

The Pragmatic Functions of the Discourse Marker *he:k* in Jordanian Spoken Arabic

Ghada Alkarazoun*

Department of English, Faculty of Educational Sciences and Arts, UNRWA, Jordan

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Abstract

This study investigates the pragmatic functions of the discourse marker *he:k* in Jordanian Spoken Arabic. To achieve this, a list of 22 situations featuring *he:k* is developed, drawing on its familiarity and multiple contexts in Jordanian society. Each situation is analyzed to determine these functions, which are then reviewed and validated by a panel of jurors who suggest amendments to certain situations and functions. The acceptability of the amended version is tested against the intuition of 110 BA students at the Faculty of Educational Sciences and Arts, UNRWA. Twenty-two pragmatic functions are revealed: expressing doubt, seeking confirmation, expressing excitement and joy, showing vagueness, avoiding repetition, showing indecisiveness, showing approval, expressing despair, exaggerating a situation, hinting, minimizing a situation, insulting, expressing uneasiness, expressing shock and displeasure, expressing admiration, ending a conversation, asking for tolerance, wishing, reassuring, mitigating an assertion, marking threats, and filling a gap.

Keywords: Discourse marker, Jordanian spoken Arabic, *he:k*, pragmatic situations.

1. Introduction

This study is an investigation of the pragmatic functions of a commonly used discourse marker (DM) in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (JSA), namely, *he:k* 'like this'. Al-Aqel (2010), claims that *he:k* was originally the demonstrative pronoun '*hakaða:*' in Standard Arabic (SA) which means 'in this way' or 'like this'. It consists of three parts: the warning article *ha*; *ka*, which is an analogy tool; and, *ða:*, which is a demonstrative pronoun. The demonstrative pronoun *ða:* is ellipted or cut off from the word '*hakaða:*' generating the word *he:k* commonly used in Levantine Arabic (LA). It is noticeable that *he:k* is used in folk songs, TV programmes, radio talks, show titles, chit chat, and social media.

Pragmatics is the study of language use and the purposes and functions of linguistic items (Brown and Yule 1983, 27). Verschueren (1999, 7) views pragmatics as the science that tackles how language functions in human lives by linking language to other humanities and social science fields. Hence, pragmatics is "a general cognitive, social, and cultural perspective on linguistic phenomena in relation to their usage in forms of behaviour". Yule (1996, 3) defines pragmatics as "the study of meaning as

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* Corresponding Author: ghadaalkarazoun@gmail.com

communicated by a speaker or writer and interpreted by a listener or reader". It deals, therefore, with the meaning of utterances over and above that of the individual words or phrases themselves. In daily interactions, the speakers or writers of a certain language may not always communicate their intentions explicitly, and so their listeners or readers need to go beyond the literal meaning of utterances to infer the intended meaning (Saeed 1997).

Social situations can also determine part of the meaning of an utterance, requiring hearers to identify whether they are being questioned, invited to do something, or insulted, for example (Saeed 2003, 219). Such language functions, known as speech acts, are used not only to present information but also to perform actions (Austin 1962, 108). Each speech act consists of three elements: the locutionary act of uttering a certain sentence with a certain sense and reference; the illocutionary act of utterances which have a certain (conventional) force, such as ordering and warning, etc.; and, the perlocutionary act indicating what we achieve by saying something, such as convincing, persuading, deterring and, even, say, surprising or misleading.

A pragmatic understanding of language includes the role of context as the typical pragmatic concept in interpreting the meaning of utterances (Pranowo 2020, 256). To interpret utterances, hearers need to realise many factors, such as the organization of speakers' utterances, the identity of the addressee and addresser, the place and time, and under which conditions the utterances occur. Pragmatics can thus be viewed as the study of contextual meaning. In this regard, Levinson (1983, 5) assumes that the beliefs, knowledge, and intentions of the participants in the speech event, and more, are vital parts of its context. Likewise, Crystal (1997, 379) highlights how aspects of context are encoded in utterances, such as the users of the language, social situations, and other choices available to the speaker.

Different contexts are used to interpret pragmatic meanings (the speaker's meaning) in communication. The pragmatic function of an expression shows how utterances convey different meanings depending on the context or situation (Hu 2014, 129). Pragmatically, contexts are of two types, namely, static and dynamic (Van Dijk 2009, 46-49). The static context refers to how the meaning of an utterance relies mainly on its situational context, such as the interlocutors' topic, time, and place. Wolf (1989) points out that the socio-cultural background and characteristics also play a significant part in the interpretation of meaning. The dynamic context, however, includes cognitive and emotive elements such as beliefs, desires, wishes, motivation, and intentions; social elements, such as social settings, institutions, common cultural norms, and values; and, physical elements, referring to posture, gestures, gaze, gender, and physical appearance (Sperber and Wilson 1986).

Besides context, the notion of inference is also significant in pragmatics. Inference helps participants bridge the gap between what is said and what is meant. Given that much of the meaning of utterances is often implied, participants must rely on their background, interpersonal, cultural, and co-textual knowledge to infer meaning that goes beyond what is explicitly said. In any language, what is said often differs from what is meant, and so understanding what is said requires inferences (O'Keeffe et al. 2011, 87). Fasold (1990, 119) refers to inferences as interlocutors' deductions as provided by the context. For instance, although the utterance *'I've got a headache'* is about a type of pain, the inferred meaning might

be a request for a prescription from a patient to a doctor, or a complaint from a mother whose son is playing loud music, depending on the context. Migdadi and Badarneh (2013, 65) argue that understanding the illocutionary force of prophet-praise formulas used as DMs in Jordanian society requires going beyond the literal meaning of the formulas, considering social and cultural factors such as politeness strategies, involvement, and the integration of meaning into discourse. For example, the pragmatic behavior of one of the most widely used religious formulas in everyday Arabic, *alla:humma sallu: ʕala sajjidna: muhammad* ‘may God bestow blessings upon our Prophet Muhammad’, is not predictable from its content. In fact, it can be replaced by the expression meaning ‘as I recall’, which is typically used as a hesitation marker (*ibid.*, 68).

Levinson (1983, 5-7) differentiates between sentence meaning and speaker meaning because meaning is crucial in understanding contexts. The former refers to the literal interpretation of speakers’ utterances and the latter to what speakers intend to express. Later, Fraser (1988, 20-21) splits sentence meaning into two types, namely, content meaning and pragmatic meaning. Content meaning is the explicit, literal interpretation of the sentence while the pragmatic meaning concerns the speaker’s intended message for a sentence. Pragmatic meaning is conveyed by four markers: a basic one signalling the illocutionary force, e.g., ‘*I promise that*’; a commentary that signals the speaker’s comment on the basic message, e.g., ‘*sadly*’; a discourse marker (DM) linking parts of the discourse, e.g., ‘*anyway*’; and, a discourse structure marker, which shows the organisation of the message, e.g., ‘*in summary*’. DMs have pragmatic meanings linked to the speaker’s communicative intentions and determined by their context, and thus their varied meanings facilitate the interaction (Fraser 2009, 295-297).

