

/d-/ as a Future Marker in the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid

Ansam Khaled Husein , Ekab Yousef Al-Shawashreh * 

Department of English Language and Literature, Yarmouk University, Irbid, Jordan

Received: 30/11/2023

Revised: 20/1/2024

Accepted: 10/3/2024

Published online: 2/2/2025

* Corresponding author:
shawashreh@yu.edu.jo

Citation: Husein, A. K., & Al-Shawashreh, E. Y. (2025). /d-/ as a Future Marker in the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid. *Dirasat: Human and Social Sciences*, 52(3), 6264.
<https://doi.org/10.35516/hum.v52i3.6264>

Abstract

Objectives: This study investigates the emergence of an incoming future marker in the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid.

Methods: Using synchronic data from the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid collected by Husein (2022) and adopting the cline of grammaticality approach that was proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003) [content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix], the researchers propose that d- prefix (the new incoming variant) developed from *bid* 'will' (functional) which originally arose from the volitional verb *bid* 'want' (lexical) and, therefore, expresses futurity. This assumption is supported by the semantic, syntactic, and phonological changes in the grammaticalization path of d-prefix.

Results: The results indicate that d-prefix, similar to *bid*, shows nuances of willingness and intention in the future. Since the same token that expresses willingness and intention can indicate prediction, the d- prefix is used to realize futurity in the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid. Moreover, like *bid*, the present data show that the d-prefix is used in both subordinate (an advanced stage in the grammaticalization path) and main clauses. Also, the results show that the d-prefix expresses futurity unambiguously.

Conclusions: The findings of this study show that *bid* (lexical) has undergone desemanticization, erosion, and decategorialization that resulted in the emergence of d- as a future marker (via the functional *bid*).

Key words: Future markers, grammaticalization, Irbid, Jordanian Arabic, volitional pathways.

/d-/ كلاحقة تدل على المستقبل في لهجة إربد

أنسام خالد حسين، عقاب يوسف الشواشره*
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية وأدائها، جامعة اليرموك، إربد، الأردن

ملخص

الأهداف: تبحث هذه الدراسة في ظهور اللاحقة (د-) كمتغير جديد للتعبير عن المستقبل في اللهجة الأردنية في إربد. المنهجية: باستخدام بيانات من اللهجة الأردنية في إربد بالإضافة إلى تبني النهج النحوي الذي تم اقتراحه من قبل هوبر و تراوغوت (2013) وهو [مفردة ذات محتوى > مفردة ذات محتوى وظيفي > كليتيك > لاحقة تصريفية]. اقترح الباحثان إضافة اللاحقة (د-) (المتغير الجديد) إلى بداية الفعل المضارع للإشارة إلى المستقبل، قد تطور من الكلمة الوظيفية (بد) "سوف" التي تطورت بدورها من فعل الإزادة (بد) "أريد" ولهذا فإن هذه اللاحقة تعبر عن المستقبل. يدعم هذا الافتراض التغيرات الصوتية، والنحوية، والدلالية في المسار التقعيدي لإضافة اللاحقة (د-) في بداية الفعل المضارع.

النتائج: تشير النتائج إلى أن اللاحقة (د-)، شبيهة ب (بد)، تدل على الاستعداد والنية في المستقبل. وبما أن نفس المفردة الكلامية التي تعبر عن الاستعداد والنية تشير إلى التوقع فإن اللاحقة (د-) المضافة إلى بداية الكلمة تستخدم للتعبير عن المستقبلية في اللهجة الأردنية في إربد. إضافة إلى ذلك، مثل (بد)، تظهر البيانات أن اللاحقة (د-) المضافة إلى بداية الكلمة تستخدم في كل من الجملة التابعة (وهي مرحلة متقدمة في التقعيد) والجملة الرئيسية. تشير النتائج أيضاً أن اللاحقة (د-) تستخدم للتعبير عن المستقبل بشكل واضح لا لبس فيه مقارنة باللاحقة (ب-) التي تعبر عن الروتينية والاستمرارية والمستقبلية اعتماداً على سياق الجملة، وعلى الظروف الزمنية.

