

On the Pragmatic Functions of the Idiomatic Expression ‘*Tamam*’ in Jordanian Arabic

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Abstract—This study investigates the pragmatic functions of the idiomatic expression *Tamam* (lit. ‘complete’) as used by university students who speak Jordanian Arabic (JA). To this end, the researchers developed an electronic questionnaire that contained 14 different situations/contexts, each illustrating one pragmatic function as identified and determined by the researchers. The questionnaire was distributed electronically via the WhatsApp application to 164 BA Jordanian students at The University of Jordan. The students were requested to pass intuitive judgements on the acceptability of these situations and related functions. The results showed that nine of the proposed functions were accepted by 70 per cent or more of the subjects, while five were accepted by 51-68 per cent. The former set of functions included expressing approval, seeking confirmation, showing understanding, expressing appreciation, showing joy and pleasure, showing tolerance, expressing sadness and submission, reassuring, and checking the attention of the addressee. The latter included expressing dissatisfaction, ending a conversation and expressing impatience, ridiculing/mockery, threatening, and expressing shock and disappointment. The study recommends that future research may examine the acceptability of such scenarios and functions among older generations (45+) with the aim of comparing the two aforementioned groups. Future research may also investigate the pragmatic functions of other idiomatic expressions in JA and other Arabic dialects.

Index Terms—context, discourse markers, Jordanian Arabic (JA), pragmatics, the idiomatic expression ‘*Tamam*’

I. INTRODUCTION

The current study investigates the pragmatic functions of a widely used discourse marker (DM) in Jordanian Arabic (JA), namely *Tamam* (lit. ‘complete’). Through reviewing previous literature in this research area, it has been observed that the word *Tamam* is also used in Turkish. For example, Ruhi (2013) presented a corpus-driven, qualitative investigation of the interactional marker *Tamam* in Spoken Turkish. It was found that *Tamam* has many pragmatic functions or meanings in the Turkish language. Three of these functions are to express approval, to show understanding, and to check the attention of the addressee. These functions are also attested in JA, as will be discussed later.

It is worth noting that Arabic discourse markers have been the focus of a number of studies (e.g. Al Harahsheh & Kanakri, 2013; Al Azzawi, 2015; Al Khalidy, 2017; Al Rousan et al., 2020; Hamdan & Abu Rumman, 2020; Hamdan, 2021, 2022; Hamdan & Hammouri, 2022). As far as the authors of the current study are aware, the word *Tamam* as used in Jordanian Arabic, has not been examined either partially or fully in earlier literature, and thus the current paper aims to fill in this research gap.

Pragmatics deals with utterances that reflect specific events. It indicates the intentional acts of speakers at certain times and places, typically involving language (Davis, 1991, p. 37). Pragmatics also analyzes language in use as well as examining the purposes and functions of linguistic forms (Brown & Yule, 1983). Moreover, it focuses on the study of language in both spoken and written modes (Yule, 2010). Yule (1996) defined pragmatics as “the study of meaning communicated by a speaker or writer and interpreted by a listener or reader” (p. 3). Therefore, its focus lies on what people mean by their utterances, rather than on what words and phrases mean by themselves. Additionally, Newmark (1988) argues that pragmatic research does not only try to understand written and spoken forms of words, but it also intends to help people grasp the intended meaning of the writer and speaker because users do not always tend to say what they mean in a direct and explicit way. Therefore, there are different interpretations in different contexts for the same message. Speakers of a certain language sometimes imply something beyond the words they use in their daily conversation, and what determines the real meaning of a word is the context itself (Lieber, 2009). In an early article, Fraser (1990) distinguished between two types of sentence meaning; pragmatic meaning which relates to speaker’s intention (illocutionary meaning), and content meaning which highlights that every sentence conveys a single message. In the same vein, Hamdan and Abu Rumman (2020) reiterated that context plays a key role in determining and identifying the meaning of both spoken and written discourse.

Discourse markers are a clear example of pragmatic devices that are often used in conversation interaction. The functional component of discourse markers includes implicit and explicit pragmatic roles in both written and spoken

discourse, and the pragmatic meaning of discourse markers can be attained from the conceptual context (Moore, 2007). Therefore, discourse markers do not only carry semantic content, but they also have pragmatic, expressive, and textual functions (Schiffrin, 1987).

