicate place or position. The intended meaning is that a neighbor living close to you is more useful than a brother living away from you.

In addition, "الجار قبل الدار" *el-ʕaarqabil el-daar*, "The neighbor is before the house". The word "house" is a specific place with borders. It is used in this context to indicate that the neighbor is more important for people than the house itself, although the house means a lot for them.

Also, "الجنة من غير ناس ما بتنداس" *el-ʕaniḥ min ʕairnas ma btindas*, "Paradise without people, will not be trampled". It means that I will not prefer to get into the paradise if there are no people inside it. It indicates that the places are beautiful because of the people who live in it, not because of the place itself.

Moreover, "صدر البيت لك و العتبة لنا" *ṣadr el-bait iilakwel-ʕatabihilnah*, "The middle of the house is yours and its threshold is ours". It means that you are welcome, come and visit us any time. Moreover, it shows hospitality, generosity, and kindness. The literal meaning of this proverb is different from the actual use of it. The house is not actually for the addressee and the addressee will not own the middle of the house; it is just a way to say that you are welcome.

General observations: There are different space expressions which have the same meaning in SJA. For example, they used شمالها يسارها, عاليسار, جنبها عاليسار, عاليسار, بعدها عاليسار, which causes a problem specially for non-Arabic speakers; they could be confused of this synonymy, so we have to explain these expressions to be clear for them .

Moreover, some space expressions are culture-specific. So if you search for their counterparts in another dialect or language, you will not find them. It is specifically used in one dialect, for example, a fallahi used بقرمية while a bedouin used تحا الشجرة to represent the same meaning and to determine the same position. Both of them point to the word تحت الشجرة "under the tree". People from other cultures, especially non-Arabs, may wonder why to use مقرط العصا "mag-rat al-ṣṣa" to point to a near place and they may ask about the relation between the stick and the distance. It might be a cultural matter.

Conclusion

It has been found that using space expressions is very important in daily life. People need to use these expressions all the time; while looking for a certain place, searching for something missing, giving someone the directions for his/her house, and for asking someone to bring something from a specific market. Space expressions are very important in any language. Moreover, after analyzing the data, it was clear that some of the used colloquial space expressions had a pragmatic function, while others did not. For example, the space expressions: أسفل الشجرة, فوق الشجرة do not have a pragmatic function; they are used literally. While the expression مكانك بالقلب holds a pragmatic function. It is used to show love and kindness. Some of the colloquial space expressions are culture-specific; you have to be familiar with the culture in order to understand them.

Recommendations

In the light of the previous discussion, the researchers suggest the following studies for those interested in space expressions in Spoken Jordanian Arabic:

- (1) It may be interesting to do research in other areas and cities of Jordan in order to study more space expressions that are used in different dialects and areas and to compare between them;
- (2) It would be useful to choose other images with other situations in order to increase the number and the type of the used space expressions;
- (3) The researchers also recommend carrying out this research from a sociolinguistic perspective to study the impact of the variables of age, gender, place of residence, and level of education on choosing specific space expressions rather than others.

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