الخلاصة: تظهر النتائج أن المفردة المعجمية (بد) قد مرت بمرحلة تغير في معناها المعجمي، وتكوينها الصوتي، وأيضاً نصريفها النحوي ككلمة (حيث أصبحت لاحقة). هذا التناقص التدريجي أدى لظهور اللاحقة (د-) كمتغير يدل على المستقبل.

الكلمات الدالة: لواحق تدل على المستقبل، التقعيد، إربد، اللهجة الأردنية، المسارات الإزادية



© 2025 DSR Publishers/ The University of Jordan.

This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY-NC) license
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

1. Introduction

Every human language is subject to variation and change. Jufrizal and Refnaldi (2017) emphasize that “there is no such thing as a living language that fails to change” (p.474). This built-in linguistic component of expressing the same meaning using different forms is considered to be “an inherent characteristic of all languages at all times” (Wardough, 2010, p.5). Language variation and change can be implemented at the level of pronunciation (sound change), lexeme (word-choice), or morpho-syntax (grammar). Bybee et al. (1994) report that “form and meaning co-vary in the grammaticalization of future grams” (p.279). This means that the same function (i.e., futurity) can be realized by different grammaticalized forms (i.e., grams). They emphasize that those grams developed from certain common pathways which denote volition, movement and obligation (p.243). Future markers have received a great deal of attention in the Arabic literature. Many studies reported different paths of grammaticalization regarding futurity (e.g., Van Mol, 2003; Abdel-Hafiz, 2005; Alshboul, AlShaboul & Asassfeh, 2010; Al-Saidat & AlMomani, 2010; Jarad, 2013; Leddy-Cecere, 2020; Alshorbaji, 2020).

Conducting a variationist analysis of expressing futurity in the Jordanian Arabic Dialect of Irbid (hereafter JADI), Husein (2022) finds that both full and shortened forms are used to express futurity in JADI. As can be shown in Table (1) below, the most frequent future variants in (JADI) are ‘*bid*’ as in ‘*bidd-uh jokil*’ (He wants to eat), *rah* as in ‘*rah tuktub*’ (She is going to write), *b-* as in ‘*baktub*’ (I am going to write) and *d-* as in ‘*daktub*’ (I will write). It is worth mentioning that *d-* as a future marker is a new incoming variant that has never been reported before in the variationist literature (Husein, 2022, p.57).

Thus, this paper bridges a gap in the Arabic literature by investigating the grammaticalization path of *d-* future marker in (JADI) based on synchronic data. It assumes that the *d-* prefix is derived from the functional ‘*bid*’ (will), which in turn is developed from the desiderative volitional verb ‘*bid*’ (want). To put it differently, the *d-* prefix is hypothesized to be derived from the volitional verb ‘*bid*’ (via the functional *bid*) in JADI.

Table 1: The distributional analysis of the most common future variants (Husein, 2022, p.57)

Variant	%	N
bid+ pronominal clitic	45.5	481
b-	24.3	257
rah	16.8	178
d-	13.4	142
Total		1058

In this study, the volitional path of the new incoming prefix *d-* is investigated. The rest of the paper is organized as follows: first, a review of the previous studies on the grammaticalization of future markers is provided in Section (2). Then we present an overview of the approach being operationalized in this study (3.2). The path of [d-] as a grammaticalized form of the functional *bid* is presented in Section (4.1). Next, we put *d-* prefix under scrutiny by showing how this prefix unambiguously expresses futurity (4.2) as well as the syntactic behavior of [d-] (4.3). The conclusion is provided in Section (5).

2. Grammaticalization

Introduced by Meillet (1912), grammaticalization is resembled “the emptying of lexically meaningful morphs (compound members, etc.) and their transformation into “function” elements” (Hoenigswald, 1963, p.34, as cited in Heine & Reh, 1984, p.15). Grammaticalization, in this sense, focuses on turning a lexical item (semantically specific) into a grammatical item (functional meaning). The aforementioned phenomenon has been intensively investigated in the literature; “interest in grammaticalization has risen dramatically” (Campbell & Janda, 2000, p.93). Some linguists (Langacker, 1977; Heine & Reh, 1984; Criage, 1991; Traugott & Heine, 1991; Lehmann, 2015) describe it as being a “process” accompanied by some mechanisms whereby a lexical word changes into a grammatical word and/or less grammatical word into more grammatical word. Others viewed grammaticalization as a subdiscipline referring to “that part