Al-Harashseh and Kanakri (2013) studied the pragmatic functions of the Jordanian spoken Arabic DM *tayyib* 'okay', 'fine', 'good' and its cognate *tabb*. They state that these two linguistic terms convey many different pragmatic functions such as, to mark backchannel with what precedes it, to mean 'stop' or 'let us try to understand the matter', and to show an objection to what has been said.

In a related study, Al Azzawi (2015) examined the use of *ʕa:di*. He concluded that this DM conveys a large number of functions such as support and sympathy, consolation, mitigation and encouragement, acceptance of a proposal, disapproval, reprimand and indignation, politeness and courtesy, mild criticism and sarcasm.

Using a YouTube series, Al Khalidy (2017) investigated the pragmatic functions of the word *ta:lʕ* in Jordanian Spoken Arabic. He concluded that this discourse marker has eight different functions, such as 'going', 'going out', 'hearable', and 'appear'.

Three years later, Al Rousan et al. (2020) investigated the pragmatic functions of *bas* in JA. The findings indicated that *bas* has 16 pragmatic functions. These include initiating a topic, signaling topic change, closing a turn, ending a conversation, and indicating speaker's hesitancy.

In a closely related study, Hamdan and Abu Rumman (2020) explored the pragmatic functions of the DM *yahummalali* in Jordanian Arabic. The researchers found that this idiomatic expression has 19 pragmatic functions which include expressing dismay and disapproval, mitigating exaggerated claims, wishing, ridiculing, expressing anger, and expressing sadness.

A year later, Hamdan (2021) examined the pragmatic functions of the *like* button used to interact with status-updates on Facebook. He found that the *like* button, a graphic pragmatic marker, has eight functions which include, showing unreserved approval and admiration, showing courtesy and maintaining contact, notifying users that the post has been seen and followed, and inviting friends to see a public post, etc.

More recently, Hamdan (2022) explored the pragmatic functions of the most common five emojis used by Jordanian Facebook users. The findings indicated that the most frequently utilized emojis by Jordanians on Facebook were the face with tears of joy, the red heart, the slightly smiling face, the face blowing a kiss, and the face winking. The findings also showed that these emojis have 19 pragmatic functions, including showing courtesy, ending a conversation, indicating a threat, and showing agreement.

Another recent study by Hamdan and Hammouri (2022) investigated the pragmatic functions of *yalla* (lit. 'let us') in Jordanian Arabic. The study found that *yalla* has twenty-three pragmatic functions. These functions include showing approval/acceptance, signaling the start of an action, spreading enthusiasm, suggesting, commanding/ordering someone, expediting/urging, expressing surrender or submission, announcing the onset of a new action or activity, requesting approval, assuring, and prompting someone to act in line with an established routine, among others.

The current study seeks to answer the following question:

What are the pragmatic functions of *Tamam* as used in Jordanian Arabic?

II. METHOD

The researchers, who are native speakers of JA, compiled a preliminary list of 16 scenarios that included *Tamam* in JA on the basis of their exposure to this idiomatic expression and their knowledge of its contexts in Jordanian society. They also identified the pragmatic functions of *Tamam* in each scenario. The scenarios and related pragmatic functions were subjected to a validation process by a panel of three linguists whose native language is JA - one of whom is from the University of Jordan and the other two of whom are from Tafila Technical University. They were asked to review the scenarios and related functions of *Tamam*. Only minor amendments to the scenarios were made in response to the feedback suggested by the jurors as most of their judgements were compatible with those of the researchers. Two scenarios that suggested the function apology and the function expressing disagreement coupled with displeasure, however, were advised by two of the panel to be eliminated, positing that *Tamam* in these scenarios hardly conveyed these functions. As a result, these two scenarios and their related functions were removed.

