The Linguistic Variants of Allah Expressions in Jordanian Arabic

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Abstract

This paper is bifocal. Its first purpose is to shed some light on the widespread use of Allah expressions in Jordanian Arabic as well as other dialects of Arabic. These are expressions that are used repeatedly by Muslims on a daily manner in different venues reflecting their belief that Allah alone is the One who has influence over every aspect of their lives. The second purpose is to draw the attention to some expressions containing the word *Allah*. In some of these expressions, the word Allah has disappeared as a result of being blended into other particles as in the case of *jalla* meaning "let" and *jaallah* meaning "barley". However, in other expression, the word *Allah* is still witnessed but used in totally new meanings as in expressing astonishment and seeking protection and guidance.

Key words: Allah; Islam; Arabic; Pragmatic functions; Variants

INTRODUCTION

This study attempts to introduce the morphological and semantic changes that may occur to the term ʔal-laah "Allah" as reflected in some expressions in Jordanian Arabic, henceforth JA, as well as the pragmatic meanings the terms may carry. The study will examine the changes that may occur to the term when used alone or combined with some particles such as *ja* "oh", which is a particle of supplication or vocative, and *b*I "by", which is a particle of making an oath. What is really interesting about these changes is that some of the resulting expressions sound drastically or even completely different from the original term i.e., Allah at the meaning level; and in some cases, the part of speech of the derived expressions may become different from the part of speech of the original term. Some of the resulting expressions are verbs or adverbs that are not related the term Allah.

The word *Allah*, alone or when used in different religious invocations, penetrates every aspect of a Muslim's life, and is used unconsciously in nearly every situation; it is used on a daily basis in quite varied unrelated contexts for different purposes. Morrow and Castleton (2007) state that both Arabic language and the Muslim faith are the two major elements in the Arab Muslim identity. They continue to say that the widespread of Allah expressions in Arabic is one way through which Muslims assign Allah's influence over every area of Muslim's life. In this context, Cleft and Helani (2010) in their study about *inshallah* "God willing", say "the widespread use of religious expressions in ordinary Arabic conversations, irrespective of the religious affiliation of the speaker has long been noted" (Gilesnan, 1983). Slackman (2006) says *inshallah* "is not the only religious term to infiltrate the lexicon of routine." Morrow adds:

> Arabic language is saturated with a rich variety of expressions invoking Allah explicitly or implicitly and…. the name of Allah permeates both spoken and written Arabic to the point where we can speak of the omnipresence of Allah in the Arabic language. As a result, an Arabic speaker could scarcely conceive of a conversation where the name of God would not appear. (2006, p.45)

Piamenta (1979) in his classic study "Islam in Everyday Arabic" provides the reader with an inclusive list of expressions including the term Allah "explicitly and implicitly", as well as the appropriate context of usage

of each expressions as "they are performed as a result of learning and training in socio-emotional situations." Castleton (2006) reviews such expressions in various communication channels whether spoken or written.

The expressions containing the word *Allah* have become more or less idiomatic in use, in the sense that they have a fixed meaning regardless of circumstances. Piamenta (1979) expresses that the specific goal behind his study is to investigate "current Arabic formulae, invocations, and ejaculations, idiomatic and stereotyped, not ad hoc expressions." He adds:

> The formulae, specifically wishes, congratulations, farewell expressions, condolence, etc., were originally non-literal, personal invocations, dua, for help, protection, and approval… Eventually, the dua formulae took their normal course in everyday spoken Arabic becoming idiomatic and stereotyped, and losing their extemporized nature ad hoc. (1979, pp.1-2)

In this manner, they have become similar to proverbs in the sense that they require a tacit thread of linguistic competence usually shared by the members of the same speech community in order to be understood. This regularity and continuity in use and comprehension is just one small piece of evidence on the wide spread of the term *Allah* in the lives of Muslims. These expressions are a reflection of Muslims deep faith and public piety (Slackman, 2008). Piamenta (1979, p.2) states that: "though common in Arabic spoken by all creeds, the formulae have not lost their Islamic essence."