of the study of language which focuses on how grammatical forms and constructions arise, how they are used, and how they shape the language” (Hopper & Traugott, 1993, pp.1-2). Also, grammaticalization is defined as a “theory” which is not only confined to the transition between lexical items and grammatical items but also takes the gradual ‘diachronic processes’ (source determination, unidirectionality, universal paths, retention of earlier meaning, consequences of semantic retention, semantic and phonological reduction, layering and relevance) into consideration (Bybee et al., 1994, pp.4-5).

2.1 Key tenets of grammaticalization

One of the basic tenets of this approach is what some linguists called ‘the interrelated mechanisms’ (Heine & Kuteva, 2002) or the ‘basic processes’ of grammaticalization (Heine & Reh, 1984) which consist of desemanticization (‘semantic bleaching’, i.e., losing the meaning), erosion (‘phonetic reduction’, i.e., losing phonological substances) and decategorialization (losing morpho-syntactic properties). Although grammaticalization seems to be “a kind of impoverishment or deficit” (Traugott, 1988, p.406), some gains are included in it. “A loss of meaning may be compensated for by new meanings arising in the context in which the relevant form is used” (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p.378). To put it differently, grammaticalization is not only limited to the idea of loss, but also it gains functional meanings for the grammaticalized forms.

Another basic principle of grammaticalization is unidirectionality, whereby “lexical items may develop into grammatical items and grammatical items may develop into more grammatical items, but not vice versa” (Norde, 2002, p.48). Hopper and Traugott (2003, p.7) explains this transition as ‘the cline of grammaticality’ as follows:

content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

With regard to unidirectionality, some linguists reinforce its validity while others refute it. Bybee et al. (1994, p. 13) emphasize that “once affixation has occurred, grams do not ordinarily detach themselves and assume free form again so that growing dependence on surrounding lexical material is not usually reversed.” Also, Lass (1997), as cited in Campbell and Janda (2000, p. 104), argues that “each step along such a pathway seems irreversible.” Haspelmath (1998, p.52) states that “grammaticalization is unidirectional in that elements and structures always become more grammaticalized, while the reverse (development of less grammatical from more grammatical structures) is practically unattested.” Moreover, Hurford (2003) states that, in line with unidirectionality, “the origin of all grammatical morphemes (function words, inflections) is in lexical stems” (p.53). Although Lehmann (2015, p.21) claims that “no cogent degrammaticalization has been found”, some linguists (e.g., Heine & Reh, 1984; Traugott, 2001; Norde, 2009; Trask, 2015; Marriott, 2016) argue that examples which run counter to unidirectionality do exist but “they do not represent the norm” (Trask, 2015, p. 173). Based on the notion of universality, Traugott (2001, p.3) emphasizes that “grammaticalization grew out of functionalist thinking, and has always been associated with tendencies, not absolutes.” Norde (2009, p.53) states despite the fact that “grammaticalization is far more frequent and far more cross-linguistically regular than degrammaticalization [...] it cannot be denied that directional tendencies exist.” Put differently, even though unidirectionality is widely manifested and well-documented, some counterexamples uncommonly exist.

3. The grammaticalization path of future markers

It is manifested cross-linguistically that the most common pathways from which future markers developed are verbs of obligation, motion and desiderative/volitional verbs (Heine & Reh, 1984; Bybee et al., 1994). Different studies were carried out to investigate this matter in the Arabic literature.

Focusing on Standard Arabic (SA), Van Mol (2003) reported that future the prefix ‘sa-’ is developed from the future particle ‘sawfa’. On the other hand, Arabic dialects use different future particles and prefixes other than those that are used in SA. Abdel-Hafiz (2005) found that the future markers that are used in the Nile Nubian languages ‘fa- or f-, bi- or bu-’ are developed from verbs of volition, ‘birig’ “want” and ‘firig’ “want”. Also, Al-Saidat and AlMomani (2010) conducted a contrastive study between Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Jordanian Arabic (JA). They reported that the future marker [b-] requires a time adverbial in order to express futurity in JA, while the future markers that are used in MSA ‘sa- & sofa’ do not demand that. They also found that ‘bid’ agrees with person, number and gender while ‘ra:yiḥ’ agrees only with number and gender and ‘rah’ is not inflected. Investigating the same dialect, Alshboul, AlShaboul, and Asassfeh

(2010) pointed out that the JA future prefix '*b-*' is a grammaticalized form of the future marker '*bid*'. In addition, they reported that the latter particle does not undergo through grammaticalization process if it is not followed by an imperfective verb, i.e., it maintains its desiderative meaning.