Among the prominent studies on DMs, Schiffrin (1987) investigates how DMs contribute to coherence by linking units of talks and accomplishing varied functions, depending on where they appear in conversation. Later, Schiffrin (2001, 58) describes the conditions that allow an expression to be used as a DM, such as being syntactically detachable, taking the initial position, having a range of prosodic contours, operating at both local and global levels, and being on different planes of discourse. Fraser (1999, 931) defines DMs as “a class of lexical expressions that signal a relationship between the interpretation of the segment they introduce, S2, and the prior segment, S1. They have a core meaning which is procedural, not conceptual and their more specific interpretation is ‘negotiated’ by the context being both linguistic and conceptual”. These lexical expressions are free morphemes that can be conjunctions, adverbs, prepositional phrases and some idioms; having a procedural core meaning means that DMs relate two discourse segments and do not contribute to the propositional meaning of either segment (Fraser 1996). That is, their functions are related to the context and to what precedes and follows the DM. Thus, Fraser (*ibid.*, 32) stresses that DMs are a “pragmatic category, albeit a part of the grammar of a language”. Syntactically, they are flexible and may occur segment-initially, medially, or finally.

Viewing DMs as optional pragmatic markers, Brinton (2008) states that they perform pragmatic functions, such as achieving intimacy and expressing hesitance. They act as mitigators, responses, and reactions in interactions. For Croucher (2004, 40), DMs such as ‘um’, ‘uh’, ‘like’ and ‘you know’ identify digression, express sentiment, fill pauses in interactions, and indicate turn taking. Habib (2021, 245) further contends that DMs help non-native speakers to understand native speakers’ use of DMs and the

socio-linguistic contexts affecting their use, as well as to develop language skills. For Ostman (1995 cited in Kanakri and Al-Harashsheh 2013, 60), DMs have structural and functional perspectives in various contexts, with the former being short language elements potentially derived from other words, and the latter having implicit and explicit pragmatic roles in discourse organisation and the expression of attitude.

2. Literature Review

2.1 DMs in the Jordanian Context

This review of the key literature discusses the pragmatic functions of frequently used DMs in the Jordanian context. Farghal (1995) reiterated how context plays a vital role in determining the pragmatic meanings of *?inshallah* ‘if God wills’ in JSA. In reference to speech act theory, *?inshallah* can be an affirmation, threat, wonderment, wish, or irony. In a related study, Nazzal (2005) examined the pragmatic functions of, and motivations behind, Muslims’ use of the Quranic verse *?inshallah* in oral communication. It was revealed that *?inshallah* was used for several purposes, such as mitigating or avoiding commitments, preventing adverse consequences, and confirming one’s identity. One motivation behind its use is that the recitation of Quranic verses is a powerful way of doubling the credibility of a message and thus having a positive effect on interlocutors’ attitudes and behaviours, since what one is reciting represents the word of God. Migdadi et al. (2010) analyzed the pragmatic functions of *ma:fa:llah* (lit. ‘What God wishes has and will come true’) in JSA, identifying its use as a protective invocation, compliment, expression of modesty/gladness, marker of sarcasm, conversational backchannel, and mitigator of face-threatening acts like criticism.

The pragmatic functions of other Arabic DMs have also been studied. Al-Harashsheh and Kanakri (2013) studied the idiomatic expression *tajjib*, meaning ‘okay’ ‘fine’, ‘good’, and its cognate *tabb*. It was found that they show objection, introduce new topics, soften disagreements, express confrontation, signal the end of discourse, and give permission, and so on. Kanakri and Al-Harashsheh (2013) examined the idiomatic expression *?a:di* ‘normal’ and stressed that interpreting its pragmatic functions in different contexts requires a shared socio-cultural background besides a global perspective. This expression functions as a marker of consolation, disapproval, scorn, courtesy, indirect criticism, and acceptance, among others. Al-Ghoweri (2016) found that the idiomatic expression of *ajallakum allah* ‘God elevate you’ is used pragmatically to express indirect impoliteness, especially when talking about socially taboo topics, to save the speaker’s face before the addressee.

The use of *jahummalai* was why one Facebook user filed a case against the poster of the comment, as the former considered it very offensive and insulting. This case prompted Hamdan and Abu Rumman (2020, 327) to explore the pragmatic functions of *jahummalali*, rather than it being an insult. They found 19 pragmatic functions, which included expressing dismay, disapproval, fear, and disappointment, mitigating exaggerated claims, wishing, expressing sadness, regret, and dissatisfaction, among others. The DM *bas* (lit. ‘but’) was investigated by Al-Rousan et al. (2020) who identified some of its pragmatic functions, such as making corrections, showing contrast and regret, initiating, shifting or ending a topic,

and filling gaps in interactions. Also investigating *bas*, Ennasser and Hijazin (2021) found that it is used to repair, express threats, indicate insufficient information, and show a topic shift.

Rabab'ah et al. (2022) used a mixed-method approach to examine the pragmatic functions of *walak* and its variants in JSA, including differences in usage by gender. *Walak* and its variants were found to perform six pragmatic functions: warning, insulting, addressing/vocative, speaking endearments, threatening, and expressing denial. The findings also showed that more males than females use *walak* for warning, threatening and insulting in daily interactions since their language is more directive and less polite than females' language.

Hamadan and Hammouri (2022) tackled *jalla* (lit. 'let us'), finding that it has twenty-three pragmatic functions, eight of which were widely agreed upon, namely approval/acceptance, entreating, signalling the start of an action, spreading enthusiasm, commanding, urging, surrendering, and announcing the start of a new stage. *jalla* was also of interest in a study by Al Kayed et al. (2023), who tackled five of its functional perspectives, namely, indicating the end of a conversation, signalling a topic shift, initiating a topic, taking a turn, and yielding a turn. On another instance, Al-Hanaktah and Hamdan (2024) found that *tamam* in the Jordanian context has 14 pragmatic functions—expressing approval, being impatient, confirming, and tolerating, among others.