The expressions that will be handled in detail here have never been discussed before since some of them have lost their connection to the original meaning of invocation, while others have acquired new parts of speech. A word that should be mentioned here is that most of these various forms are simply oral expressions; they are not recorded in written texts since they belong to JA, a dialect which is not codified. Speakers of Arabic all over the Arab World still use Modern Standard Arabic in writing various forms of texts. However, I can say that these expressions may appear in novels that attempt to mimic real situations and in cultural articles that comment or criticize some phenomena in our community.

The paper is divided as follows: section 2 talks about the etymology of the word *Allah* in Standard Arabic and in Jordanian Arabic as well as the meaning(s) of this expression. Section 3 is dedicated to unveil the two different phonetic forms of the word *Allah* and their literal meanings in JA. Section 4 will talk about the non-literal uses of the two phonetic forms when used individually. Section 5 will be about the non-literal meanings of the various forms of the phonetic terms when combined with some particles.

1. ETYMOLOGY

The term *Allah* is derived from two words: the definite article in Arabic *(ʔ)al* "the" and the word ʔɪlah "deity,

God". It is assumed that the two have undergone blending in which the first unstressed syllable ʔɪ- in the word ʔɪ.*lah* has undergone deletion, and then the definite article has been blended to the remaining syllable, i.e., -*lah*. The /l/ of the definite article, i.e., the coda of the new syllable has been assimilated into the /l/ of the remaining syllable, i.e., the onset of the syllable, giving the resulting /l/ extra length and extra strength and duplicating its phonetic property changing it into a geminate (Al-Ashqar, 2007). Moreover, the quality of the sound has undergone some change; the /l/ found in the word ʔɪlah is a light one; the one frequently used in every day Arabic, whereas the resulting /l/ is a dark one similar to the English one, however, with some extra pressure and extra length since it is a geminate. In fact, the only dark /l/ in Arabic is found in the word *Allah* (Al-Batal, et al, 2006; Mace, 1998).

The resultant blend *Allah* means "the deity" or "the sole God". The ensuing meaning of the blend reflects the deep-rooted belief of Muslims that there is only one God; a fact which nullifies any assumption that Allah has associates or companions. The term *Allah* is, according to the Muslim belief, the proper name of God; it cannot be given to any human or any object, and it cannot be pluralized (Al-Ashqar, 2007). Nonetheless, it can be joined to the word ʕ*abd* "slave" to form the name Abdullah "the slave of Allah", which is a very frequent name.

2. TWO PHONETIC FORMS OF THE TERM

The term *Allah* in Jordanian Arabic appears in two phonetic variants that reveal the diglossic situation Jordan as well as all the Arab countries is experiencing (Ferguson, 1959). Each of these variants has its own context of use. By phonetic variants, we mean that the two forms are only different at the pronunciation level while sharing the same orthographic form. The variants are given as 1 & 2 below:

(1) ʔal.la h   "Allah"
(2) ʔa l.lah   "Allah"

As the transcription shows, the two variants vary in stress position. The second syllable in the first form is stressed, while in the second form, the first syllable is stressed. These two versions will be handled in details in the following two sections.

2.1 ʔal.la h

This variant is made of two syllables, the second of which is stressed as it expresses the main content of the term, while the first syllable is just a definite article that can be attached to any noun in Arabic, and it is usually unstressed. The pronunciation of this variant matches the pronunciation of the term *Allah* in Standard Arabic. From a grammatical point of view, it is a noun that can occupy any noun position in a sentence.

From a phonological point of view, the coda of the first syllable as well as the onset of the second syllable

form a geminate of a dark /l/ similar to the English /l/ as mentioned above.

This form has one sole meaning; that is, "the sole deity" Muslims believe in. The term is mainly restricted to formal and media domains as well as some daily situations where the term is preceded by particles as those used in (3) and (4) below. By formal situations, we mean recitations of The Holy Quran, Friday Speeches, preaching and Prayers; media situations are religious programs which aim at educating people in matters of their religion and life. In these as well as other situations, the speaker resorts to Allah, the omnipotent, the wisest, and the most generous and gracious to grant him or her their wishes or to help them out of a miserable situation. Preserving the Standard Arabic pronunciation is a reflection of the status of the addressee. Using the name of Allah in the right way is a way of glorifying Him. Consider the following examples:

(3) ja: ʔaḷˤaːh maː jiʕtˤiːna ʔiddaktour mvħaːdˤarah
    Oh, Allah not give-us the-professor lecture
    "I wish the professor would not give us a lecture."