Moreover, Jarad (2013) claimed that, in the Syrian dialect, the b- prefix that expresses futurity arose from the lexical verb 'badd', which was first developed from the verbal noun "bi-wud-i". He supported his claim by, first, presenting pieces of evidence that show the verbal nature of 'badd'. He showed how 'badd' has NP, or, VP, or bare VP as its complement and how 'badd' is negated by using the negative markers (ma- and -f) that are used for negating verbs. Then he highlighted how the semantic content of "bi-wud-i", i.e., the lexical verbal noun, is bleached out leaving only the future meaning and how it has undergone a phonological erosion (bi-wud-i > badd > b-). He explained how the argument structure (NP or CP) of 'bi-wud-i' is lost and with this absence, the volitional meaning is ruled out leading to have the future meaning. Alshorbaji (2020) emphasized that although Arabic dialects vary in using different future markers (b-, aba, naba, ʔaba, ʕad, h-, ha-, raaH, widd, bidd, t-anni, and t-a), the prefix b- is the most common future marker which is utilized among them. Furthermore, Leddy-Cecere (2020) found that the distribution of the future markers across Arabic dialects can be due to Contact Induced Grammaticalization (CIG). Leddy-Cecere also concluded that the most grammaticalized future pathways that are shared across Arabic dialects are "fut < go" and "fut < want" (i.e., the movement and the volitional paths are the most common future pathways from which some future markers arose in Arabic dialects).

The most frequent pathways of grammaticalized forms regarding futurity is summarized by Bybee et al. (1994):



Fig.1: The common pathways for future markers (Bybee et al., 1994, p.240)

4. Methodology

Relying on Husein's data, which was collected by interviewing (50) native speakers (25 males and 25 females) of JADI, the new incoming future variant (d-) is analyzed by adopting the grammaticalization theoretical framework.

4.1 Locale

Being recognized as having “a great deal of heterogeneity” (Al-Khatib, 1988, p.8), Irbid has been chosen to be the focus of our investigation in this paper. It is worth mentioning that the linguistic diversity of Irbid can be attributed to the social contact between different speakers from different backgrounds. In other words, Irbid’s location as the trade road that connects Palestine, Syria, Cairo, and Iraq (Al-Khatib, 1988), the establishment of some universities (four universities, two public and two private) and colleges (two colleges) and around Irbid City, and the internal immigration (from rural areas in Jordan to Irbid) and the external immigration (outside Jordan to Irbid) lead to have the linguistic diversity of Irbid.

5. Analysis and discussion

5.1 The prefix *d-* from *bid*

The following examples show a sense of willingness that is realized by using [d-] and [bid]:

1- da -fahhim-ha	ʔinnu	inti	ʔilik	gi:mih
FUT-understand.1SG-3SGF.ACC	that	2SGF	have	value

“I will let her understand that you have a value.”

2- da -wade-li-tʃ	ʔijja:ha
FUT-send.1SG-PREP-2SGF.ACC	it

“I will send it to you.”

3- fi mauð'u:ʕ dahki:-li-k ʔijjah
 There topic FUT-tell.1SG-PREP-2SGF.ACC it
 "There is a topic that I will to tell you about"

4-**bid**-na niʕrab finʕan gahweh
 will-1PL drink.1PL cup coffee
 "We will have a cup of coffee."

5-**bidd**-uh jokil
 Will-3SGM eat.3SGM
 "He will eat."

6- **bidd**-i ʔasa:ʕir ʕa turkijja
 Will-1SG travel.1SG to Turkey
 "I will travel to Turkey."