To sum up, studies on discourse markers in the Jordanian context have examined their pragmatic functions, particularly focusing on widely used markers in Jordanian Spoken Arabic (Farghal 1995; Migdadi et al. 2010; Kanakri and Al-Harashseh 2013; Al-Rousan et al. 2020; Hamadan and Hammouri 2022). Other studies have gone beyond the pragmatic functions and included motivations of using DMs and their translation (Nazzal 2005; Al-Harashseh and Kanakri 2013; Hamdan and AbuRumman 2020). Others have examined the use of DMs in relation to gender and age factors (Al-Ghoweri 2016; Rabab'ah et al. 2022). Others have reduplicated to examine more pragmatic functions of a particular DM (Ennasser and Hijazin 2021; Al Kayed et al. 2023). However, *he:k* has not been thoroughly examined, and thus the current study aims to bridge the research gap by investigating its pragmatic functions in JSA. Such a study adds new knowledge to the discourse markers literature in the Jordanian context, as it may be the first to examine the DM *he:k* based on its presumed illocutionary functions.

3. Method

As a native speaker of JSA, the researcher created an initial list of 19 situations featuring *he:k* in JSA, drawing on familiarity with this expression and understanding of its multiple contexts in Jordanian society. The pragmatic functions of *he:k* were determined in each of these situations and then both the functions and situations were validated by three linguists, native speakers of JSA; one panel member was from the Faculty of Educational Sciences and Arts (FESA), affiliated to UNRWA, and the other two were from the Hashemite University in Jordan. These linguists agreed with most of the functions and situations and also suggested three new ones. Following the review, slight amendments were made to situation contexts and a few functions were renamed. Three scenarios were thus identified, each employing a different pragmatic function of *he:k*.

Based on convenience and availability, a sample of 110 BA undergraduates (78 females, 32 males) enrolled in different specialisms at FESA were selected. All were native JSA speakers aged 18 to 22 (mean age 19.8 years). Observation of the frequent use of *he:k* by university students motivated the researcher to select a sample from this age group. All participants gave informed consent to participate in the study by signing a short form prepared for this target.

The acceptability of the 22 assigned pragmatic functions was tested against the subjects' intuition. A task in table form was presented to the sample in Arabic. The contents of the table were as follows: column one was the *he:k* situations; column two was the suggested pragmatic functions of *he:k*; column three was a 5-point Likert scale of 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'uncertain', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree'; and, column four was for the subjects to suggest new functions. The subjects were asked to read each situation and consider their rating and suggestions. Although four subjects suggested some alternative functions of *he:k*, these repeated the original situations or expressed the literal meaning of *he:k*, and thus they were not considered. In this study, situations were considered acceptable if 50% of the subjects were in agreement, hence indicating a fairly representative current usage of *he:k* in JSA. Any situation and its associated function that did not meet this criterion was excluded.

4. Results

Analysis of the data shows that *he:k* in JSA has 22 pragmatic functions. The table below shows the pragmatic functions of *he:k*, as well as the number and percentage of participants who accepted each function.

Table 1: Pragmatic functions of *he:k* and their acceptance rates

No.	Function	Acceptance Rate	
		n	%
1	Expressing doubt/uncertainty	102	93%
2	Seeking confirmation	101	92%
3	Expressing excitement and joy	100	91%
4	Showing vagueness	99	90%
5	Avoiding repetition	96	87%
6	Showing indecisiveness	94	85%
7	Showing approval/agreement	92	84%
8	Expressing despair and hopelessness	90	82%
9	Exaggerating a situation	90	82%
10	Hinting/drawing someone attention	87	79%
11	Minimizing a situation	86	78%
12	Insulting/offending	85	77%
13	Expressing uneasiness and discomfort	82	75%
14	Showing shock and displeasure	82	75%
15	Expressing admiration and amusement.	80	73%
16	Ending a conversation	79	72%
17	Asking for tolerance/calming someone down	78	71%
18	Wishing	77	70%
19	Reassuring	70	64%
20	Mitigating or softening an assertion	67	61%
21	Marking threats	65	59%
22	Filling a gap	63	57%

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Below is a presentation of each pragmatic function in its context followed by an illustrative example. For the reader's convenience, each example starts with the context (originally in Arabic) followed by the transliteration and an English gloss.

(1) Expressing doubt/uncertainty

[Context] Ahmad has a rotten tooth and so he calls the dental clinic to make an appointment. The following conversation takes place between the secretary and him:

أحمد: بدي موعد ضروري. متى بداوم الدكتور بكرة؟

Ahmad: *biddi mawʕid ɗaruri. mata bida:wim idduktu:r bukra?*

'I want to make an appointment. When does the dentist start working tomorrow?'

السكرتيرة: الدكتور بوصل عالسااعه ٢هيك.

The secretary: *idduktu:r biwʕal ʕassa:ʕa tinte:n he:k .*

'The doctor arrives around 2 o'clock.'

The secretary here uses *he:k* to show that she is not sure of the exact time of the dentist's arrival, which could be any time around two o'clock. *he:k* in this situation means 'approximately' or 'about'.

(2) Seeking confirmation

[Context] Ali goes to the grocery store to buy some vegetables for his mom. When he finishes, he calls her and says:

علي: شريت كيلو بطاطا و5 كيلو بندوره و ربطتين بقدونس. هيك (نعمة مرتفعة) ؟ بسرعه قبل ما يطفى التلفون.

Ali: *jare:t ki:lu baʕa:ʕa wu xamsih ki:lu bando:ra wu rabʕite:n bagdu:nis. he:k ? ibsurʕah gabel ma: jitʕi ittilifo:n.*

'I bought 1 kilo of potatoes, 5 kilos of tomatoes, and 2 bundles of parsley. Isn't it (high intonation)?'

Hurry up before the phone turns off.'

والدة علي: كل شي مزبوط.

Ali's mother: *kul ʕi: mazbu:t.*

'Everything is fine.'

In this situation, *he:k* with a rising intonation functions as a confirmation seeker. More specifically, it serves as a tag question used by Ali to elicit confirmation from his mother about the shopping list. As it turns out, Ali's mother directly confirms since she is under pressure and has no chance but to confirm her son's request even if the former does not use the DM *he:k*. Nevertheless, the use of *he:k* here has doubled the pressure upon Ali's mother to confirm. Migdadi and Badarneh (2013, 82) assert that interlocutors use DMs as agreement-eliciting interrogatives to guarantee that the addressee is following up, listening, and ready to contribute to the discussion.

(3) Expressing excitement and joy

[Context] Nadia has got full marks in the science project. The following conversation takes place between her mother and her:

والدة نادية: كيف علامتك بالمشروع؟ طمئيني؟

Nadia's mother: ki:f ʕala:mtik blimaʕru:ʕ? tamni:ni?

'What is your project grade? Is it Okay?'

نادية: هيك!! (مبتسمة) (رفعت الإبهام للأعلى).

Nadia: he:k !!

'Great!!' (smiling) (thumb is up).