The acceptability of 14 pragmatic functions was tested against the intuition of 164 native speakers of JA who were BA students at the University of Jordan from different specialisms. One of the researchers joined six WhatsApp groups of two compulsory university courses, namely 'National Culture' and 'Communication Skills'. These six groups comprised of more than 250 BA students. The researcher sent a WhatsApp message to all groups clarifying the aim of the questionnaire and what was expected of them to do, and then the link to the online questionnaire was also sent. Only 164 of the recipients completed the whole task. The completion of the task was an online Google form questionnaire, with no expiration time.

The informants included 110 females and 54 males with a mean age of 20. They all gave their informed consent to participate in the study by signing a short form prepared for this purpose. The task, which was conducted in Arabic, took the form of a table with four columns. The first column provided the scenarios/situations in which *Tamam* occurred. The second displayed the suggested pragmatic functions of *Tamam*. The third presented the five-point Likert

scale: 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'uncertain', 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree'. The fourth was left blank for participants to possibly suggest functions other than those offered in the task.

The participants were asked to read each of the 14 scenarios with its proposed pragmatic function and make a choice. In fact, only two of the participants provided some alternative functions of *Tamam* while responding to the questionnaire; the other participants only expressed their agreement, disagreement, or uncertainty of the given functions. The alternative functions were checked by the researchers, but they were not found appropriate, and thus were not considered. However, all the included functions in the tool were entertained by the researchers because they were judged acceptable by more than 50 percent of the participants. These functions were assumed to be the ones that fairly described the use of *Tamam* at this point in time in JA.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Analysis of the data showed that *Tamam* is used to express 14 pragmatic functions. The table below presents the pragmatic functions of *Tamam* and the number and percentage of participants who agreed with each one.

TABLE 1
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WHO ACCEPTED EACH OF THE PROPOSED PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF TAMAM

Scenario No.	Function	No.	Acceptability judgement [%]
1	Expressing approval	156	95.12
2	Seeking confirmation	150	91.46
3	Showing understanding	148	90.24
4	Expressing appreciation	142	86.58
5	Expressing joy and pleasure	134	81.70
6	Showing tolerance	132	80.48
7	Expressing sadness and submission	130	79.26
8	Reassuring	128	78.04
9	Checking attention	115	70.12
10	Expressing dissatisfaction	111	67.68
11	Ending a conversation and expressing impatience	99	60.36
12	Ridiculing/ Mocking	96	58.53
13	Threatening	95	57.92
14	Expressing shock and disappointment	85	51.82

Below is a presentation of each pragmatic function in its context followed by an illustrative example. For the reader's convenience, each example begins with the context (originally in Arabic) in which *Tamam* occurred. The conversational turns are represented in JA, transliteration, and an English gloss.

(1) Expressing approval

[Context] During a phone call, the following conversation took place between Ameera and Rasha:

أميرة: تيجي نروح بكرة أنا وياكي على السوق؟
ti:dʒi nru:h bukra: ʔana wi jja:ki ʕala ʔissu:g
Ameera: "Do you fancy going shopping with me tomorrow?"

رشا: تمام
tama:m
Rasha: "Sounds good."

أميرة: منيح عالنتسعة؟
mni:h ʕa ttisʕa:
Ameera: "How does 9 am sound?"

رشا: بستناك
bastana:ki
Rasha: "I'll be there!".

Approval may occur when someone accepts a suggestion made by another person. Thus, *Tamam* in this context is used by Rasha to give approval to a certain suggestion.

(2) Seeking confirmation

[Context] Saleem got a low mark in his science exam. His father was really shocked. The following conversation took place between them:

والد سليم : سليم ليش جايب العلامة هاي بامتحان العلوم؟ شكلك ما درست منيح، صح؟
 Saleem's father: sali:m le:f dʒa:jib ʔil ʕala:mi ha:j bimiḥa:n ʔil ʕulu:m? ʃiklak ma: darasit mni:ḥ, saḥ ?
 "Saleem, may I ask why you got such a low mark in your exam? It seems you didn't study enough; Am I right?"