(4) ja ʔaḷlaah ʔandʒaħ biḷʔimtiħaan
    Oh Allah I-succeed in-the- test
    "Oh Allah! Grant me success in the test."

(5) waḷlaːħi ʔinnʊ ʔiddars sˤaʕb
    By-Allah-ACC that the-lesson difficult
    "I swear by Allah that the lesson is difficult."

(6) qaːla ɑllaħu fi: kitaːbihi lˤʕaziːz
    said Allah-NOM in book-GEN-his the-dear
    " Allah said in His Holy Book"

The last two examples show remnants of Standard Arabic in Jordanian Arabic where the term *Allah* show case: accusative in (5) and nominative in (6). These two examples show the religious and literary contexts of the term.

Since this form involves a supplication to *Allah*, the Glorious among Muslims, and since it indicates a face-to-face encounter with *Allah*, the expression has become a sacred term. Even when spoken by an illiterate person, it never undergoes modifications in pronunciation. It has never undergone phonological changes as if preserving the original form of the expression is one means of glorifying *Allah*.

2.2 ʔa l.lah

This variant is similar to the first form in all aspects and features except in stress location; the first syllable is stressed here. But for the stress shift, no morphological or syntactic changes can be witnessed. This variant is the most prevalent since it belongs to the dialect that most Jordanians speak. It is the one that appears in the name Abdullah, and in a number of different idiomatic expressions used on a daily basis as in:

(7) ma: ʃaːl.lah
    This determine-Allah

"This is what Allah determined" (A phrase of exclamation and praise)

(8) ʔál.lah joːxðˤak
    Allah take-you
    "May Allah take you!" (A phrase of anger)

(9) ʔa l.lah justʊr
    Allah cover
    "May Allah cover this issue!"(A phrase of fear)

(10) ʔin-ʃa-allah t-wafig
    If wills-Allah she-agree
    "If Allah will, she would say yes."

3. NON-LITERAL MEANINGS OF THE PHONETIC VARIANTS

The two phonetic terms can be used pragmatically to express new dimensions of meaning besides their original one. These new dimensions are determined by the context of use. However, the two terms may undergo some phonetic changes as vowel lengthening and some stylistic changes as repetition. The two terms will be handled in the following two sections.

3.1 Non-Literal Meaning of the Term ʔal.la h

Due to literary and the religious denotations this term carries, the number of the non-literal meanings is restricted to one. The term may undergo some minimal phonological changes as vowel lengthening. The sole pragmatic meaning that the term may deliver is admiration; the term is used upon seeing a praiseworthy scene to show that Allah is the source of every wonder, astonishing feat, fascinating landscape and beautiful voice and, that he alone deserves to be mentioned and praised in these situations. Consider the following examples:

(11) ɑllaːħ (two colons are used to indicate the extra length of a vowel)
    "Allah."
    "How (adjectives) is this ….."

(12) Allaːh ma ʔarwaʕak
    Oh-Allah what great-you
    "What a great man you are!"

The lengthening is accounted for by the state of wonder or astonishment the speaker is going through. It is a strong state that may last for quite some time before the speaker can overcome it. This state of bewilderment is represented mainly by uttering the term alone as in (11) or by expressing the reason of wonder through using the interjection template which is *ma* "what/to what extent" + a comparative form of an adjective as given in (12) above.

3.2 Non-Literal Meanings of the Term ʔa l.lah

The total number of the non-literal meanings of this variant is two. They are different from each other in terms of pronunciation and usage. The first one is pronounced briefly and abruptly due to the context of use it occurs in. It is mainly uttered on seeing a person who is about to fall,

or who has fallen to indicate our resort to Allah to protect her. One can argue that the term has undergone ellipsis in which case the predicate, which can be jɪħ.*fadˤ-ak* or jɪħ.*miː-k* "protect you", is elided. I think that the ellipsis is accounted for in terms of the abruptness of the context; there is no time to utter the whole expression before or while falling.