Clearly, Nadia's response with *he:k* is associated with a smile and a thumbs up. Therefore, Nadia's body language and facial expressions align with her verbal response. In this scenario, Nadia's smiling signals her excitement, joy and pleasure, and her thumbs up is mostly positive, indicating 'excellent' or 'great'. While it is difficult to state whether the DM *he:k* or Nadia's body language has contributed to achieving the function of joy, Al-Hanaktah and Hamdan (2024, 987) maintain that a set of bodily gestures fulfill pragmatic functions within a context.

(4) Showing vagueness

[Context] Sami and Rami are colleagues. The following conversation takes place between them:

رامي: سامي، مالك اليوم؟ ايش في؟

Rami: sa:mi, ma:lak iljom??e:ʕ fi:ʕ?

'Sami, what is wrong with you today? Is there anything wrong?'

سامي: في شي هيك في بالي.

Sami: fi: ʕi: he:k fiba:li.

'There is something on my mind.'

رامي: طيب احكي لي.

Rami: tajjib ihkili.

'So tell me.'

سامي: بفكر يشغله هيك. بعدين بحكيلك.

Sami: bafakkir biʕaylih he:k . baʕde:n baħkilak.

'I am thinking of something; I will tell you later.'

The larger discourse that is not accessible to the readers here might be that Sami looks busy or worried. This might have prompted Rami to ask Sami twice about what is wrong. Each time Rami replies, he includes *he:k* to imply that there is some vague information he intends to keep to himself. The adjacent utterances like *fi ba:li* 'on my mind' and *baʕde:n baħkilak* 'I'll tell you later' intensify the vagueness connotation that *he:k* expresses here.

(5) Avoiding repetition

[Context] Waleed is often late to work. He asks his colleague, Musa, to help him invent a story to justify his late arrival to his boss. Musa suggests that Waleed claims he had a flat tire and the battery of his car was dead. Later, Musa sees Waleed and asks him about what happened. Waleed responds:

وليد: سألني المدير ليش اتأخرت و حكيته هيك هيك و سامحي.

Waleed: saʕalni ilmudi:r le:ʕit?axxarit wu hake:tluh he:k he:k wu sa:maħni.

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'The boss asked me about showing up late; I told him the story I made up, and he forgave me.'

Musa and Waleed here acknowledge the fact that the latter is always late and thus they have come up with a false excuse to justify his lateness. To avoid the boredom of repeating the same story to Musa, Waleed uses *he:k* in its reduplication form. Note that only people who have a common history can use *he:k* reduplicated in similar contexts.

(6) Showing indecisiveness

[Context] Omar suffers from chest pain and has had surgery. Rashid asks his brother, Omar, about the state of his health. Omar replies:

عمر: والله هيك وهيك (محركا رأسه يميناً و يساراً).

Omar: wallah *he:k* wu *he:k* .

'It is a so-so situation.' (his head sweeps right to left)

Showing indecisiveness is another pragmatic function of *he:k* . Omar uses *he:k* wu *he:k* (a so-so situation) to show that he is unable to decide exactly how he feels after the surgery. In turn, the hearer might also be unclear whether the speaker is fine or not. McClave (2000, 862) reports that head sweeping conveys different pragmatic functions within various contexts and is often marked by verbal indecisiveness phrases, such as 'I guess' and 'I think', among others.

(7) Showing approval/agreement

[Context] Rana asks the tailor to fix some of her clothes. The following conversation takes place between them:

الخباطة: هيني قصرتك الفستان و وسعت كمام القميص. مش هاد اللي طلبتي؟

Tailor: hajni gassartillik ilfusta:n wu wassafit ikma:m ilgami:s. misf ha:d illi talabti?

'I have shortened the dress and enlarged the shirt sleeves. Isn't this what you asked for?'

رنا : (تومىء برأسها) هيك.

Rana: *he:k* .

(nodding) *'Yes.'*

The tailor seems to elicit agreement from Rana on the clothing alterations. In turn, Rana employs *he:k* to give approval to, or show agreement on, the tailor's questions. *he:k* here means 'yes'. According to McClave (ibid, 860), nodding the head signals affirmation in communication. Therefore, nodding here helps express the functional meaning of *he:k* .

(8) Expressing despair and hopelessness

[Context] Jamal reads out a news item to his wife, Amal, about the purchase price of the 21-karat gold that has risen to 50 JD (Jordanian Dinar) per gram. Amal says:

أمل:طلع ولا نزل هيك هيك شوخصنا.

Amal: tiliḡ willa nizil *he:k* *he:k* ju: xaṣna.

'Whether it has risen or fallen, anyway it is not our business.'

Expressing hopelessness and desperation is another pragmatic function expressed by *he:k* in its reduplication form. The larger discourse in which *he:k* is used here is not visible to the reader. It appears

that Amal is despondent about her husband's financial condition and desperate to have some jewelry or improve her life. Her husband might be a miser or poor. The adjacent linguistic expression *fu xasna* 'it is not our business' also indicates that there is an implicit or absorbed discourse in which *he:k* is used to enforce its function.

(9) Exaggerating a situation

[Context] Mayson is invited to a fancy restaurant. Reem, Mayson's friend, asks her about what she ate.

Mayson says:

ميسون: عبيت صحن هبييك (مع إطالة الصائت قبل الأخير) أسماك و جمبري ولحم خروف ومعكرونة و صحن هبييك حلويات
(مع إطالة الصائت قبل الأخير) (الإبهام و السداة لكلتا الكفين على هيئة قوسين و باعدت بين اليدين).

Mayson:ʃabe:t sahin he:e:e:k ʔasma:k wu dzambari wu lahim xaru:f wu maʃkaro:na wu sahin he:e:e:k
halawijja:t.

'I filled my plate with fish, shrimp, lamb, and spaghetti (elongation of the pre-final vowel) and another plate was filled with desserts (elongation of the pre-final vowel) (Both thumbs and index fingers were formed into an arc, with the hands positioned farther apart).

ريم: صحه وعافيه (باستغراب)!!

Reem: saħħa wu ʃa:fjih !!

'Bon appetite!!' (awkwardly)

In this example, Mayson appears to exaggerate eating food and sweets. The hand movement (i.e., both thumbs and index fingers made into arc and hands are farther apart) is commonly used to refer to large amounts. The use of the DM *he:k* accompanied by the hand gestures and the elongation of the prefinal front low vowel altogether emphasize the pragmatic function that *he:k* expresses here. Reem finds Mayson's exaggeration awkward.

(10) Hinting/drawing someone's attention

[Context] Yasir has proposed to Maria. Maria asks Arwa to help her check on Yasir, for he works with Arwa in the same company. Maria later receives a call from Arwa who says:

أروى: أنا سألت عنه و اسمعت كلام هيك.