سليم: صح، ما كان معي وقت كافي أدرس
 Saleem: saḥ ma: ka:n maʕi waɟit ka:fi ʔadrus
 "Yeah ... I didn't have enough time to study."
 والد سليم: المرة الجاي لازم تدرس منيح، تمام؟
 Saleem's father: ʔil ma:rɾa ʔil dʒaj la:zim tudrus mni:ḥ, tama:m?
 "Next time you have to study harder, okay?"
 سليم: حاضر
 Saleem: ḥa:dir
 "OK."

Saleem's father uses *Tamam* here as a tag question in hope of eliciting confirmation from his son that he will study harder next time to get a higher mark. As it happened, Saleem immediately confirmed. Apparently, Saleem, who was under pressure, had no chance but to confirm his father's request even if the latter had not used *Tamam*. However, the use of the DM here has intensified Saleem's father's pressure for confirmation.

(3) Showing understanding

[Context] Ahmad was attending a lecture with Professor Malik. Ahmad suddenly got a severe headache. The following dialogue took place between them:

أحمد: دكتور بعد إنك أنا كثير تعبنا وراسي بوجعني
 dokto:r baʕid i ʕnak ʔana kθi:r taʕba:n w ra:si biwadʒdʒiʕni:
 Ahmad: "Sorry to interrupt Professor. I'm not feeling very well; I've got a severe headache."

بروفيسور مالك: تمام! بتقدر تغادر المحاضرة
 tama:m bitɟdar tɟadir ʔilmuḥa:ɟara
 Professor Malik: "Sure! You can leave."

The use of *Tamam* is meant to show understanding; it is another way of saying 'I understand'.

(4) Expressing appreciation

[Context] Marwa is a student in the sixth grade. The following conversation took place between herself and her art teacher:

أستاذ الفن: فرجيني اللوحة التي رسمتها
 fardʒini: ʔil lawḥa ʔilli rasmti:ha
 Marwa's art teacher: "Show me the painting you've already painted."

مروى: تفضل هياها أستاذ
 tfaɟal ha:jha usta: ʔ
 Marwa: "Here it is Sir."

أستاذ الفن: (مبتسما) تمام
 tama:m
 Marwa's art teacher (Smiling): "Nice!"

As is clear, the teacher responded with *Tamam*, but his response was really accompanied with a smile, hence his body language complemented his verbal response. It is not easy to tell which one of them contributes more to achieving the function of appreciation but it could well be a combination of both. In other words, *Tamam* and the teacher's smile occurred in tandem to achieve this function. Bavelas and Chovil (2017) stated that most facial expressions and gestures serve pragmatic '(meta-communicative)' functions. All facial gestures serve a pragmatic function in a certain context when they also coexist with other words (ibid).

(5) Expressing joy and pleasure

[Context] Laith is at hospital due to a health problem. His friend Basil goes to the hospital to check on Laith's health. The following conversation took place between them:

باسل: طمني عنك ليث كيف صحتك هسا؟
 tammini: ʕa:nnak lajiθ ke:f sihta:k hassa
 Basil: "How you doin' Laith? Hope you're feeling better mate."

ليث: الحمد لله الآن وضعي الصحي منيح ومستقر
 ʔil ʔil hamdulila:h ʔil a:n wa:ɗʕi ʔi:ssiħi mni:h w mustaqir
 Laith: "Thank God; I'm doing much better."

باسل: تمام (مع إطالة الصائت قبل الأخير). هاي أخبار كويسة
 tama:a:m. ha:j ʔaxba:r kwajsi
 Basil: "Greeeeat! That's really good news."

Basil used *Tamam* here to show joy and pleasure when he found out that his friend Laith was getting better. Note that the elongation of the prefinal front low vowel has contributed to intensifying joy and pleasure which *Tamam* has conveyed.

(6) Showing tolerance

[Context] Manal and Mazin are married. Manal did something to upset Mazin. She apologized by saying:

منال: أسفة جدا على اللي صار حقا علي
 ʔa:sfi dzidda:n ʕla ʔilli ʕa:r ʔagga:k ʕa:laji
 Manal: "I'm so sorry for upsetting you. I apologize."

مازن: تمام (متحاشياً النظر في عينيها) بس ما كان لازم تسرعت
 tama:m bas ma: ka:n la:zim ʔitsara:ʕti:
 Mazin: "It's alright I guess (evading looking her in the eye); but you shouldn't have gotten mad at me".