In this sense, the term is not used literally; rather, it is used idiomatically. Consider the following example:

(13) (On seeing her little child falling or about to fall)
Mother: ʔa l.lah
Allah
"May Allah protect you."

The second idiomatic expression that this term may appear in is made of consecutive repetitions of the term: three times at least and five at most. Most often, the expression is used to indicate dissatisfaction, scorn and sometimes anger on the part of the speaker regarding a certain action or behavior committed by another party. For example, the expression can be uttered by a father addressing his son who was drunk when he returned home; or by a mother to her daughter who did not wash the dishes as the mother requested and spent the time watching TV. Consider the following example:

(14) (On discovering that her son did not study for the exam, and wasted the time talking on the phone)
A mother: ʔa l.lah ʔa l.lah ʔa l.lah ʔa l.lah ʔa l.lah
Allah Allah Allah Allah Allah
"What have you done?"

4. NON-LITERAL MEANINGS OF THE TWO PHONETIC VARIANTS USED WITH PARTICLES

This section will discuss the non-literal meanings of the two phonetic variants when used with two particles in specific: *ja* "oh" the particle for vocation and *bɪ* "by" the particle for swearing and making oaths. These two where chosen in particular since they are frequently blended to one of the phonetic variants to form new expressions with different parts of speech; some of them are adverbs, while others are verbs. The two phonetic variants will be discussed individually in the following two sections below.

4.1 Non-Literal Meanings of the Term ʔal.la h When Used With Particles

Due to the sacredness of the word ʔal.la h and its restricted contexts i.e., religious and literary, the non-literal meanings of the word ʔal.la h when combined with the two particles mentioned above are very limited. At the beginning, some examples that clarify how the two particles are literally used with the term ʔal.la h are given below:

(15) (An old man who can barely stand on his feet)
ja ʔal.la h

"Oh Allah"
(16) bɪ-llah ʕaleɪ-k trʊd ʕal-aɪ
By-Allah on-you-GEN answer on-me- GEN
"Answer me by Allah."
(17) bɪ-llah ʕaleɪ-k taʕaːl maʕ-ɪ
By-Allah on-you-GEN come with-me-GEN
"I swear on you by Allah to come with me."
(18) ja ʔal.la h ʔɪl-buːtˤ jiːdʒɪ ʕala-ɪ
Oh Allah the-shoes come on-me-GEN
"I wish (pray to Allah) that the pair of shoes would fit my feet."

Examples (15) and (18) show how the term ʔal.la h is literally used with the vocative particle ja "oh"; the examples are direct supplications to Allah, the Almighty, to enable the speakers to achieve what they desire or to grant them the ability to perform a certain action, regardless of the degree of difficulty or significance involved. Examples (16) and (17) show the term ʔal.la h when used with the oath particle bɪ- "by". In both cases, the speaker is swearing on the addressee by the most precious thing on Muslims to perform a certain action for him. These two examples are literal in the sense that the speaker's sole intention is to swear by Allah.

The term ʔal.la h, however, can be pragmatically used when the expressions do not include a direct reference to Allah, i.e., Allah is not the addressee when the *ja* is used, nor is He sworn by when *bɪ*- is used. Consider the following examples containing *ja*:

(19) (Complaining)
ja ʔal.la h ʔɪtʔaxar-na
Oh Allah late-we-NOM
"(What's going on?) We are late."
(20) (When requested to perform an action, one can complain saying:)
ja ʔal.la h ʔana ʕalaɪ draseh
oh Allah I on-me-GEN study
"I have to study; I can"t do this."
(21) (On seeing a beautiful scene, or hearing a stunning story)
ja ʔal.la h (maʕguːl ʔɪllɪ btɪħki:-h)
Oh Allah reasonable that tell-it-ACC
"What you"ve just said is beyond comprehension."
(22) ja ʔal.la h ma ʔazkaː-ha
oh Allah what delicious-it-ACC
"How delicious it is!"

It is obvious from the examples that the term ʔal.la h is not used literally; hence, the disappearance of the term in the English translation of the phrases. Examples (19) and (20) show that the term is used to intensify the meaning of complaint; whereas (21) and (22) show that the term can be used to mean admiration or to intensify the meaning of admiration. One, however, can claim that these two meanings are closely related to the original meaning of the term, i.e., the name of Allah since He is the source of every wonder and our resort to help us out of our problems.