Since "willingness was a retention from the desire meaning" (Bybee et al., 1994, p.255), the future particle *bid* + pronominal clitic + imperfective verb is developed from the lexical volitional *bid*, and in line with the cline (content word > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix). This leads to manifest [d-] as being a grammaticalized future prefix, whose source is the lexical *bid*, developed from the future particle *bid* (the grammatical word). Examples (1, 2, and 3) above show that *d-* expresses nuances of willingness and intention to do something in the future, similar to the examples (4-6) in which *bid* is used. This process is represented by Bybee et al. (1994, p.256) as follows:

DESIRE > WILLINGNESS > INTENTION > PREDICTION

Bybee et al. (1994) report that, in 'desire futures', there might be some overlap between willingness, intention and prediction, i.e., the same token can express willingness and intention which can imply to have an inference of prediction (p. 256).

In the sub-sections (3.2 & 3.3) below, we, relying on synchronic data, put the *d*-prefix under scrutiny by showing how this prefix unambiguously expresses futurity as well as the syntactic behavior of this prefix.

5.2 The prefix *d-* unambiguously expresses futurity

Although *b-* and *d-* are used to express futurity by (JADI) speakers, the rationale of using *d-* is to highlight the fact that it is an unambiguous future marker, as in (10), in comparison to *b-*, which can be used to express habitual action (7), progressive (8) and futurity (9). Jarad (2017, p.743) states that "language is always evolving and adapting to the needs of its users." Similarly, Refnaldi (2017) claims that "the widely held view on sociolinguistic causes of language change involves the notion of need. Language alters as the needs of its users alter" (p.481). In other words, the need to express futurity without confusion could be the reason for using *d-*. Let's consider the following examples:

7- A: ʕu: btiʕmal kul jaum sabt?
 What do.2SGM every day Saturday
 'What do you do every Saturday?'

B: **ba**-drus
 Hab-study.1SGM
 'I study.'

8- A: ʕu: btiʕmal hassa?
 'What are you doing now?'

B: **ba**-drus
 Prog-study.1SGM
 'I'm studying.'

9- A: fu: rah tiʃmal, ʔimtiħan-ak baʃid jaumein
 What FUT do.2SGM exam-2SGM after two days
 'What are you going to do? Your exam is after two days.'

B: **ba**-drus ʃabtar-ein
 FUT- study.1SGM chapter-DUAL
 'I will study two chapters.'

10- **da**-drus
 FUT-study.1SGM
 'I will study.'

As evident from the aforementioned examples, the prefix *b-* is a context dependent marker, i.e., it 'absorbs' its meaning from the context. This is in line with Al-Saidat and Al-Momani (2010), who states that "The marker *b-* expresses continuity in the present but if to express futurity, the use of the future time adverbial is obligatory" (p.407). If we use, for example, '**ba**-drus' without referring to a certain context, it causes confusion to assign the meaning that the speaker is trying to express. Yet, the prefix *d-* expresses futurity regardless of the existence or absence of a context. Also, as can be noticed from the above examples, unlike *d-*, the prefix *b-* requires a future time adverbial (either explicitly used or implicitly understood from the context) to express futurity.

Although there might be an overlap between intention and futurity, this is attributed to the animacy of the agent of the sentence (Bybee et al., 1994, p.257). The prefix *d-* is best manifested as to unambiguously express futurity in inanimate NPs. It is shown in example (11) that the inanimate agent '*ʔilkasih*' (the cup) has no intention and leads us to have prediction/futurity as the semantic feature. The examples below clearly attest the matter.

11- ʔilkasih **da**-tigaʃ
 The glass FUT-fall.3SGF
 'The glass will fall.'

12- ʔilmajjih **b**-tinzal min haji lħanafijjih kul ʔθnein
 water Hab-fall from this tap every Monday
 'Water falls from this tap every Monday.'

13- fu:f ʔilmajjih **b**-tinzal min haji lħanafijjih
 look water Prog-fall from this tap
 'Look! water is falling from this tap.'

14- ʔaʃtaqid ʔilmajjih **b**-tinzal min haji lħanafijjih ʔiða sʕallah-na-ha
 I think the water FUT-fall from this tap if fix-1PL-3SGF.ACC
 'I think that water will fall from this tap if we fix it.'

