



A University of Sussex DPhil thesis

Available online via Sussex Research Online:

<http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/>

This thesis is protected by copyright which belongs to the author.

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

Please visit Sussex Research Online for more information and further details

A GRAMMAR OF HADARI ARABIC: A CONTRASTIVE-TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE.

Khaled Waleed Al-Bahri

Submitted for the degree of PhD in Linguistics
University of Sussex
May 2014

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted, in whole or in part, to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:

...To Mom and Dad

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Doctor Melanie Green for her support and encouragement during the past five years, I couldn't have done it without you. I would like to thank Doctor Hanan Muzaffar, for that life changing conversation we had one afternoon, which made me decide to become a linguist.

I would also like to thank Mrs. Noor Al-Gharabally, my first English instructor at Kuwait University, who helped me find my North Star. I am eternally indebted to you. I also want to thank my wonderful family for their continuous love and support, and a special thank you goes to my dear sister Asmaa for always being there for me. Last but not least, I would like to thank Mariam Al-Darmi, my Pocahontas, for her unconditional love.

UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX
Khaled Waleed Al-Bahri, PhD in Linguistics
A GRAMMAR OF HADARI ARABIC: A CONTRASTIVE-TYPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE
SUMMARY

This thesis provides a synchronic morphosyntactic description of the Hadari dialect, a variety of Gulf Arabic spoken in Kuwait, and presents a current documentation of this rapidly changing, under documented spoken dialect of Arabic. The description covers the basic morphology and syntax of Hadari, focusing mainly on the syntax. The description refers to Modern Standard Arabic both as a point of comparison and a point of reference when describing the spoken dialect's morphology and syntax. The study also draws on discussion of existing descriptions of the dialect and reflects upon their current adequacy.

This thesis adopts a typological approach to describing the Hadari dialect, making reference both to Greenbergian typology and to modern typological theory. Two of the main typological theories applied in this description include an application of Matthew Dryer's exceptionless properties of V-initial languages (1990) and of the Branching Direction Theory (Dryer1992), to the spoken dialect.

Furthermore, the study sheds light on the similarities and differences between Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, regarding the expression of various syntactic aspects. One of the more significant contributions in this section is the typological description of the relative clause in Hadari. Furthermore, the thesis provides descriptions of clause structure, word order, modality, valency, copular clauses, interrogatives, negation, and subordination, in Hadari.

The analysis is based on empirical data from recordings of everyday interactions in uncontrolled environment, television shows, radio broadcasts, and personal interviews.

List of Tables

Table 2. 1 The consonantal inventory of Modern Standard Arabic.....	14
Table 2. 2 The consonantal inventory of Hadari.....	15
Table 2.3 Modern Standard Arabic consonant transliteration.....	15
Table 2.4 Modern Standard Arabic vowel transliteration.....	16
Table 2.5 Hadari consonant transliteration.....	17
Table 2.6 Hadari vowel transliteration.....	18
Table 3.1 Verb patterns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	22
Table 3.2 Deverbal templates in Modern Standard Arabic.....	28
Table 3.3 Participles in Modern Standard Arabic.....	32
Table 3.4 Participles functioning as nouns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	32
Table 3.5 Deverbal patterns in Hadari.....	43
Table 3.6 participles functioning as nouns in Hadari.....	46
Table 3.7 Common broken plural patterns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	52
Table 3.8 Pronominal/possessive pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	64
Table 3.9 Pronominal/possessive suffixes in Hadari.....	65
Table 3.10 The possessive particle <i>mal</i> marked with pronominal/possessive suffixes.....	68
Table 3.11 Perfective paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	70
Table 3.12 Perfective paradigm in Hadari.....	70
Table 3.13 Imperfective paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	71
Table 3.14 Imperfective paradigm in Hadari.....	72
Table 3.15 Indicative Paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	73
Table 3.16 Subjunctive Paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	74
Table 3.17 Subjunctive markers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	75
Table 3.18 Jussive markers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	76
Table 3.19 imperative paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	79
Table 3.20 imperative agreement paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	80
Table 3.21 imperative paradigm in Hadari.....	80
Table 3.22 imperative agreement paradigm in Hadari.....	81

Table 4.1 Masculine demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic.....	95
Table 4.2 Feminine demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic.....	95
Table 4.3 Masculine demonstratives in Hadari.....	97
Table 4.4 Feminine demonstratives in Hadari.....	97
Table 4.5 Quantifiers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	100
Table 4.6 Numeral system in Modern Standard Arabic.....	102
Table 4.7 Quantifiers in Hadari.....	103
Table 4.8 Numerals in Hadari.....	104
Table 5.1 Verb derivation paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	123
Table 5.2 Verb derivation paradigm in Hadari.....	126
Table 5.3 Greenberg's six constituent orders.....	129
Table 5.4 Word order frequencies (Dryer 2005c:330).....	129
Table 5.5 Predictions of VO word order.....	143
Table 5.6 True Correlation Pairs (Dryer 1992: 29).....	146
Table 5.7 Noncorrelation Pairs (Dryer 1992: 29).....	146
Table 5.8 correlation pairs in Hadari.....	147
Table 5.9 Frequency of Case Marking Systems (based on Whaley 1997).....	152
Table 5.10 Clitics vs. affixes (Haspelmath: 2002:153).....	160
Table 5.11 Pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	162
Table 5.12 Pronominal clitics in Modern Standard Arabic.....	162
Table 5.13 Pronouns in Hadari.....	164
Table 5.14 Pronominal Clitics in Hadari.....	165
Table 5.15 Perfect verb agreement markers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	169
Table 5.16 Imperfect verb agreement markers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	169
Table 5.17 Perfect verb agreement markers in Hadari.....	171
Table 5.18 Imperfect verb agreement markers in Hadari.....	171
Table 6.1 Epistemic expressions in Hadari.....	188
Table 6.2: 'Contour verbs' (Brustad 2000:193, 6-3).....	191
Table 7.1 Hopper and Thompson's parameters of Transitivity.....	205

Table 7.2 Conditions of the Individuation parameter (Hopper and Thompson (1980:253)).....	207
Table 9.1 Interrogative words in Modern Standard Arabic.....	240
Table 9.2 Interrogative words in Hadari.....	240
Table 10.1 <i>Lasya</i> paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic.....	250
Table 11.1 Temporal Clause Linkers in Modern Standard Arabic.....	273
Table 11.2 Hadari Temporal Clause Linkers.....	279
Table 11.3 Coordinators in Modern Standard Arabic.....	286
Table 11.4: Coordinators in Hadari.....	289
Table 11.5 Masculine relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	295
Table 11.6 Feminine relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic.....	296
Table 11.7 Relativizable Positions in Arabic.....	297

List of Figures

Figure 6.1 Hopper and Traugott's cline of grammaticality.....	182
Figure11.1 Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy.....	293

Abbreviations

1	1st person	INCL	inclusive
2	2nd person	INDEF	indefinite
3	3rd person	IND	indicative
(A)	Author	INTSF	intensifier
ABL	ablative	LINK	linker
ABS	absolute	(LR)	live recording
ACC	accusative	LOC	locative
ADJ	Adjective	M	masculine
AGR	agreement	NEG	negative
VP	adjective phrase	NOM	nominative
AOR	aorist	NONFUT	nonfuture
APPL	applicative	NP	noun phrase
AUX	auxiliary	OBJ	object
COMP	complementizer	PTCPL	participle
CONN	connector	PASS	passive
COP	copula	PERF	past
CAUS	causative	PER	perfective
DAT	dative	PL	plural
DEF	definite	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PP	prepositional phrase
DO	direct object	PRES	present
DUAL	dual	PROG	progressive
ERG	ergative	Q	question
F	feminine	(R)	radio
FOC	focus	REAL	realis
FM	focus marker	REALIS	realis
FUT	future	REL	relativizer
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
(HR)	heritage researcher	SUB	Subjunctive
(I)	interview	SUBJ	subject
IMP	imperative	TNS	tense
IMPERF	imperfective	TOP	topic
INCH	inchoative	(TV)	TV shows

Table of Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	1
1.1	Aims	1
1.2	Data sources.....	2
1.3	Findings.....	3
Chapter 2	Language background and methodology.....	5
2.1	Introduction	5
2.2	Language context	5
2.3	Emergence of the spoken dialects: diachronic perspectives	8
2.4	Objectives of the study.....	10
2.4.1	Motivating a synchronic approach:.....	10
2.4.2	Motivating a comparison with Modern Standard Arabic:.....	10
2.4.3	Motivating a typologically-informed approach:	11
2.5	Data collection methodology.....	11
2.5.1	Setting of data collection and transcription method	12
2.5.2	Participants	12
2.5.3	Interviews	13
2.5.4	Live recording in uncontrolled environment	13
2.5.5	Media and novels	13
2.5.6	Questionnaires	13
2.6	Phoneme inventories and transliteration system	14
2.6.1	Sound inventory of Modern Standard Arabic.....	14
2.6.2	Sound inventory in Hadari	15
2.7	Transliteration system.....	15
2.7.1	Modern Standard Arabic	15
2.7.2	Hadari	17
Chapter 3	Morphology	19
3.1	Introduction	19
3.2	Derivational and Inflectional Morphology	19
3.3	Arabic as a Nonconcatenative language	20
3.4	Derivational Morphology.....	21

3.4.1	Verbs in Modern Standard Arabic	22
3.4.2	Nouns and Adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic	27
3.4.2.1	Deverbals.....	27
3.4.2.2	Participles	31
3.4.2.3	Semantically motivated patterns.....	33
3.4.2.4	Adjectives comparison in Modern Standard Arabic	35
3.4.3	Verbs in Hadari	36
3.4.4	Nouns and adjectives in Hadari	42
3.4.4.1	Deverbals.....	42
3.4.4.2	Participles	45
3.4.4.3	Semantically motivated patterns.....	46
3.4.4.4	Adjectives comparison in Hadari	49
3.5	Inflectional Morphology	51
3.5.1	Nominal inflection: number	51
3.5.1.1	Dual in Modern Standard Arabic	51
3.5.1.2	Plural in Modern Standard Arabic	51
3.5.1.3	Dual in Hadari	53
3.5.1.4	Plural in Hadari	54
3.5.2	Gender:	57
3.5.2.1	Gender in Modern Standard Arabic.....	58
3.5.2.2	Gender in Hadari.....	60
3.6	Possessive constructions	62
3.6.1	Typological overview	62
3.6.2	The possessive in Modern Standard Arabic:	64
3.6.3	The possessive in Hadari.....	65
3.7	Case in Modern Standard Arabic	68
3.8	Verbal inflection: perfective and imperfective	69
3.8.1	Perfective in Modern Standard Arabic	70
3.8.2	Perfective in Hadari	70
3.8.3	Imperfective in Modern Standard Arabic.....	71
3.8.4	Imperfective in Hadari	71
3.9	Mood	73

	3.9.1	Mood in Modern Standard Arabic	73
	3.9.1.1	Indicative in Modern Standard Arabic	73
	3.9.1.2	Subjunctive in Modern Standard Arabic	74
	3.9.1.3	Jussive in Modern Standard Arabic.....	75
	3.9.2	Mood in Hadari	77
	3.9.3	Imperative.....	79
	3.9.3.1	Imperative in Modern Standard Arabic	79
	3.9.3.2	Imperative in Hadari	80
	3.10	Summary.....	81
Chapter 4	NP syntax.....		83
	4.1	Introduction	83
	4.2	Definiteness:	83
	4.2.1	Definite Articles: a typological overview	83
	4.2.2	Definite articles in Hadari	86
	4.2.3	Indefinite Articles: a typological overview	88
	4.2.4	Indefiniteness in Hadari.....	89
	4.2.5	Indefinite pronouns.....	91
	4.2.6	Indefinite pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic	93
	4.2.7	Indefinite pronouns in Hadari	94
	4.3	Demonstratives	95
	4.3.1	Demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic	95
	4.3.2	Demonstratives in Hadari	97
	4.4	Quantifiers	100
	4.4.1	Quantifiers Modern Standard Arabic	100
	4.4.2	Quantifiers in Hadari	103
	4.5	NP Complements.....	105
	4.5.1	Complements in Modern Standard Arabic	105
	4.5.2	Complements in Hadari	107
	4.6	Attributive Adjectives	109
	4.6.1	Attributive adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic	109
	4.6.2	Attributive adjectives in Hadari	112
	4.7	Summary.....	119
Chapter 5	Basic Constituent Order		121

5.1	Introduction	121
5.2	The simple declarative verbal clause	121
5.2.1	The verbal clause in Modern Standard Arabic.....	122
5.2.1.1	Verbal clause headed by intransitive verb	123
5.2.1.2	Verbal clause headed by monotransitive verb	124
5.2.1.3	Verbal clause headed by ditransitive verb	125
5.2.2	The verbal clause in Hadari.....	126
5.2.2.1	Verbal clause headed by intransitive verb	127
5.2.2.2	Verbal clause headed by monotransitive verb	127
5.2.2.3	Verbal clause headed by ditransitive verb	128
5.3	Word order:	129
5.3.1	Typological generalizations.....	129
5.3.2	Greenberg's basic constituent order typology	129
5.3.3	Determining basic constituent order	131
5.3.4	Elaborating Greenberg's typology	132
5.3.5	Criticism of Greenberg's typology and the VO/OV dichotomy.....	135
5.3.6	Word order in Hadari	136
5.3.7	Branching Direction Theory (BDT).....	144
5.3.8	Hadari according to BDT	146
5.3.8.1	Correlation pairs in Hadari	147
5.3.8.2	Noncorrelation pairs in Hadari:	148
5.3.9	Conclusion:.....	148
5.4	Case:	149
5.4.1	Typological Overview	149
5.4.2	Case in Modern Standard Arabic	152
5.4.3	Case in Hadari	157
5.5	Pronouns, indexation, and Pro-drop	158
5.5.1	Pronouns	158
5.5.1.1	Affixes vs. Clitics.....	159
5.5.1.2	Pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic	162
5.5.1.3	Pronouns in Hadari	164
5.5.2	Indexation	168

	5.5.2.1	Indexation in Modern Standard Arabic.....	169
	5.5.2.2	Indexation in Hadari.....	170
	5.5.3	Pro-drop.....	172
	5.5.3.1	Pro-drop in Modern Standard Arabic	173
	5.5.3.2	Pro-drop in Hadari	175
	5.5.3.3	Eid's (1983) analysis of the functions of personal pronouns ..	178
	5.6	Summary.....	179
Chapter 6		Modality and Aspect	181
	6.1	Introduction	181
	6.2	Grammaticalization:	181
	6.3	Modal Verbs.....	183
	6.3.1	Modality in Modern Standard Arabic.....	185
	6.3.2	Modality in Hadari.....	187
	6.4	Aspectual auxiliaries.....	190
	6.4.1	Aspectual auxiliaries in Hadari	192
	6.5	Summary.....	200
Chapter 7		Valency	201
	7.1	Introduction	201
	7.2	A typology of valency changing processes	201
	7.2.1	Valency decreasing processes.....	201
	7.2.2	Valency increasing processes.....	203
	7.2.3	Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Prototype:.....	205
	7.3	Valency in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari	208
	7.3.1	Valency decreasing processes.....	208
	7.3.1.1	The passive in Modern Standard Arabic	208
	7.3.1.2	The passive in Hadari	209
	7.3.1.3	The medio-passive in Modern Standard Arabic	212
	7.3.1.4	The 'impersonal passive' in Hadari.....	214
	7.3.1.5	Reflexives in Modern Standard Arabic.....	216
	7.3.1.6	Reflexives in Hadari.....	217
	7.3.2	Valency-increasing processes	218
	7.3.2.1	Causatives in Modern Standard Arabic.....	218

	7.3.2.2 Causatives in Hadari.....	219
	7.3.3 Summary:.....	221
Chapter 8	Non-verbal Predications.....	222
	8.1 Introduction	222
	8.2 Types of Copulas	223
	8.3 Nonverbal predicates	224
	8.4 Copulas in Modern Standard Arabic:	226
	8.4.1 Verbal copula	226
	8.4.2 Nonverbal copula	229
	8.5 Copulas in Hadari	231
	8.5.1 Verbal copula	231
	8.5.2 Nonverbal copula	232
	8.6 Summary.....	234
Chapter 9	Interrogatives	235
	9.1 Introduction	235
	9.2 Typological overview.....	235
	9.2.1 Polar interrogatives	235
	9.2.2 Content interrogatives.....	237
	9.3 Interrogatives in Arabic	238
	9.3.1 Polar interrogatives in Modern Standard Arabic	238
	9.3.2 Polar interrogatives in Hadari	239
	9.3.3 Content interrogatives in Modern Standard Arabic	239
	9.3.4 Content interrogatives in Hadari.....	240
	9.3.5 Multiple interrogatives in Hadari	243
	9.4 Summary.....	245
Chapter 10	Negation	246
	10.1 Introduction	246
	10.2 The typology of negation.....	246
	10.3 Negation in Modern Standard Arabic	249
	10.4 Negation in Hadari	251
	10.4.1 Negation strategy	251
	10.4.2 Coordination and negation	256
	10.5 Summary.....	259

Chapter 11	Complex Clauses	260
11.1	Introduction	260
11.2	Subordination and coordination: a typological overview	260
11.2.1	Features of subordinate clauses	262
11.3	Typology of clausal complements:.....	264
11.3.1	Typology of verbs that select clausal complements	264
11.3.2	Complement coding devices	265
11.4	Subordination in Modern Standard Arabic	268
11.4.1	Subject clause.....	268
11.4.2	Complements	270
11.4.3	Participials.....	272
11.4.4	Adverbial clauses.....	272
11.4.4.1	Temporal Clauses:.....	273
11.4.4.2	Conditional Clauses:.....	273
11.4.4.3	Causative clauses:.....	275
11.4.4.4	Concessive Clause:.....	275
11.4.4.5	Substitutive Clause:.....	275
11.4.4.6	Additive Clause:	275
11.4.4.7	Purpose Clause:	276
11.5	Subordination in Hadari.....	276
11.5.1	Subject clauses	276
11.5.2	Complement clauses	277
11.5.3	Participles.....	279
11.5.4	Adverbial Clause	279
11.5.4.1	Temporal Clauses:.....	279
11.5.4.2	Conditional Clauses:.....	280
11.5.4.3	Causative clause:	281
11.5.4.4	Concessive Clause:.....	281
11.5.4.5	Substitutive Clause:.....	281
11.5.4.6	Additive Clause:	282
11.5.4.7	Purpose Clause:	282
11.6	Coordination	282

11.6.1	Features of coordination	282
11.6.2	Coordination in Modern Standard Arabic	284
11.6.3	Coordination in Hadari	286
11.7	Relative Clauses:.....	290
11.7.1	Typological Overview:	290
11.7.2	The Accessibility Hierarchy	293
11.7.3	Relativization Strategies	293
11.7.4	Relative Clauses in Modern Standard Arabic:.....	295
11.7.5	Relative Clauses in Hadari.....	299
11.7.5.1	The relativizer strategy in Hadari.....	299
11.7.5.2	The gapping strategy in Hadari.....	303
11.7.5.3	The resumption strategy in Hadari	303
11.7.5.4	Variation in relative clause position in Hadari.....	305
11.8	Summary.....	306
Chapter 12	Conclusions.....	307
12.1	Introduction	307
12.2	Restatement of aims	307
12.3	Summary of findings.....	307
12.4	Limitations	308
References	273

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Aims

This thesis sets out to provide a contrastive typological description of Hadari, a dialect spoken in the State of Kuwait. The Hadari dialect is changing at a rapid pace and so far no attempt to describe or document its grammar has been made. Thus, this thesis represents an attempt to capture the current state of Hadari by producing a comprehensive morphosyntactic description of the dialect which can aid in marking the evolution of the dialect in future descriptive endeavors. Furthermore, the thesis uses Modern Standard Arabic, one of the most documented and well-described varieties of Arabic, as a point of comparison for Hadari to produce a more detailed description of the spoken dialect.

Another aim of this thesis is to introduce the typological descriptive approach to linguists and grammarians in the Gulf area, where the concept of typology is considered fairly new and the typological descriptive approach is still viewed as unconventional. Thus, the data is presented through some of the main themes and theoretical frameworks used in modern typology. The main focus of the grammar is syntactic typology, relying mainly on Greenbergian word order typology, presented in his influential *Universals of Language* (1966), as the main foundation of the syntactic description. Another source for the typological description found in this thesis is Matthew Dryer's (1992) *The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations*. The thesis also makes use of Dryer's word order typology presented in *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (2005) and his entries in Shopen's *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* (2007), which were instrumental in defining the typological description of Hadari. The thesis also includes a treatment of Dryer's *Branching-Direction Theory*, for which the dialect presents robust evidence of its applicability. Another source used in this thesis is Clive Holes' (1990) *Gulf Arabic*, which describes the Bahraini dialect.

Although the thesis focuses mainly on syntax, it does include overviews of the morphology of both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, to aid in contextualizing the syntactic description of the dialect. For the morphology chapter, Holes' (1990) *Gulf Arabic* grammar was used to fill in some of the descriptive gaps in my data, particularly on plural patterns and derivational patterns present in the dialect.

1.2 Data sources

The data presented in this grammar is based on variety of sources, which can be categorized into three main categories: media, live recordings, and personal interviews. The main source of data is media, which consists of television shows, radio shows, and most recently, books written in Hadari. Television shows present the richest data resource, as it provides well-documented and accessible archives of the dialect, dating back from the 1960s until the present day. For the purposes of this research, I have chosen two television dramas to compare the changes in the dialect; one show titled *Ala Ad-dinya As-salam*, produced in 1987, and the other is *Sahir Al-layl*, produced in 2010. Data from both TV dramas was compared in an effort to highlight any changes the dialect might have undergone during the 23 year old gap. In the second media source, radio shows, Hadari speakers from all age groups and social classes participate in these shows, providing exposure to a wide range of informants who in turn provide grammatical constructions and an objective point of view of what is considered grammatical in the dialect. The last media source is published novels written in Hadari, which have gained popularity in the past 4 years. The novels are written by young Kuwaiti authors and are part of a recent literary trend in the Gulf Area. The phenomenon first started in 2005 in Saudi Arabia, where author Rajaa Al-Sanea published her book *Banat Al-Riyadh* 'Girls of Riyadh' written in Riyadh Saudi dialect. The book also includes characters from different backgrounds who also spoke in their colloquial varieties; for example Hijazi Saudi, Hadari Kuwaiti, and Zubairi Iraqi dialects. Following the success of the novel, several Kuwaiti writers published novels written in the colloquial variety. In such novels, the narrative is presented in Modern Standard Arabic while the dialogue is in Hadari. Although no examples were used from novels, they served as an excellent source to observe word order used in the dialect.

The second source of data is from my own personal recordings of everyday interactions, which provide empirical examples of Hadari. This form of data demonstrates how constructions differ from one social group to another, as recordings captured in a family setting differs immensely from that captured in the context of friends or peers.

The last source data is of personal interviews with speakers, which attempt to test the speaker's knowledge of what is grammatical and what is not. The interviews contain informants of different age groups, including separate recordings of speakers in their 20s, 30s and 50s. One of the informants is Kuwaiti dialect and heritage researcher Ghanima Al-Fahad, who provides detailed accounts of the changes the dialect has undergone in the past 30 years.

1.3 Findings

As mentioned in section (1.1), the morphology chapter is included for descriptive completeness, and in order to contextualize the reader's understanding of the syntax chapters. In the section on phonology in chapter 2, my contribution is limited to the compilation of the consonant and vowel charts of Hadari and the comparison between the sound inventories of Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic.

The morphology chapter surveys the derivational and inflectional morphological processes in Modern Standard Arabic to provide a point of reference to the morphology of Hadari. My original contributions to the morphology chapter include the categorization of the broken plural patterns, which were stated, use Holes' (1990) Gulf Arabic descriptive grammar to fill in categorical gaps in my personal data. Another original contribution to the morphology chapter is a challenging view of Kristen Brustad's treatment of the dual category, which proposes a second dual forming pattern in Hadari besides the affixal strategy.

In chapter 4, which marks the beginning of the syntactic description in the thesis, the syntax of the noun phrase in Hadari is described with reference to Modern Standard Arabic and typological features. By providing examples from my personal data and comparing them with

findings of existing literature, NP-related categories in Hadari are shown to demonstrate similarities with Modern Standard Arabic in areas like definiteness, demonstratives, quantifiers, and possessive constructions, without drastic differences in the syntax of any of those categories.

Next, word order in Hadari is presented in this thesis in chapter 5 with regard to Greenberg's typological universals. The chapter tests exceptionless properties of V-initial languages (Dryer 1990) on Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, providing strong evidence of their probability. Another contribution is the application of Dryer's BDT theory (1992), which tests each of the true correlation pairs on Hadari, finding that it is a right-branching language and confirming the predictions posited by BDT.

The thesis also presents a description of modal verbs and unique modal expression in Hadari, which have received little attention in the past literature (Chapter 6). Furthermore, the thesis lists aspectual marking auxiliaries in Hadari, comparing the current data with data from Alnajjar (1984), which rendered interesting findings on the status of these auxiliaries in today's dialect.