Nonetheless, although I agree to some extent with this interpretation, I still believe that the last examples are quite different in the way the term is employed. One way to provide a reasonable explanation is through the analysis of example (19) where Allah is the addressee due to using the term after the vocative particle, and then adding a statement about the condition of the speaker(s).

Moving to *bɪl.ˈlah*, we can notice that this expression is simply used to make an investigative oath. It is an oath made by the hearer to investigate the truth of what the speaker says. It is addressed to the original speaker narrating a story, telling a piece of news, or recounting a rumor. In this sense, the phrase serves as a backchannel. It has become an expression of reassuring the speaker that you are listening and the piece of news he delivered is quite new to you. The following example may clarify the situation:

(23) A. ʔɪm.barɪħ ʔɪʃtar-et saɪjaarah
Yesterday bought-I car
"I bought a car yesterday."
B. bɪlˈlah ʕale-k
By Allah on-you
"Really"
A. Wal. lahɪ ʔɪl-ʕathiim
By Allah, the greatest
"I swear by Allah, the greatest."

It seems that there is a series of phonological and morphological processes taking place to change the phrase of two words into one word. The processes are given in (24) below:

(24) *The series of phonological changes taking place in bɪl.ˈlah* :

Deep structure:	bɪ # ʔalˈlah
a. Word boundary deletion:	bɪ ʔalˈlah
b. Onset deletion:	bɪ.alˈlah
c. Nucleus deletion:	bɪ.lˈlah
d. onset& Nucleus replacement:	bɪlˈlah
S.Structure:	bɪlˈlah

4.2 Non-Literal Meanings of the Term ʔa l.lah When Used With Particles

This section will discuss the forms resulting from using the second phonetic variant with the two particles. Unlike the first variant which has restricted contexts of use, and which in this case can be considered the marked form, this variant is unmarked in the sense that it can be used extensively in nearly all the situations except for those contexts that require using the first variant. In other words, one can say that these two variants are in complementary distribution. Due to the fact that this variant is not restricted to certain contexts, it has undergone various morphological, syntactic and semantic changes. Each term will be handled in a separate section.

4.2.1 ˈjal.lah "Let's"

This form has undergone drastic changes at the morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. The resulting form is a blend of one word in which the onset and the nucleus of the first syllable of the term ʔa l.lah undergo deletion and get replaced by the vocative particle *ja*. Although one cannot study the development of this expression historically due to the lack of written or recorded data of JA, one can predict that the expression has undergone a series of phonological changes to surface as a blend. The phonological changes are given in (25) below:

(25) **The series of phonological changes that took place**:

Deep structure:	ja # ʔa l.lah
a. Word boundary deletion:	ja ʔa l.lah
b. stress shift:	ja.ʔal.lah
c. Onset deletion:	ja.al.lah
d. Nucleus deletion:	ja.l.lah
e. onset& Nucleus replacement:	jal.lah
Surface.Structure:	jal.lah

One piece of evidence that what has been lost is the onset and the nucleus of the first syllable is that the resulting word is still pronounced with a geminate of dark /l/. Had the first syllable been lost wholly, the word would have been pronounced with a single light /l/. Apparently, the phrase has undergone a drastic change in its morphological structure. An expression of two words has been modified through a series of phonological and morphological changes into a single word.

Moreover, the meaning of the expression has undergone a drastic change as well. It has become a verb meaning "let". It is fundamentally used to make suggestions. The expression is usually followed with a phrase stating the suggestion or the intended action. However, it can stand alone, in which case the conversationalists share the intended message or suggestion. Consider the following examples:

(26) jallah n-oukɪl
Let's we-eat
"Let's have some food."

(27) jallah n-ɪmʃɪ
Let's we-walk
"Let's have a walk."

Nevertheless, the expression can express various pragmatic non-literal meanings that are distant from the resulting one. Consider the following examples:

(28) jallah, haɪna ra:dʒʕiːn
Let's we are going-back
"Hold on, we"re coming."