Arwa: ʔana saʔalt ʃannuh wismiʃit kala:m he:k .

'I have checked on him and heard some gossip.'

ماريا: شو سمعت(باهتمام)؟ احكي.

Maria: ʃu: smiʃti ? iħki.

'What did you hear? (with interest) Talk.'

أروى: اسمعت إنه بخيل كثير وانطوائي وعصبي.

Arwa: ismiʃit ʔinnu baxi:l ikti:r wu inṭiwa:ʔi: wu ʃaṣabi.

'I heard that he is miserly, introverted, and bad-tempered.'

In this context, Arwa employs *he:k* to draw the hearer's attention or drop a hint that Yasir is not a good man to marry. Using the expression *kalam he:k* 'some gossip' here seems to be used to encourage

the hearer to ask for more detail. Maria in turn asks for clarification to determine that Yasir is miserly, among others.

11) Minimizing a situation

[Context] At dinner, Sami eats rice, chicken, vine leaves, and meat. He then asks his wife, Marwa, for some pastries, fruit, nuts and chips. For dessert, he eats chocolate cake and a doughnut. Then, Sami says:

سامي: بتعرفي شوجاي عبالى؟ هيك قطعة كنافه بالفستق والقشطه (الإبهام و السداة لكتنا الكفين على هيئة قوسين و قرب اليدين لبعضهما).

Sami: ibtiʕrafi ʃu: dʒaj ʕaba:li? he:k giʕʕit ikna:fiḥ bilfustug wil giʕʕtaḥ.

‘Do you know what I am craving for? Only for Kunafa with pistachio and cream.’ (Both thumbs and index fingers formed an arc, with hands positioned close to each other.)

In the above context, Sami is likely to know that asking for more food is unreasonable. Hence, he attempts to mitigate his request for Kunafa (a traditional Middle Eastern dessert) by using *he:k*. The DM *he:k* accompanied with this hand gesture is used to indicate small amounts. It also serves as a downtoner to reduce the force of Sami’s request. That is, the DM *he:k* and hand gesture occurred in tandem to achieve this function. This aligns with Migadai et al. (2010, 493-494), who reported that particular pragmatic functions of DMs in JSA are achieved by substituting them with other DMs depending on the context. Consequently, *he:k* is regarded as a minimizing expression because it can be replaced by other Jordanian Arabic minimizing expressions used similarly, such as *bas* (‘only’) or *ʕwaj* (‘little bit’).

(12) Insulting/offending

[Context] Um Salim sees her son, Salim, boils with rage and has a stick in his hand. She asks him about what is going on. Salem says:

سليم: أبو أحمد جارنا بقولي هيك وهيك لأختك لإني صافف سيارتي قدام كراجة!!

Salim: ʔabu ʔaḥmad dʒa:rna bigulli he:k wu he:k laʔuxtak laʔinni ʕa:fif sijja:rti gudda:m kara:dʒuh!!

‘Abu Ahmad, our neighbor, has talked dirty about my sister because I parked my car in front of his garage!!’

Fights often happen in different societies. *he:k wu he:k laʔuxtak* can be a genital swearing that involves an insult to genitalia or sexual or bodily functions. This type of swearing-whether its meaning in a given context is literal or non-literal- is common in many languages and cultures, often used to express anger, frustration, or insult (O’Driscoll 2020). Al-Khatib (1995, 450–451) suggests that offensive words relating to sexual organs, especially those damning the sexual organs of a mother or sister, are the most hateful and offensive in Jordanian society because they are shameful and immoral. Moreover, the use of sex words explicitly or implicitly shared by males and females “arouses irrational reactions on the part of the hearer (of either sex)”. Hence, Salim is angry and attempting to take revenge.

(13) Expressing uneasiness and discomfort

[Context] Ismail and Sara have been engaged for more than four years. Sara’s mother tells Sara to open up with him to see whether they are getting married soon. The following conversation takes place between Sara and her mother after seeing Ismail:

ساره : حكيتله لازم نستأجريت ونجهز أمورنا للزواج وهو بحكيلي كيف صاحبه سافر لديي. وحكيتله لازم نحجز قاعة أفراح بحكيلي كيف دهن سيارته . بجيلو هيك بجيلي هيك بحكيلو هيك بحكيلي هيك.

Sara: ĥake:tlo:h la:zim nistaʔdzir be:t windʒahiz ʔumu:rna lizzawa:dʒ wu hu: biħ:kili ki:f saħbuh sa:far ladubaj wu ĥake:tluh la:zim niħdziz qa:ʕit ʔafra:h biħkili ki:f dahan sijja:rtuh.badʒi:lu he:k bidʒi:li he:k baħkilu he:k biħk:li he:k .

'I told him that we need to rent a house and get ready for marriage, but he kept talking about how his friend left for Dubai. I also told him that we need to book a wedding hall, but he kept talking about polishing his car. We were not on the same page.'

In the above example, the speaker feels that she is no longer connecting with her fiancé on marriage; the speaker's fiancé does not share a common vision for their relationship. She expresses her discomfort and uneasiness here by using the expression *badʒi:lu he:k bidʒi:li he:k* and *baħkilu he:k biħkili he:k*. This linguistic utterance is employed when one is beating around the bush while the other is being clear and direct. Such differences often create uncomfortable relations between people. This function cannot be served with the single use of *he:k*.

(14) Showing shock and displeasure

[Context] Rasha is a tenth-grade student. When she sees her teacher, Ghadeer, in the hall, Rasha says:

رشا : مرحبا غدير. بدي علامة الرياضيات.

Rasha: marhaba yaɖi:r. bidɖi ʕala:mit irrija:ɖiɖja:t.

'Hello Ghadeer, I want to see my Math grade.'

المعلمة: غدير هيبك (مع إطالة الصائت قبل الأخير) !! لا معلمه أو مس أو عزيزتي!!

Teacher: yaɖi:r he:e:e:k (elongation of the pre-final vowel) !! la: imʕallimih ʔaw mis ʔaw ʕazi:zti !!

'You are calling me Ghadeer without using titles like 'teacher,' 'Ms.,' or 'dear'!!'

Using appropriate titles to address people is not random and depends on the addressor and addressee relationship. Using terms of address to higher status people is common in the Arab community to show respect and politeness (Samarah 2015, 2009-2010). In this situation, the use of *he:k* followed by the addressee's first name has aroused the teacher's displeasure, shock and frustration, for this violates the code for addressing a teacher in Jordanian society and signals impoliteness and disrespect. The teacher implies that polite forms of addressing teachers involves titles then first names. The elongation of the prefinal front low vowel strengthens the feeling of shock which *he:k* conveys here.