Furthermore, the thesis provides a detailed description of valency in Modern Standard Arabic and in Hadari. This also marks the first attempt to describe the phenomenon of valency in Hadari in terms of universal valency changing processes. In addition, the thesis presents several interesting findings in the category of negation in Hadari. The section includes additions Holes' (1990) findings on the functions of the negative particle *mu* in the Gulf dialect, mainly in the expression affirmatives using double negation in Hadari.

Chapter 11 includes a section on relative clauses, which provides a detailed typological description of relativization strategies employed in Hadari in comparison to Modern Standard Arabic, and an application of Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy.

Chapter 2 Language background and methodology

2.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter presents a general background about Hadari Arabic. Section 2 presents a description of the context the spoken dialect, which provides information about where it is spoken, number of speakers, an overview of other languages and other Arabic dialects spoken in Kuwait, and a description of the diglossic environment of Hadari speakers. Section 3 of the chapter sets Hadari within its historical context, discussing the relationship of the spoken dialect to both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, and describing the contact the dialect has, and has had in the past, with other languages and spoken dialects in the region. Section 4 of the chapter sets out the objectives of the thesis, and justifies the synchronic comparative approach taken in this dissertation. Section 5 provides an account of the methodology used to compile the dataset used in this dissertation, and the chapter concludes in section 6 with a brief description of the sound inventory of Hadari along with an explanation of the transliteration system used in this thesis.

2.2 Language context

According to the census carried out in 2008, Kuwait has a total population of 3,328,136 *with* 1,038,598 of the demographic formed by the local Kuwaiti population (Kuwait Government Online 2008). Kuwait has two main spoken Arabic dialects; Hadari (Urban) and Bedouin (rural), with the Hadari dialect spoken by nearly 500,000 of the speakers (Al-Rushaid 2012, Lewis 2013). The large number of non-Kuwaiti workers in Kuwait further expands the country's dialectal repertoire to include other Arabic dialects including Mehri (Yemeni), Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, and recently, Moroccan. Furthermore, Kuwait is also home to speakers of widely spoken languages such as English, Farsi, Urdu, Tagalog, and Amharic.

Although Kuwait has a variety of Arabic dialects, the official language of Kuwait is Modern Standard Arabic, which is stated in the constitution and is used in all public institutions and by the media. Private institutions like private hospitals, universities and businesses are almost all bilingual (English and Modern Standard Arabic).

In Kuwait, compulsory education for males and females, which was established in 1965, starts in elementary school (6 years old) and ends in middle school (13-14 years old). Kuwait has a literacy rate of 92% according to the 2008 census (Lewis 2013). In public schools, Modern Standard Arabic is used during Arabic grammar and Islamic studies classes, English is used in English language class, and Hadari is predominantly used in all other classrooms. On the other hand, private schools tend to be either monolingual (English-medium), or bilingual, where subjects are taught in English and the native language of the school's pupils, which could be Modern Standard Arabic, Urdu, or Farsi. The majority of private schools do not offer Arabic grammar classes.

Given this complex linguistic environment, Hadari speakers live in a state of diglossia, a well-known phenomenon of which Arabic is a frequently-cited example. Ferguson (1959a) defines a diglossic community as a community in which a high variety (henceforth H variety) is used in formal contexts and a low variety (henceforth L variety) is used for daily interactions. According to Ferguson, the H variety has a number of defining characteristics; function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, and standardization (Ferguson 1959a). The first and most important characteristic according to Ferguson is function: the H variety is used in all formal settings like schools, news broadcasts, religious sermons, and all official documents, whereas the L variety is used in informal settings. In terms of prestige, the H variety is considered superior to the L variety, hence the terms 'high' and 'low', which are used to refer to the regard in which the speakers hold each of the varieties. With respect to the third characteristic, literary heritage, Ferguson observes that the H variety has a long history of written literature and that contemporary literature is also produced in the H variety. The fourth characteristic relates to manner of acquisition, as the H variety must be learned according to fundamental grammatical rules through formal education, while the L variety is acquired naturally as a native language. According to the final characteristic listed by Ferguson, standardization, the H variety is grammatically described in the literature and has dictionaries and grammars detailing its properties (Ferguson 1959a:235). In addition, the H variety is the written variety, while the L variety is likely to remain as a spoken-only variety.

Ferguson (1959a) refers to Arabic, along with other languages, as an example of diglossia, comparing H and L in Arabic speaking communities. As Bassiouney (2009) notes, however, Ferguson's H/L Arabic dichotomy lacks the distinction between the two types of H: Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic. As Bassiouney observes, Classical Arabic is the language of the Holy Quran and ancient literature, and current day speakers only use it when reciting the Quran or ancient poetry. However, Modern Standard Arabic is commonly used in all formal contexts like public speeches (Bassiouney 2009:12).

Kuwait, provides an example of a diglossic community where two varieties are employed by the speakers on a daily basis: Modern Standard Arabic (H) and either Hadari or one of the other spoken dialects, depending on the community (L). In Kuwait, Modern Standard Arabic is used in news broadcasts, public schools, and all institutional settings that require formal interaction, while in the urban setting Hadari is employed in informal contexts like interaction between friends and family. Recently, however, the contexts in which the two varieties are used have started to show signs of overlap, as Hadari can now be heard in formal news broadcasts by young news anchors, and several novels have recently been published in Hadari, including *Banat Al-Thanawiya* 'High School Girls' by Mohammed Al-Nashmi (2009) and *Al-Haddama* 'The Destroyer' by Haytham Boudai (2010). The novels were well-received by the public and their success resulted in the consequent publication of more novels written in Hadari (with some offering characters that spoke Bedouin Kuwaiti Arabic). This can be considered a first step towards the standardization of Hadari, from which arose a public demand for the dialect to be formally taught in public school (Al-Rushaid 2011). Al-Rushaid (2011) notes that such demands cannot presently be met due to the highly complex dialectal situation in Kuwait, as it would be impractical to choose one spoken dialect over another to be taught in schools.

In Kuwait, Classical Arabic is used when reciting the Holy Quran, either by reading directly from the book or reciting by memory, and the only contact Classical Arabic has with either Modern Standard Arabic or Hadari is when speakers quote a Quranic verse, a Hadith (Prophet's teaching), or ancient poetry.

2.3 Emergence of the spoken dialects: diachronic perspectives

Given the existence of Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and the spoken dialects, questions naturally arise concerning the historical relationship between these varieties. In the case of Classical Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, it is relatively uncontroversial that Modern Standard Arabic descended from Classical Arabic. For example, Versteegh (1984) states that Modern Standard Arabic is the modern form of, and structurally similar to, Classical Arabic, a perspective that strongly implies a historical relationship between Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic. Similarly, Holes (2004: 36) posits that Modern Standard Arabic is a descendant of Classical Arabic, observing that the two varieties are similar in terms of their syntactic core but different in their vocabulary and phraseology.

In the case of the modern spoken dialects, the picture is more complex. There are a number of different views on the emergence of the modern spoken Arabic dialects. This section will present an overview of some of the major interpretations developed by linguists throughout the years, namely Johann Fück, Charles Ferguson, Joshua Blau, and Kees Versteegh.

An early view, posited by Fück (1950), suggests that a new Arabic variety emerged during the Islamic conquests in the early 9th century, as a result of the contact between Arabs and non-Arabs. According to Fück, this contact caused the grammar to undergo a process of simplification, and although non-Arab speakers assimilated into Arab society during the early Islamic empire and learned the language, they failed to acquire complexities such as the case system. Fück posits that the modern spoken dialects of Arabic emerged from this dialect, hence the absence of features such as morphological case. Fück's view is shared by Ferguson (1959b), which postulates that the dialects descended from a variety that coexisted with Classical Arabic in the Islamic Empire, which he labels as a koine (Ferguson 1959b:616). A koine is defined as a new variety of a language that emerges when speakers of mutually intelligible dialects of the same language come into contact (Siegel 1985, cited in Kerswill 2002: 673). According to Ferguson, Arabic koine developed as a conversational variety of Arabic, was rarely used in writing, and the modern spoken Arabic dialects are continuations of the spoken koine.

In a more recent interpretation, Blau (1981) posits that there existed a Middle Arabic between Old Arabic and New Arabic. This postulation is based on text analysis of a large number of documents from as early as the 7th century, written in a form of Arabic that shares many similarities with modern spoken dialects of Arabic. Blau labels this variety as 'Middle Arabic' and notes that texts written in this variety become more abundant in the 10th century, which suggests that Middle Arabic spread as a spoken variety during the early Islamic empire and that this variety is the missing link between Old Arabic (Classical, Quranic) and New Arabic (spoken Arabic dialects).

Another interpretation is presented by Versteegh (1984), which postulates that there was one Arabic language before the Islamic conquest and that it was used in both the colloquial and literary domains. After the Islamic conquest, This Arabic became marked as a prestige language used in literature and other formal settings after Arabic speakers came in contact with non-Arabic speakers. From this contact emerged a variety of what Versteegh labels 'Urban Colloquial', from which modern Arabic dialects descended. Versteegh posits that new speakers of Arabic during the Islamic conquest had an instrumental role in shaping the modern Arabic dialects, mainly through a process of pidginization. He defines pidginization in this context as the process whereby a large number of speakers of other languages had to learn Arabic rapidly and without formal instruction (Versteegh 1984: 37). After the contact of Arabic with other non-Arabic languages, a pidgin emerged which was used as a daily means of interaction. This pidgin went through a process of creolization, a process in which a pidgin becomes a mother language to a number of speakers, and ultimately became the modern day dialects.

It seems that regardless of the label given to the process which resulted the modern spoken dialects of Arabic, all of the aforementioned views assume a that the dialects descended from an earlier form of Arabic that differed from Classical Arabic in grammatical complexity and level documentation.

The present study does not attempt to reflect directly on these diachronic issues, but to focus on a synchronic description of modern spoken Hadari, which nevertheless may prove useful for historical linguists. The objectives of this study are presented in the following section.

2.4 Objectives of the study

The present study has the following objectives:

- To present a synchronic morphosyntactic description of contemporary Hadari based on a naturalistic dataset.
- To couch this description within a comparative approach wherein the features of Hadari are compared and contrasted with those of Modern Standard Arabic.
- To set this description within a broader comparative context by taking a typologically-informed approach.

2.4.1 Motivating a synchronic approach:

The study adopts a synchronic descriptive approach that sets out to provide a contemporary description of Hadari, an under-described spoken variety, without attempting to present historical interpretations of its features. The primary objective therefore is to document the morphosyntax of the dialect at this point in its history, based on naturalistic data, with a view to contributing to the field a description that may subsequently be useful both for comparative synchronic research in Arabic dialectology and indeed for historical research.

2.4.2 Motivating a comparison with Modern Standard Arabic:

The current study presents the description of Hadari morphosyntax through a comparative approach which uses Modern Standard Arabic as a point of reference. The motivation for this comparison is twofold: firstly, Modern Standard Arabic is a very well-described language and the abundance of existing literature provides a robust descriptive structure against which Hadari can be usefully compared. Secondly, because Modern Standard Arabic is the best-described variety of Arabic, it is the variety most familiar to general linguists; a comparative approach therefore serves the purpose of making explicit how Hadari both differs from and is similar to the most widely-known variety.

2.4.3 Motivating a typologically-informed approach:

Taking a broader comparative perspective, the study also sets the comparative description of Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari within a modern typological framework, in order to highlight typological similarities and differences between the two varieties. While one would not expect striking typological variation between two dialects of the same language, the typological approach is nevertheless useful for highlighting such variation where it exists, and for indicating the natural structural preferences that distinguish the L variety from the H variety, an approach that also has the potential to contribute to comparative Arabic dialectology by highlighting predictions for the behavior of other spoken dialects. As far as I am aware, this thesis presents the first attempt to describe the morphosyntax of a spoken Arabic dialect within a typological framework, opening a new approach to Arabic linguists in the Gulf Area, where the discipline of linguistic typology is nascent and unconventional.

2.5 Data collection methodology

The main focus of the data collection is to create a synchronic dataset of Hadari that reflects the contemporary state of the natural spoken dialect. With that in mind, the dataset is drawn from three main sources: recordings of spontaneous conversation in uncontrolled environments, interviews with speakers, and media sources that mainly consist of scripted TV shows, radio shows, and written novels. In addition, questionnaires were used to elicit some of the data for the morphology chapter, and in cases where the data did not always yield representative examples, some were provided by the author, who is a native speaker of the dialect. A record was kept of which data type each example was drawn from, and for the personal interviews a record was also kept of which participants uttered which examples, in case differences of age should arise and prove relevant to the presence or absence of certain features. Furthermore, all of the Hadari examples have been tagged for the source they come from; (A) for author, (I) for interview, (LR) for live recording, (HR) for heritage researcher, (R) for radio, and (TV) for television shows.

2.5.1 Setting of data collection and transcription method

The majority of the recorded portion of the dataset was collected in Kuwait within the narrow time-frame of two and a half years, starting in June 2009 and ending in December 2011. The live recordings were made using an Olympus VN-6200PC recorder. Since the primary objective of the project was a description of the morphosyntax of the dialect rather than the construction of a corpus, the method of selective transcription (by transliteration) was adopted. This method of transcription involves listening to the recordings again for each section of the thesis and selecting and transcribing representative examples accordingly. Since the dataset is small and the approach is qualitative rather than quantitative, it was not considered necessary to quantify exemplars of morphosyntactic construction types, and neither was any formal statistical analysis of the frequency of construction types attempted.

2.5.2 Participants

For the purposes of this thesis, given the complex linguistic environment in Kuwait, participants had to meet two main conditions; they must be urban native speakers of Hadari, and their parents must be native speakers of Hadari. The first condition means that participants were born and raised in Kuwait city and not in the rural areas in Kuwait, where the percentage of Bedouin Kuwaiti speakers is much higher than that of Hadari Kuwaiti speakers: this reduced the potential for the introduction of Bedouin Kuwaiti features into the dataset. As for the second condition, by selecting participants that had native Hadari speaking parents, it was possible to confidently describe the participants as native speakers.

Before the recording sessions, the participants were given an overview of the project and what the objectives of the recordings were. The participants in both the controlled and uncontrolled groups were asked for their permission to be recorded and they were informed that their data would be transcribed into written form and anonymized before being used for research purposes. Participants were also informed that they could contact the researcher at any time to withdraw consent for the use of their data for the project.

2.5.3 Interviews

For this portion of the dataset, nine participants of different age groups were interviewed. Speaker A is 55 years old, B is 30, C is 48, D is 20, E is 44, F is 50, G is 50, H is 37, and I is 27. The gender and age of the speaker were not used in this thesis since it is concerned mainly with descriptive morphosyntax and not any sociolinguistic aspect of the dialect. The participants were asked to introduce themselves, describe the type of household they live in and a brief description of their profession, and then they were given a choice to tell a recent incident that happened to them, an anecdotal story that happened at work, or tell a folk story that they know. Overall, each of the nine participants was interviewed for approximately 20 minutes, which provided a total of approximately three hours of controlled interview recordings.

2.5.4 Live recording in uncontrolled environment

For the uncontrolled recording sessions, I opted to use the natural environments of a family gathering and a friends gathering. The family gathering session included speakers from age groups that ranged between 18 and 70 years old while the friends gathering included speakers that were predominately in their 20s and early 30s. Each session was approximately one hour and thirty minutes long, resulting in a total of three hours of recorded data.

2.5.5 Media and novels

The third source of data is from TV shows that are written and acted by native speakers of Hadari. TV shows are the most accessible source of data since they are available on DVDs and online. I chose two TV shows as sources; the first show is *Ala Ad-dinya As-salam* 'Goodbye World' (Othman 1987) which consists of 15, one hour-long episodes, and the second TV show is *Sahir Al-Layl* 'Nocturnal Being' (Al-Elaiwa 2010) which consists of 30, one hour-long episodes. Three episodes of each of the shows were used for the purposes of this thesis, providing a total of 6 hours of speech. Novels written in Hadari are a fairly recent phenomenon and although no examples were used from these novels, they were instrumental in observing word order.

2.5.6 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were instrumental in the collection of data for the plural section of the morphology chapter. Two different questionnaires were taken on two separate occasions by

the same group of participants. The total number of participants is 23, with ages ranging between 21 and 24. During the first stage, the participants were provided with a questionnaire containing 20 singular Hadari nouns naming everyday objects. Each of the singular nouns was then followed by a choice of 2-3 plural forms and the participants were instructed to select what they considered the plural form of that noun. In the second stage questionnaire, the same group of participants was provided with 20 more Hadari nouns but this time the nouns named archaic objects like nautical equipment, household objects that have been long replaced by technological inventions, and other obscure Hadari nouns. Then the data from both questionnaires were compared in order to deduce some of the broken plural patterns described in the morphology chapter. The main purpose of the questionnaires was to get a sense of the participants' native intuition in forming broken plural forms, even when given nouns that are semantically obscure to them.

2.6 Phoneme inventories and transliteration system

2.6.1 Sound inventory of Modern Standard Arabic

	Bilabial	Labiodentals	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	palatal	Velar	Uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Plosive	b			t t ^c d d ^c			k	q		ʔ
Nasal	m			n			ŋ			
Trill				r						
fricatives		f	θ ð ð ^c	s s ^c z	ʃ	j	x χ		ħ ʕ	h
Literal fricatives										
Approximant	w					y				
Literal approximant				l						

Table 2. 1 The consonantal inventory of Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic has three main vowels: high front /i/, high back /u/, and low /a/. The three main vowels of Modern Standard Arabic have the corresponding long /ii/, /uu/, and /aa/. Finally, Modern Standard Arabic has the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ (Broselow 2008:609; Holes 2004:59).

2.6.2 Sound inventory in Hadari

	Bilabial	Labiodentals	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	palatal	Velar	Uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
Plosive	b			t t ^c d		c	k g	q		ʔ
Nasal	m			n			ŋ			
Trill				r						
fricatives		f	θ ð ð ^c	s s ^c z z ^c	ʃ	j	x ɣ		ħ ʕ	h
Literal fricatives										
Approximant	w					y				
Literal approximant				l l ^c						

Table 2. 2 The consonantal inventory of Hadari

Hadari has short vowels /i/, /u/, and /ə/ and long vowels /ii/, /uu/, /εε/, /aa/ and /oo/.

2.7 Transliteration system

For the purposes of this thesis, the transliteration method adopted is Brill's simple Arabic transliteration system (2010). The first two tables are the transliteration system used for Modern Standard Arabic and the second two tables are for Hadari:

2.7.1 Modern Standard Arabic

IPA	Transliteration	Arabic Script
ʔ	'	أ
b	b	ب
t	t	ت
θ	t̤	ث
dʒ	j (ǧ)	ج
ħ	h̤	ح
x	x (ḥ)	خ
d	d	د
ð	d̤	ذ
r	r	ر
z	z	ز
s	s	س
ʃ	š	ش
s ^c	ṣ	ص
d ^c	ḍ	ض
t ^c	ṭ	ط
ð ^c	ẓ	ظ
ʕ	'	ع

ɣ	ġ	غ
f	f	ف
q	q	ق
k	k	ك
l	l	ل
m	m	م
n	n	ن
h	h	ه
w	w	و
j	y	ي

Table 2.3 Modern Standard Arabic consonant transliteration

IPA	Transliteration	Modern Standard Arabic
a	a	اَ
i	i	اِ
u	u	اُ
aa	aa	آ
ii	ii	ي
uu	uu	و

Table 2.4 Modern Standard Arabic vowel transliteration

2.7.2 Hadari

IPA	Transliteration	Arabic Script
ʔ	ʾ	أ
b	b	ب
t	t	ت
θ	ṭ	ث
dʒ	j (ǧ)	ج
c	č	چ
ħ	ḥ	ح
x	x (ḫ)	خ
d	d	د
ð	ḍ	ذ
r	r	ر
z	z	ز
s	s	س
ʃ	š	ش
sʕ	ṣ	ص
tʕ	ṭ	ط
ðʕ	ẓ	ظ
ɕ	ʿ	ع
ɣ	ġ	غ
f	f	ف
q	q	ق
k	k	ك
g	g	گ
l	l	ل
m	m	م
n	n	ن
h	h	ه
w	w	و
j	y	ي

Table 2.5 Hadari consonant transliteration

IPA	Transliteration
ə	ə
i	l
u	u
aa	aa
ii	ii
ɛɛ	ɛɛ
uu	uu
o:	oo

Table 2.6 Hadari vowel transliteration

Chapter 3 Morphology

3.1 Introduction

This section describes the morphology of Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. The morphology of both Standard and Colloquial Arabic has received a lot of attention from linguists over the years. Perhaps one of the most celebrated descriptive grammars of both Standard and spoken Arabic is Holes (1990), who closely observes the language's phonology, morphology and syntax, and whose work is used as a main reference source in this section. Holes (1990) provides a thorough description of the morphology of spoken Arabic, focusing mainly on a group of dialects which he labels 'Gulf Arabic'. Furthermore, Holes (2004) provides a description of the morphology of Modern Standard Arabic and provides some examples from spoken dialects like Bahraini and Egyptian in comparison. McCarthy (2007) also provides an analysis of the morphological system of Modern Standard Arabic along with a comparison to other Semitic languages. Others who have also published descriptions of Arabic morphology include Veersteegh (1997), McCarus (2008), and Zemánek (2006). This section starts with an overview of the criterion of inflectional and derivational morphology, followed by description of derivational morphology in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. The section then describes the inflectional morphology in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

3.2 Derivational and Inflectional Morphology

The two main components of lexeme formation in linguistic morphology are inflection and derivation. Inflectional morphology relates to the grammatical side of word formation, as inflectional morphemes are dependent on the grammatical requirements of the environment in which they occur. Categories of inflectional morphology tend to describe grammatical functions like case assignment, agreement in gender, person, number, and TMA selection (Bickel and Nichols 2007). When applied, inflectional morphology presents concepts that are the same as the base to which they are applied and do not offer drastic conceptual change. Furthermore, inflectional morphology does not affect the word class of the base word. Another criterion of

inflection is compositionality of meaning, as inflections normally add meaning to the base that is predictable and not idiosyncratic. Applicability is another criterion of inflectional morphology, as inflectional processes are applied without arbitrary limitations that block their application (Bauer 2002, Haspelmath 2002, Stump 2001).

Derivational morphology on the other hand relates to the lexical side of word formation as it is independent of the grammatical environment. Mainly, derivational morphology is pertinent to the creation of new lexemes, which are semantically different from the base words they are derived from. Hence, derivation often offers a new concept different from the base form. Furthermore, derivational morphology commonly, but not necessarily, introduces a change in word class when applied as adjectives can be derived from nouns, nouns can be derived from verbs, verbs can be derived from verbs and so on (Bickel and Nichols 2007, Bauer 2002). A further characteristic of derivational morphology is that it offers non-compositional meaning as derivation contributes idiosyncratic change to the base word. Another characteristic of derivational morphology is the existence of arbitrary constraints on applicability, as a logically predictable derivational process can be missing or unattested for in a given language's paradigm without any perceivable reason (Corbett 2010, Haspelmath 2002).

3.3 Arabic as a Nonconcatenative language

The morphology of Arabic depends on root and pattern. A root in Arabic is an abstract string of consonants that signify a certain concept; for example the root k-t-b refers to the notion of writing. Patterns, on the other hand, are vocalic templates that are applied to the root in order to form a concrete morphological form; for example, the template CaCaC '3rd person singular masculine perfective' is applied to the root k-t-b to result in the verb *katab* 'he wrote'. Hence, Arabic, like other Semitic languages, is a nonconcatenative language in which lexemes are realized through a nonlinear application of the template to the stem (Nichols and Bickel 2007, Watson 2002).

3.4 Derivational Morphology

The derivational process in Modern Standard Arabic is highly templatic, as is the case for many Semitic languages. As noted in the previous section, derivation in Arabic is a process consisting of a 'root', which is an abstract consisting of a string of consonants and therefore not pronounceable, and a preset group of 'patterns' or templates. The two terms that need to be properly addressed from the previous definition are 'root' and 'template'. First, A 'root' can be defined as an abstract morphological unit consisting of an ordered set of consonants that carry semantics and serve as the base for verbal, nominal, and adjectival derivation. There are mainly two types of roots in Arabic; roots that consist of three consonants, labeled 'triliteral roots', and verbs that consist of four consonants, labeled 'quadriliteral roots'. Zemánek (2006:204) proposes that Arabic has six types of roots: monoliteral roots, which are strictly used for prepositions and particles and do not allow derivation, biliteral roots are usually of particles and sometimes nouns (e.g. *y-d* 'hand'), triliteral roots are nominal, verbal, and in some cases prepositional (e.g. *f-w-q* 'on top of'), quadriliteral roots are verbal and nominal, and roots with more than four consonants are exclusively nominal. For the purpose of this dissertation, the main focus of this section is triliteral and quadriliteral roots, which are the most productive in deriving nouns and verbs.

The second component of derivational morphology in Arabic is the 'template'. Templates are specific schemas employed to derive the major morphological categories; verbal templates, nominal templates and adjectival templates. The base of templatic derivation is vocalic, as roots are arranged to fill these templates and allow the derivation of different parts of speech and their semantics. For example, when the nominal template CiCaC is applied to the root *k-t-b*, the outcome is *kitab* 'book', and when the verbal template CaCaC is applied to the same root then the derived form is the verb meaning 'he wrote' and so on. Each of these templates will be discussed in their relevant sections.