As we mentioned before, *b-* depends on the context. Even with inanimate subjects, it needs a future context from which it gets its meaning.

5.3 The Syntactic Behavior of [d-]

The following examples show how *d-*, *b-* and *bid* are used in main clauses.

15- **bidd-i** ʔaʕzim ʕam-kum ʕal yada
 will-1SG invite uncle-3SGM.ACC to lunch
 ‘I will invite your uncle to have dinner with us.’

16- **b-tuktub** Samera maqa:l-it-ha bukra
 FUT-write.3SGF Samera essay-POSS-3SGF.ACC tomorrow
 ‘Samera will write her essay tomorrow.’

17- **daʕmal** keik
 FUT-make.1SG cake
 ‘I will make cake.’

The following examples show how *d-*, *b-* and *bid* are used in embedded clauses.

18- ʕaka:-l-i ʔinnu **bidd-u** jisa:fir
 told.3SGM-PREP-1SG.ACC that will-3SGM travel.3SGM
 ‘He told me that he will travel.’

19- waʕad-ni ʔinnu **buktub** waʕb-u
 promised.3SGM-1SG.ACC that FUT-write.3SGM homework-.ACC
 baʕdein bi-lʕab
 then FUT-play.3SGM

‘He promised me that he will do his homework and then he will play.’

20- ʔaðʕun ʔinnu **datintagil** ʕa beit ʔizdi:d
 think.1SG that FUT-move.3SGF to house new
 ‘I think that she will move to a new house.’

The examples above show how *d-* and *b-* (the grammaticalized forms of the future particle *bid*) seem to indicate nuances of willingness and futurity in both main and embedded clauses. Like *b-*, the prefix *d-* is immediately attached to the imperfective verb. In addition, similar to what Jarad (2013) reported about Syrian Arabic, *bid* and *b-* in (JADI) are also found to be used in main and embedded clauses. Bybee et al. (1994) argue that in order “to make an assertion about future time, futures tend to occur in main clauses”. Bybee et al. extend their argument to subordinate clauses, stating that “they would not move into such non-assertive environments until they have lost much of their original force and meaning” (p. 274). In other words, in the early stages of grammaticalization, future markers denote the assertive meaning that is associated with main clauses, but using future markers in subordinate clauses shows a more advanced stage of grammaticalization. Based on that, the assertive meaning of *bid* is ruled out when it is used in subordinate clauses as well as the two prefixes (*b-* & *d-*) and that shows their advancing in the grammaticalization path.

Moreover, the two prefixes *b-* and *d-* resulted from the phonetic erosion of *bid*, but this erosion is ruled out in certain contexts. Heine (2003, p.575) argues that “linguistic items require specific contexts and constructions to undergo grammaticalization.” The examples below show that in negation and VP deletion contexts, *d-* is ousted.

21- ma biddi ?aktub ?il-wa:ʒib
 NEG will.1SG write.3SG the-homework
 'I will not do the homework.'

22- biddi:-ʃ ?aktub ?il-wa:ʒib
 will.1SG-NEG write.3SG the-homework
 'I will not do the homework.'

23- ma biddi:-ʃ ?aktub ?il-wa:ʒib
 NEG will.1SG-NEG write.3SG the homework
 'I will not do the homework.'

24- ma ba-ktub ?il-wa:ʒib bukra
 NEG FUT-write.1SG the-homework tomorrow
 'I will not do the homework tomorrow.'

25- ba-ktub-iʃ ?il-wa:ʒib bukra
 FUT- write.1SG-NEG the-homework tomorrow
 'I will not do the homework tomorrow'

26- ma ba-ktub-iʃ ?il-wa:ʒib bukra
 NEG FUT-write.1SG-NEG the-homework tomorrow
 'I will not do the homework tomorrow'

27- *da-ktub-iʃ ?il-wa:ʒib
 FUT- write.1SG-NEG the-homework
 'I will not do the homework.'