(15) Expressing admiration and amusement

[Context] Raghad has attended a fancy wedding. Ameera, Raghad's friend, calls her and asks the following:

أميرة: كيف طلعت العروس مبارح؟

Ameera: ki:f tɖilʕat ilʕaru:s imba:riħʔ

'How did the bride look like yesterday?'

رغد: جميله جداً تقولي هيك جورجينا رزق في زماناتها.

Raghad: dzami:lih dziddan itgu:li he:k dzurdzi:na rizig fi zamana:tha.

'She was so beautiful. She looked like Georgina Riziq in her old times.'

In the above situation, Raghad uses *he:k* meaning 'resemble' to compare the bride to Miss Universe in 1971 and Miss Lebanon in 1970, Georgina Riziq. One may guess that Raghad was amazed by the bride's beauty; however, the linguistic text *dzamilih dziddan* 'so beautiful' does not seem enough to fulfil the function. Thus, the use of *he:k* and the adjacent linguistic text here help show Raghad's extreme admiration.

(16) Ending a conversation

[Context] Sawsan fights with her husband, Hasan, for he will use her car during a week-long vacation with his friends. The following strained conversation takes place between them:

سوسن: كيف بدي أودي الصغار للمدارس الصبح وأرجعهم؟ مش هذا واجبك ولا ناسي؟

Sawan: ki:f bididi ?awaddi liṣya:r lil mada:ris iṣṣubih wu ?aradziḥum ? miḥ haḍa: wa:dʒbak willa na:si ?

'How am I supposed to take the kids to school in the morning and pick them up afterwards? Is it your duty, or have you forgotten about it?'

حسن: وديهم بياص المدرسه.

Hasan: waddi:hum biba:ṣ ilmadrasiḥ.

'The school bus can pick them up.'

سوسن: و كيف بدي أجيب أغراض البيت و موعد الدكتور و عرس بنت عمي و.... و.... و....؟

Sawsan: wu ki:f bididi ?adzi:b ?yrad ilbe:t wu mawṣid idduktu:r wu ḥurs bint ṣammi wu....wu....wu...?

'How am I supposed to manage the household? What about the doctor's appointment and my cousin's wedding, and what aboutand what about....and what about...?'

حسن : هوّه هيك. حللي عني!

Hasan: huwwih he:k . hilli ṣanni!

'This is it; go away.'

Swasan, in the above situation, shows anger and dissatisfaction when her husband shirks his responsibility towards her and the children. She reminds him of her responsibilities, which seem difficult to perform without a car. Her husband uses *he:k* to shut her up, end the conversation, and avoid further interaction with her. *he:k* is followed by the adjacent sentence *hilli ṣanni* 'go away', which strengthens the function of *he:k* to end the conversation here.

(17) Asking for tolerance/calming someone down

[Context] Um Ali has had a private teacher for her son, Ali, whose performance in Math is poor. After six months of teaching, Ali fails his exam. The teacher says to his mom:

المدرسة/ةالخصوصي: صحيح إنه علي ضعيف دراسياً ولازم يبذل مجهود كبير لينجح بس هيك هيك بصير.

Private teacher: ṣaḥi:ḥ ?innu ṣali daṣi:f dira:sijjan wu la:zim jibḍul madʒhu:d ikbi:r lajindʒaḥ bas he:k he:k biṣi:r.

'It is true that Ali is academically weak and needs to try hard, yet he will gradually succeed.'

It seems that the larger context in which *he:k* is used here is absorbed or invisible. Um Ali could be frustrated about her son's grade or the teacher may be worried about Um Ali's mother feelings, so the teacher, by using *he:k*, tries to lessen her worries and create a glimmer of hope, while also asking her to be patient. As noted in this scenario, using *he:k* in its reduplication form is distinct. It sounds that using a single *he:k* does not serve the functions of calming someone down and engendering hope. This concurs with Hamdan and Hammouri (2022, 151), who reported that particular pragmatic functions of DMs in JSA are achieved when reduplicated in a certain context.

(18) Wishing

[Context] Sharif passes by a Lamborghini and says:

شريف: هيڪ سياره عن قريب يالله.

Sharif: *he:k sijja:rah ʕan gari:b ja: alla:h*

'I wish I could get such a car soon. Oh, God!'

Another pragmatic function that *he:k* fulfils is expressing wishes. *he:k* here resembles 'I wish'. Sharif admires the car and wishes he owned it.

(19) Reassuring

[Context] A photographer, shooting photos for the bride and groom, says:

المصور: ارفع راسك شوي يا عروس. امسك ايدها يا عريس. هيبيك (مع إطالة الصائت قبل الأخير) خلصنا.

The photographer: *?irfaʕi ra:sik ʕwaj ja: ʕaru:s . ?imsik ?i:dha ja: ʕari:s. he:e:k xalaʕna.*

'Raise your head up a little O'bride. Hold her hands O'groom. Okay, you are doing well. Done.'

The DM *he:k* is employed to express assurance. The photographer uses *he:k* in this situation to reassure the hearers and comfort them that they are doing great while taking photos of their wedding.

20) Mitigating or softening an assertion

[Context] Maryam's parents heard her scold her brother harshly and call him bad names. The following conversation takes place between Maryam's parents:

والد مريم: فعلا مريم مش محترمه و قليلة أدب.

Maryam's father: *fiʕlan marjam miʕ muhtaramih wu gali:lit ?adab.*

'Indeed, Maryam is disrespectful and nasty.'

والدة مريم: هي هيڪ متوتره هالفتره شوي؛ مديرها مجنننها بالشغل.

Maryam's mother: *hi: he:k mitwatrih halfatra ʕwaj; mudi:rha imdzanninha biʕʕuyul.*

'She is a little bit nervous at this time; her boss is driving her crazy.'

he:k is employed here to mitigate an assertion. Maryam's father asserts that Maryam behaves rudely when using *fiʕlan* 'indeed'. In turn, her mother tends to attenuate the harshness of his judgment, reduce the unwelcome effects of his criticism and soften his incorrect doubts about his daughter by using *he:k mitwatrih* 'she is a little bit nervous'. The adjacent justification *mudi:rha imdzanninha biʕʕuyul* ('her boss is driving her crazy') strengthens the function of *he:k* here. According to Migdadi et al. (2010, 493-494), the presence of other mitigating devices reinforces the mitigating function of surrounding DMs. In this

example, the mitigating function of *he:k* is further supported by another mitigation device, namely the diminutive *fwaj* 'a little bit', as both serve to mitigate the potential face threat to the addressee's daughter resulting from criticizing her rude behavior.