3.4.1 Verbs in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern linguists exploit the general linguistic root/pattern principle, where the root of a word is an abstract notion and a word containing this root is a derivation. From this principle, Western Arabists have made a well known chart that displays the ten forms of the trilateral verb with its different derivations (Larcher 2009:640). Table 3.1 illustrates verb derivation in Arabic based on the root *f-ʿ-l* meaning 'do'. All verbs are shown in the third person singular (Larcher, 2009:641; Holes, 2004:99):

Form	Perfect	Imperfect	Imperative	Participle	meaning
I	fa'ala	yaf'al	if'al	maf'ul	basic pattern
II	fa''ala	yufa''il	fa''il	mufa''al	causative
III	faa'ala	yufaa'il	faa'il	mufaa'il	conative
IV	'af'ala	yuf'al	yuf'il	muf'il	transitive
V	tafa''ala	yatafa''al	tafa''al	mutafa''il	reflexive of II
VI	tafaa'ala	yatafaa'al	tafaa'al	mutafaa'il	reciprocal
VII	'infa'ala	yanfa'il	'infa'il	munfa'il	(passive) intransitive
VIII	'ifta'ala	yafta'il	ifta'il	mufta'il	middle voice reflexive/benefactive
IX	'if'alla	yafa'all	'if'al	N/A	inchoative
X	'istaf'ala	yastaf'il	'istaf'il	mustaf'il	reflexive-benefactive

Table 3.1 Verb patterns in Modern Standard Arabic

Form I

Verbs belonging to this pattern are often referred to as the basic verbal form from which all other forms are derived. The following are some examples of trilateral roots and their corresponding basic form I in perfect, third person, singular, masculine:

(1) CaCaCa

Root	Basic Form I, Perfect 3sg, M
k-t-b	kataba 'he wrote'
ḡ-h-b	ḡahaba 'he went'
j-m-ʿ	jama'a 'he combined'

Form II

This form is the causative, and in some cases intensive, form of form I verbs, characterized by the doubling of the second radical consonant. An example of the intensive is the verb *qatala* 'he

killed’ versus *qattala* ‘he killed several people’. Note that verbs belonging to this category can be either transitive or intransitive depending on the context (for further information, refer to section 7.3). The following examples illustrate:

(2) CaCCaCa

Form I

fahima ‘he understood’

‘alima ‘he knew’

sami‘a ‘he heard’

Form II

fahhama ‘he cause someone to understand’

‘allama ‘he taught (caused someone to learn)’

samma‘a ‘he made someone listen’

Form III

Form III is the conative form of form I as it semantically expresses effort in making an action or attempting to carry out an action. This form is referred to as a *mubalāga* ‘exaggeration’ in traditional Arabic grammar as it raises the valency of an intransitive form I verb, deriving a transitive verb. Form III involves that lengthening of the first vowel of Form I; CaaCaCa. The following examples illustrate:

(3) CaaCaCa

Form I

ḥakama ‘he judged’

dafa‘a ‘he pushed’

naẓara ‘he looked’

Form III

ḥaakama ‘he attempted to try someone (put someone to trial)’

daafa‘a ‘he attempted to defend someone (push harm away)’

naaẓra ‘he debated with someone (lit. forced to look into/at something to present an argument’

Form IV

This form is of the transitive of the base form I. and is usually described in prescriptive Arabic grammar as *muta‘addi* ‘transitive’ (valency is discussed in Chapter 7). Moreover, this form can express causativity however, there are semantic differences between the main causative Form II and form IV as noted by Leemhuis (1977, cited in Larcher 2009), for example ‘*allama* ‘he taught (caused someone to learn)’ and ‘*a‘lama* ‘he informed someone, usually higher in rank

than the speaker'. This form is expressed by using the template 'aCCaCa. The following examples illustrate form IV:

(4) 'aCCaCa

Form I

'alima 'he knew'
sami'a 'he heard'
xalada 'he rested'

Form IV

'a'lama 'he informed'
'asma'a 'he caused someone to hear'
'axlada 'he immortalized someone'

Form V

Form V, as is the case with all verb templates containing the reflexive *t-*, is the reflexive form of form II. Verbs with the reflexive *t-* attached have decreased valency and are always intransitive (valency is discussed in Chapter 7). Form V verbs can be replaced by an analytical reflexive construction using the form II verb in combination with a reflexive pronoun *nafsau-hu* 'himself'. For example the reflexive verb *ta'axxara* 'he became late' can be replaced by the analytical reflexive construction *'axxara nafsahu* 'he made himself late':

(5) taCaCCama

Form II

qaddama 'he presented ahead of himself'
sallama 'he handed over'
kabbara 'made something big'

Form V

taqaddama 'he himself became ahead'
tasallama 'he was handed something'
takabbara 'he became vain' (lit.made himself big)

Form VI

This form is the reciprocal of form III and is derived by attaching the reflexive affix *t-* to the conative form III verbs. Form VI indicates an action that is being reciprocated by participants (Holes 2004). Verbs carry the notion of two separate events being reciprocated, as in:

- (6) qaabala al-walad-u al-mudarris-a wa qaabala
meet.PERF.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM DEF-teacher-ACC and meet.PERF.3SG.M
al-mudarris-u al-walad-a
DEF- teacher-NOM DEF-boy-ACC
'The boy met the teacher and the teacher met the boy.'

(7) taqaabala al-walad-u wa al-mudarris-u
meet.PERF.RECIP.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM and DEF-teacher-NOM
'The boy and the teacher met each other'

(8) taCaaCaCa	
Form III	Form VI
faa'ala 'he made x interact'	tafaa'ala 'he interacted with someone'
qaabala 'he met'	taqaabala 'he met with someone'
qaatala 'he watched'	taqaatala 'he fought with another (who is fighting as well)'

Form VII

This form is the reflexive-passive of form I verbs, in the sense that it encodes the patient and the end point of the event but not the agent (McCarus 2008). In many cases this affixed form is used instead of the internal passive process, which depends on vocalic modification rather than the affixation employed in form VII. The following examples illustrate verbs based on the 'inCaCaCa template:

(9) 'inCaCaCa	
Form I	Form VII
kasara 'he broke'	'inkasara 'he/it broke'
saḥaqa 'he crushed'	'insaḥaqa 'he got crushed'
ḍaraba 'he hit'	'inḍaraba 'he got hit'

Form VIII

This form is middle voice of form I, where the subject of the verb in form VIII is the agent of the verb in form I, e.g. form I *kasaba* 'he won' would be form VIII *'iktasaba* 'he earned'. Form VIII has a number of meanings in Arabic. The first interpretation is 'compliance' or 'resultative', similar to form VII except that form VIII entails volition while VII does not. The second possible

meaning of this form is 'to put effort to gain X'. Verbs belonging to this form can be either transitive or intransitive. The following are some examples of template 'iCtaCaCa:

(10) 'iCtaCaCa

Form I

sama'a 'he heard'

kasaba 'he won'

'axaḡa 'he took'

Form VIII

'istama'a 'he listened'

'iktasaba 'he earned'

'itaxaḡa 'he chose'

Form IX

Form IX is the inchoative template and is used mainly to describe either change in color or bodily defects and cannot be used to express any other meaning besides the two meanings stated. This form is used to derive verbs from adjectives and it is always intransitive. The template used to derive these verbs is 'iCCaCCaa:

(11) 'iCCaCCa

Source

'ḥmar 'red'

'ḥwal 'cross-eyed'

'zraq 'blue'

Form IX

'iḥmarra 'turned red'

'iḥwalla 'became cross-eyed'

'izraqqa 'tuned blue'

Form X

The form is the reflexive-benefactive of form I verbs. This form is used to denote expressing an opinion (indirect reflexive) or to express wishfulness or requests (direct reflexive) (McCarus 2008: 252). An example of the earlier is '*istaṣḡara* 'to think someone small' and an example requestative is '*istaḡfara* 'to ask for absolution (for one's self from God)'. Verbs in this form have the template 'istaCCaCa:

(12) 'istaCCaCa

Form I

ḡafara 'he forgave'

kabara 'he became big'

samana 'he became fat'

Form X

'istaḡfara 'he asked for absolution'

'istakbara 'he thought X is big'

'istasmana 'he thought X is fat'

3.4.2 Nouns and Adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, the derivational paradigm of nouns applies to adjectives. It has already been established in the inflectional morphology section that nouns and adjective inflect in the same manner for case, gender and number. This similarity is also present in the language's derivational morphology of nouns and adjectives. This section discusses the derivational mechanisms that are employed in Modern Standard Arabic to derive nouns and, where indicated, adjectives. McCarus (2008:244) considers adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic to be a subclass of nouns as they share inflectional features and grammatical functions. The only difference between nouns and adjectives is that the latter has comparative and superlative inflectional forms while the former does not.

3.4.2.1 Deverbals

Nouns that are derived from verbs are either named verbal nouns or deverbals. The term deverbale is one of many terms linked to the concept of *Maṣḍar* in Arabic, a form of noun that is semantically connected to a verb without reference to its time, subject, or object (Wright 1967). Such nouns describe the instant in which the verb takes place, which Sibawayh (1988) labels *ḥadaṭ* 'event' and *'ism alfi'l* 'name of verb', and are also referred to as 'event noun', 'process nominal', and 'verbal noun' in the literature (Ditters 1985, 2008). In Modern Standard Arabic, verbal nouns can be divided into two main categories: semantically motivated and phonologically motivated. The first category is of nouns derived from form I verbs, which tend to be motivated by the semantics rather than phonological rules, making them less predictable. The second category, which includes all the remaining derived forms, is governed by phonological rules that make them fairly predictable (McCarus. 2008:255). This section presents verbal noun derivations in Modern Standard Arabic.

Form I

Wright (1967) lists over 40 verbal nouns derived from verbs belonging to Form I alone. Holes (2004:146) summarizes this list by presenting 12 verbs that are, according to Holes, the most frequently used in Modern Standard Arabic:

Template	Form I	Deverbal
CaCaC	ṭalaba 'he requested'	ṭalab 'request'
CaCC	qatala 'he killed'	qatl 'killing'
CuCC	ḥakama 'he judged'	ḥukm 'verdict'
CiCC	ḍakara 'he mentioned'	ḍikr 'mentioning'
CaCaaC	fasada 'he became corrupted'	fasaad 'corruption'
CaCaaCa	salama 'he was safe'	salaama 'safety'
CiCaaC	kataba 'he wrote'	kitaab 'book'
CiCaaCa	kataba 'he wrote'	kitaaba 'writing'
CuCaaC	sa'ala 'he coughed'	su'aal 'cough'
CuCuuC	daxala 'he entered'	duxuul 'entrance'
CuCuuCa	sahala 'became easy'	suhuula 'easiness'
CvCCa	xadama 'he served'	xidma 'service'

Table3.2 Deverbal templates in Modern Standard Arabic

Form II

Verbs in this form have CaCCaCa template and the nouns derived from this form have the pattern taCCiiC if the root ends with a consonant and taCCiya if it ends with a vowel. Nouns that are derived using these patterns are semantically related to one another, as they can refer to general professions (as opposed to a job, e.g. 'teaching' rather than 'teacher'), or duties, or the name of an act that was carried out.

(13)	taCCiiC			
	Root	Template	Form II	Deverbal
	d-r-s	taCCiiC	darrasa 'he taught'	tadriis 'teaching (profession)'
	s-m-a	taCCiya	samma 'he named'	tasmiya 'naming'

Form III

Nouns derived from verbs with CaaCaCa template are normally CiCaaC and muCaaCaCa.

(14)	CiCaaC/muCaaCaCa			
	Root	Template	Form III	Deverbal
	n-z-l	CiCaaC	naazala 'he fought'	nizaal 'a fight'
	s-h-m	muCaaCaCa	saahama 'he contributed'	musaahama 'contribution'

Form IV

Form IV verbs have the template 'aCCaCa and the nouns derived from this verb form have template 'iCCaaC for regular verbs and 'iCaaCa for hollow verbs (middle consonant of root is either y or w).

(15)	'iCCaaC/'iCaaCa			
	Root	Template	Form IV	Deverbal
	'-l-m	'iCCaaC	'a'lama 'he informed'	'i'laam 'media'
	m-w-t	'iCaaCa	'amaata 'he killed'	'imaata 'deadliness'

Form V

Form V verb template is the reflexive of form II and has the template taCaCCaCa. The verbal noun derived from form V has the template taCaCCuC.

(16)	taCaCCuC			
	Root	Template	Form V	Deverbal
	q-d-m	taCaCCuC	taqaddama 'he became ahead'	taqaddum 'progress'
	s-l-m	taCaCCuC	tasallama 'he was handed something'	tasallum 'reception'

Form VI

This verb form is the reciprocal of form III, it has the template taCaaCaCa. Nouns derived from this verb have the template taCaaCuC.

(17)	taCaaCuC			
	Root	Template	Form VI	Deverbal
	f-'-l	taCaaCuC	tafaa'ala 'he interacted'	tafaa'ul 'interction'
	s-'-l	taCaaCuC	tasaa'ala 'he wondered'	tasaa'ul 'questioning'

Form VII

In this form, the noun derived from the verb pattern 'inCaCaCa is 'inCiCaaC.

(18)	'ənCiCaaC			
	Root	Template	Form VII	Deverbal
	k-s-r	'inCiCaaC	'inkasara 'he/it broke'	'inkisaar 'breaking'
	s-ḥ-q	'inCiCaaC	'insaḥaqa 'he got	'insiḥaaq 'crushing'

Form VIII

Verb form VIII is 'iCtaCaCa and the verbal noun derived from it is 'iCtiCaaC.

(19)	'iCtiCaaC			
	Root	Template	Form VIII	Deverbal
	s-m-'	'iCtiCaaC	'istama'a 'he listened'	'istimaa' 'listening'
	k-s-b	'iCtiCaaC	'iktasaba 'he earned'	'iktisaab 'earning'

Form IX

The verb pattern 'iCCaCCa denotes inchoative, used for color and bodily defects, is the base for the deverbal 'iCCiCaaC. In this pattern the third consonant of the root is doubled to fill the latter two consonantal slots of the verbal noun pattern.

(20)	'iCCiCaaC			
	Root	Template	Form IX	Deverbal
	ḥ-m-r	'iCCiCaaC	'iḥmarra 'turned red'	'iḥmiraar 'redness'
	ḥ-w-l	'iCCiCaaC	'iḥwalla 'became cross-eyed'	'iḥwilaal 'strabismus'

Form X

The verbal noun 'istiCCaaC is derived from the verb pattern 'istiCCaCa, a reflexive-benefactive form of pattern I.

(21)	'istiCCaCa			
	Root	Template	Form X	Deverbal
	ġ-f-r	'istiCCaaC	'istaġfara 'he asked for absolution'	'istiġfaar 'asking for forgiveness, prayer'
	ṭ-w-l	'istiCCaaC	'istaṭwala 'he thought X is tall'	'istaṭaala 'procrastination'

Note that the aforementioned derivations apply to trilateral roots. For Quadriliteral Roots, derived nouns regularly have the patterns CaCCaCa and CiCCaaC (Holes 2004:147).

(22)	CaCCaCa and CiCCaaC		
	Root	Pattern	Deverbal
	t-r-j-m	CaCCaCa	tarjama 'translation'
	z-l-z-l	CiCCaaC	zilzaal 'earthquake'

3.4.2.2 Participles

Participles in Modern Standard Arabic can assume several roles depending on the context they occur in and are considered as one of the most frequently occurring patterns across the morphological categories in the language. Participles and nouns derived from form I participles are identical in the singular form and the difference between the two can only be derived from the context. However, in the plural form, participles assuming verbal/adjectival roles take the sound plural suffix *-un* (3.5.1), while participles that are considered to be nouns take the broken plural form (3.5.1.2) (McCarus, 2008:254). However, the singular forms of the derived nouns in the remaining nine verb forms (II-X) all take the sound plural form and can only be distinguished from participles through the context. The following examples of active participles demonstrate this difference found in form II:

(23)			
	Singular	Plural	Gloss
	ḥaafiz	ḥaafiz-un	'have memorized, have protected'
	ḥaafiz	ḥafaẓa	'memorizer/s, protector/s'

There are two types of participles in Modern Standard Arabic: active and passive. In nouns derived from active participles, the derived noun normally functions as the agent of the action expressed by the root of the verb. On the other hand, nouns derived from passive participles normally express the patient or the end result of the action stated by the verb (Holes, 2004:149). For example, when the active participle noun is derived from the pattern I verb of the root *k-t-b*, the result is *kaatib* 'writer'¹, the agent of the act of writing. In contrast, when the passive participle form of the same root is derived then the result is *maktuub* 'letter' or 'something that has been written'², which is the result or endpoint of the act of writing.

¹The active participle verb would mean 'have written' and has the plural *kaatib-uun*

²The passive participle verb means 'have been written' and the plural form is *maktuub-un*.

The following table summarizes the patterns of participles in Modern Standard Arabic according to the verbal paradigm (Holes, 2004:150):

Form	Active	Passive
I	CaaCiC	maCCuuC
II	muCaCCiC	muCaCCaC
III	muCaaCiC	muCaaCaC
IV	muCCiC	muCCaC
V	mutaCaCCiC	mutaCaCCaC
VI	mutaCaaCiC	mutaCaaCaC
VII	muCaCiC	munCaCaC
VIII	muCtaCiC	muCtaCaC
IX	muCCaCC	N/A
X	mustaCCiC	mustaCCaC

Table 3.3 Participles in Modern Standard Arabic

All of the listed participle patterns apply to trilateral roots. However, with quadrilateral roots, participles can only be derived from patterns II and V (Holes, 2004:151). The following are examples of both the active and passive patterns as nouns:

Form	Active	Passive
I	kaatib 'writer'	maktuub 'letter'
II	mumaṭṭil 'representer'	mumaṭṭal 'one being represented'
III	mukaafih 'struggler'	mukaafah 'one being fought'
IV	mur'ib 'frightener'	mur'ab 'the frightened'
V	mutaraqqib 'anticipator'	mutaraqqab 'the anticipated'
VI	mutasaa'il 'the wondering'	mutasaa'al 'one being questioned'
VII	muntazir 'one waiting'	muntazar 'awaited'
VIII	muktašif 'discoverer'	muktašaf 'discovered'
IX	muCCaCC	N/A
X	mustakbir	Mustakbar

Table 3.4 Participles functioning as nouns in Modern Standard Arabic

3.4.2.3 Semantically motivated patterns

This section covers the rest of recurring nouns in Modern Standard Arabic that are grouped according to their semantics rather than their templatic predictability. Such nouns are considered to be the most important types of both denominals and deverbals due to their highly productive nature and their level of recurrence (Edzard, 2008: 428). Holes (2004) labels these nouns as 'derivatives', stating that the morphological structure of these patterns is related to the semantic function (Holes 2004:156). The terminology used in this section to describe the different categories, which reflects the most recent description of the patterns, is used by Holes (2004) and Edzard (2008).

1. Profession and intensity

Nouns that semantically describe profession with nouns or habitual, attributive adjectives display the pattern CaCCaaC:

- (24) CaCCaaC
xaiṭ 'thread' xayyaat 'taylor'
ḥaṭab 'wood' ḥaṭṭaab 'lumberjack'

2. Diminutive

This category is used to derive diminutive nouns as it is based on the template CuCaiC and CuCayyiC (Holes. 2004:160):

- (25) CuCaiC and CuCayyiC
kalb 'dog' kulaib 'small dog'
nahr 'river' nuhair 'small stream'

3. Nouns of place or time

Nouns that refer to places or time have the basic pattern maCCiC or maCCaC when the noun is derived from a verb with a thematic vowel (Edzard, 2008:428) (Holes,2004:156):

- (26) maCCiC or maCCaC
nazal 'to settle down' manzil 'home'
ḡarb 'west' maḡrib 'dusk'
šarb 'drink' mašrab 'place, source of drinking'

4. Instruments and habits

This is another template that is used to derive both nouns and adjectives. This category of nouns is used to refer to instrumental nouns and adjectives that reflect habit. The template used is miCCaC.

- (27) miCCaC
fath 'opening' miftaah 'key'
zamr 'noise' mizamar 'flute'
taqaddam 'to precede' miqdam 'courageous'

5. Nouns of instance

This highly productive template describes the act of the verb or the instance in which an action is carried out. It is mostly applied to type I verbs with pattern CaCaCa, which changes to CaCCa in its derived form (Holes, 2004:155).

- (28) CaCCa
qafaz 'to jump' qafza 'a jump'
naḍar 'to see' naḍra 'a glance'

6. Qualities and emotional or physical states

Nouns and Adjectives describing emotional or physical states and personality traits have a variety of templates used in Modern Standard Arabic. The following is a non-exhaustive list of these templates (Holes, 2004:157):

- (29) CaCC sahl 'easy', ṣa'b 'hard'
CiCC diq 'miniscule'
CuCC ḥulu 'sweet'
CaCaC ḥasan 'good'
CaCiC xašin 'rough'
CaCiiC jəmiil 'beautiful'
CaCuuC xajuul 'shy'
CaCCaan ta'baan 'tired'

7. Nouns/adjectives of origin, quality, attribute

In this pattern the suffix *-i* is attached to a noun to derive a noun or adjective of origin, e.g. nationality, or quality as the following examples illustrate (Holes, 2004:160).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------|------------|----------|---------------------|
| (30) | kuwait | 'Kuwait' | kuwait-i | 'a Kuwaiti citizen' |
| | Amrika | 'America' | Amrik-i | 'American' |
| | aşl | 'origin' | aşl-i | 'original' |
| | başar | 'eyesight' | başar-l | 'visual' |

3.4.2.4 Adjectives comparison in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic comparative and superlative forms of adjectives are coalesced into a single elative which has the morphological pattern 'a-CC-a-C. This pattern applies to most productive adjectives deriving templates like *fa'iil* and *fa'il* and to adjectives that are based on Form I participles. The following examples illustrate the comparative forms of adjectives based on Form I in Modern Standard Arabic:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------|----------|--------|---------------|
| (31) | jamiil | 'pretty' | 'ajmal | 'prettier' |
| | şğıir | 'small' | 'aşğar | 'smaller' |
| | xaşin | 'rough' | 'axşan | 'rougner' |
| | maşhuur | 'famous' | 'aşhar | 'more famous' |

The comparative adjective is always followed by the preposition *min* 'from/than'. The standard follows the adjective and the preposition in that order. The next example is of a comparative construction in Modern Standard Arabic:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------|------|------|
| (32) | Mariam | 'ajmal | min | Wafa |
| | Mariam | prettier | than | Wafa |
| | 'Mariam is prettier than Wafa.' | | | |

For adjectives based on participles of verb forms II to X, Modern Standard Arabic applies a syntactic comparative construction known as *tamyiiz* 'distinction' in traditional Arabic grammar that employs the elative '*akţar* 'more' followed by the verbal noun (Abu-Chacra 2007:162). The verbal noun is always marked with the accusative indefinite *-an* (4.2). For example, the participle *muxliş* 'loyal' becomes the verbal noun '*ixlaaş* -an 'loyalty'. The following example illustrates this construction in Modern Standard Arabic:

(33)	Standard	elative	acc. noun	preposition	Obj of comparision
	Salim	'akṭar	'ixlaaṣan	min	Ali
	Salim	more	loyalty	than	Ali

'Salim is more loyal than Ali'

The superlative in Modern Standard Arabic also employs the elative 'a-CC-a-C pattern and can be expressed in two methods. The first method is marking the adjective with the definite marker *al-*. The second method is labeled in traditional Arabic grammar as the *'iḍaafa* construction, a construction that requires a complement, which employs the elative 'a-CC-a-C in the indefinite followed by the noun being described (Abu-Chacra 2007:186). The following examples are of the superlative construction in Modern Standard Arabic, the first is of the definite article method and the second is the *'iḍaafa* method:

(34)	Salim-u	huwa	l-'aṭwal-u
	Salim-NOM	he	DEF-tallest-NOM
	'Salim is the tallest.'		

(35)	Salim-u	huwa	'aṭwal-u	walad
	Salim-NOM	he	tallest-NOM	boy
	'Salim is the tallest boy.'			

3.4.3 Verbs in Hadari

The brief introduction of verb forms of Modern Standard Arabic in the previous section is crucial in understanding the different derivational patterns in Hadari as they are similar the verb forms and derivations in Modern Standard Arabic. Some of the derivational patterns from Modern Standard Arabic also exist in Hadari, while others are substituted by forms unique to Hadari, or are completely absent from the dialect. These forms will be explained in this section with reference to Table 3.1.