28- *ma da-ktub ?il-wa:ʒib
 NEG FUT-write.1SG the-homework
 'I will not do the homework'

29- *ma da-ktub-iʃ ?il-wa:ʒib
 NEG FUT- write.1SG-NEG the-homework
 'I will not do the homework'

The examples above show that the future marker *bid* and *b-* are utilized in negation contexts by placing the negative marker 'ma-' before them as in (21 & 24), attaching the negative marker '-ʃ' at the end of the verb as in (22 & 25) or having them both simultaneously as in (23 & 26). On the other hand, the future prefix *d-* cannot be used in this context. Speakers of (JADI) do not negate futurity using *d-*; instead they use either *bid* or *b-*.

Furthermore, when *bid* is followed by VP deletion, neither *b-* nor *d-* is used. In other words, VP deletion structure eliminates the phonetic reduction of *bid* as can be seen in the following examples.

30- biddi ?alʃab bi-l-ʔalʃab w- Sara bidd-ha [vp_____] kama:n
 will.1SG play with-the-toys and Sara will-3SGF too
 'I will play with toys and Sara will, too.'

31- *biddi ʔalʕab bi-l-ʔalʕab w- Sara **b-** [VP_____] kama:n
 will.1SG play with-the- toys and Sara will-3SGF too
 ‘I will play with toys and Sara will, too.’

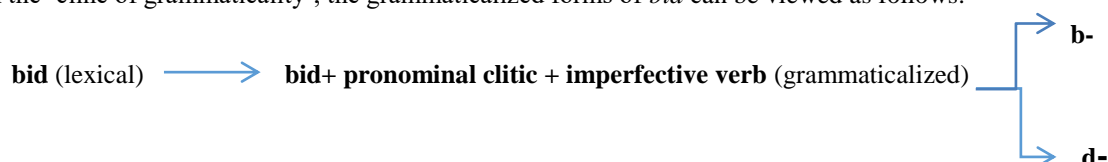
32-*biddi ʔalʕab bi-l-ʔalʕab w- Sara **d-** [VP_____] kama:n
 will.1SG play with-the- toys and Sara will-3SGF too
 ‘I will play with toys and Sara will, too.’

Examples (31 & 32) are ungrammatical because prefixes cannot stand alone; they have to be attached to a verb (*bid* in this case) as in (31).

To summarize, we assume that the *d-* prefix is developed from the volitional verb ‘bid’ (via the grammaticalized *bid*). As evident in the analysis above, our assumption is supported by showing how *d-* prefix, similar to *bid*, expresses nuances of willingness and intention and how it is best attested to express futurity unambiguously when it is used with an inanimate agent. Moreover, unlike *b-* prefix, it doesn’t need any time adverbial to realize futurity. Also, *bid* (grammaticalized) and its shortened form are used in both main and embedded clauses; this indicates a more advanced stage in the grammaticalization path. It is worth mentioning that *bid* has undergone through erosion that resulted in having *d-* prefix, i.e., the phone *b-* and the vowel *i* are dropped.

6. Conclusion

In conformity with the ‘cline of grammaticality’, the future grammaticalized particle *bid* has undergone to be more grammaticalized (losing phonetic substances and changing from particle to a prefix), which results in having the prefix *b-* and the unambiguous future marker *d-*. It’s worth mentioning that the grammaticalized forms do not dysfunction the former forms (Hopper, 1991). That’s to say, *bid* (the grammaticalized word encoding futurity) co-exists with *bid* (the lexical, i.e., encoding want/desire) in (JADI). The latter is used without an imperfective verb denoting the desire to have something, e.g., ‘ana biddi llufbeh’ (I want that doll). In this example, *bid* still has a semantic content, i.e., the desiderative meaning. In line with the ‘cline of grammaticality’, the grammaticalized forms of *bid* can be viewed as follows:



The data investigated in this study show that *d-* is developed from the grammaticalized *bid*. It indicates nuances of willingness, intention and futurity. Also, the analysis shows that *d-* is an unambiguous future marker compared to *b-*. The latter prefix, as being attested cross-linguistically in Arabic dialects (Alshorbaji, 2020; Leddy-Cecere, 2020), is a context-dependent marker which needs a future time adverbial (either explicitly mentioned or understood from the context) to express futurity whereas the former prefix does not need a context or a future adverbial to express futurity. It seems that the economy principle is not applicable here because if it were, speakers wouldn’t innovate *d-*. Furthermore, when *bid* and its grammaticalized forms (*b-* & *d-*) are used with inanimate subjects, they clearly express futurity as the intention meaning is bleached out.