(29) jallah ʔʊtʊb-ɪ
Let's write-IMPER-you-FEM
"Start writing."

(30) ʔɪða badd-ak jallah maʕ-ɪ
If want-YOU-M let's with-me
"If you want, go with me."

(31) jalla:h, xalliːha laddinja: btɪnsa:
Let's leave-it to-the-life will-forget
"It's ok, life will make you forget."

(32) jallah ru:ħ mɪn houn
Let's go-IMPER-you-MAS from here
"Hurry up, go from here."

(33) A: jallah nru:ħ n-ɪʃtarɪ
Let's go we-buy
"Let's go buy something."
B:jallah
Let's
"Ok"

(34) (Responding to a caller who urges them to hurry up)
Jallah
Let's
"Coming/ wait."

(35) A: Maħmu:d za:rna ʔɪmba:rɪħ
Mahmoud visited-us yesterday
"Mahmoud visited us yesterday."
B:Ja-llah
Oh- Allah
"I beg your pardon."

The examples above show the various meanings the new expression can carry. It is obvious that these meanings are not clearly related to the term *Allah*. The expression in (28) is used to urge the hearer to wait since the speaker is coming shortly whereas the expression in (29) is used to urge the hearer to do something; it intensifies the meaning of the imperative expressed by the verb. The expression is used in (30) as an imperative verb meaning *go,* while in (31) it is a sentential adverb used as an expression of consoling meaning "it's ok" or "forget about it". In (32), the expression is used as an adverb meaning "fast" or "quickly". In (33), the expression is used in the meaning of "yes", while in (34), it is used as a backchannel. The example in (35) shows an archaic use of the expression. I witnessed my mother who is 75 years old using this expression to ask the original speaker to repeat what she was talking about since she was not able to catch it.

4.2.2 ´jaal.lah "barely"
This new term is made of one word of two syllables. It seems that similar phonological, morphological and syntactic changes have taken place here. What happened is the following: the word boundary has been removed resulting into a word of three syllables, and stress has been moved to the new first one. This has been followed by the deletion of the onset i.e., the glottal stop of the second syllable, and the nucleus of the syllable *ʔa l* has been combined to the nucleus of the syllable *ja* giving it extra lengthening. The processes of are summarized in (36) below:

(36) **The series of phonological changes taking place in ´jaal.lah:**

Deep structure:	ja # ʔa l.lah
a. Word boundary deletion:	ja.ʔa l.lah
b. stress shift:	ja.ʔal.lah
c. Onset deletion:	ja.al.lah
d. onset replacement:	jaal.lah
S.Structure:	jaal.lah

When it comes to meaning, the change here is again drastic. The part of speech of the resulting word is an adverb of frequency meaning "barely". The following examples may clarify how the expression is used:

(37) (A mother to her son who brought her some food and asked whether the food was enough or not)
Jaallah kaff-at-na
Barely suffice-it-us
"It barely sufficed us."

(38) (Talking about a pair of pants whether they fit or not)
Jaallah dʒaai/jiidʒɪ
Barely coming/comes
"It barely fits somebody."

The adverb is usually followed by a verb in the past form or by a present participle form. In each of these examples, the expression is used to emphasize the fact that although it is enough, it is tightly enough. Consider the following example:

(39) jaallah jɪ-gdar jɪ-gaf ʕa-rɪdʒl-eɪh
Barley he-can he-stand on-feet-his
"He can barely stand on his feet."

(40) masˤru:f lɪwla:d wɪ-ja:llah ja:llah
expense the-children and oh-Allah oh-Allah
"I can barely get the basic expenses of the kids."

I think that in accordance of what Piementa (1979) says this idiomatic meaning has developed out of the original meaning of the phrase i.e., supplication to Allah because of the speaker's wishes and prayers to Allah to grant them the ability to obtain things which are barley achievable, or even unattainable or out of reach.