Form I

Verbs belonging to Form I in Hadari are similar to those in Modern Standard Arabic and can be considered the 'basic' pattern in the sense that they have no additional semantic or syntactic

features. The perfect pattern is usually CəCəC in Hadari as in *šarəb* ‘drank’ *kələ* ‘ate’ and CiCəC if the third consonant was a velar or a pharyngeal sound as in *šiməx* ‘scratched’ *liməḥ* ‘noticed’. The imperfect pattern is typically yiCCəC with regular verbs like *yišrəb* ‘he drinks’ but there are a number of verbs that have the variant pattern yaaCəC like *yaaxəḍ* ‘he takes’ *yaakəl* ‘he eats’. In some cases, if either the second or third consonant is a guttural (velar) then the prefix vowel is /i/ and the stem vowel /a/ but if the first consonant is guttural then the prefix vowel is /a/ or /ə/ and the stem vowel is /i/ as in *yišləx* ‘to burden’ *yiṭbə* ‘to sink, to type’ (Holes, 2007:617). There is a resyllabification effect that takes place with the aforementioned rule in examples like *yəxṭəb* and *yəxəṭəb* ‘to propose in marriage’. Both the imperative and participle forms are generally the same in Hadari as they are in Modern Standard Arabic.

Form II

This form in Hadari is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic as it can be used to express causativity or intensity. It is worth noting that this form has completely replaced form IV in Hadari and that form IV only occurs in some idiomatic expressions (those idioms will be listed in the section on form IV). There are three ways to express causativity in Hadari: lexical, analytical, and morphological (Holes, 2007:617). The analytical causative is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Morphological causatives are formed in Hadari by reduplicating the second consonant of the stem serving as a base for reduplication (Saad 1982:66). Examples of trilateral verb causatives in Hadari are *fərrəḥ* ‘cause to be happy’ *gəʔəd* ‘cause to wake up’ *gəṭṭər* ‘cause to drop’. Morphological causatives have two main characteristics; the first characteristic is that there is a morphological means which relates the causative to the non-causative for example reduplication of the second consonant in Hadari. The second characteristic is that this means of constructing causatives must be productive and could be applied to any given predicate (Comrie 1989:167). The following examples illustrate the morphological causatives in Hadari:

(36) CəCCəC

Form I

ṭələʔ ‘he went out’
səməʔ ‘he heard’
gəʔəd ‘he sat’

Form II

ṭəlləʔ ‘he caused someone to go out’
səmməʔ ‘he made someone hear’
gəʔəd ‘he caused someone to sit’

Form II can also denote an extensive action as in *laḡḡaṭ* which means ‘to pick in large quantities’ (Holes, 2006:252) or ‘to pick up continuously’. *laḡḡaṭ* is derived from the verb *laḡaṭ* which means ‘to pick up’ or ‘to comprehend’. Other examples of extensive verbs are *ḡabbaha* ‘to kill in large numbers’ as opposed to *ḡabaha* ‘to kill’ and *kaffax* ‘to beat up severely, land several blows on someone (usually a slap as opposed to a punch)’ which is derived from *kafax* ‘to hit, to strike once’.

Form III

Similar to Modern Standard Arabic, form III template denotes conative verbs where an effort or attempt is made to carry out an action. Form III verbs are always transitive in Modern Standard Arabic. In Hadari however, despite being similarly conative, form III verbs such as *saaham* ‘contributed’ and *saaʿad* ‘helped’ can be either transitive or intransitive (Holes, 2006:252). In order for the verb to occur in an ‘intransitive’ construction, both the subject/agent of the verb and the object/ patient must be known to both the speaker and the hearer otherwise the hearer would ask for more information to know what the speaker is talking about. The verb carries information about person, number and gender of the subject but not person or number, and it is the context that allows identification of the subject. The following examples illustrate:

(38) Khaled saaʿad Mohammed
 Khaled help.PERF.3SG.M Mohammaed
 ‘Khaled helped Mohammed.’

(39) Khaled saaʿad
 Khaled help.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘Khaled helped’

(40) saaʿad
 help.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘(he) helped’

The following are more examples of form III verbs:

(41)	CaCəC	
	Form I	Form III
	XMS 'five, related to the number five'	xaaməs 'he shook hands with' (idiomatic)
	səməḥ 'he allowed'	saaməḥ 'he forgave'
	ṭərəḥ 'he pushed down'	ṭaarəḥ 'he engaged in a pushing competition or fight'

Form IV

This form seldom occurs in Hadari and the other spoken dialects of the gulf as form II has taken its stead. However, as noted earlier in form II, it does occur in some idiomatic expressions that employ verbs like 'əṣḅəḥ 'he woke up in the morning' 'əfləḥ 'he triumphed' in the proverb *mən 'əṣḅəḥ 'əfləḥ* 'He who wakes up in the morning wins' the equivalent to 'early bird gets the worm' (Holes, 2006:252; Larcher 2009:641).

Form V

As in Modern Standard Arabic, form V is the reflexive form of verb form II with the reflexive *t-* attached to it. The reflexive prefix *t-* decreases the transitivity of a verb, as form V verbs can be reflexive or passive. Form II verbs are transitive verbs derived from intransitive verb roots. Consequently, by adding the reflexive affix *t-* to the transitive form II verbs the outcome is the intransitive reflexive form V verbs (Larcher, 2009:642). Note that not all form V verbs are intransitive as there are other verbs that assume the morphological form of form V verbs but are different in transitivity like the verb for 'get rid of' in the following table:

(42)	tə-CaCCaC	
	Form II	Form V
	gəṣṣəṣ 'cut in large amounts, repeatedly'	tə-gəṣṣəṣ 'become shredded'
	zawwaj 'caused someone to get married'	tə-zawwaj 'got married (himself)'
	xallaṣ 'to finish, be over'	tə-xallaṣ 'to get rid of'

Form VI

This form has the template təCaaCəC and is the reciprocal. Both V and VI forms can be used in passive constructions in Hadari although form VI verbs can imply that the action is repetitive or that it is gradual.

(43) təCaCəC

Form III

haawəš 'he reprimanded'

naagəz 'he jumped'

raaqə 'he clashed (two objects together)'

Form VI

təhaawəš 'he got into a fight'

tənaagəz 'he jumped repeatedly'

təraaqə 'he clashed with someone'

Form VII

This form is the main passivization form in Hadari and many of other spoken dialects, it has the template 'ənCəCəC. Form VII has supplanted for form II and most of form VIII in Hadari and it also replaces the internal passive, which Modern Standard Arabic primarily depends upon in passivization. The following examples illustrate:

(44) 'ənCəCəC

Form I

kəsər 'he broke'

baag 'he stole'

səhəb 'he pulled'

Form VII

'ənkəsər 'it broke'

'ənbaag 'it was stolen'

'ənsəhəb 'it was pulled'

Form VIII

Verbs belonging to this form in Hadari are the reflexive-benefactive of form I and they have the template 'əCtəCəC. The semantics and functions of this form are similar to Modern Standard Arabic although many of the verbs are lexicalized in Hadari, in the sense that the basic form from which they are derived in Modern Standard Arabic is non-existent in Hadari:

(45) 'əCtəCəC

Form I

N/A

N/A

N/A

xənəg 'he suffocated someone'

Form VIII

'əxtərəb 'he became a bad person'

'əxtəfə 'he disappeared'

'əntəšəl 'he caught the flu'

'əxtənəg 'he suffocated'

Form IX

This form does not occur in Hadari since colors are described using the idiosyncratic verb template *CooCəC*, and bodily defects are expressed using the periphrastic *ṣaar X* 'became X'.

The following are examples of the color template in Hadari:

(46)	CooCəC	Form IX
	Color	
	'əḥməṛ 'red'	ḥooməṛ 'turned red'
	'əzrəg 'blue'	zoorəg 'turned blue'
	'ṣfər 'yellow'	ṣoofər 'turned yellow'

Note that although this template is highly productive, it does have some exceptions like 'aswəd 'black' becomes *sawəd* 'became black', 'abiəd 'white' and *rəmaadi* 'grey' are done periphrastically *ṣar 'abiaṣ* 'became white' and *ṣar rəmaadi* 'became grey'.

Form X

A derived reflexive from form I, this form in Hadari is quite similar to the one in Modern Standard Arabic. It describes the change of state of the person as in 'astəḥə 'he became shy' 'astanəs 'he became pleased' 'astəmrəṣ 'he became sick'. Religious verbs of prayer or those expressing desires like 'ask for X' are used in the language, e.g. the form I verb *ḡafara* means 'to forgive' while form VIII of the same root is 'istaḡfar which means 'ask for forgiveness', but they are not as productive as the verbs describing state in Modern Standard Arabic. Another difference between form X in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic is that in Hadari it does not mean voicing an opinion while in Modern Standard Arabic it does (Holes 2006:253).

3.4.4 Nouns and adjectives in Hadari

3.4.4.1 Deverbals

Although most of the common verbal nouns discussed above occur in Hadari, there are a few forms that do not occur in the Hadari (e.g. *CuCuC*) and others which are specific to the dialect (e.g. *CiCCaan*). Moreover, some of the forms that occur in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari have gone through a resyllabification process in the latter; *CuCC* and *CiCC* in Modern Standard Arabic became *CuCuC* and *CuCuC* in Hadari. Holes (2004) notes that the final clusters found in

Modern Standard Arabic have broken by an epenthetic vowel in Hadari, and other dialects like Iraqi and Bahraini, and can be grouped together in one template CvCvC. This categorization is motivated by the fact that vowels in the dialects can be predicted from the consonantal environment instead of the preset templates present in Modern Standard Arabic and Classical Arabic (Holes 2004:158). Nevertheless, table 3.5 includes the most common noun deriving templates found in Hadari including the ones that can be grouped together according to Holes' description.

Form I

Template	Form I	Deverbal
CəCəC	ʔələb 'he requested'	ʔələb 'request'
CəCC	ɖibəh 'he killed'	ɖəbh 'killing'
CuCuC	həkəm 'he judged'	hukum 'verdict'
CiCəC	kiʔər 'multiplied'	kiʔir 'multitude'
CəCaaC	f isəd 'he became corrupted'	fəsaad 'corruption'
CəCaaCə	sələm 'he was safe'	səlaamə 'safety'
CiCaaC	kitəb 'he wrote'	kitaab 'book'
CiCaaCə	kitəb 'he wrote'	kitaabə 'writing'
CCuuCə	rəʔəb 'became wet'	rʔuubə 'humidity'
CiCCə	xədəm 'he served'	xidmə 'service'
CiCiiCə	ɖibəh 'he killed'	ɖibiihə 'religious sacrifice of sheep'
CiCCaan	həgər 'he ignored'	həgraan 'ignoring'

Table 3.5 Deverbal patterns in Hadari

Form II

In Hadari, verbal nouns derived from form II verbs have two templates: təCCiiC, which is also used in Modern Standard Arabic, and taCCuuC and yəCCaaC which are specific to Hadari. The first template, təCCiiC, is mostly found in the speech of educated speakers of the dialect, while the second is becoming more archaic and can be found in the speech of elder or uneducated speakers. The last template, yəCCaaC, is very productive in Hadari and can be found in several other spoken dialects in the Gulf area (More templates that are used in other dialects but not in Hadari are described by Holes (2006:254).

(47)	taCCuuC/yəCCaaC			
	Root	Template	Form II	Deverbal
	d-r-s	təCCiiC	dərrəs 'he taught'	tədriis 'teaching (occupation)'
	'-l-m	taCCuuC	'əlləm 'he taught'	ta'luum 'naming'
	y-b-b	yəCCaaC	yəbbəb 'to ululate'	yəbbaab 'ululation'

Form III

In Hadari, nouns derived from verbs with CaaCəC template have the template muCaaCaCa. This deverbal is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic and it is usually used by educated speakers.

(48)	muCaaCaCa			
	Root	Template	Form III	Deverbal
	s-h-m	muCaaCaCa	saahəm 'he contributed'	musaahəmə 'contribution'
	l-k-m	muCaaCaCa	laakəm 'he punched'	mulaakəmə 'boxing'

Form IV

As with the verbs from belonging to this form, verbal nouns based on this form rarely occur in Hadari.

Form V

As mentioned in the section on verb derivation, form V verbs are the reflexive of form II verbs. In Hadari, these verbs have the template təCəCCəC and verbal nouns derived from form V verbs have the template tiCiCCvC.

(49)	tiCiCCvC			
	Root	Template	Form V	Deverbal
	r-g-ş	tiCiCCvC	tərggəş 'he was dancing'	tirggiş 'dancing'
	m-r- n	tiCiCCvC	təmərrən 'he exercised'	timirrin 'exercise'

Form IX

As discussed in the verb derivation section, form IX verbs are related to describing color or bodily defect. Therefore, deverbals that are derived from this form display the same limited semantics of the verb as they mostly refer to colors or hues. One verb was found in the dataset compiled for this thesis that does not have to do with color nor bodily defect, but still displays

both the verbal and nominal patterns: *kookās* ‘he flipped over’ *mkookis* ‘flipping’). As is the case with colors, nouns derived from the verb form can function as nouns and adjective depending on the context they occur in. Form IX verbs have the template CoCəC and the derived nouns have the template mCoCiC.

(50)	mCooCiC		
	Template	Form IX	Deverbal
	mCooCiC	ḥoomər ‘turned red’	mḥoomir ‘has a red hue’
	mCooCiC	zoorəg ‘turned blue’	mzoorig ‘has a blue hue’

Forms VI, VII, VIII, and X

Verbal nouns that are derived from forms VI, VII, VIII and X are very rare in Hadari and other nouns, e.g. derived from participles or other derivatives, replace them in the dialect. Although these verbs occur in colloquial Arabic, they are only used by highly educated speakers (Holes 2006: 254).

3.4.4.2 Participles

In the previous section, it was established that both active and passive participle forms can function as adjectives and nouns in Modern Standard Arabic. However, in Hadari, the use of participle forms is not as regular as it is in Modern Standard Arabic. Active participles are used as fully functioning verbs in Hadari (section 3.4.3) as well as adjectives and nouns. On the other hand, the use of passive participles as adjectives and nouns in Hadari fluctuates between two extremes, with some patterns occurring regularly while others not occurring at all. Passive participles are very productive in Hadari adjectives and nouns and they hardly ever occur as verbs (Owens, 2008:544). Although passive participles are highly productive in the dialect, only forms I and II occur regularly in Hadari while those derived from forms III-X do not occur at all. The following table shows the nominal/adjectival active participle patterns in Hadari followed by examples of each active participle:

Form	Active	Example
I	CaaCiC	kaatib ‘writer’
II	muCəCCiC	muməttil ‘representer’ or ‘actor’
III	mCaaCiC	mxaaamis ‘one who’s shaking hands’

IV	muCCiC	mur'ib 'frightener'
V	mitCəCCiC	mitwəhhig 'stuck' or 'in trouble'
VI	mitCaaCiC	mitsaahil 'lenient'
VII	miCəCiC	mintəzir 'one waiting'
VIII	miCtəCiC	miktəšif 'discoverer'
IX	N/A	N/A
X	mistəCCiC	mistəkbir 'became big-headed'

Table 3.6 participles functioning as nouns in Hadari

The following examples show forms I and II of passive participles used as adjectives and nouns in Hadari:

(51) maCCuuC/ mCəCCəC

Form	Passive	example
I	maCCuuC	mawjuud 'available' məxšuuš 'hidden'
II	mCəCCəC	m'əwwəd 'trained' mgəttə 'ragged'

3.4.4.3 Semantically motivated patterns

Semantically motivated patterns in Hadari are similar to those found in Modern Standard Arabic. There are phonetic differences between Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic but the categorization is semantically similar.

1. Profession or intensity

This category includes nouns of profession and intensive or habitual attributive adjectives.

They have the pattern CəCCaaC which is highly productive in Hadari:

(52)	CəCCaaC	
	Noun	Derived form
	zər' 'grass'	zərraa' 'farmer'
	cəḍb 'lie'	cəḍḍaab 'liar'

2. Diminutive

This category is of the diminutive patterns present in Hadari. One of the patterns used in Hadari is CCəəC, which would be the equivalent to the diminutive pattern found in Modern Standard Arabic is CuCaiC:

(53)	CCεεC				
	Noun		Derived form		
	calb	'dog'	clεεb	'little dog'	
	bεεt	'house'	buεεt	'little house'	
	kuut	'storage house'	kuwεεt	'little'	'small storage house by the sea'

Another category of the diminutive patterns in Hadari is reserved for proper names. The pattern is CəCCuuC:

(54)	CəCCuuC		
	Name	Derived form	
	məriam	məriuum	
	xalid	xəlluud	

3. Nouns of place and time

In Hadari, nouns that refer to place and time have the patterns mvCvCC and mvCCvC.

(55)	mvCCvC				
	Noun		Derived form		
	ğərb	'west'	məğərb	'dusk'	
	nizəl	'settle '	mənzil	'house'	
	sənə'	'he made'	məsənə'	'factory'	

4. Nouns of Instruments

This category in Hadari describes instruments while in Modern Standard Arabic it includes both instruments and habits. The pattern used in Hadari is miCCaaC.

(56)	miCCaaC		
	mirwaas	'a traditional musical instrument'	
	miftaah	'key'	
	migraaz	'nail clipper'	

5. Nouns of instance

As with Modern Standard Arabic, nouns derived using this template describe the instance in which an action is carried out. These nouns have the pattern CəCCə.

- (57) CəCCə
 nəgzə 'a jump'
 nəṭrə 'the process of waiting'

6. Nouns of character and attributive adjectives

As in Modern Standard Arabic, this category includes a large number of productive patterns in Hadari. The following are some of the patterns used in Hadari:

- (58) Pattern example
 CəCiC səhil 'easy'
 CiCəC ḥiləw 'sweet'
 CəCəC yərəb 'scabs'
 CəCiC 'əsir 'temperamental'
 CəCiiC jəmiil 'beautiful'
 CəCuuC ġəsul 'facial wash'
 CəCCaan tə'baan 'tired'

7. Nouns/adjectives of origin, quality, attribute

Like Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari uses the relational suffix *-i* noun to derive a noun or adjective of origin, e.g. nationality, or quality as the following examples illustrate.

- (59) kuɛt 'Kuwait' kuɛt-i 'a Kuwaiti citizen'
 Amrika 'America' Amrik-i 'American'
 aʃl 'origin' aʃl-i 'original'

However, not all adjectives or nouns ending with /-i/ are derived, as there are many adjectives that end with *i* but do not have a noun functioning as a source as in:

- (60) ṭrɛj'i 'cheaply made'
 xrəṭi 'fake'
 zgumbi 'lacking virtue'

8. Attributive adjective/nouns

Adjectives in this category are another kind of a relational adjective in which a suffix is attached to a noun to derive an adjective that is semantically related to the base noun, which is similar to the suffix /-i/ discussed above. Nouns and adjectives in this category are derived from nouns and refer to a characteristic of a person that is related to the noun or the person who uses the noun. The adjectives and nouns are derived by attaching the agentive suffix /-cəi/ to a noun. Masilyah (1996) notes that this suffix is borrowed from Turkish and is very productive in Iraqi Arabic. He also notes that the suffix mostly attaches to borrowed foreign words (Masilyah 1996: 295), which the following examples from the Hadari dataset demonstrate as the word *dumbuk* ‘drum’ is borrowed from Turkish *doumbek* ‘a type of percussion’ and *gool* ‘goal’ is from English. These types of nouns and adjectives exist in Hadari but not in Modern Standard Arabic:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (61) | məʃləħə | 'need, benefit' | məʃləħ-cəi | 'needy', 'cunning' |
| | dumbuk | 'a drum' | dumbuk-cəi | 'a drummer' |
| | gool ^c | 'goal' | gool ^c -cəi | 'goalkeeper' |

3.4.4.4 Adjectives comparison in Hadari

Hadari employs the same elative pattern found in Modern Standard Arabic as it employs the pattern 'a-CC-a-C. In a comparative construction, the comparative form of the adjective is followed by the preposition *min* ‘from/than’ and the standard of comparison in that order. Hadari does not employ the second comparative construction elative + verbal noun found in Modern Standard Arabic. The following examples illustrate comparative constructions in Hadari:

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|----------|------|--------------|-----|
| (62) | əl-‘ərəbi | ‘əʃ‘b | mən | əl-əngələɛzi | (A) |
| | DEF-Arabic | harder | than | DEF-English | |
| | ‘The Arabic language is more difficult than English.’ | | | | |
| (63) | ṭəbaax-nə | ‘əħlə | mən | ṭəbaax-hum | (I) |
| | cooking-1PL | prettier | than | cooking-3PL | |
| | ‘Our cooking is tastier than their cooking’ | | | | |

In comparative constructions that include adjectives based on participles, Hadari uses the participle adjective followed by the elative *əktər* ‘more’ and does not use the verbal noun form of the adjective as Modern Standard Arabic does. Furthermore, only forms I and II participles occur in Hadari as discussed in section (3.4.4.2). The following examples illustrate this construction:

- (64) Msaa‘əd məʃduum əktər mən-ni (A)
 Musaad shocked more than-me
 ‘Musaad is shocked more than I am’
- (65) Salim mnəttəf əktər mən-ni (A)
 Salim broke more than-me
 ‘Salim is more broke than I am’

The superlative is expressed in Hadari by using the *‘idaafa* construction; the elative form of the adjective ‘ə-CC-ə-C followed by the noun being described. The following examples illustrate this construction:

- (66) əl-kuɛɛt ‘əhlə diirə (TV)
 Kuwait prettiest country
 ‘Kuwait is the most beautiful country.’
- (67) haadə l-‘iid ‘əwnəs ‘iid (LR)
 this DEF-Eid most.fun Eid
 ‘This Eid is the most fun Eid.’
- (68) əs-səfər ‘əwnəs šəi (LR)
 DEF-travel most.fun thing
 ‘Travel in the most fun thing.’

3.5 Inflectional Morphology

3.5.1 Nominal inflection: number

This section describes the number system employed in Hadari. It also includes an introduction on the number system of Modern Standard Arabic. However, because the topic of number, specifically plural, in Modern Standard Arabic has been well described, only the commonest of forms will be discussed in this section. Modern Standard Arabic has a three-way number marking system that marks words as singular, dual and plural. In this section, only nouns and adjectives are covered while, verbs, pronouns, and demonstratives are covered within their own sections.

3.5.1.1 Dual in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, singular nouns and adjectives are usually unmarked while the dual is formed by adding the suffix *-aan* in the nominative case and *-ain* in the either the accusative or genitive. The following examples illustrate the two dual suffixes of Modern Standard Arabic:

- (69) qalam-aan jadid-aan
 pen-DUAL.NOM new-DUAL.NOM
 'two new pens'
- (70) 'ištara Ahmed-un qalam-ain jadid-ain
 buy.PERF.3SG.M Ahmed.NOM pen-DUAL.ACC new-DUAL.ACC
 'Ahmed bought two new pens.'

3.5.1.2 Plural in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, there are two ways of forming plurals: the sound plural and the broken plural. The sound plural are formed by adding suffixes to a singular noun or adjective without changing its internal structure hence the label 'sound'. Like the dual suffixes, the suffixes employed in forming sound plurals are marked for gender and case. The following table illustrates the sound plural paradigm of the word *mu'allim* 'teacher' Modern Standard Arabic:

(71) Sound plural examples:

case	masculine plural	Feminine plural
nominative	mu'allim-uun	mu'allim-aat-un
accusative/genitive	mu'allim-iin	mu'allim-aat-in

The broken plurals are characterized by seemingly unpredictable templates that differ from their corresponding singular forms.

However, it is only source nouns, or primitive nouns denoting body parts and elements of nature, that are unpredictable while nouns that are derived from verbs are fairly predictable. For example, from the a large number of nouns have more than one possible broken plural form is the noun *samaa* 'sky' which can be either *samaawaat* or '*asmaa*' 'skies'. Thus, the form of the plural is dictated by the source of the singular noun whether it is primitive or deverbal (Holes 2004). Singular nouns that are derived from verbs demonstrate strong correlation with their broken plural form, as most singulars have consistent plural patterns (Ratcliffe 1998). The following table is based on Ratcliffe's (1998) categorization of the most common broken plural patterns of deverbal nouns in Modern Standard Arabic:

Form	Singular	Plural
I	CaCC CvCC CvCvC	CuCuuC, 'CCaaC, CiCaaC, 'CCuC 'CCaaC, CuCuuC, CiCaCat 'CCaaC,
II	CvCCat CaCCat	CvCaC, CvCaCaat CaCaCaat, CiCaaC
III	CvCCvC CvCCv :C	CaCaaCiC CaCaaCiiC, CaCaaCiCat
IV	Cv:CvCat CvCv:Cat CvCv:C	CawaaCiC CaCaa'iC CawaaCiiC
V	CaaCiC (n.) CaaCiC (adj.)	CuCCaaC, CaCaCat CuCCaC
VI	CvCaaC CaCuuC CaCiiC (n.) CaCiiC (adj.)	'aCCiCat, CuCuC CuCuC, 'aCCiCat CuCaCaa', 'aCCiCaa' CiCaaC
VII	'aCCaC	CuCC, CuCCaan

Table 3.7 Common broken plural patterns in Modern Standard Arabic

3.5.1.3 Dual in Hadari

The dual in Hadari is formed by attaching the suffix *-εεn* to a singular noun. Because Hadari, like most of the spoken dialects of Arabic, has no morphological case system, it does not have any of the case marking dual affixes employed in Modern Standard Arabic. The following examples illustrate that the change in case does not change the dual suffix in Hadari:

- (72) əl-bint-ɛn šərə-u hduum (A)
DEF-girl-dual buy.PERF-3PL clothes
'The two girls bought clothes.'
- (73) šərə Ahmed qələm-ɛn yəddəd (A)
buy.PERF.3MS Ahmed pen-DUAL new.plural
'Ahmed bought two new pens.'