Mazin used *Tamam* to show tolerance to the way his wife behaved. The gesture he used intensified the pragmatic function of *Tamam* in this context. Evading looking at Manal in the eye while responding to her apology, Mazin indirectly implied that he would let it go, though reluctantly.

(7) Expressing sadness and submission

[Context] Rami has been looking for a job for a long time. Yesterday he applied for a job at a company. The Human Resources Manager phoned him yesterday and told him that he was not selected.

مدير الموارد البشرية: أسف إني بحكيك إنه ما رح نقبلك بالوظيفة لأنه وضفنا شخص قبل يومين، وما في شاغر.
 ʔa:sif ʔinni: baħkila:k ʔinnu ma: raħ nigbala:k bilwa:ʕi:fi li ʔannu: wa:ʕʕna: ʕa:xis ʕabil jo:me:n w ma: fi ʕa:yir hassa
 wrong symbol

The Human Resources Manager: "I am sorry to tell you that we cannot give you the job because someone was hired two days ago, and there is no vacancy now."

رامي: تمام (مع تنهيدة) خيرها بغيرها
 tama:m xe:rha biye:rha
 Rami: "Oh okay (with a sigh), maybe I'm better off."

It seems that *Tamam* is used here to express sadness and submission. It appears that Rami felt sad and uncomfortable because he did not get the job. The function of sighing here strengthens the functional meaning of *Tamam*¹.

(8) Reassuring

[Context] Rana was trying to get her car out of the garage by putting it in reverse. Her mother stepped in to instruct and guide her². The following conversation took place between them:

¹ Hamdan and Hammouri (2022, p. 149) suggested that the idiomatic expression *Yalla* conveys a similar communicative function when it is accompanied with a sigh.

² The context of this function was adapted from Hamdan and Hammouri (2022, p. 150).

والدة رنا: ارجعي ارجعي هلا اكسري شمال شمال، عدلي وارجعي، تمام طالعة
 ?irdza?i ?irdza?i halla? iksiri ?ma:l ?ma:l ?adli wirdza?i tama:m ?a:l?a
 Rana's mother: "Back, back. Now move to the left – left. Now scoot on over and back up. Okay, you're good to go now".

رنا: شكرا ماما
 ?ukran ma:ma:
 Rana: "Thanks, Mum!"

The discourse marker *Tamam* is employed to express reassurance. As can be noted in this scenario, Rana's mother used *Tamam* to comfort and reassure her daughter Rana while trying to get the car out of the garage.

(9) Checking attention

[Context] Mousa and his friend Ameen were having a chat.

موسى: شو صار معاك لما رحت اليوم على المصنع؟
 ?u: sa:r ma?a:k lamma: ruhit ?il jo:m ?al ma?na??
 Musa: "What happened when you went to the factory today?"
 أمين: رحت أشوف المدير. تمام؟ وطلبت منه مساعدة تمام؟ وقاتله بدي تساعدني أشغل
 ruhit ?afu:f ?il mudir. tama:m? w ?alabit minnu musa:fa:di. tama:m? w gultillu biddi tsa:fidni ?aftayil.
 Ameen: "I went there to meet the Manager, right. Then I asked him for help, you get me? "I wanted him to give me a job."

موسى: آه وبعدين؟
 ?a: w ba?de:n
 Musa: "Ok. So, what happened then?"

أمين: ما ساعدني
 ma: sa:fa:ni
 Ameen: "He didn't help."

In this context, one observes a repetitive use of *Tamam* as a sentence final marker to check the addressee's attention and make sure that he is still in the conversation.

(10) Expressing dissatisfaction

[Context] Sameer and Kamil are close friends. They agree to meet and go to the mechanic to fix Sameer's car. Kamil did not show up. The following conversation took place between them:

سمير: وينك يا زلمة؟ ليش ما إجيت منشان نروح نصلح السيارة؟
 we:nak ja: za:lami le:f ma: idzi:t min?a:n nru:h nsali? ?issijja:ra
 Sameer: "Where are you man? Why didn't you come to fix the car?"