4.2.3 *jaal.lah* "continuously"
This variant resulted from joining the vocative particle ja "oh" to the word *ʔa l.lah* "Allah" into one word. It seemed that the onset of the first syllable i.e., the glottal stop has been lost and got replaced by the glide. The vowel got extra length from joining the two vowels of the two original syllables into one syllable. The phonological changes are given in (41) below:

(41) **The phonological and morphological changes that took place to ´jaal.lah "continuously"**

Deep structure:	ja # ʔa l.lah
a. Word boundary deletion:	ja.ʔa l.lah
b. stress shift:	ja.ʔal.lah
c. Onset deletion:	ja.al.lah
d. onset replacement:	jaal.lah
S.Structure:	jaal.lah

This form is identical to the previous one; however, the context of use here is different. It is used with a verb in the present form, though two compound verbs are the most common. This form cannot be used with two verbs in the past form or with participles. (42), (43) and (44) are examples on this form:

(42) (A mother talking about her son who after getting married never stopped shopping)

ja:l-lah ʔɪdʒi:b wɪ-ħʊtˤ
frequently brings-he and-puts down
"He never stops buying."

(43) ja:l-lah ʔɪʕi:d wɪ-zi:d
Frequently repeats and-adds
"He keeps on repeating the same old story with some flavors"

(44) ja:l-lah jɪħtʃɪ ʕann-ak
Frequently talks about-you
"He frequently talks about you."

4.2.4 *bal.lah* "never/absolutely not"

This expression is utilized to show disagreement or lack of satisfaction with what the previous speaker has just said. It is usually uttered loudly with a certain facial expression to intensify the meaning of disagreement. One can say that the expression has undergone grammaticalization in which case the expression has lost its original meaning, and acquired a functional one. Consider the following example:

(45) A: Badd-ɪ ʔalbas gamiS-ak ʔɪl-joum
Want-I wear shirt-you"re the-today
"I want to wear your shirt today."
B: Ballah
By-allah
"No way!"

Closely related to this meaning is the one used in situations in which a speaker is slightly annoyed from a close friend or a relative. This version is usually followed by a preposition which is in turn followed by a second person pronoun. Consider the following example:

(46) ja Allah mɪnn-ak
Oh Allah from-you
"I seek Allah's protection from you."

The speaker is not really seeking Allah's protection from the addressee; the expression is used to show slight annoyance or lack of satisfaction from the addressee.

4.2.5 *jallaah* "though/despite"

This expression is pronounced as one word with the second syllable is stressed and made apparently longer. The expression is mainly used by young conversationalists. It is basically used by the speaker to show the addressee that he, despite the addressee's meanness and rudeness, is not willing to treat them accordingly; rather, he is willing to treat them according to his nature and to pardon them. The speaker refuses to be parallel to them in malice and rudeness. Most often, the whole situation is a fake one i.e., it is just created for fun and for kidding the addressee.

The expression is usually followed by clauses or phrases that clarify the cause of the change of intent. The speaker's intention is to treat the addressee according to his meanness and malice; however, due to the mitigating cause, the speaker decided not to do so. Such clauses include: *lɪm ʕaamlɪh maʕ ʔallah* "Dealing with Allah,"

which clarifies the meaning of the vocative. It means that despite your unpleasant and harmful deeds, I am willing to forget for Allah's sake. Other expressions are given in the following examples:

(47) jallaah ʔɪʕmal Xaer wɪ-rmɪ b-ɪl-baħʊr
In spite of Do good and-throw in-the-sea
"In spite of the person's misdeeds, do well and wait no gratitude."

(48) jallaah ma -hʊ ʔɪsm-ak ðear dʒaradɪ
In spite of your misdeeds, it is name-your only Jaradat's
"It is only because of your family's name that I am willing to forgive you."

CONCLUSION

The paper has attempted to explore new, in the sense of not being studied before, invocations containing the term *Allah* in Jordanian Arabic. The study has emphasized the fact that Allah expressions have permeated all aspects of a Muslim's life, and that they have been spread to be used of Arabic speakers of all creeds.

Moreover, the paper has unveiled new invocations to Allah that have become idiomatic in use. Some of these terms have lost some their semantic connection to their original invocations, acquiring totally new meanings as in the case of *yaallah* meaning "barely" and *yallah* meaning "let's." The study has also discovered that some of the new expressions have changed their parts of speech as in the case of two expressions mentioned above whose parts of speech are an adverb and a verb respectively. In addition, the new expressions have come to serve new functions besides the original function of invocation from which each one is derived.

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