Burstad (2000) claims that there is another method to form the dual in Gulf dialects, namely Kuwaiti, other than the affixal dual, which is expressed by having the numeral *'aṭneen* 'two' follow the plural form of a noun. Burstad labels this other dual construction as *the periphrastic dual*. The following is the example Burstad cites as an occurrence of the dual:

Some Gulf speakers use a periphrastic dual form of the construction plural noun + numeral two, as in *kutub itnen* ‘two books’, which alternates with *kitabən* ‘two books’. One example of this periphrastic dual occurs in my Kuwaiti data, from the oldest and least educated speaker:

Rayyal Man	inda at-POSS.M	mara woman	harim women	thinten two	wahda one	hilw-a beautiful-F	bas but
hu he	ma NEG	yhibb-ha love.3SG.M-3SG.F	had-ic that-F	mu NEG	hilwa beautiful	Bass But	yhibb-ha love.3MS-3SG.F

'A man is married, has two wives, one is pretty, but he doesn't love her, the other one isn't pretty, but he loves her.'

The fact that this example is used by an elderly uneducated speaker suggests that this periphrastic dual is not a recent development (Brustad 2000:48)

Brustad's example and evidence seem to fare well at first glance, however, the word *'atneen* can be replaced with *talaat* 'three' *'rbə* 'four' or *alf* 'thousand'. In other words, the word *'atneen* is a numeral inserted for extra information that the speaker opts to either include or omit. Therefore, what Brustad describes as a periphrastic dual is in fact nothing more than a construction involving a noun and a numeral. The only situation in which the term periphrastic dual, as defined by Brustad, can be used naturally is to refer to objects with that usually come in pairs, like body parts, *'ideen tinteen* 'two hands' *ryuul tinteen* 'two legs/feet' *'iyuun tinteen* 'two eyes' and so on. Otherwise, it would be difficult to categorize *'atneen / tinteen* as a dual marker in any other context.

3.5.1.4 Plural in Hadari

Forming plurals in Hadari follows the same dichotomy found in Modern Standard Arabic. The sound plurals are formed by attaching the plural suffix *-iin* to a noun or an adjective. Hadari does not mark plurals for gender or case. The following examples demonstrate the broken plural in Hadari. The forms in this section are from my own data and from Holes (1990, 2004) where stated:

1. CεC singulars

Nouns belonging to this category tend to have an internal vowel in the plural form as the vowel goes from long /ε/ in the singular to /iu/ in the plural as in the following examples:

(74)	bεt	'house'	biut	'houses'
	'εš	'rice'	'iuš	'rices'
	xεt	'thread'	xiut	'threads'
	riil	'foot'	riuul	'feet'

2. CəCVC singulars

In nouns with the CəCVC formation and V being either the high front short vowel or the high back short vowel /u/, the plural form is CCuC as in:

(75)	təbilʕ	'drum'	tbuulʕ	'drums'
	həbil	'rope'	hbaal	'ropes'
	xəbil	'crazy person'	xbuulʕ	'crazy people'

3. CəC singulars:

In the case of singulars with CaaC construction, plurals almost always follow a CiiCaan construction:

(76)	zaar	'exorcism'	ziiraan	'exorcisms'
	ṭaar	'percussion'	ṭiiraan	'percussions'
	faar	'mouse'	fiiraan	'mice'
	ḡaar	'cave'	ḡiiraan	'caves'

4. CaaCuuC singulars:

Plurals are derived from the singular pattern CaaCuuC by applying the pattern CuaaCiiC to the singular as in:

(77)	ṭaabuur	'queue'	ṭuaabiir	'queues'
	kaaduud	'worker'	kuaadiid	'workers'
	ṣaaruuṣ	'rocket'	ṣuaariix	'rockets'
	'aamuud	'pillar'	'əuaamiid	'pillars'

5. CvCCaaC singulars:

This pattern is one of the most productive plural forming patterns in Hadari and can be divided into two: plurals derived from quadriliteral nouns and plurals derived from trilateral nouns (Holes 1990:151):

Quadriliteral nouns:

(78)	miftaaḥ	'key'	mifaatiiḥ	'keys'
	ṣirwaal	'pants sg.'	ṣəraawiil	'pants pl.'
	gərguur	'fish-trap'	gəraagiir	'fish-traps'

Trilateral nouns:

(79)	gəṣṣaab	'butcher'	gəṣṣaṣiib	'butchers'
	ṭərraad	'boat'	ṭəraariid	'boats'
	ṭayyaarə	'plane'	ṭəyaayiir	'planes'

6. CaaCiC singulars

This category is one of the least consistent plural categories since there is an absence of regularity in the plural forms, although the singular forms group into a single category:

- (80) 'aamil 'worker' 'immaal 'workers'
 yaahil 'child' yaahaal 'children'
 saahir 'magician' siḥḥar 'magicians'
 šaahid 'witness' šhuud 'witnesses'

7. CəCCəCə singulars

Plural forms derived from the singulars with CəCCəCə pattern are the most consistent plurals in Hadari. They are highly productive and predictable:

- (81) məṣṭərə 'ruler' məṣaaṭər 'rulers'
 məqləmə 'pencil case' məqaaləm 'pencil cases'
 məgbərə 'cemetery' məgaabir 'cemeteries'

8. CvC(v/C/Cv)

The vowels in the singulars are replaced by the plural /uwa/. Also, the singulars collected in this category consist mainly of borrowed words:

- (82) gaarəi 'bicycle' quwaarəi 'bicycles'
 guuṭəi 'can' guwaaṭəi 'cans'
 juutəi 'shoe' juwatəi 'shoes'
 sari 'Indian sari' suwari 'sarīs'

3.5.2 Gender:

Gender is a grammatical category in which nouns are categorized and grouped according to sex-based systems; some can range from simple masculine and feminine systems while others can have more intriguing categories that distinguish masculine and feminine and plants.

Corbett (1991), divides gender into two different systems: semantic and formal. In the semantic system, the gender of a noun is determined by its meaning as there is little or no formal clues on the noun itself indicating its gender. One such language is Russian, where a noun has no gender marking and the only possible way to know its gender is through agreement, as the verb is unmarked if the noun is masculine and is marked with the feminine suffix -a if the noun is feminine (Corbett 2005:126):

(83) žurnal ležal na stole
Magazine lay.M on table
'The magazine lay on the table'

(84) kniga ležal-a na stole
book lay-F on table
'The book lay on the table'

In contrast, the formal system of gender marking depends on morphological and phonological rules to distinguish genders in a language. Furthermore, no language is either purely semantic or purely formal, as the two systems complement each other in assigning gender. For example, in Russian, nouns formed with the suffix -ec are generally masculine while nouns formed with the suffix -ka are feminine. However, in the noun *šotlandec* 'Scotsman' is not only formally masculine, but semantically as well. Thus, the formal system is needed in this case to differentiate masculine and feminine with the feminine counterpart of the word in question is *šotlandeka* 'Scotswoman' (Corbett, 1991:34).

This section discusses the notion of nominal gender in Arabic. It starts with an overview of the gender system used in Modern Standard Arabic and follows it with a description of the gender system on Hadari. This section discusses the nominal gender system and does not include cover

gender marking of verbs or any other category like pronouns and demonstratives, as gender in these categories is presented as part of each section.

3.5.2.1 Gender in Modern Standard Arabic

Gender in Modern Standard Arabic distinguishes between masculine and feminine only and it has no neuter. These genders include both animate and inanimate nouns. As discussed in the introduction, gender is expressed by a semantic system and a formal system. In Modern Standard Arabic, nouns that have no formal morphology or phonology to indicate their gender are part of the semantic gender system. The gender of the nouns that belong to this system is not morphologically marked on the noun and therefore cannot be predicted without pre-established knowledge of the gender of the noun. In the case of animate nouns that have semantic gender, the gender of the noun is fairly predictable, for example nouns like *bint* 'girl', *walad* 'boy', *muhr* 'mare'. However, semantic gender assignment becomes rather difficult with inanimate nouns like *biir* 'water well' or *ṭariiḡ* 'road', which are feminine but have no formal marking to distinguish them as such. Hachimi (2007:156) predicts that gender assignment of inanimate nouns in Modern Standard Arabic, and in Classical Arabic, is purely conventional and that the gender of an inanimate noun marked semantically can only be disambiguated through context and agreement.

The formal system in Modern Standard Arabic is characterized by fairly predictable morphological and phonological processes. Masculine nouns are generally unmarked while feminine nouns are. Feminine nouns are marked by a set of suffixes and phonological endings that distinguish them, and sometimes derive them, from masculine nouns. In the derivation process, the suffix *-a* is attached to a masculine noun to derive the feminine as in the following examples:

(85)	ṭifl	'baby boy'	ṭifl-a	'baby girl'
	muḥaami	'male lawyer'	muḥaami-a	'female lawyer'

The ending *-a* is also a morphological characteristic of feminine nouns, even when no derivation process is involved:

- (86) ḥadiiqa 'garden'
 madrasa 'school'
 qiima 'value'

The feminine ending and suffix *-a* becomes *-at* when the noun is marked for case or when it the possessed noun in a possessive construction as in:

- (87) mudarris-at-u luġawiyyat
 teacher-F-NOM linguistics
 'a teacher of linguistics'

- (88) aṭ-ṭaalib-at-u ḥaḍir-a
 DEF-student-F-NOM present-F
 'The student is present'

There are two other forms that mark feminine nouns in Modern Standard Arabic. The first form is of nouns ending with the long *-aa* and occurs in words like *'ulyaa* 'physically high place' and *ru'yaa* 'vision'. The second is also of a long *-aa* and occurs in words like *salwaa* 'solace' *rajwaa* 'prayer'. The two forms are pronounced the same but are orthographically different with the first written with an *'alif* or *ə* while the second is written with an orthographic *ya'* or *ﻯ* (Feghali and Cuny, 1924:18). Hachimi (2007:166) lists a third type of feminine nouns characterized by *-aa* 'ending. However, this type is slightly problematic as it equally marks both masculine and feminine nouns and cannot be said to mark one gender more the other. The following examples demonstrate the masculine and feminine nouns marked by this gender ending:

- (89) Feminine nouns
 samaa' 'sky'
 ṣaḥraa' 'desert'
 'rjaa' 'various lands'

(90) Masculine nouns

rajaa' 'prayer'

ġinaa' 'singing'

ḍiyaa' 'light'

This ending is also used to derive feminine attributive adjectives from masculine counterparts as in:

(91)	'zraq	'blue'	zarqaa'	'blue F.'
	ḥasan	'beautiful'	ḥasnaa'	'beautiful F.'

Thus this category cannot be said to strictly mark feminine nouns when it has so many other derivational and semantic functions.

3.5.2.2 Gender in Hadari

Hadari, like most of the spoken dialects of Arabic, has a gender system similar to the one found in Modern Standard; distinction between masculine and feminine. Gender of semantically gendered nouns in Hadari is not consistent with those found in Modern Standard Arabic. In Hadari, most nouns that are not marked with an identifiable feminine ending are considered masculine. For example, the noun *bi'r* 'water well' is feminine in Modern Standard Arabic but the noun *biir* 'water well' in Hadari is masculine. The only semantically gendered nouns in Hadari that are similar to the ones found in Modern Standard Arabic are nouns that refer to body parts and most of the natural constants like the sun, sky, moon, and sea. In this sense, the formal system seems to heavily influence the semantic system of gender assignment in Hadari.

Like Modern Standard Arabic, the formal system of expressing gender can be easily identified by noun endings in Hadari. Feminine nouns in Hadari either end with *a* or are derived from masculine nouns by attaching the suffix *-a*. The ending *a* and suffix *-a* are realized as *at/-at* when the noun occurs in a possessive construction, which is similar to Modern Standard Arabic. This ending is the most common feminine marking mechanism used in Hadari. Other feminine endings like the two long *-aa* forms found in Modern Standard Arabic do occur in Hadari nouns,

while the *-aa'* form has been reduced to *-aa* in most cases. Hadari also has semantic gender where the gender is part of the semantics of the noun and is not formally marked. The following are examples of gender in the dialect:

(92) Masculine nouns:

bæɛt	'house'
kərsəi	'chair'
qələm	'pen'

(93) Semantically gendered feminine nouns (no formal gender marker *ə* ending to indicate it is feminine):

'aɖuun	'ear'
daar	'room'
'ɛɛn	'eye'
'iid	'hand'

(94) Feminine nouns with *ə* ending:

maəzrə'ə	'farm'
jəntə	'bag'
ʃuurə	'picture'

(95) Feminine nouns with suffix *-ə*:

kəlb	'dog'	kəlb-ə	'dog (F)'
xəyyaət	'tailor'	xəyyaətə	'seamstress'
ʔaaləb	'student'	ʔaaləb-ə	'female student'

(96) Feminine nouns in possessive constructions:

a) bəqmə
'necklace'

b) bəqmət umm-i
necklace mother-POSS.1SG
'My mother's necklace'

(TV)

3.6 Possessive constructions

3.6.1 Typological overview

The term ‘possessive’ denotes the relationship between two nouns in which one noun is the possessor of the other. Languages differ in the way they express and mark such constructions. Dryer (2007c:178) presents an overview of the different types of genitives found cross-linguistically. The first type of possessive constructions is found in languages that mark the possessor with a genitive affix, an example of which is Hua, a Trans-New Guinea language (Haiman, 1980 cited in Dryer 2007c: 178):

- (97) de-ma’ fu
 man-GEN pig
 ‘the man’s pig’

Another type is languages in which the possessed noun is marked and the possessor is unmarked. An example is provided by the Algonquian language Cree, spoken in Canada (Ellis 1983, cited in Dryer 2007c: 178):

- (98) cān o-cīmān
 John 3SG.POSS-canoe
 ‘John’s canoe’

Besides the affixal marking found in Hua and Cree, other languages mark the possessor noun with an adposition, as in English’s ‘of’ in ‘father of the bride’. Japanese has a similar construction:

- (99) kodomo no kimono
 child of kimono
 ‘a child’s kimono’

A common type of genitive construction found cross-linguistically is one without any morphological marking, where the relationship between a possessor and a possessed is expressed by simple juxtaposition. The following example is from Chalcatongo Mixtec, spoken in Mexico (Macaulay 1996, cited in Dryer, 2007c: 181):

- (100) kačíní pedrú
 hat pedro
 'Pedro's hat'

The final type of language employs a combination of the aforementioned features. For example, a language may use affixation and a 'linker' or adpositional form between the possessor noun and the possessed noun. Tennet, a Surmic language spoken in Sudan, is an example of such cases (Randal 1998, cited in Dryer 2007c:182):

- (101) mana cí ongol-ø
 field LINK elephant-GEN
 'the elephant's field'

Arabic belongs to the final type of languages surveyed by Dryer, as possession in Modern Standard and colloquial Arabic is expressed through synthetic and analytic constructions. In synthetic possessive constructions, a pronominal suffix³ marking the possessor attaches to the possessed noun, while in analytic constructions, the possessive is expressed through word order with the possessor noun following the possessed noun (Naïm, 2008:671). Naim notes that the synthetic construction in Arabic reflects the word order found in the analytic possessive construction, with the possessor noun following the possessed noun.

This section provides an overview of possessive constructions in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari and mainly focuses on the expression of constructions that demonstrate a logical possessor-possessed relationship and denote 'property of X'. The section does not include instances of what Holes (2004:204) labels 'construct phrases', which are syntactically similar to possessive constructions in Arabic but are semantically and pragmatically different (varying from quantitative relationships to adjectival and attributive constructions).

³ The choice to label these possessive markers 'pronominal suffixes' instead of 'determiners' is the fact that they are the same suffixes used to refer object pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. These suffixes are explored in more detail in section 5.5 on pronouns, indexation and Pro-drop.

3.6.2 The possessive in Modern Standard Arabic:

In this type of construction, Modern Standard Arabic employs pronominal affixes that attach to the possessed noun.

Suffix	denotation	example
-i	1sg (M/F)	bait-i 'my house'
-na	1pl (M/F)	baitu-na 'our house'
-ka	2sg.M	baitu-ka 'your house M'
-ki	2sg.F	baitu-ki 'your house F'
-kuma	2dual	baitu-kuma 'your house'
-kum	2.pl (M/F)	baitu-kum 'your house pl.'
-hu	3sg.M	baitu-hu 'his house'
-ha	3sg.F	baitu-ha 'her house'
-huma	3dual	baitu-huma 'their house'
-hum	3.pl (M/F)	baitu-hum 'their house'

Table 3.8 Pronominal/possessive pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

In analytic possessive constructions, the possessed noun always precedes the possessor noun. Furthermore, the possessor noun is the sole carrier of definiteness in the phrase, as shown in example (104) and in the ungrammatical example(105). Modern Standard Arabic marks the possessed noun with the nominative case when the NP functions as a subject and with the accusative case when it is an object, while the possessor is marked with the genitive case.

- (102) bait-u Salim-i
house-NOM Salim-GEN
'salim's house'

- (103) kitaab-u ṭaalib-i
 book-NOM student-GEN
 'a student's book'
- (104) kitaab-u ṭ-ṭaalib-i
 book-NOM DEF-student-GEN
 'the student's book'
- (105) *al-kitaab-u ṭaalib-i
 DEF-book-NOM student-NOM
 'the book is a student'

3.6.3 The possessive in Hadari

As in Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari employs pronominal suffixes to express the possessive as the following examples demonstrate:

Suffix	denotation	example
-i	1sg (M/F)	bæet-i 'my house'
-ək	2sg.M	bæet-ək 'your house M'
-əc	2sg.F	bæet-əc 'your house F'
-ə	3sg.M	bæet-ə 'his house'
-hə	3sg.F	bæet-hə 'her house'
-na	1pl (M/F)	bæet-na 'our house'
-kum	2pl (M/F)	bæet-kum 'your house pl.'
-hum	3pl (M/F)	bæet-hum 'their house'

Table 3.9 Pronominal/possessive suffixes in Hadari

Analytic possessive constructions in Hadari resemble those in Modern Standard Arabic in that they have the same noun-genitive order. A further similarity is that possessor nouns are the carriers of definiteness in genitive constructions. However, Hadari constructions differ in that they rely solely on word order (with the possessed noun occurring before the possessor) as Hadari has no morphological case.

- (106) bæet Salim
 house Salim
 'Salim's house' (A)

(107) dar əl-yaahaal (I)
 room DEF-children
 'the children's room'

(108) dar yaahaal (A)
 room children
 'children's room'

Along with the aforementioned two constructions, Hadari employs a third possessive construction that does not occur in Modern Standard Arabic: the linking or adpositional form. In Hadari, the possessive particle *maal* acts as a possessive marker as it occurs between the possessed noun and the possessor. Furthermore, the particle shows number and gender agreement with the possessed noun it modifies. Also note that in this unique construction both the possessed noun and the possessor must agree in definiteness, whereas in Modern Standard Arabic the possessor noun is the carrier of definiteness in the construction. The following examples demonstrate the agreement forms of the possessive particle in Hadari:

(109) əl-miftaah maal əl-baab (LR)
 DEF-key link.M DEF-door
 'the door's key'

(110) əl-muqtə maalət əl-buṭəl (A)
 DEF-cap LINK.F DEF-bottle
 'the bottle's cap'

(111) al'ab məlot yaahaal (LR)
 toys LINK.PL children
 'children's toys'

The aforementioned examples necessitate a discussion of alienability in Hadari possessive constructions. Alienability is a possessive classification which divides possessive constructions into alienable and inalienable; in alienable constructions the possessor and the possessed can be separated while in inalienable constructions the possessor and the possessed are, in principle, considered inseparable (Trask 1993: 136) (Nichols & Bickel 2011). The constructions in examples (109), (110), and (111) illustrate the periphrastic possessive construction employed

(112) saag-i ’ənkəsɾət
leg-1SG break.PERF.3SG.F
‘My leg broke’

- The particle *maal* also forms possessive pronouns by the affixation of pronominal suffixes. The following table illustrates examples of the pronominal/possessive paradigm in Hadari:

Form	Gloss
maal-i	mine
maal-nə	ours
maal-ik	yours (sg.m)
maal-ič	yours (sg.f)
maal-kum	yours sg.pl)
maal-ə	his
maal-hə	hers
maal-hum	theirs

Table 3.10 The possessive particle mal marked with pronominal/possessive suffixes

Naïm (2008:672) notes that most of the spoken dialects of Arabic employ constructions similar to the analytic one found in Hadari using a linking particle, which she labels ‘genitive exponent’. Other dialects spoken in the Persian Gulf Area even use the exact same particle found in Hadari. However in Bahrain the scope of such constructions includes other construct states like belonging to a country as in (116) or an outcome (117) the following examples from Bahraini⁴:

(116) xɔlad mɔl kuwæet
Khaled LINK.POSS Kuwait
‘Khaled of Kuwait’
‘Khaled from Kuwait’

(117) kaħa mɔl jigɔyir
cough LINK.POSS cigarettes
‘a cough caused by cigarettes’

3.7 Case in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic employs morphological case markers distinguish grammatical functions of nouns in a sentence. There are three case markers in Modern Standard Arabic; *-u* for the nominative case, *-a* for the accusative case, and *-i* for the genitive case. The following examples illustrate each of the case markers in Modern Standard Arabic:

⁴ These examples are from speakers of the A, or Sunni, dialect of Bahrain.

- (118) 'akala l-walad-u t-tuffaaḥat-a fi l-maṭḥabax-i
 Eat.PERF.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM DEF-apple-ACC in DEF-kitchen-GEN
 'The boy ate the apple in the kitchen.'
- (119) ar-rajul-u huwa ṣaaḥib-u s-sayyaarat-i
 DEF-boy-NOM he owner-NOM DEF-car-GEN
 'The man is the owner of the car.'

A fuller discussion of the case system and the distribution of case is provided in section 5.4.

3.8 Verbal inflection: perfective and imperfective

The description of morphological tense/aspect in Arabic has always been a source of controversy among linguists. On the one hand, there are linguists that support the labeling 'tense', with 'past', 'present', and 'future' as its subcategories, and on the other there are linguists who prefer to label it 'aspect', with 'perfective' and 'imperfective' as its subcategories. Linguists that are for the label 'tense' echo the description provided by classical grammarians Sibaweh (8th century) and Alzamakshari (11th century), who believed that any action that can be located in the past, present, or future is marked by tense (Fleisch 1979:201; cited in Horesh 2009:458).

However, modern linguists prefer to treat Arabic as an aspectual language, which has two types of stems: a suffixing stem that express perfective and a prefixing stem that expresses imperfective (Wright 2004, Holes 2004:232, Badawi 2004:362).

In this section, I have adopted the labels 'perfective' and 'imperfective' to describe the system of Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. This choice of labels is one of convenience, because the three way labeling chosen by linguists adopting the classical prescriptive approach treats aspect as a category separate from the three tenses, whereas modern linguists treat perfective and imperfective as two main categories that include all three tenses: the perfective includes past tense and the imperfective includes present and future tenses (Holes 2004, Badawi 2004, Benmamoun 2010). Thus, the choice of terminology aims for a more cohesive modern description of the concept of time in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

3.8.1 Perfective in Modern Standard Arabic

This form is mainly used to describe completed actions or actions that have taken place and are considered to be factual, as well as in conditional clauses in Modern Standard Arabic. The perfective verb morphology relies on vocalic templates and suffixes, thus this form is labeled as ‘suffix stem’ or ‘s-stem’ by modern linguists (Holes 2004:217; Benmamoun 2010:17). The following table illustrates how the root *k-t-b* ‘write’ is conjugated in the perfective in Modern Standard Arabic:

person/gender	Singular	dual	plural
1.m. & 1.f	katab-tu	-	katab-naa
2.m	katab-ta	katabt-uma	katabt-um
2.f	katab-ti	katabt-uma	katabt-unna
3.m	Kataba	katab-aa	katab-u
3.f	katab-at	kataba-taa	katab-na

Table 3.11 Perfective paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

3.8.2 Perfective in Hadari

The perfective form found in Hadari is similar to the one found Modern Standard Arabic as it used to describe actions that have taken place in the past and in conditional constructions. The forms are expressed through a combination of template and suffixes and they refer to completed actions and states that take place in the past. The following table illustrates the perfective form of the root *k-t-b* in Hadari:

person/gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.M & 1.F	kəṭəbt	-	kəṭəb-nə
2.M	kəṭəbt	-	kəṭəbt-əw
2.F	kəṭəbt-əy	-	kəṭəbt-əw
3.M	kəṭəb	-	ktəb-əw
3.F	ktəbət	-	ktəb-əw

Table 3.12 Perfective paradigm in Hadari

3.8.3 Imperfective in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, the imperfective form is employed to refer to uncompleted or ongoing actions and states. This includes verbs that indicate the present tense. This form is expressed by adding a tense/agreement marking prefix in the singular, and tense/agreement marking prefixes and suffixes in both the dual and the plural. Modern Linguists refer to the imperfective form as the ‘prefix stem’ (p-stem) since prefixes are its predominant defining characteristic.

person/gender	singular	dual	plural
2.M	ta-ktub	ta-ktub-aan	ta-ktub-uun
2.F	ta-ktub-iin	ta-ktub-aan	ta-ktub-na
3.M	ya-ktub	ya-ktub-aan	ya-ktub-uun
3.F	ta-ktub	ta-ktub-an	ta-ktub-na

Table 3.13 Imperfective paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

The imperfective form also includes the future tense, which is expressed by attaching the future marking clitic *sa-* ‘will’ to an imperfective verb form. The following examples illustrate the use of the future marker in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (120) sa-yadhabu Salim-un 'ila amriika wa
 FUT- go. IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM.INDEF to America and
- yadrus al-muḥaasabat-a
 study.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-accounting-ACC
 'Salim will go to America and study accounting.'