(21) Making threats

[Context] Rayan, a 9-year-old boy, shouts loudly and stomps off in the market. Rayan's mother grits her teeth and says:

والدة ريان : لهيك وهيك أعمل فيك لما نروح عالبيت.

Rayan's mother: lahe:k wu he:k ?aʕmal fi:k lamma inrawwiħ ʕalbet.

'You will be punished severely when we get home.'

In this situation, Rayan's mother uses *he:k wu he:k* to threaten Rayan that he will be severely punished for his misbehavior. Note that the use of *he:k wu he:k* in this context is for when mothers do not want to reveal, or they have not made up their mind, which punishment the child will get. Gritting the teeth intensifies the pragmatic function of *he:k* here.

22) Filling a gap

[Context] A teacher asks her student, Farah, about the best thing she did during the summer. Farah responds:

فرح: أحلى شي إنه إخواني رجعوا من السفر و الطشتات (صمت) وهيك.

Farah: ?ahla ʃi: ?innu ?ixwa:ni riðʕu min issafar wittʔaʃa:t wu he:k .

'The best thing was that my brothers were home and the hangouts we had (pause) and others.'

It is likely that Farah is hesitant to answer or needs time to collect her thoughts or to plan for the next discourse. Thus, she uses *he:k* to fill the speech gap or silence in communication. Migdadi and Badarneh (2013, 96) considered DMs as a place-holding device, as the speakers use them to pause and recall something not readily available in their minds or to search for correct information.

5. Discussion

The current study aims to examine the pragmatic functions of the discourse marker *he:k* in JSA. Analysis of the data reveals that *he:k* is pragmatically multipurpose since it expresses twenty-two different pragmatic functions. Table 1 shows that the majority of the suggested pragmatic functions (i.e., 19 out of 22) were agreed upon by 70% (and above) of the participants. Only four functions had a relatively low percentage of acceptance, ranging from 57–64. The four commonly used pragmatic functions of *he:k* were accepted by more than 90% of the participants; these were expressing doubt (93%), seeking confirmation (92%) , expressing excitement and joy (91%), and showing vagueness (90%). These functions were seen in various daily situations. The first situation was a phone call in which the secretary used *he:k* to show her uncertainty about the dentist's arrival time at the clinic. The second situation was also a phone call in which Ali used *he:k* to seek confirmation from his mother about the shopping list. The third was a conversation in which Nadia's mother used *he:k* to express her excitement and joy when Nadia got full marks in a science project. The fourth was at the hospital, when Omar used *he:k* to show his inability to decide about his health status after the surgery. The high acceptability rate of

these pragmatic functions might be ascribed to the belief that the participants fully acknowledged these functions of *he:k* as a discourse marker in their daily communication.

In contrast, the four least commonly used pragmatic functions of *he:k* were reassuring (64%), mitigating or softening an assertion (61%), making threats (59%), and filling gaps (57%). These functions were associated with diverse daily life contexts. The first was during a photo session in which the photographer used *he:k* to reassure the married couple that they were doing well during the photoshoot. The second was at home when Maryam's father described his daughter's misbehavior and her mother attempted to lessen the risk the interlocutors may face on many levels by using *he:k*. The third was in the market when Rayan's mother used *he:k* to issue threats against Rayan for misbehavior. The fourth was in the classroom when Farah used *he:k* as a filler marker to shape her thoughts. The relatively low acceptability rate of these functions might be due to the participants not having encountered similar daily life situations with *he:k* expressing such functions. Moreover, the participants might be more familiar with the use of other DMs in JSA in such situations. For instance, Al-Harahsheh and Kanakri (2013) stated that the DM *ṭayyib* 'ok' in JSA is commonly used to soften disagreements and signal the end of discourse, among other uses. It can also be attributed to the belief that understanding the intended meaning of discourse markers can be challenging since they are context-dependent. This is supported by Fraser (1996), who highlighted the importance of context in the generation of several pragmatic functions of discourse markers. Rabab'ah et al. (2022, 161) stated that Arabic language learners often have difficulty understanding context-dependent language items.

Schiffrin (1987, 318) stresses the role of discourse markers in displaying relationships by creating links between units of ongoing talk and text. That is, whatever meaning the discourse marker expresses has to be compatible with the meanings of the surrounding utterances. For instance, in situation 16, Hasan's wife argued with her husband for leaving her to do house chores while he had a week off with his friends. In this context, Hasan used *he:k* 'this is it' to end the conversation. The adjacent utterance in this situation *hilli ṣanni* 'go away' reinforced Hasan's desire for her to shut up. The function of *he:k* here is compatible with the following surrounding utterances. In situation 15, however, the use of *he:k* to show amusement was enhanced by the adjacent pre-text. Raghad, when asked about the bride's beauty, used the linguistic text *dẓamilih dẓiddan* 'so beautiful'. It seems that this text is not enough to show Raghad's amusement about the bride's beauty. Thus, she employed *he:k* followed by the name of Miss Universe in 1971 to deliver her great admiration for the bride. *he:k* here served as an illocution enhancement rather than an illocution carrier. Similarly, in situation 13, Sara had been engaged for a long time but her fiancé had not shown any sign of marrying her. She expressed her discomfort in the relationship through using the whole linguistic utterance *badzi:lu he:k bidzi:li he:k* to indicate that her fiancé had wasted her time and was deceitful. The illocutionary force is borne by the whole utterance, including *he:k*.

The findings also indicate that when *he:k* is used alone, it tends to express the functional meaning of a certain context. For example, in situation 7, *he:k* is employed alone without any adjacent linguistic utterances to show Rana's approval of the tailor's questions. However, Fraser asserted (1999, 188) that the illocutionary force of discourse markers has to be compatible with the larger context or discourse in

which they are used, rather than in isolation. In situation 8, Jamal read out a news item to his wife, Amal, about the purchasing price of the 21-karat gold that had risen to 50 JD (Jordanian dinar) per gram. Amal used *he:k* in its reduplication form to express her disappointment and desperation for jewelry. The larger context in which *he:k* is used here is not visible to the reader. Thus, one may speculate that Amal's husband is a miser or poor and hence she is desperate to have gold.

Moreover, contextual elements such as *who*, *when*, or *where* play a vital role in understanding the intended meaning of any discourse marker. For example, in situation 5, Sami was familiar with the fact that Waleed, his colleague, often showed up late to work. After Waleed had given the employer their fake justification, Sami asked Waleed what had happened. He avoided repeating the same justification to Sami and thus used *he:k* in its reduplication form. The use of *he:k* in this way is successful only when interlocutors have a shared assumption. The results also show that *he:k* is employed in situations to trigger a particular, anticipated illocutionary effects on the hearers. In situation 10, for example, Maria asked Arwa to check on Yasir, Arwa's colleague, because he had proposed to Maria. In the exchange, Arwa used the linguistic utterance *kala:m he:k* 'some gossip' probably to trigger Maria to ask for more detail and draw her attention to something. Arwa's desired illocutionary effect on Maria succeeded since Maria replied: *fu: smiʕti ? ihki* 'what did you hear? Talk.' Arwa then conveyed the rest of the message.