كامل: متأسف جدا؛ أنا طالع هسا وصعب نلتقي اليوم.
 mit?assif dziddan. nsi:t ?ana ?a:li? hassa w sa?ib niltagi ?il jo:m
 Kamil: "Sorry man. I completely forgot; I'm busy now and can't make it today."
 سمير: تمام وأنا شو أعمل هسا
 tama:m w ?ana ?u: a?mal hassa
 Sameer: "Great! (sarcastically). What am I supposed to do now?"

كامل: بكرة بروح أنا وياك
 bukra: baru:h ?ana wijja:k
 Kamil: "No worries. We'll sort it out tomorrow."

Expressing dissatisfaction here is indicated by *Tamam*. Sameer used *Tamam* to show his unease and to express his dissatisfaction regarding Kamil's inability to show up.

(11) Ending a conversation and expressing impatience

[Context] Rula was fighting with her fiancé Amer, and she reminded him of the way he had behaved throughout their engagement. The following conversation took place between them:

? رولا: مش ناسية كل غلطة غلطتها معي، بتتذكر لما نسيت تحكيلي كل عام وإنت بخير وبتتذكر لما..... ولما..... ولما.....

mif na:sji kul ya:lta ylijitha ma:fi. btitzakkar lamma nsi:t tihki:li kul fa:m winti bixe:r wibititzakar lamma: w lamma: w lamma.

Rula: "I'll never forget how you've treated me. Do you remember when you forgot my birthday? Do you remember when...., and when...., and when...?"

عامر: تمام فهمنا

tama:m ifhimna

Amer: "Enough already. I get it, I get it."

Rula, in the above example, shows anger when her fiancé has frequently behaved badly towards her. She did this by reminding him of what she views as all his faults. Her fiancé used the expression *Tamam* to shut her up, and to show his impatience. The idiomatic expression *Tamam* here also means 'enough is enough'.

(12) Ridiculing/ Mocking

[Context] Sami and Rami are employees at a private company. The following conversation took place between them:

سامي: سمعت إنه الشركة رح اتجمّد الزيادة السنوية

?ismi:it innu i?irki raħ tdzammid ?izzija:di ?issanawjji

Sami: "I heard that the company isn't giving annual raises anymore."

رامي: تمام هاظا إللي ناقص

tama:m ha:ča ?illi na:gis

Rami: "Oooh! (sarcastically) You know, that's all I've ever wanted! (sarcastically)."

'*Tamam*' is used to ridicule/mock somebody for something. In the above scenario, Rami utilized *Tamam* to ridicule/mock the company's decision to stop giving annual raises to its employees. In other words, Rami responded with *Tamam* to strengthen the function of ridiculing or mocking.

(13) Threatening

[Context] Fadi called Samir many times to get back the money that Samer owes him. The following conversation took place between them:

فادي: مرحبا سامر وين الفلوس إللي داينتك يا هم، إني أكثر من شهرين بطلبهم منك.

marħaba sa:mir we:n liflu:s ?illi da:jantak ja:hum ?ili a:kθar min fa:hre:n baṭlubhum minna:k

Fadi: "Hey Samir. I want the money you owe me. I've been asking you to pay it back for ages now."

سامر: ما رح أرجعلك يا هم واعمل إللي بدك يا ه.

ma: raħ ardzi:la:k ja:hum wi:mal ?illi biddak ja:h

Samir: "I'm not gonna pay it back, so you can do whatever you want to me. I don't care."

فادي: تمام بس ما تزعل مني ها

tama:m bas ma tizʕal minni ha

Fadi: "Sure mate. But don't get mad when I do. You're gonna be sorry."

In this context, *Tamam* seems to have been employed to express a threat; Fadi used *Tamam* to threaten Samir for not paying the money back that he owed him. This is clear when *Tamam* was followed by the sentence "But don't get mad when I do. You're gonna be sorry." This sentence strengthens the threatening function of *Tamam* in such a context.