- (121) sa-aktubu l-waajib-a ḡadan
 FUT- write.IMPERF.1SG DEF-homework-ACC tomorrow
 'I will write the homework tomorrow.'

3.8.4 Imperfective in Hadari

The imperfective form in Hadari shares some similarities with that of Modern Standard Arabic, in that it includes both present and future tenses or refers to non-past actions. The conjugation of the present tense in Hadari is expressed through affixal morphology; the singular includes

prefixes only and plural includes both prefixes and suffixes. The following table demonstrates the present tense in Hadari:

person/gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
1.M & 1.F	'ə-ktəb	-	nə-ktəb
2.M	tə-ktəb	-	tə-ktəb-uun
2.F	tə-ktəb-iin	-	tə-ktəb-uun
3.M	yə-ktəb	-	yə-ktəb-uun
3.F	tə-ktəb	-	yə-ktəb-uun

Table 3.14 Imperfective paradigm in Hadari

The clitic used to express the future tense in Hadari differs from the one employed in Modern Standard Arabic, *sa-*, although the two function in the same way. Hadari employs a combination of the future clitic *b-* with the imperfective tense form of the verb. This future marker *b-* is a contracted form of the verb *yaby* 'he wants', and the two are interchangeable in Hadari and can never co-occur as in **b-yaby* 'he will want'. As a future marker, *yaby* 'want' agrees with the subject of the sentence in gender, person, and number. The following examples illustrate the use of both the clitic future marker and the future particle in Hadari:

- (122) Salim b-y-ruuḥ əl-madrīsə (LR)
 Salim FUT-go IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-school
 'Salim will go to school.'
- (123) Salim yaby yruuḥ əl-madrīsə (A)
 Salim FUT.3SG.M go.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-school
 'Salim will go to school.'
- (124) Muna b-tnaam (A)
 Muna FUT-sleep.IMPERF.3SG.F
 'Muna will sleep.'
- (125) Muna taby tnaam (LR)
 Muna FUT-3SG.F sleep.IMPERF.3SG.F
 'Muna will sleep.'
- (126) Haya b-təg'əd iṣ-ṣibḥ (I)
 Haya FUT-wake.up.3SG.F DEF-morning
 'Haya will wake up in the morning.'
- (127) Haya taby təg'əd iṣ-ṣibḥ (A)
 Haya FUT-3SG.F wake.up.IMPERF.3SG.F DEF-morning
 'Haya will wake up in the morning.'

3.9 Mood

Mood refers to the degree of reality of a given proposition which can be divided into factual and non-factual. When a proposition is factual it is considered by the speaker to be true or actually occurring. On the other hand, if a proposition is non-factual, then it is considered by the speaker as unreal or has not actually occurred. The section covers indicative, subjunctive, jussive, and imperative in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. Indicative is the mood used is a type of realis

3.9.1 Mood in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, mood is morphologically marked on the imperfect form of the verb, whereas the perfect form receives no morphological marking to indicate mood and relies on modal elements present in the construction to indicate mood. Thus, this section focuses mainly on the morphology of mood and its application to verbs in the imperfective while modal expressions are discussed in section 6.3.

3.9.1.1 Indicative in Modern Standard Arabic

Imperfective verbs in Modern Standard Arabic are marked for the indicative mood by the suffixation of the indicative marker *-u* to the imperfect form of the verb, which includes both present and future tenses (the latter expressed by the prefixation of the future marker *sa-* to the imperfect form or by the presence of the future marker *sawfa* preceding the imperfect verb). The Indicative mood marker in Modern Standard Arabic denotes factual events and occurs in both declarative, and interrogative sentences, and with the present tense negative marker *la* (Holes 2004:224). The following table illustrates the indicative paradigm of the verb *fa'al* 'to do' in Modern Standard Arabic:

person/gender	singular	dual	plural
1.M. & 1.F	a-f'al-u	-	na-f'al-u
2.M	ta-f'al-u	ta-f'al-aan	ta-f'al-uun
2.F	ta-f'al-iin	ta-f'al-aan	ta-f'al-na
3.M	ya-f'al-u	ya-f'al-aan	ya-f'al-uun
3.F	ta-f'al-u	ta-f'al-an	ta-f'al-na

Table 3.15 Indicative Paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

The following example illustrates the indicative in a declarative sentence:

- (128) tushriq-u sh-shams-u min ash-sharq-i
 rise.IMPERF.3SG.F-IND DEF-SUN-NOM from DEF-east-GEN
 'The sun rises in the east.'

The following examples illustrate indicative polar and content questions respectively:

- (129) hal taskun-u fi l-manzil-i
 INTERROG live.IMPERF.2SG.M-IND in DEF-house-GEN
 'Do you live in the house?'

- (130) man yaskun-u fi l-manzil-i
 who live.IMPERF.3SG.M-IND in DEF-house-GEN
 'Who lives in the house?'

Finally, the following example illustrates the indicative mood in a negated proposition. Modern Standard Arabic employs a number of negative particles and each is marked for tense; the indicative mood can only occur with the present tense negative marker *laa*:

- (131) laa yaskun-u fi l-kuwait-i
 NEG live.IMPERF.3SG.M-IND in DEF-Kuwait-GEN
 'He does not live in Kuwait.'

3.9.1.2 Subjunctive in Modern Standard Arabic

For the subjunctive mood, verbs in Modern Standard Arabic are marked with the subjunctive suffix *-a* and denote propositions that are nonfactual or irrealis. The following table illustrates the subjunctive paradigm of the verb *fa'al* 'to do' in Modern Standard Arabic:

person/gender	singular	dual	plural
1.M. & 1.F	a-f'al-a	-	na-f'al-a
2.M	ta-f'al-a	ta-f'al-aa	ta-f'al-uu
2.F	ta-f'al-ii	ta-f'al-aa	ta-f'al-na
3.M	ya-f'al-a	ya-f'al-aa	ya-f'al-uu
3.F	ta-f'al-a	ta-f'al-a	ta-f'al-na

Table 3.16 Subjunctive Paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

Furthermore, subjunctive mood in Modern Standard Arabic only occurs after a set of elements that introduce irrealis propositions. Although these subjunctive introducing elements are of different grammatical categories, e.g. complementizers, negative particles, and conjunctions, they all introduce an irrealis proposition and thus condition the subjunctive. The use of these

subjunctive elements to mark an irrealis subordinate clause is determined by a set of main verbs that introduce irrealis propositions, e.g. verbs like ‘want’, ‘wish’, ‘ask’...etc. These subjunctive particles range from irrealis complementizer, to conditional particles (e.g. Y won’t happen unless you do X), to purpose clause markers. The following table lists the subjunctive marking elements used in Modern Standard Arabic:

Particle	meaning
‘an	complementizer, non-factual
lan	future negative marker
ḥattaa	until (purposive)
li-	to (purposive)
kai	to (purposive)
fa-	cause

Table 3.17 Subjunctive markers in Modern Standard Arabic

The following example illustrates the use of the subjunctive mood in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (132) yuriidu Salim-u ‘an yaḡhab-a ‘ila mişr
want.IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM COMP go.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUBJ to Egypt
‘Salim wants to go to Egypt’

The following example illustrates the subjunctive mood occurring with the future negative marker *lan*:

- (133) lan taḡii‘-a fi s-suuq-i
NEG get.LOST.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUBJ in DEF-market-GEN
‘You will not get lost in the market.’

3.9.1.3 Jussive in Modern Standard Arabic

The jussive mood expresses commands and prohibition, and occurs after negative particles *la* and *lam*, and in conditional constructions after conditional particles. By definition, Jussive differs from imperative in that it is directed at someone other than the listener or addressee (Trask 1993:150). However, jussive mood in Modern Standard Arabic only occurs after a set of jussive introducing elements and only imperfect verbs can be marked as jussive while the imperative has a different inflectional paradigm. Unlike the indicative and the subjunctive, verb in the jussive mood in Modern Standard Arabic are characterized by the lack of a suffix,

transcribed here as -*ʕ* attached to the imperfect verb form. When the imperfect verb occurring in the jussive mood ends with a consonant, it is pronounced as a stop and orthographically marked with the diacritic *sukuun* ‘silence,’ and if the imperfect verb ends with a vowel, then it is marked with the orthographic removal of the final vowel. Furthermore, the jussive introducing expressions which belong to three grammatical categories, negative particles, interrogatives, and conditionals, are grouped together for their grammatical function and not because of their grammatical categories. The following table lists the elements that introduce the jussive mood jussive marking particles in Modern Standard Arabic:

Particle	meaning
la	prohibition
lam	negative (for a proposition that took place in the past)
man	who
mata	when
kaif	how
ain	where
lamma	Whenever (conditional)
mahma	however (conditional)
ʿindama	whenever (conditional)
ainama	Wherever (conditional)

Table 3.18 Jussive markers in Modern Standard Arabic

The following examples illustrate the jussive mood in Modern Standard Arabic:

Prohibition particle *laa*

- (134) *laa taxruj-ʕ kaṭīiran*
 NEG.IMP leave.IMPERF.2SG.M-JUSS much
 ‘Do not go out too much.’

Negative particle *lam*

- (135) *Salim-u lam yaḡhab-ʕ ʿila l-madrasat-i*
 Salim-NOM NEG.PERF go.IMPERF.1SG.M-JUSS to DEF-school-GEN
 ‘Sailm did not go to school.’

Interrogative particle:

- (136) man yadrus- ٤ yanjah- ٤
 who study.IMPERF.3SG.M-JUSS succeed.IMPERF.3SG.M-JUSS
 'He who studies, succeeds.'

3.9.2 Mood in Hadari

Hadari does not employ distinct mood marking morphology like Modern Standard Arabic. In Hadari, the distinction between realis and irrealis is expressed through the choice of modal verbs, negative markers and conditional markers that precede the imperfect verb. Mood in Hadari is aspectual as aspectual markers like *gaa'id*, a grammaticalized form of the verb 'to sit' which precedes an imperfect verb to express realis 6.4. This construction is used in declarative sentences, and in negative constructions following the negative marker *mu*. Polar interrogative sentences are distinguishable from declarative sentences only through prosody; while in constituent interrogatives the modal verb immediately follows the interrogative word. The following examples illustrate realis declarative sentences in Hadari:

- (137) Salim gaa'id yruuh əl-mədrəsə (TV)
 Salim PROG go.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-school
 'Salim is going to school.'
- (138) Salim yruuh əl-mədrəsə (A)
 Salim go.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-school
 'Salim goes to school.'

The next example illustrates a negated sentence in Hadari with the negative marker *muu* and the modal auxiliary:

- (139) ma adri Mishary yaan muu gaa'id (LR)
 NEG know.IMPERF.1SG Mishary be.crazy.PERF.3SG.M NEG PROG
 ysmə' əl-kəlaam
 listen.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-talk
 'I don't know, Mishary became crazy, he won't listen to me anymore!'

The following example illustrates a realis constituent interrogative in Hadari:

- (140) mətə gaa'id ynam (LR)
 when PROG sleep.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'When is he sleeping?'

While Hadari does not have subjunctive mood, i.e. does not have overt morphological marking on the verb to mark it as subjunctive, irrealis is expressed in Hadari by aspectual/future tense marker *raḥ*, a grammaticalized form of the past tense form of the verb meaning ‘to go’ followed by the main imperfect verb. Another marker is the future marker *b-*, a contracted form of the verb *yābi* ‘to want’, which precedes the imperfect verb to denote nonfactual propositions. The following examples illustrate:

(141) Naasər raḥ ysaafir ləbnaan (LR)
 Nasser will travel.IMPERF.3SG.M Lebanon
 ‘Nasser will travel to Lebanon.’

(142) Naasər yəbi ysaafir ləbnaan (A)
 Nasser want travel.IMPERF.3SG.M Lebanon
 ‘Nasser wants to travel to Lebanon.’

(143) mustaḥiil b-yguum əmbəččir (LR)
 impossible FUT-wake.up.IMPERF.3SG.M early
 ‘It’s impossible that he’ll wake up early’

The Hadari equivalent of the jussive mood is expressed by the choice of particle that precedes the imperfect verb. Like Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari employs conditional and prohibitive particles that carry the semantics of commands or conditionals similar to those found in Modern Standard Arabic. Hadari does not employ the negative particle *lam*, which is used in Modern Standard Arabic to negate an action that took place in the past and literally means ‘did not’. Such constructions are expressed in Hadari by the negative particle *maa* followed by the perfect verb form. The negative *maa* is also used in Hadari in constructions expressing prohibition where the main verb is in the imperfect tense. The particles *laa*, *maa*, and *mu* are used in Hadari to express prohibition while *loo* is used to express conditional. The following example illustrates a conditional construction:

(144) loo tnaam mbəččir tguum əmbəččir (LR)
 if sleep.IMPERF.2SG.M early wake.up.IMPERF.2SG.M early
 ‘If you go to bed early you’ll wake up early.’

The following examples illustrate the prohibition particle used in Hadari:

- (145) laa tğş əl-kæək bruuhək (TV)
 NEG cut.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-cake alone.M
 'Do not cut the cake by yourself.'

- (146) maa truuhiiin mə'aa-nə (LR)
 NEG go.IMPERF.3SG.F with-1PL
 'You are not going with us.'

- (147) mu truuhiiin mə'aa-nə (A)
 NEG go.IMPERF.3SG.F with-1PL
 'Don't go with us!'

3.9.3 Imperative

3.9.3.1 Imperative in Modern Standard Arabic

The formation of imperative verbs in Modern Standard Arabic operates at the templatic level and does not rely on affixation as is the case with the previously discussed moods.

Furthermore, imperative in Modern Standard Arabic only occurs in the second person singular, dual, and plural for both masculine and feminine. The following paradigm of the verb *fa'ala* 'to do' illustrates the imperative verb form in Modern Standard Arabic:

Form	Perfect	Imperative
I	fa'ala	'if'al
II	fa''ala	fa''il
III	faa'ala	faa'il
IV	'af'ala	'af'il
V	tafa''ala	tafa''al
VI	tafaa'ala	tafaa'al
VII	'infa'ala	'infa'il
VIII	'ifta'ala	'ifta'il
IX	'if'alla	'if'all
X	'istaf'ala	'istaf'il

Table 3.19 imperative paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

The imperative form is marked for gender and number by adding the dual *-aa*, *-u* for the plural masculine, and *-na* for the plural feminine. All of the imperative verb forms are marked by the same agreement affixes and the following paradigm illustrates the form I imperative in Modern Standard Arabic:

The imperative agreement paradigm in Hadari is as follows:

	Singular	Plural
Masculine	'if'əl	f'əl-əu
Feminine	f'l-əi	f'əl-əu

Table 3.22 imperative agreement paradigm in Hadari

3.10 Summary

Through the survey that this chapter presents, it is apparent that the morphology of Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari is very similar in both derivational and inflectional morphology. The sections on verb derivation show that some of the verbs in Hadari are derived using pattern similar to the ones found in Modern Standard Arabic, with minor vocalic differences. However, some of the patterns found in Modern Standard Arabic do not occur in the Hadari verb derivation paradigm, and the gaps in Hadari are filled with other patterns that exist in the dialect.

Noun and adjective derivational patterns also show strong similarities with the ones found in Modern Standard Arabic, as most of the patterns that are used in Hadari are also used in Modern Standard Arabic. However, nouns that are derived from verbs depend on the occurrence of the verb pattern in Hadari; if the verb form occurs in Hadari, so does the deverbal, and if the verb form does not, then neither does its deverbal. For example, Hadari's verb Form IX is unique to the dialect and is different from the one found in Modern Standard Arabic, hence, the deverbal form IX is also unique to Hadari and differs from form IX used in Modern Standard Arabic.

In addition to deverbals, participles are considered to be one of the more productive patterns in noun and adjective derivation. While active participles are used as nouns and verbs in Hadari, passive participles are almost always used as nouns or adjectives in the spoken dialect (Owens 2008:544). Additional semantically motivated patterns that are employed in Hadari are also very similar, with exception of diminutive patterns, as Hadari has a considerably large number of diminutive patterns that do not occur in Modern Standard Arabic.

Nominal inflectional morphology in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic is also very similar with the most salient difference showing in the number inflection. While Modern Standard Arabic has a three way number marking system that consists of singular, dual and plural, Hadari only has singular and a plural. Furthermore, Hadari does not mark plurals for gender or case whereas Modern Standard Arabic does. The gender system found in Hadari is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic, marking masculine and feminine, and no neuter. Next, the chapter presents a description of possessive construction in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. Both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic express possessiveness in a similar manner as they employ affixal possessiveness, by adding pronominal suffixes to a noun, and analytical possessiveness, which is expressed by word order. The difference between Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic possessive constructions is the loss of case in Hadari which makes the dialect rely solely on fixed word order to express possessiveness.

In the next section, inflectional verbal morphology is compared in the two varieties where the verbal inflection in Hadari is found to be comparable to that of Modern Standard Arabic. Only minor formal differences are found in vowel quality and the lack of dual marking affixes in Hadari. The perfective verb is expressed through suffixes in both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic and the imperfective verb is expressed through affixes with the singular being marked by prefixes only and the plural marked using both prefixes and suffixes.

Finally, the four types of mood in Modern Standard Arabic were presented in the mood section followed by a description of how the notion of mood is expressed in Hadari. Hadari does not employ morphological mood like Modern Standard Arabic, but aspectual markers that set propositions in the realis and irrealis.

Chapter 4 NP syntax

4.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to provide a description of NP syntax in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic. The first section 4.2 presents a description of definiteness and indefiniteness in Hadari with reference to the definiteness and indefiniteness systems employed in Modern Standard Arabic as well other crosslinguistic typological types. Next, section 4.3 discusses demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, comparing the two varieties. The next section 4.4 describes Modern Standard Arabic quantifiers and a brief overview of their function and word order properties followed by a description of quantifiers found in Hadari.

The next section (4.5) describes NP complements in both Modern Standard Arabic and in Hadari, which is then followed by two sections on NP modifiers; attributive adjectives and relative clauses. The section on attributive adjectives (4.6) presents an overview of adjectives and intensifiers in Modern Standard Arabic, followed by a description of adjectives in Hadari along with a discussion of intensifiers and their position within the adjective phrase.

4.2 Definiteness:

4.2.1 Definite Articles: a typological overview

A definite article is a type of determiner that marks a noun, a noun phrase or in some cases postnominal modifiers like adjectives as definite or specific. Chafe (1976:25-56) sets out three criteria that the referent of the definite noun phrase must meet in order to be recognized as such:

- a) It must have been previously mentioned in the discourse.
- b) It must be a member of a universal set of entities (such as the sun, the moon...etc)
- c) Or the speaker must have good reason that the entity is retrievable by the listener through knowledge shared by the interlocutors.

Definite articles must also be distinguished from demonstratives. Definite articles refer to a specific noun without positioning it deictically in relation to the speaker while demonstratives normally entail a form of deictic information in relation to the speaker. Demonstratives are discussed in further detail in section 0.

Dryer (2005a) identifies five types of definite article that are discussed briefly in this section in order to provide a typological context for the Hadari definite article. Dryer's study was carried out on a sample of 620 languages that fall into the five different typological categories. The first type of definite article is found in languages with a definite article category that is distinct from demonstrative articles. An example of this type is English:

(152) the bird

(153) that bird

Dryer's discussion of definite articles echoes Chafe's three criteria of definiteness. He postulates that there are two functions related to definite articles: anaphoric and nonanaphoric. The anaphoric function is when a definite article is used to refer to something mentioned in preceding discourse. Conversely, the nonanaphoric function is used when the definite article refers to something was not mentioned in previous discourse but the speaker assumes that the hearer knows of its existence. Dryer's anaphoric function is similar to Chafe's first criterion which refers to something previously mentioned in discourse and the nonanaphoric function covers the latter two criteria of preexisting knowledge. In other words, Dryer's five types are the typological manifestation of Chafe's definite article criteria.

The second type is found in languages where one of the demonstrative determiners is used as a marker of definiteness. This type occurs in 69 languages from the 620-language sample. The following example illustrates:

(154) Eastern Ojibwe (Nichols 1988: 46, cited in Dryer 2005a)

“mii maanpii wii-bkeyaanh” kido giiwenh wa mko
 but here intend-turn.off.1sg say.3sg it.is.said that bear
 ‘“Well, this is where I turn off,” the bear said.’

The third definite article type is found in languages in which the definite determiner is affixed to the noun. Modern Standard Arabic exemplifies this type:

(155) al-maa'-u baarid-un
 DEF-water- NOM cold-NOM.INDEF
 ‘The water is cold.’

(156) al-baab-u muḡlaq-un
 DEF -door- NOM closed-NOM.INDEF
 ‘The door is closed.’

The fourth type is of languages that do not have a definite article but does have an indefinite article. This is illustrated by Tauya, a language of the Trans-New Guinea family spoken in Papua New Guinea:

(157) Tauya (MacDonald 1990: 108, 122, cited in Dryer 2005a)

- a. fanu 'afa
 man indef
 'a man'
- b. nen-ni wate amo'o=pe ese-i-'a
 3PL-ERG house new=ben want-3PL-IND
 'They want a new house.'

Finally, the fifth language type has neither an indefinite nor a definite article, like Cherokee. In such languages, it is context-dependent whether the speaker intends definite or indefinite reference.

(158) Cherokee (Scancarelli 1987: 190, cited in Dryer 2005a)

kiihli uu-skala achuuca
 dog 3SG-bite.punct boy
 'The/a dog bit the/a boy.'

4.2.2 Definite articles in Hadari

The dichotomy of definiteness and indefiniteness in Modern Standard Arabic is unambiguous, as nouns are either definite or indefinite. Definite nouns are marked by the definite affix *al-* unless they are proper nouns, in which case the definite article is optional. Indefinite nouns, in comparison, are unmarked in both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic. Like Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari belongs to the third typological category as the definite marker is an affix on nouns. In Hadari definiteness and indefiniteness are marked by the addition or the absence of the definite prefix *el-* ‘the’, respectively. However, a feature of Arabic is that the definite affix attaches not only to nouns but to adjectives as well. This is a feature of both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. Dryer (2005a:158) discusses this feature briefly, suggesting that a definite article that attaches to postnominal modifiers (e.g. adjectives) as well as nouns is considered a clitic, and a clitic by definition is somewhere between an affix and a word, making such languages according to Dryer’s analysis either Type I or Type III

In some languages, the definite marker is a clitic which can appear on nouns or on postnominal modifiers, most commonly on the final word in the noun phrase. Such definite clitics are not treated here as definite affixes, but as definite words, falling into one of the first two types. (Dryer 2005a:154)

However, Dryer refers to Egyptian Arabic as an example of Type III definite articles, stating that it uses affixes as a marker of definiteness. The definite marker in Egyptian Arabic functions in a way similar to the definite article in Hadari: it can attach to nouns, adjectives or both. According to Dryer’s analysis, then, Hadari and Egyptian belong to the first type where the definite article is a separate word. Adding a simple modification to Dryer’s Type III could solve this issue: this type is characterized by definite affix on noun, adjective, or both. An alternative solution would be to add a sixth type of languages that have affixes attaching freely to both nouns and adjectives. The following examples illustrate the definite article in Hadari:

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-------------|-----------------|------|
| (159) | əl-jəw | həlu | | (R) |
| | DEF-weather | beautiful.M | | |
| | 'The weather is beautiful.' | | | |
| (160) | əš-šəms | haamyə | | (LR) |
| | DEF-sun | hot.F | | |
| | 'The sun is hot.' | | | |
| (161) | wəʃlt | əl-bəet? | | (LR) |
| | arrive.PERF.2SG.M | DEF-HOME | | |
| | 'Did you arrive home?' | | | |
| (162) | əš-šəbağ | ma | əttəʃəl? | (LR) |
| | DEF-painter | NEG | call.PERF.3SG.M | |
| | 'Didn't the painter call?' | | | |
| (163) | 'al'an | abu | l-'aazə | (I) |
| | curse | father | DEF-need | |
| | 'Curse the need/being in need.' (idiomatic) | | | |
| (164) | əl-bəet | əl-'əbyaz | | (A) |
| | DEF-home | DEF-white | | |
| | 'the white house' | | | |
| (165) | ṭəbaax-kum | əl-maaʃəx | | (TV) |
| | cooking-2PL | DEF-bland.M | | |
| | 'Your cooking is the bland one.' | | | |
| (166) | ṭəbaax-əč | ən-naaʔə | 'aad | (TV) |
| | cooking-3SG.F | DEF-tasty.M | as.if | |
| | 'As if your cooking is tasty.' | | | |

The definite marker has several key roles in possessive constructions and copular sentences with nonverbal predicates which are discussed in fuller detail in their respective sections; possession 3.6 and non-verbal predicationsChapter 8.