In many situations, there are nonverbal clues within contextual clues (such as facial expressions, head and hand movements, elongation of vowels and pauses) which are crucial to the intended meaning when using *he:k*. It is assumed that many pragmatic functions of *he:k* in JSA are successfully received when accompanied by body language. For example, in situation 9, Mayson attempted to exaggerate about eating food. Mayson used *he:k* with an elongated pre-final vowel and her thumbs and index fingers formed in an arc shape, apart from each other. The DM *he:k* along with the nonverbal clues clearly signaled the pragmatic function of exaggeration. The opposite is in situation 11. Sami had already eaten too much food, yet he craved for more. He attempted to downplay his request for sweets by using *he:k* and forming his thumbs and index fingers into an arc shape, but putting them close to each other. This combination of the DM *he:k* and hand movements occurred in tandem to deliver the intended meaning of *he:k* here.

It is worth noting that employing *he:k* in its single form tends to fail in the expression of its pragmatic function in some situations. Using *he:k* in its reduplication form in JSA was necessary to express the functions in situations 5, 8, and 17. In situation 17, Ali failed his exams despite getting a private teacher. Um Ali might be angry and unhappy with her son's failure. Thus, the teacher used *he:k* in its reduplication form to calm Um Ali down and engender hope. The use of *he:k* in its single form here is not successful. The DM *he:k* also appeared with the discursal Arabic coordinating conjunction *wa* 'and' as in situations 6, 12 and 21. In situation 12, Salim expressed his displeasure since his neighbor, Abu Ahmad, talked dirty about his sister, saying *he:k wu he:k laʔuxtak*.

6. Conclusion

This pragmatic study investigated the functions of the discourse marker *he:k* in JSA. The analysis revealed twenty-two pragmatic functions. The pragmatic functions are expressing doubt, seeking

confirmation, expressing excitement and joy, showing vagueness, avoiding repetition, showing indecisiveness, showing approval, expressing despair and hopelessness, exaggerating a situation, hinting, minimizing a situation, insulting, expressing uneasiness and discomfort, expressing shock and displeasure, expressing admiration, ending a conversation, asking for tolerance, wishing, reassuring, mitigating an assertion, marking threats, and filling a gap. The study concludes that *he:k* is a pragmatically multifunctional expression and the illocutions borne by *he:k* are varied and, therefore, should be examined in relation to the adjacent utterances and larger discourse rather than in isolation.

It should be emphasized that the present study examined the pragmatic functions of *he:k* in JSA, which may not be fully applicable to other Arabic dialects. In fact, one may claim that *he:k* has many variants depending on the dialect. In this respect, it is hoped that this study will promote future research to examine the pragmatic functions of the variants in different settings. Moreover, the present study identified twenty-two pragmatic functions of *he:k* in JSA, though it might not cover all possible functions. Consequently, future research should explore more of its functions in different contexts to better understand how *he:k* is used in different contexts in JSA. This might be ascribed to the belief that *he:k* is a well-established expression that Jordanians use in many situations, some of which were not examined in this study, such as its use in social media, TV programs, and songs. In addition, the present study evaluated the acceptability of twenty-two functions and situations using a sample of university students (mean age = 19.8 years). However, relying on younger participants restricts the applicability of these findings to older populations (40+). Hence, future studies should examine the extent to which these functions are recognised by this age group compared to Jordanian youth.

الوظائف البراجماتية للعلامة الخطابية "هيك" في اللهجة الأردنية المحكية

غادة الكرزون

قسم اللغة الإنجليزية، كلية العلوم التربوية والآداب، الأردن

الملخص

تبحث الدراسة في الوظائف البراجماتية للعلامة الخطابية "هيك" في اللهجة الأردنية المحكية، ولتحقيق هذا الهدف، تم إعداد 22 سيناريو يتضمنون هذه العلامة بناء على المعرفة بها وفهم سياقاتها المتعددة في المجتمع الأردني. تم تحليل كل سيناريو لتحديد الوظائف البراجماتية لهذه العلامة التي راجعتها وناقشتها لجنة من المحلفين، حيث اقترحوا تعديلات على بعض السيناريوهات والوظائف، وجرى فحص مدى قبول 110 طلاب ناطقين باللهجة الأردنية في كلية العلوم التربوية والآداب (الأثروا) لهذه السيناريوهات المعدلة، وكشفت الدراسة عن 22 وظيفة براجماتية لـ "هيك"، وهي: التعبير عن الشك، والسعي إلى التأكيد، والتعبير عن الإثارة والفرح، وإظهار الغموض، وتجنب التكرار، وإظهار التردد، وإبداء الموافقة، والتعبير عن اليأس، والمبالغة في الموقف، والتلميح، والتقليل من الموقف، والإهانة، والتعبير عن عدم الارتياح، والتعبير عن الصدمة والاستياء، والتهديد، والتعبير عن الإعجاب، وإنهاء المحادثة، والمطالبة بالتسامح، والتمني، والطمأنينة، والتخفيف من حدة التأكيد، والتهديد، وسد الفراغ.

الكلمات المفتاحية: علامة الخطاب، اللهجة الأردنية المحكية، هيك، المواقف البراجماتية.

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Appendix

Phonetic Chart for Arabic Sounds

NO.	Arabic Letter	Symbols	Description
1	ء	ʔ	glottal stop
2	ث	θ	voiceless interdental fricative
3	ج	dʒ	voiced post-alveolar affricate
4	ح	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
5	خ	x	voiceless uvular fricative
6	ذ	ð	voiced interdental fricative
7	ز	z	voiced alveolar fricative
8	ش	ʃ	voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
9	ص	s̥	voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
10	ض	ɣ̣	voiced emphatic dental stop
11	ط	t̥	voiceless emphatic dento-alveolar stop
12	ظ	ɣ̣	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
13	ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
14	غ	ɣ	voiced uvular fricative
15	ق	q	voiceless uvular stop
16	و	w	voiced labio-velar glide
17	ي	j	voiced palatal glide
19	ج	g	voiced velar stop
20	مد طويل اى	a:	long low front unrounded
21	فتحة	a	short low front unrounded
22	كسرة طويلة ي	i:	long high front unrounded
23	كسرة	i	short high front unrounded
24	ضممة طويلة و	u:	long high back rounded
25	ضممة	u	short high back rounded
26	بي	e:	long mid front unrounded