(14) Expressing shock and disappointment

[Context] Maram and Rasha live in the same building. Rasha is used to playing very loud music in the middle of the night which bothers her neighbor Maram. Maram decides to go to Rasha's flat to ask her to turn down the music a little bit to let her sleep. The following dialogue took place between them:

مرام: ممكن توطي صوت الموسيقى شوي مش عارفة أنام

mumkin twaṭṭi so:t ?ilmusi:qa fwa:jjji mij fa:rfa ?ana:m

Maram: "Could you please turn down the music a bit? I can't sleep."

رشا: مش شغلك بضمن بدني أسمع أغاني عالغالي سكري أدانك ونامي

mif šuylik baḍun bidi asmaʕ ʔa:ya:ni ʕal ʕa:li sakri ada:nik w na:mi

Rasha replies: "It's none of your business, I guess, if I want to listen to loud music. Put some earplugs in and go to sleep."

مرام: تحملىق مرام في وجه رشا. تمام. (صمت) هادا إللي طلع معك

tama:m ha:da ʔilli tiliʕ ma:ʕik

Maram: "Wow! (said sarcastically while staring at Rasha) (pause) Is that all you could come up with?!"

In this context, *Tamam* was supported by both a facial expression (staring) and a pause to show Maram's shock and disappointment of Rasha's reaction and behavior. Maram utilized *Tamam* here to express how shocked she was when Rasha did not respond to her request and refused to turn down the music.

IV. DISCUSSIONS

Following on from the work of Hamdan and Abu Rumman (2020), the pragmatic functions of *Tamam* are divided into two categories. The first comprises of functions which were accepted by 70 per cent (and above) of the participants; it seems that the subjects are well aware of these functions which are probably part of their everyday communicative interactions. Such a finding may justify labeling them as 'well-established'. In contrast, the functions in the second category are viewed as emerging functions, i.e., not yet deeply entrenched among the Jordanian youth. The acceptability judgments for these functions ranged between 51 and 68 per cent.

Additionally, analysis of the data reveals that the idiomatic expression *Tamam* is pragmatically multifunctional in JA since it conveys 14 different pragmatic functions. The three most frequent pragmatic functions of *Tamam* were expressing approval, seeking confirmation, and showing understanding. These three functions were associated with various situations in daily life. For example, the first situation was a conversation during a phone call in which Rasha used *Tamam* to show her approval to go shopping with her friend Ameera. The second was a conversation between Saleem and his father in which Saleem's father used *Tamam* to seek confirmation from his son to study harder next time. The third was during a university lecture in which Professor Malik used *Tamam* to show his understanding of Ahmad's request. On the other hand, the three least frequent pragmatic functions of *Tamam* were ridiculing or mocking, threatening, and expressing shock and disappointment. These functions were also associated with other different situations which occur in daily life. The first was in a private company in which Sami and Rami were talking about freezing the annual increment. Rami used *Tamam* to ridicule and mock this decision. The second was through a phone call in which Fadi used *Tamam* to threaten Samir for not paying the money back. The third was in Rasha's flat where Marwa used *Tamam* to express her shock and disappointment when her neighbor refused to turn the music down. Thus, frequency of occurrence is unlikely to be associated with specific social contexts. The relatively low acceptability rate of such pragmatic functions might be due to the fact that these functions are not currently internalized by university students. Further research on older generations (i.e., 45 years and above) may show that the use of this idiomatic expression could be affected by both age and experience.

Moreover, the findings show that the idiomatic expression *Tamam* tends to express rather positive pragmatic functions such as approval, confirming information, appreciation, showing understanding, encouragement and reinforcement, expressing joy and pleasure, checking attention, and expressing tolerance. The analysis also demonstrates that the use of *Tamam* tends to intensify the meaning of certain adjacent linguistic texts. For example, in situation 13, *Tamam* is used by Fadi to threaten Samir for not paying back the money he owes him. In this context, *Tamam* is associated with the adjacent text "Don't get mad when I do" to reinforce the threatening connotations of *Tamam*. Moreover, in situation 12 when Rami mocked the company policy for cancelling annual raises, he used *Tamam* to intensify the meaning of the adjacent linguistic text "Oooh! (sarcastically) You know, that's all I've ever wanted!". In relation, Hamdan and Abu Rumman (2020) suggested that "the use of discourse markers intensifies the meaning conveyed by an adjacent linguistic text" (p. 13).