4.2.3 Indefinite Articles: a typological overview

Indefiniteness in language refers to a general, unidentifiable entity in the world. It is easier to discuss the notion of indefiniteness in terms of the feature it lacks rather than attempting to pinpoint the features that it possesses. Indefiniteness is about a notion that the speaker thinks is irretrievable to the hearer. In traditional Arabic grammar, the grammatical term for indefiniteness is *nakira* which means ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’, or ‘not worthy’. The word *nakira* comes from the trilateral root *n-k-r* ‘deny’ or ‘denial’ which reflects the degree of indefiniteness the noun in question has.

Dryer (2005b:158) defines the indefinite noun phrase as a ‘[noun phrase] that denotes something not known to the hearer’. Dryer introduces five different typological categories of indefinite marking, which were based on a survey carried out on a sample of 500 languages. The first type represents languages with an indefinite word distinct from the numeral for ‘one’. English is an example of this language type since indefinite nouns must be marked with the indefinite article *a* and a noun without the indefinite article is unacceptable in grammatical English (with the exception of some generic uses):

(167) a girl

(168) girl *

The second type includes languages that use the numeral for ‘one’ to indicate indefiniteness. Farsi is an example of this type:

(169) Farsi (Song, 2001:162)

Hasan yek kitab did

Hasan one book saw

‘Hasan saw a book’

In such languages, it is ambiguous whether the speaker means ‘a book’ or ‘one book’ since the position of the numeral is identical in both cases. However, in other languages that belong to this type the position of the numeral ‘one’ is used in a different position to differentiate

between the indefinite article and the numeral leaving no place for ambiguity (Turkish, for example).

The third category of indefinite articles is found in languages that use an affix that attaches to the noun to indicate indefiniteness. The following example is taken from Korowai, a language spoken in Indonesiaa

- (170) Korowai (van Enk and de Vries, 1997: 75)
uma-té-do abül-fekha khomilo-bo
tell-3PL.REAL-DS man-INDEF die.3SG.REAL-PERF
'They told that a certain man had died.'

The last two types are identical to the fourth and fifth type from the previous section. The fourth type includes languages that do not have an indefinite article and have definite article, Hadari is an example.

- (171) bənt həlwə
girl pretty
'a pretty girl'

The fifth type is of languages that have neither definite nor indefinite articles, like Cherokee and Polish. The next are examples of both Hadari and Polish.

- (172) Polish (Bielec, 1998: 270)
Anna je jabłko.
Anna eat apple
'Anna is eating the/an apple.'

4.2.4 Indefiniteness in Hadari

Indefiniteness in Hadari is expressed by the absence of the definite article *el-* 'the' from a noun or adjective. Thus, hadari belongs to the fourth type of languages identified by Dryer (2005b). One the other hand, indefiniteness in Modern Standard Arabic is marked by the absence of the definite prefix *al-* and the addition of the indefinite suffixes *-in -an* and *-un* depending on the

case of the marked noun. Some of the modern spoken Arabic dialects share this similarity with Modern Standard Arabic like Najdi, Omani, Urban Saudi, Hijazi, and Emirati dialects as well as all of the Bedouin dialects spoken in the gulf (Holes 2004). Holes (1990:115) notes that the less educated speakers of the Gulf dialects use the indefinite suffix and that the suffix can be found in dialectal poetry. The following are examples of indefinite marking in Modern Standard Arabic(173)(174), (175) and Bahraini (176) :

(173) bait-un kabiir-un
house-NOM.INDEF large.M-NOM.INDEF
'a big house'

(174) ra'aitu ṭaa'ir-an jamiil-an
see.PERF.1SG bird-ACC.INDEF beautiful.M-ACC.INDEF
'I saw a beautiful bird.'

(175) juz'-un laa yatajazza' min al-kuwait-i
PART-NOM.INDEF NEG separable from DEF-Kuwait-GEN
'an inseparable part of Kuwait'

(176) bint-in zeena, bint 'ammi Holes (1990:116)
girl-INDEF.MARKER good.F daughter paternal-uncle-my
'She's a good girl, my cousin.'

The following examples illustrate indefinite nouns in Hadari:

(177) səyyara šxəṭət 'ələə-nna (I)
car speed.PERF.F on-3PL
'A car sped by us.'

(178) wəşşlt mərə bəet-ha (I)
drive.PERF.1SG woman home- 3SG.F
'I drove a woman home.'

(179) abi aṭləb ṭəbbaax (LR)
want.1SG order.IMPERF.1SG cook
'I want to employ a cook.'

- (180) ləgɛet məftaah ʔaayəh
find.PERF.1SG key dropped
'I found a dropped key.'
- (181) gəʂəb həʂʂəl-na məʔ'əm
barely find.PERF.1PL restaurant
'We had a hard time finding a restaurant (that was open).'

Brustad (2000) echoes Holes' (1990) findings on indefinite marking in her comparative study of spoken Arabic. Brustad adopts a diachronic approach and explains that the *-an* ending found in some dialects of spoken Arabic represents vestiges of the lost case marking system of Modern Standard Arabic (or 'formal Arabic' as she labels it). Although Brustad (2000) and Holes (1990) argue that *-an* is case marker diachronically, the *-an* ending is considered an adverbial marker from a synchronic perspective. Instances of adverbial *-an* are found in Hadari adverbial expressions such as *abdan* 'ever' 'at all' and *dayman* 'always' (there is further adverbial expression in my data that demonstrates the indefinite marker: *ğaşban* 'forcefully'). Nowadays, overt indefinite marking in Hadari can only be found in poetry written in the colloquial dialect even though it is not used in everyday interactions.

4.2.5 Indefinite pronouns

An indefinite pronoun is a type of pronoun that refers to an unknown referent. Compared to definite pronouns, which refer to specific nouns that have known referents that have been introduced in the context, indefinite pronouns refers to nouns with no specific referent (Givón 1984:381). There are five known typological means of expressing indefinite pronoun constructions; interrogative-based indefinites, noun-based indefiniteness, special indefinites, mixed indefinites, and the existential construction (Haspelmath 2011)⁵.

⁵ Haspelmath's sample contains a total of 326 languages distributed as such: 194 interrogative-based, 85 noun-based, 22 special indefinites, 23 mixed type, and 2 existential construction type.

The first type is the language that employs indefinite pronouns that are based on interrogative pronouns 'what' and 'who'. Haspelmath (2011) mentions Russian as an example of this type:

(182) kto
 'who'

(183) kto-to
 who-INDEF
 'somebody'

(184) čto
 what'

(185) čto-to
 what-INDEF
 'something'

The second type is the languages in which indefinite pronouns are based on nouns like 'one' and 'person'. The following examples illustrate indefinite pronouns From Farsi based on nouns *kæ*s 'person' and *čiz* 'thing' respectively (Haspelmath 2011):

(186) kæ*s*-i
 person-INDEF
 'somebody'

(187) čiz-i
 thing-INDEF
 'something'

Haspelmath (2011) refers to the third type of indefinite as the 'special indefinite' and this refers to an indefinite pronoun that has an interrogative root diachronically but has no interrogative meaning synchronically. For example, the Spanish indefinite pronoun *alguien* 'somebody' is considered monomorphemic, however, it is diachronically related to *aliquem* from Latin which consists of two morphemes; *ali-* 'indefinite' and *quem* 'who'.

The fourth type is the language that employs mixed indefinites, where more than one of the aforementioned types is employed. For example, German has *irgend-wer* 'someone' which is interrogative-based and *jemand* 'somebody' which is a special indefinite (Haspelmath 2011).

The fifth and final type of language expresses ‘somebody’ and ‘something’ through an existential construction. Tagalog, an Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines, is an example of this type (Haspelmath 2011, Schachter and Otanes 1972:276):

- (188) May d<um>ating kahapon
 exist <actor.voice>come.PFV yesterday
 ‘Someone came yesterday (lit. There exists (one who) came).’

4.2.6 Indefinite pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

Indefinite pronouns In Modern Standard Arabic are expressed through a combination between the nouns *šai* ‘thing’ and *šaxš* ‘person’ and the interrogative *ma* ‘what’ to form *šai ma* ‘something’ and *šaxš ma* ‘someone’ respectively. The pronominal portion of the indefinite is always marked for case in Modern Standard Arabic and is always marked with indefinite marker *-n*. The following examples illustrate the use of indefinite pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (189) ṭalaba Salim-u l-musa‘adat-a min [šaxš-in ma]
 ask.PERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM DEF-help-ACC from [person-GEN.INDEF what]
 ‘Salim asked someone for help.’

- (190) [šaxš-un ma] kasara n-naafiqata
 [person-NOM.INDEF what] break.PERF.3SG.M DEF-window-ACC
 ‘Someone broke the window’

- (191) aḥṭara ‘ali-u [šai]-an ma] ila l-madrasat-i
 bring.PERF.3SG.M Ali-NOM [thing-ACC.INDEF what] to DEF-school-GEN
 ‘Ali brought something to school.’

As demonstrated in the examples above, Modern Standard Arabic mixes two types of Haspelmath’s typological types of indefinite pronouns; an indefinite pronoun and an interrogative, which places Modern Standard Arabic in the fourth typological type.

4.2.7 Indefinite pronouns in Hadari

Indefinite pronouns in Hadari belong to the second typological group, as they are based on generic nouns *šai* ‘thing’ and *waahəd* ‘one’. The numeral *waahəd* ‘one’ is used in Hadari as an indefinite pronoun ‘somebody/someone’. It has the feminine counterpart *wəhdə* and the plural *naas* ‘people’. The examples below illustrate the use of this indefinite pronoun:

- (192) *waahəd yšiir-l-i šərə sayyara* (LR)
 one relate.IMPERF.3SG.M-TO-1SG buy.PERF.3SG.M car
 ‘Someone related to me bought a car.’

- (193) *waahəd təwiil həddə* (I)
 one tall.M very
 ‘someone very tall’

- (194) *waahəd jəliil həyə rəd ‘ələ-i* (LR)
 one small.amount.M shame answer.PERF.3SG.M on-1SG
 ‘Someone rude answered me.’

- (195) *ta‘arraf ‘ələ wəhdə ‘ələ n-net u təzəwwaj-ha* (R)
 meet.PERF.3SG.M on one.F on DEF-internet and marry.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.F
 ‘He met someone online and married her.’

- (196) *haṭ-iin wəhdə jεεkərə* (R)
 put.PERF-3PL one.F ugly
 ‘They employed someone ugly.’

- (197) *gal-o-li ‘ən wəhdə təgrə* (I)
 tell.PERF-3PL-TO.ME about one.F reads.3SG.F
 ‘They told me about someone who recites (The Quran) (a spiritual healer).’

- (198) naas yšiiruun-l-i šərəu sayyara (A)
 people relate.IMPERF.3PL-to-1SG buy.PERF.3PL car
 ‘some people related to me bough a car’

The following examples illustrate the indefinite pronoun *šəi* ‘something’ found in Hadari:

- (199) šərə šəi yədiid (A)
 Buy.PERF.3SG thing new
 ‘He bought something new’

- (200) ‘əḥəs šəi naagəṣ (TV)
 feel.IMPERF.1SG thing missing
 ‘I feel that something is missing’

4.3 Demonstratives

4.3.1 Demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic

Demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic show gender and number agreement with the noun that they modify (in the case of determiners) or refer to (in the case of pronouns). Case marking is restricted, as only the dual forms show a nominative/accusative distinction, unlike the singular and the plural forms. Table 4.1 shows the masculine paradigm and table 4.2 the feminine paradigm.

Number	proximal	distal
Singular	haaḍa	ḍalik
dual	haaḍa :n(NOM)/haaḍain (ACC)	ḍanik (NOM)/ḍiinik (ACC)
plural	haa’ulaa’	’ula’ik

Table 4.1 Masculine demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic

Feminine

Number	proximal	distal
Singular	haaḍihi	tilk
dual	haatan (NOM)/haatain (ACC)	taanik (NOM)/tiinik (ACC)
plural	haa’ulaa’	’ula’ik

Table 4.2 Feminine demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic

Holes (2004:184) notes that demonstratives contain affixes that indicate the spatial distance between the referent and the speaker, attached to the roots *da* and *ti*. The prefix *haa-* is a proximal marker, indicating that the referent is near the speaker, while the suffix *-ik/ik* serves as a distal marker indicating that that referent is distant from the speaker. Holes also notes that dual case marking in demonstratives is identical to that found in dual nouns (discussed in section 3.5.1)

Syntactically, demonstratives in Modern Standard Arabic can be used attributively and non-attributively. In the attributive category, a demonstrative is followed by a definite head noun and forms a noun phrase and has the function of an adjective. On the other hand, if the demonstrative is non-attributive then it functions as a pronoun and the noun that follows it is either indefinite or is part of a possessive construction (202)-(203) (Holes 2004:186, Choueiri 2006:582). Example (201) is of an attributive demonstrative preceding the noun *al-bait* 'the house' to form a noun phrase. Example (202) illustrates a non-attributive demonstrative followed by the indefinite noun *bait* 'house' functioning as the predicate to form a clause (Abu-Chacra 2007:99) . The following examples demonstrate the difference between the two categories:

(201) *haada l-bait* (A)
 this.SG.M DEF-house
 'this house'

(202) *haada bait* (A)
 this.SG.M house
 'This is a house.'

(203) *haada bait-i* (A)
 this.SG.M house-1SG
 'This is my house.'

If the demonstrative occurs after the genitive noun then the construction would be a complex possessive noun phrase (204): and if the demonstrative follows a definite noun (205), then the construction is a noun phrase:

(204) bait-i haada (A)
house-1SG this.SG.M
'this house of mine'

(205) al-bait-u haada (A)
DEF-house-NOM this.SG.M
'this house'

4.3.2 Demonstratives in Hadari

Demonstratives in Hadari are also divided into proximal and distal, similarly to Modern Standard Arabic. Once again, the demonstrative paradigm is marked by the absence of the dual; a feature found across Arabic dialects and expected of a spoken vernacular like Hadari (Vicente 2006:570). Moreover, the proximal prefix *haa-* and the distal suffix *-k/-c* are also evident in Hadari, even though many spoken dialects, for example Egyptian and Sudanese, have lost the proximal prefix (Zaki 1972:126). The following tables illustrate the masculine and feminine demonstrative paradigms in Hadari:

Number	proximal	distal
Singular	haaḍə	həḍaak
plural	həḍeɛlə	həḍeɛlaak/ həḍo:laak

Table 4.3 Masculine demonstratives in Hadari

Number	proximal	distal
Singular	haaḍi	həḍiič
plural	həḍeɛlə	həḍeɛlaak/ həḍo:laak

Table 4.4 Feminine demonstratives in Hadari

Holes (2004: 185) describes the proximal prefix *haa-* as a 'presentative morpheme', which is considered optional in some dialects of Arabic. The term 'presentative' means a morpheme that introduces or presents a referent, or a morpheme that has 'a function similar to the French

voice and voila’ (Holes, 2004:185). The Hadari data supports this description of the ‘presentative morpheme’ as a prefix, as it attaches to nouns in my data, where it is used to add specificity or to narrow down the number of possible referents. The number and gender features of the demonstrative are not overtly marked on the demonstrative itself, but are determined by the noun it is attached to. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon in Hadari:

- (206) killə-hum g’əd-əu fi hə-d-daar (I)
all-3PL stay.PERF-3PL in this-DEF-room
‘All of them stayed in this room.’
- (207) Salim hə-l-čəlb xərrəb əs-səfrə (I)
Salim this-DEF-dog ruin.PERF.3SG.M DEF-trip
‘Salim, the dog, ruined the trip.’ (Salim is a person in the vicinity of the speaker and is being called a dog (derogatory))
- (208) shaayl hə-l-əğraaz (LR)
carry.IMPERF.3SG.M these-DEF-things
‘carrying these things’

Further evidence supporting Holes’ description is found in the temporal use of the demonstratives in Hadari. Although the full demonstrative form does occur when referring to distal time, the prefix *haa* is completely dropped from most examples, which demonstrates the possibility of prefix omission. The following examples illustrate Hadari demonstratives used to refer to a distal temporal occurrence:

- (209) ɖaak əl-yoom (A)
that.M DEF-day
‘the other day’
- (210) ɖiič əl-mərrə (A)
that.F DEF-once
‘that time’

- (211) *diič əs-sənə* (A)
 that.F DEF-year
 'that year'

Demonstratives in Hadari function in a similar way to those found in Modern Standard Arabic as they have both attributive and non-attributive functions. When used attributively, the demonstrative precedes a definite noun and forms a noun phrase. However when used non-attributively, the demonstrative precedes an indefinite noun or a possessive noun to form a clause as the demonstrative functions as a pronoun in this case. Examples (212)-(216) illustrate the pronominal function of the demonstrative while examples (217) and (218) illustrate the attributive function of the demonstrative. Hadari displays more freedom in the position of the demonstrative when compared to Modern Standard Arabic as the following examples illustrate:

- (212) **haaɖə** məʔaar mu məʔaar-nə (R)
 this airport NEG airport-1pl
 'This is an airport, not the one we have back home'
- (213) məʔaar **haaɖə** (A)
 airport this
 'This is an airport.'
- (214) **haaɖə** uxuu-i Fahad (LR)
 this brother-1SG Fahad
 'This is my brother Fahad.'
- (215) uxuu-i **haaɖə** Fahad (LR)
 brother-1SG this Fahad
 'This is my brother Fahad.'
- (216) uxuu-i Fahad **haaɖə** (A)
 brother-1SG Fahad this
 'This is my brother Fahad.'
- (217) **haaɖə** d-dikto:r iid-ə xəfiifə (I)
 this DEF-doctor hand-3SG.M ligh
 'this doctor is very good.'

(218) əd-dikto:r haadə
 DEF-doctor this
 'this doctor'

(A)

4.4 Quantifiers

4.4.1 Quantifiers Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic has a large number of quantifiers and table 4.5 presents a non-exhaustive list of some the most commonly used quantifiers in the language (Arrajhi 2008):

Quantifier	meaning
kul	'every'
jamii'	'all'
ba'd	'some'
mu'dam	'most'
'glab	'most'
hifna	'handful'
qaliil	'few'
kaṭiir	'many'
kaffa	'every'

Table 4.5 Quantifiers in Modern Standard Arabic

Quantifiers in Modern Standard Arabic share a syntactic form with possessive structures (section 3.6). In possessive structures, the possessor noun follows the possessed noun and the possessor is marked with case, nominative when in subject position and accusative when in object position, while the possessed noun carries the genitive case. Quantifiers are expressed in a similar manner in Modern Standard Arabic, except that the quantifier precedes the head noun. Like possessed nouns, Quantifiers are marked with the nominative case when the NP is the subject and the accusative when it is the object, while the head noun is marked with the genitive case. Another characteristic that quantifiers share with possessive constructions is adjacency, as the quantifier and the modified noun must be adjacent to one another.

Furthermore, quantifiers take pronominal suffixes that replace the possessor noun providing further parallelism to possessive constructions as shown in examples (221) and (222) (Hallman 2009:15). The following examples illustrate the use of quantifiers in Modern Standard Arabic:

(219) jamii'-u l-kutub-i
 all-NOM DEF-book.PL-GEN
 'all the books'

(220) ba'ḍ-u l-awlad-i
 some-NOM DEF-boys-GEN
 'some of the boys'

(221) jamii'-u-ha
 all-NOM-3PL.F
 'all of them'

(222) ba'ḍ-u-hum
 some-NOM-3PL.M
 'some of them'

Quantifiers can occur after the noun they modify, but must be marked with a pronominal suffix that agrees with the modified noun in case, gender and number:

(223) al-kutub-u jamii'-u-ha
 DEF-books-NOM all-NOM-3PL.F
 'all of the books'

(224) qara'a l-kutub-a jamii'-a-ha
 read.PERF.3SG DEF-books-ACC all-ACC-3PL.F
 'He read all of the books.'

Another type of quantifier in Modern Standard Arabic is the cardinal numeral. The following table illustrates the numeral agreement system in Modern Standard Arabic:

Numeral	Noun	Agreement
1 and 2	masculine/feminine	agree in gender with noun
3 to 10	indefinite, genitive, plural	opposite gender of noun
11 to 19	indefinite, accusative, singular	only the numeral 10 agrees with gender while second part of compound (3-9) shows opposite gender of noun.
20 to 90	indefinite, accusative, singular	invariable, similar to sound plurals
23 to 99	indefinite, accusative, singular	3-9 show opposite gender of noun, 20-90 are invariable
100 to 900	indefinite, genitive, plural	200 is dual of 100, the rest is masculine numerals 3-9 followed by <i>mi'atin</i> '100'
1000s	masculine/feminine	2000 is <i>alfa</i> (nom.)/ <i>alfain</i> (acc./gen.) dual of <i>alf</i> '1000', the rest is feminine numerals 3-9 followed by plural <i>alaaf</i> 'thousands'
1000000s	masculine/feminine	<i>milyuun</i> 'million', <i>milyuunan</i> 'two millions (nom.)', <i>milyuunain</i> 'two millions (acc./gen.)'. The rest is feminine 3-9 followed by the plural <i>malaayin</i> 'millions'

Table 4.6 Numeral system in Modern Standard Arabic

(225) *amtaliku* *arba'ta-a* *buyut-in*
own.IMPERF.3SG.M four.F-ACC house.PL-GEN.INDEF
'I own four houses.'

(226) *amtaliku* *buyuut-an* *arba'*
own.IMPERF.3SG house.PL-ACC.INDEF four
'I own four house.'

4.4.2 Quantifiers in Hadari

The set of quantifiers found in Hadari is a combination of Modern Standard Arabic quantifiers and a few quantifiers unique to the dialect. The following table lists the quantifiers found in Hadari:

quantifier	Meaning
kəl	'every'
ay	'any' also an interrogative meaning 'which?'
aktər	'most'
aqəl	'less, least'
šwəi	'a little' a diminutive of the word šəi 'thing'
waayid	'a lot'
kəḏə	'several'
škəṭər	'numerous' interrogative meaning 'how many?'
ʾgləb	'most'
baʾz	'some'

Table 4.7 Quantifiers in Hadari

Most quantifiers in Hadari show considerable syntactic freedom when compared with those in Modern Standard Arabic, as they can precede or follow the noun being modified without requiring affixal modification. Only a few quantifiers have fixed syntactic positions preceding the noun, including *kəl* 'every', *kəḏə* 'several' and *ay* 'any'. The following examples illustrate the distribution of quantifiers in Hadari:

- (227) šwəi l-məʾaaziim (I)
 little DEF-guests
 'The number of the guests is small.'

- (228) əl-məʾaaziim šwəi (A)
 DEF-guests little
 'The number of the guests is small.'

- (229) kəl um tšuuf ʾyal-hə həlwiin (R)
 every mother see.IMPERF.3SG.F children-3SG.F beautiful.PL
 'Every mother thinks that her children are beautiful.'

- (230) *um kəl tšuuf 'yal-hə həlwiin
 mother every see.IMPERF.3SG.F children-3SG.F beautiful.PL
 'Every mother thinks that her children are beautiful.'

Furthermore, Hadari employs numerals as quantifiers but the system is far less complex than that of Modern Standard Arabic. The following table illustrates the agreement system found in Hadari:

Numeral	Noun	Agreement
1	singular	gender agreement with noun
2	plural	gender agreement with noun
3 to 10	plural	gender is always masculine.
11 to 1000000	singular	gender is always masculine.

Table 4.8 Numerals in Hadari

Numerals 1 and 2 only occur after the noun while the rest of the numerals strictly occur before the noun. The following examples illustrate numerals in Hadari:

- (231) yaabət wələd waaəhəd (I)
 bring.PERF.3SG.F boy one
 'she gave birth to one boy.'

- (232) bənaat t̪ənt̪ɛɛn (I)
 girls two.F
 'two girls'

- (233) fi bɛet-hum t̪əlaat̪ səyay̪iir (A)
 in house-3pl three cars
 'There are three cars in their house.'

- (234) xəlləšt məlyoon şəfhə (TV)
 finish.PERF.1SG million page
 'I finished a million pages.'

4.5 NP Complements

4.5.1 Complements in Modern Standard Arabic

The term complement is used here to refer to any syntactic element which completes the construction of another syntactic element. More specifically, a nominal complement in this sense is viewed as a noun that is the dependent another noun and completes its meaning. Nominal complements in Modern Standard Arabic are noun phrases that occur immediately after the head noun, marked only by word order. They are syntactically similar to possessive constructions in that the word order is fixed, and in that changing the order of the complement and the head noun either changes the meaning of the phrase or renders it ungrammatical. Although nominal complements and possessive constructions are syntactically identical, they differ semantically. Possessive constructions denote a relationship of ownership where the head noun possesses the dependent or possessed noun as in *bait Salim* 'Salim's house' with both nouns being semantically essential and the possessed noun is obligatory. In nominal complements, the function of the dependent noun is to narrow down or delimit the head noun and is usually optional in both Modern Standard and Hadari Arabic. Thus, nominal complements in this sense provide more information about the head noun and do not denote an ownership or possessive relationship between the nouns. For example, *mudarris ħisaab* 'a teacher of math', *mudarris* 'teacher' is not possessed by *ħisaab* 'math' but *ħisaab* gives information about the noun *mudarris* by delimiting it and is not obligatory.