As for the syntactic behavior of the new incoming future marker *d-*, both *d-* and *b-* are attached to the imperfective verb in embedded and main clauses to express futurity. Also, they are ruled out when they are followed by VP deletion construction. Unlike the future marker *bid* and *b-*, JADI speakers do not use *d-* in negation context; instead, they negate their future sentences by using the negative markers (ma- and/or -f) with *bid* or *b-*.

REFERENCES

- Abdel-Hafiz, A. S. (2005). The development of future markers in Arabic and the Nile Nubian Languages. *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, 6, 64-79. doi:10.5617/jais.4578
- Alkhatib, M. (1988). *Sociolinguistic change in an expanding urban context: A case study of Irbid city, Jordan*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Durham, UK.
- Al-Saidat, E., & Al-Momani, I. (2010). Future markers in Modern Standard Arabic and Jordanian Arabic: A contrastive study. *European Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(3), 397-408. Retrieved from 86https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237236046_Future_Markers_in_Modern_Standard_Arabic_and_Jordanian_Arabic_A_Contrastive_Study
- Alshboul, S., Al Shaboul, Y., & Asassfeh, S. (2010). Grammaticalization patterns: Evidence from future markers in Jordanian Arabic. *Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association*, 114, 99-110. doi:10.1179/000127910804775487
- Alshorbaji, N. (2020). Prefixes in various Arabic dialects in comparison of Standard Arabic: Progressive and future tenses. *Review of the Faculty of Divinity*, 44, 5-26. Retrieved from <https://dergipark.org.tr/en/pub/sduifd/issue/54937/726051>
- Bybee, J., Perkins, R., & Pagluica, W. (1994). *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Campbell, L., & Janda, R. (2000). Introduction: Conceptions of grammaticalization and their problems. *Language Sciences*, 23(2-3), 93-112. doi:10.1016/S0388-0001(00)00018-8
- Craig, C. (1991). *Ways to go in Rama: A case study in polygrammaticalization*. In E. Traugott & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization* (pp.455-492). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Heine, B., & Kuteva, T. (2002). *On the evolution of grammatical forms*. In A.Wary (Ed.), *The transition to language* (1st ed.) (pp.376-397). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, B., & Reh, M. (1984). *Grammaticalization and reanalysis in African Languages*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hopper, P., & Traugott, E. (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. (1991). *On some principles of grammaticization*. In E. Traugott & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization* (pp.17– 35). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jarad, N. (2013). The evolution of the b-future marker in Syrian Arabic. *Lingua Posnaniensis*, 55(1), 69-85. doi: 10.2478/linpo-2013-0005
- Langacker, R. (1977). *Syntactic reanalysis*. In C. N. Li (Ed.), *Mechanisms of syntactic change* (pp.75-140). Austin: University of Texas Press. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.7560/750357-005>
- Leddy-Cecere, T. (2020). *Contact-induced grammaticalization between Arabic dialects*. In C. Lucas & S. Manfredi (Eds.), *Arabic and contact-induced change* (pp. 603–623). Berlin: Language Science Press. doi:10.5281/zenodo.3744555
- Lehmann, C. (2015). *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Berlin: Language Science Press. Retrieved from: <https://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/88>
- Mol, M. (2003). *Variation in Modern Standard Arabic in radio news broadcasts: A synchronic descriptive investigation into the use of complementary particles*. Leuven, Belgium.
- Norde, M. (2002). *The final stages of grammaticalization: Affix hood and beyond*. In I. Wischer & G. Diewald (Eds.), *New reflections on grammaticalization* (pp. 45-65). doi: 10.1075/tsl.49.06nor
- Refnaldi, M. (2017). *Key concepts of language change*. In Jufrizal, M., & Refnaldi, M. (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language teaching* (pp.474-502). Penerbit Universitas Terbuka, Indonesia
- Traugott, E. (1988). Pragmatic strengthening and grammaticalization. *Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 14, 406-416. doi:10.3765/bls.v14i0.1784
- Traugott, E., & Heine, B. (1991). *Introduction*. In E. Traugott & B. Heine (Eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization* (pp.1-14). Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. (6th ed.). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.