However, the findings reveal that *Tamam* is also used alone to convey the functional meaning of a certain context or situation. For example, in situation 1, *Tamam* is used without being associated with any adjacent text to express Rasha's approval of Ameera's suggestion that they go shopping together. Another example is in situation 4 when the art teacher used *Tamam* to express his appreciation toward Marwa's painting. The idiomatic expression *Tamam* sometimes appears alone without any post-text or pretext. In this case, it is important to examine whether this independent occurrence of *Tamam* can be interpreted differently or not. It seems that *Tamam* here had a post-text, but this post-text is implicit, or invisible, so *Tamam* is used to enforce a given text. This may mean that the text can be invisible or absorbed as in previous examples i.e., situation 1, and situation 4.

In many situations, *Tamam* is associated with and supported by nonverbal cues, such as facial expressions, body language, sighs, and pauses. These are used to convey the exact pragmatic functions of *Tamam* in such situations. Such nonverbal cues strengthen the meaning of *Tamam* in certain contexts. For example, in situation 4, the art teacher uses *Tamam* with a smile on his face to show his appreciation for Marwa's drawing. Smiling, here, helps to convey the pragmatic function of *Tamam* in this situation in a clear way. Body language is another nonverbal cue that is used with

Tamam. For example, in situation 6, the husband tilted his head forward whilst saying *Tamam*, to show his tolerance for his wife's behavior.

Another nonverbal cue is the use of a sigh with *Tamam* to reflect sadness or disappointment, for example, in situation 7, when Rami discovered that the job vacancy he had applied for had been filled. In this context, Rami used *Tamam* with both a sigh and an adjacent text to express his sadness regarding what he heard. Additionally, pauses and facial expressions are nonverbal cues which are used by interlocutors to reflect their feelings. In situation 14, Maram used *Tamam* to express her shock and disappointment when her neighbor refused to turn the music down. Maram stared at Rasha then uttered *Tamam*. Furthermore, she paused for a while and said "Is that all you could come up with?!".

Using *Tamam* here serves the function of expressing shock and disappointment. Such a function of *Tamam* is supported by a facial expression, as well as a pause.

It is worth noting that *Tamam* in JA has some similar functions to that in Turkish. Ruhi (2013) stated that *Tamam* in Turkish can be used to convey a number of pragmatic functions. For example, it can be used in Turkish to display agreement or approval to a certain action, to check the addressee's attention, and to show understanding. It appears that the examination of DMs may show lexical and pragmatic affinities between culturally related languages such as Arabic and Turkish. Yaqoob (2021) asserted that there is a remarkable influence of Arabic on Turkish which is due to many factors, such as the religion of Islam, and the obvious traces of Arabic on Ottoman Turkish.

However, further research may reveal additional pragmatic functions associated with other factors, not examined in the current study.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has provided a detailed analysis of the pragmatic functions of the JA idiomatic expression *Tamam*. Analysis reveals that *Tamam* has the following 14 pragmatic functions: expressing approval, confirming information, showing understanding, expressing appreciation, showing joy and pleasure, showing tolerance, expressing sadness and submission, encouraging and reinforcing, checking the addressee's attention, expressing dissatisfaction, ending a conversation and expressing impatience, ridiculing/mockng, threatening, and expressing shock and disappointment. The present study concludes that context plays an essential role in determining the functions of *Tamam*. However, since *Tamam* is not only used in Jordanian Arabic, further research may examine the functions of *Tamam* in other spoken Arabic dialects. Thus, one could measure the extent to which such pragmatic functions possibly vary from one regional dialect to another.

The study also recommends that future research may examine the acceptability of such scenarios and functions among older generations (speakers over the age of 45) in comparison to the participants of the current study with the aim of examining whether age plays a role in the use and understanding of *Tamam*.

Moreover, it is recommended that future studies investigate the pragmatic functions of other idiomatic expressions in JA and in other Arabic dialects.

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