Moreover, nominal complements are typically unique: there is one complement per head noun, and additional complements require co-ordination. The nominal complement is the carrier of phrasal definiteness and not the head noun, as the complement is marked as definite when the whole phrase is definite, and is not when the phrase is indefinite. The following examples illustrate the fixed order and definiteness properties of nominal complements in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (235) *tadmiir-u* *l-madiinat-i*
destruction-NOM DEF-city-GEN
'the destruction of the city'

- (236) haziimat-u l-'adu-i
 defeat-nom DEF-enemy-GEN
 'the defeat of the enemy'
- (237) ṭaalib-u l-luġawiaat-i
 student-NOM DEF-linguistics-GEN
 'the student of linguistics'
- (238) tadmiir-u madiina-in
 destruction-NOM city-GEN.INDEF
 'a city's destruction'
- (239) haziimat-u 'adu-in
 defeat-NOM enemy-GEN.INDEF
 'an enemy's defeat'
- (240) ṭaalib-u luġawiaat-in
 student-NOM linguistics-GEN.INDEF
 'a linguistics student'

The aforementioned examples demonstrate the complements selected by nouns that are related to monotransitive verbs. However, when the head noun is related to a ditransitive verb then it takes two complements. Word order marks the grammatical functions of the two complements; the first complement (corresponding to the direct object of the related verb) is closest to the head noun and the second complement (corresponding to the indirect object or recipient argument of the related verb) follows the first complement. If the order of the two complements is inverted, then the complement functioning as recipient is marked with a preposition. The following examples illustrate these patterns:

- (241) 'ihdaa'-u 'umm-i z-zuhuur-a
 gift-NOM mother-1SG DEF-flowers-ACC
 'a gift of flowers to my mother'
- (242) 'ihdaa'-u z-zuhuur-a 'ila 'umm-i
 gift-NOM DEF-flowers-ACC to mother-1SG
 'a gift of flowers to my mother'

Modifiers occur after the complement in Modern Standard Arabic and their position is fixed. A post modifier cannot precede the nominal complement as the nominal complement must be adjacent to the head. Also note that nominal postmodifiers can be a noun phrase, adjective phrase, or a prepositional phrase, thus the choice between a complement and a modifier depends on semantics. Furthermore, Modern Standard Arabic permits multiple post modifiers as illustrated in the following examples:

- (243) tadmiir-u l-madiinat-i s-sanata l-madiya
destruction-NOM DEF-city-GEN DEF-year DEF-last
'the destruction of the city last year'
- (244) haziimat-u l-'adu-i fi l-ma'rakat-i
defeat-NOM DEF-enemy-GEN in DEF-battle-GEN
'the defeat of the enemy at the battle'
- (245) haziimat-u l-'adu-i fi l-ma'rakat-i s-sanat-a l-madiya
defeat-NOM DEF-enemy-GEN in DEF-battle-GEN DEF-year-ACC DEF-last
'the defeat of the enemy at the battle last year'
- (246) *haziimat-u fi l-ma'rakat-i l-'adu-i
defeat-NOM in DEF-battle-GEN DEF-enemy-GEN
'the defeat at the battle of the enemy'

4.5.2 Complements in Hadari

Nominal complements in Hadari follow the same pattern as in Modern Standard Arabic, as they are expressed in a manner similar to possessive constructions and are marked by fixed word order. Nominal complements are noun phrases in Hadari and they always occur immediately after the head noun. Interestingly, most of the nominal complements I found in the data are idiomatic or semi-idiomatic expressions that follow the same definiteness patterns found in Modern Standard Arabic. The following examples illustrate the aforementioned characteristics of nominal complements in Hadari:

- (247) həraag əl-ə'saab (LR)
burning DEF-nerves
'idiom: worrying too much'

- (248) ləbhət əl-yaahaal (LR)
whining DEF-children
'the whining of the children'
- (249) dəf'ət bələ (A)
push evil
'idiom: a small sacrifice made to keep harm away'
'pushing away of evil'
- (250) həzzət əl-həzzə (A)
time DEF-time
'idiom: when the time comes'
'the time of the time'
- (251) no:mət əl-'əşər (A)
sleep DEF-afternoon
'a nap'
'the nap of the afternoon'
- (252) mudərris əl-'arəbi (A)
teacher DEF-arabic
'the teacher of Arabic'

Furthermore, head nouns linked to ditransitive verbs take two complements, and as in Modern Standard Arabic, the complement farthest from the head noun is marked with a preposition. Also note that the position of such complements is fixed as shown in examples (253) and (254). The following examples illustrate nominal complements in Hadari:

- (253) 'əṭəyyət əl-'əmiir həg əš-šə'əb (A)
gift DEF-prince for DEF-people
'the prince's gift to the people'
- (254) *'əṭəyyət həg əš-šə'əb əl-'miir (A)
gift for DEF-people DEF-prince
'the prince's gift to the people'

4.6 Attributive Adjectives

In the morphology chapter, it was established that adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic share many morphological features with nouns, and that many of the derivational patterns used to derive nouns are used to derive adjectives. This section pertains to the syntax of attributive adjectives and their modifiers in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

4.6.1 Attributive adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic

Attributive adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic follow the noun. Agreement is a key characteristic of attributive adjectives as they must agree with the noun they modify in definiteness, gender, number, and case (Kihm, 2006:16). For example, if the noun phrase occurs in subject position, both the noun and the modifying adjective are marked with the nominative case marker *-u*, and if the noun phrase occurs in object position then both noun and adjective would be marked with the accusative *-a*, and so forth. Gender agreement in Modern Standard Arabic is systematic as the attributive adjective agrees with the head noun in gender. A characteristic of adjective-noun agreement in Modern Standard Arabic is that the adjective form is determined by whether the head noun is human or nonhuman. Adjectives that modify human nouns agree with the nouns in gender and number, whereas adjectives that modify nonhuman nouns agree with the singular form in gender and number and adjective modifying nonhuman plural noun are always in the feminine singular form (Holes, 2004:202). The following examples illustrate the definiteness, gender, number and case agreement between human head nouns and adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic:

(255) al-walad-u ṣ-ṣaġiir-u
DEF-boy-NOM DEF-little-NOM
'the little boy'

(256) walad-un ṣaġiir-un
boy-NOM.INDEF small- NOM.INDEF
'a little boy'

- (257) awlaad-un şığaar-un
 boy.PL-NOM.INDEF little.PL-NOM.INDEF
 'little boys'
- (258) bint-un şağıirat-un
 girl- NOM.INDEF little.F- NOM.INDEF
 'a little girl'
- (259) banaat-un şağıiraat-un
 girl.PL- NOM.INDEF little.PL.F- NOM.INDEF
 'little girls'

In the aforementioned examples, the form of the attributive adjective 'little' changes according to the head noun it is modifying; singular masculine *şığıir*, plural masculine *şığaar*, singular feminine *şağıira* and plural feminine *şağıiraat*. The following set of examples shows adjective agreement with nonhuman head nouns (note that the gender of the noun is between parentheses in the glosses):

- (260) bait-un şağıir-un
 house(m)-NOM.INDEF little- NOM.INDEF
 'little house'
- (261) buiut-un şağıira-un
 house.PL (m)- NOM.INDEF little.F- NOM.INDEF
 'little houses'
- (262) sayyarat-un şağıirat-un
 car (f)- NOM.INDEF little.F- NOM.INDEF
 'little car'
- (263) sayyarat-un şağıirat-un
 car.PL (f)- NOM.INDEF little.F- NOM.INDEF
 'little cars'

In examples (261) and (263), the form of the plural adjective is neutralized when describing an inanimate plural noun regardless of the gender of the noun in the singular as they the adjectives in both cases occur in the singular feminine form, illustrating a phenomenon known as 'deflected concord-agreement' (Holes,

2004:202; Fischer. 2006:19; Kihm, 2006:15). The dual forms of adjectives are identical to the nominal dual forms described in section (3.5.1.1).

Syntactically, attributive adjective phrases allow stacking, as the following example illustrates: each of the adjectives shows agreement with the noun in definiteness, gender, number, and case:

- (264) ṭa'aam-un ṣaḥiyy-un laḍiīd-un
 food- NOM.INDEF appetizing-NOM.INDEF delicious-NOM.INDEF
 ṭayyib-un
 good-NOM.INDEF
 'appetizing, delicious, good food'

- (265) al-laylu-u ṭ-ṭawiil-u l-aswad-u l-muxiif-u
 DEF-night-NOM DEF-long-NOM DEF-black-NOM DEF-scary-NOM
 'the long, black, scary night'

Adjectives follow nouns in Modern Standard Arabic, and within the adjective phrase, adjective modifiers also follow the same pattern as they follow the head adjective.

The following are examples of intensifiers in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (266) ṭa'aam-un laḍiīd-un jiddan
 food-NOM.INDEF delicious-NOM.INDEF very
 'very delicious food'

- (267) ṭa'aam-un laḍiīd-un ḥaqqan
 food-NOM.INDEF delicious-NOM.INDEF very
 'very delicious food'

Furthermore, an adjective phrase shows the same head-complement structure as the noun phrase. Complement of an adjective phrase follows the head adjective in an adjective phrase, indicating that Modern Standard Arabic is consistently head-initial (section 5.3). However, complements of adjectives are prepositional phrases in Modern Standard Arabic. The following examples show the position of adjective complements in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (268) al-mar'at-u faxuurat-un bi-'awlaad-i-ha
 DEF-woman-NOM proud.F-NOM.INDEF in-children-GEN-3SG.F
 'The woman is proud of her children.'

Adjectival modifiers like intensifiers can occur freely within the adjective phrase, as they can occur after the complement or before it. The following examples show the occurrence of the intensifier *jiddan* ‘very’ within the adjective phrase:

(269) al-mar’at-u faxuurat-un bi-’awlaad-i-ha jiddan
 DEF-woman-NOM proud.F-NOM.INDEF in-children-GEN-3SG.F very
 ‘The woman is very proud of her children.’

(270) al-mar’a faxuurat-un jiddan bi-’awlaad-i-ha
 DEF-woman proud.F-NOM.INDEF very in-children-GEN-3SG.F
 ‘The woman is very proud of her children.’

4.6.2 Attributive adjectives in Hadari

Attributive adjectives in Hadari share many properties with the ones found in Modern Standard Arabic. Adjectives in Hadari agree with the head nouns they modify in definiteness, gender, and number. However, the agreement system in Hadari is less complex than the one in Modern Standard Arabic, given that Hadari lacks both case inflection (section 5.4) and dual agreement (section 3.5.1). Furthermore, adjectives modifying singular nouns agree with the head nouns in gender and number, regardless of whether they have human or non-human referents. However adjectives modifying human plural nouns take the masculine plural form regardless of the gender of the head noun. Finally, in Hadari non-human plural nouns can take both plural masculine and singular feminine adjectives whereas in Modern Standard Arabic non-human nouns only take singular feminine adjectives. The following examples illustrate noun-adjective agreement in Hadari:

(271) rəyyaal ɬəwiil
 man tall
 ‘a tall man’

(272) riyaayiil ɬwaal
 men tall.PL
 ‘tall men’

- (280) 'εεn wisii'ə (HR)
eye wide.SG.F
'a wide eye'
- (281) 'yuun wisii'ə (HR)
eyes wide.SG.f
'wide eyes'
- (282) 'yuun wsaa' (HR)
eyes wide.PL
'wide eyes'
- (283) šə'ər təwiil (HR)
hair long
'long hair'
- (284) š'uur təwiilə (HR)
hair.PL long.PL
'long hair (pl)'
- (285) š'uur tʷaal (HR)
hair.PL long.PL
'long hair (pl)'
- (286) šənduug təgiil (A)
box heavy
'a heavy box'
- (287) šənaadiig təgiilə (A)
boxes heavy.SG.F
'heavy boxes'
- (288) šənaadiig tgaal (A)
boxes heavy.PL
'heavy boxes'

By comparing data from television shows from the 1980s with those from the 2000s, it is quite apparent that constructions similar to the ones found in examples(281) and (284) have become more frequent in the 2000s. Two episodes were compared

from each of the TV shows used in this thesis. In the episode from 1987, the construction occurs once in the entirety of the episode:

- (289) *ət-təqaaliid waayidə u kəl waahəd ysəwi* (TV)
 DEF-traditions many.F and every one.M make.IMPERF.3SG.M
jəriimə ygəṭ-hə 'ələ t-təqaaliid
 crime throw.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F on DEF-traditions
 'There are a lot of traditions and everyone can commit a crime and blame it on traditions.'

On the other hand, the construction occurs four times in the episode from the 2010 TV drama:

- (290) *aanə maa šəftə-č yoom u* (TV)
 I NEG see.PERF.1SG-2SG.F day and
həsəet 'ən-hum 'əsaabii' təwiilə
 feel.PERF.1SG COMP-3PL weeks long.F
 'I haven't see you for a day and it felt like it's been long weeks.'
- (291) *'əbdəlḥəliim 'əndə 'əgaani həlwə waayid* (TV)
 Abdulhalim own.IMPERF.3SG.M songs beautiful many
'əy wəḥdə təqəd
 which one.F mean.IMPERF.2SG.M
 'Abdulhalim has many good songs, which one do you mean?'
- (292) *maa gədərt 'ədīg 'ləek ət-təlifoonaat* (TV)
 NEG able.PERF.1SG call.IMPERF.1SG on.2SG.M DEF-phones
killəhə xərbaanə laa əl-ləetaat šəgaalə bəs ət-təlifoona
 all.F ruined NEG DEF-lights functioning.F only DEF-phone
 'I couldn't call you, the phones were dead... no, the lights are working fine, it's just the phone'

Similarly to Modern Standard Arabic, the Adjective phrase in Hadari illustrates the same head-complement order as the head adjective is always followed by its complements. Given the predominantly head-initial nature of the language, prepositional phrases functioning as adjective complements always follow the head adjective in Hadari. Furthermore, intensifiers demonstrate the same level of

freedom found in Modern Standard Arabic, as they can precede or follow the adjective and the prepositional phrase.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|---|----------|-----------------|-----------------|-----|
| (293) | ṭaalibə | fərḥaanə | b-dərəjaat-hə | | (A) |
| | student.F | happy.F | in-grades-3SG.F | | |
| | 'a student happy with her grades' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (294) | ṭaalibə | waayid | fərḥaanə | b-dərəjaat-hə | (A) |
| | student.F | a lot | happy.F | in-grades-3SG.F | |
| | 'a student who is very happy with her grades' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (295) | ṭaalibə | fərḥaanə | wayid | b-dərəjaat-hə | (A) |
| | student.F | happy.F | a lot | in-grades-3SG.F | |
| | 'a student who is very happy with her grades' | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| (296) | ṭaalibə | fərḥaanə | b-dərəjaat-hə | waayid | (A) |
| | student.F | happy.F | in-grades-3SG.F | a lot | |
| | 'a student who is very happy with her grades' | | | | |

The following list is of some of the most commonly used intensifiers in Hadari:

1. həd:

This intensifier is a grammaticalized form of the noun meaning ‘limit’. This is the only intensifier that shows agreement with the head noun as it has a pronominal suffix that agrees with the noun in gender and number.

- [illegible]

2. waayid

This intensifier is derived from the root *w-j-d* 'find'. As an intensifier, it is based on the active participle *wajid* 'abundantly available'. The participle does not occur in Hadari but this intensifier is a grammaticalized form of it.

- (299) saalfə ɬəwiilə waayid b'dæen tguul lik (TV)
 story long.F many later tell.IMPERF.3SG.F for.2SG.M
 'it's a very long story, she'll tell you late.'

- (300) saalfə waayid ɬəwiilə (A)
 story many long.F
 'a very long story'

As illustrated in the aforementioned examples, this intensifier occurs with propositions that are affirmative. However, a fairly recent development in Hadari shows the occurrence of this intensifier with negative propositions. The following examples illustrate this recent development:

- (301) səww-əu fi-ni daggə waayid mu ɬilwə (LR)
 make.PERF.3PL in-1SG prank many NEG nice.F
 'They did a terrible prank to me.'

- (302) əl-fələm ɬəd-ə mu qəwi (LR)
 DEF-movie intsf-3SG.M NEG strong.M
 'The movie is not good.'

The aforementioned examples are comparable to the American English colloquial usage of the intensifier *so* in 'He is so not nice!' which employs an intensifier to a negated sentence. An even more recent development in the use of this intensifier is its occurrence with nouns. The following examples demonstrate this construction which came into use recently:

- (303) aljasmi waayid muğənni (LR)
 Aljasmi many singer
 'Aljasmi is an amazing singer.'

- (304) ali waayid məşri b-əd-dirasa (LR)
 Ali many Egyptian in-def-study
 'Ali is really good at school.'

3. həl

This intensifier is based on a noun in Hadari meaning ‘strength’ and is used in constructions like *ma fini həl* ‘I’m tired’ (lit. I have no strength):

- (305) wəlləh xəðə saa’ə ġaaliyə həl (LR)
 swear take.PERF.3SG.M watch expensive INTSF
 ‘I swear he bought a very expensive watch!’

- (306) saa’ə həl ġaaliyə (A)
 watch INTSF expensive
 ‘a very expensive watch’

Hadari also has a form of attributive adjectives that function as intensifiers. This intensifying adjective is formed by attaching the interrogative prefix *š-*, which is a grammaticalized form of the interrogative phrase *’əy šəy* ‘which thing?’ or ‘what?’ to the nominal form of the adjective, followed by a pronominal suffix that agrees with the noun being modified. This interrogative plus adjective construction is also found in Modern Standard Arabic which employs *maa* ‘what’ followed by a comparative form of the adjective to indicate intensity and exclamation as in *maa ’ajmal* ‘how beautiful!’ *ma ’akaar* ‘how big!’. The following examples illustrate this complex adjective/intensifier category in Hadari:

- (307) šaar rəyyaal š-kəbər-ə (I)
 become.PERF.3SG.M man what-largeness-3SG.M
 ‘He has become a very big man!’

- (308) baba’ood yab saa’ə š-kəbər-hə (I)
 grandfather bring.PERF.3SG.M watch what-largeness-3SG.F
 ‘Grandfather brought a very large watch! (as a gift)’

- (309) mərə š-mətən-hə (A)
 woman what-obesity-3SG.F
 ‘a very fat woman!’

- (310) šəft ’ələ Amazon jənṭə š-ħəlaat-hə (LR)
 See.perf.1sg on Amazon bag what-beauty-3SG.F
 ‘I saw a very beautiful bag on Amazon.com!’

The following examples illustrate the use of the *ma*+comparative found in Modern Standard Arabic:

(311) maa 'asxaf haada l-film
what sillier this.M def-movie
'what a silly movie!'

(312) maa 'atwal haada r-rajul
what taller this.M def-man
'Look how tall this man is!'

4.7 Summary

This chapter describes several concepts regarding the syntax of a noun phrase in Hadari including definiteness, demonstratives, and quantifiers among other basic descriptive categories. In section (4.2), Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic encode definiteness in a similar way, as definite nouns are marked with the prefix *el-* in Hadari and *al-* in Modern Standard Arabic. Conversely, Hadari differs from Modern Standard Arabic in marking indefiniteness. In Modern Standard Arabic, indefinite nouns are marked with the suffix *-n* which has three different forms depending on case marking; *-un* for nominative, *-an* for accusative, and *-in* for genitive. In Hadari, on the other hand, indefinite nouns do not have any morphological marking.

In the next section (4.3), the demonstratives system in Hadari is shown to have two types, distal and proximal, which is similar to the system found in Modern Standard Arabic. Although Hadari shares the deictic dichotomy with Modern Standard Arabic, it does differ in marking number as it only has singular and plural demonstratives, while Modern Standard Arabic has dual in addition to the aforementioned two. Next, the section on quantifiers (4.4) compares Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, showing that Hadari uses many of the quantifiers found in Modern Standard Arabic as well as a set of quantifiers that can be considered idiosyncratic to the dialect.

Finally, the next section in the chapter discusses nominal complements (4.5) in Hadari, concluding that nominal complements in Hadari are syntactically identical to possessive constructions but they differ semantically, which makes Hadari similar

to Modern Standard Arabic in that respect. This next section pertains to attributive adjective (4.6), which highlights a couple of new phenomena regarding occurrence of intensifier with negated sentences and with nouns. The section also describes the use of prefix *š-* as an intensifier and compares it Modern Standard Arabic *maa*+comparative construction.

Chapter 5 Basic Constituent Order

5.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the basic constituent order of a declarative verbal clause in Hadari. It starts with a description of the simple verbal clause found in Modern Standard Arabic followed by a description of the Hadari simple verbal clause. The chapter also provides a description of transitive and intransitive verbs in both varieties. Furthermore, the chapter presents a description of the basic word order found in Hadari, setting it against a typological background that includes basic Greenbergian (1963) sentence typology in section 5.3 followed the criticism it has received in section 5.3.5. The chapter also includes an application of Matthew Dryer's (1992, 2009) Branching Direction Theory to the dialect in section 5.3.7, exploring Dryer's influential typological theory through the Hadari data. 5.4 describes the case system employed in Modern Standard Arabic, focusing on how the loss of morphological case affects word order in Hadari. Next, section 5.5 provides a description of pronouns in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, followed by a description of indexation and how it is expressed in both varieties. The section also concludes with an overview of Pro-drop, describing the triggers of this phenomenon in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

5.2 The simple declarative verbal clause

The term 'verbal clause' has two potential usages in the literature. According to traditional Arabic grammar, a verbal clause is a clause in which the first constituent is a verb. The second sense refers to a clause that is headed by a verb regardless of the position the verb occurs in (Hoyt 2008: 381, 2009:653). Consider the following examples:

- (313) yal'abu l-walad-u fi l-ḥadiiqat-i
 play.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM in DEF-park-GEN
 'The boy is playing in the park.'

(314) al-walad-u yal'abu fi l-ḥadiiqat-i
 DEF-boy-NOM play.IMPERF.3SG.M in DEF-park-GEN
 'The boy is playing in the park.'

Although the sentences convey the same meaning and both contain verbs, traditional Arabic grammar would only consider sentence (313) to be a verbal clause, while clause (314) would be considered a nominal clause because it has a noun in clause initial position. However, in the second sense used by modern linguists would consider both clauses to be verbal clauses as they are both headed by a verb. The main focus of this section is the simple verbal clause used in the second of the two senses described above; a clause headed by a verb. The choice stems from the fact that Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari have differing word orders as the position of the verb is not identical in both varieties, thus a more comprehensive label is needed.

There are two types of verbs that head simple declarative verbal clause: intransitive and transitive. An intransitive verb is a verb that requires no object to be grammatical. On the other hand, a transitive verb is a type of verb that requires an object to complete its meaning and to form a grammatical clause; verbs requiring one object are monotransitive, while verbs that require two objects, one direct and the other indirect, are labeled ditransitive (Dryer 2007b:250). Ditransitive verbs often have semantic coverage that includes giving, informing forcing and removing (Dickins and Watson, 1999:530). This section discusses both intransitive and transitive verbs that head verbal clauses in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

5.2.1 The verbal clause in Modern Standard Arabic

In a Modern Standard Arabic verbal clause, the clause is headed by a verb which occurs in a clause initial position and is followed by the subject, object, and indirect object. Thus, Modern Standard Arabic is considered a predominantly VSO or a V-initial language in which the verb precedes the subject and the object in a canonical declarative sentence according to Greenbergian typology (5.3 word order).

The morphological verb forms and templates were introduced in section 3.4 on derivational morphology, and each of the verb forms has its own characterizing meaning that distinguishes it from other forms. Table 5.1 serves as a reminder of the forms introduced in the verb derivation section (Larcher 2009:641; Holes 2004:99); it also focuses mainly on the meanings of forms rather than the forms themselves.

Form	Perfect	Imperfect	meaning
I	fa'ala	yaf'alu	basic pattern (both transitive and intransitive)
II	fa''ala	yufa''ilu	causative
III	faa'ala	yufaa'ilu	conative
IV	'af'ala	yuf'alu	transitive
V	tafa''ala	yatafa''alu	reflexive of II
VI	tafaa'ala	yatafaa'alu	reciprocal
VII	'ənf'ala	yanfa'ilu	(passive) Intransitive
VIII	'ifta'ala	yaf'ta'ilu	middle voice reflexive/benefactive
IX	'if'alla	yafa'allu	color or bodily defect (inchoative)
X	'istaf'ala	yastaf'ilu	Reflexive-benefactive

Table 5.1 Verb derivation paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

From the table, it is apparent that transitivity is highly influenced by two factors, first the derivational morphology and second the semantics of each verb which implies that verb forms in Modern Standard Arabic can be grouped as intransitive and transitive. Verb forms that can be categorized as predominantly intransitive are forms V, VI, VII, VIII, IX. In contrast, verb forms II, III, IV, and X are mostly transitive. Finally, form I verbs can produce both transitive and intransitive, and it is difficult to categorize this form as either predominantly transitive or intransitive (McCarus 2008:251).

5.2.1.1 Verbal clause headed by intransitive verb

This section provides an overview of clauses headed by intransitive verbs in Modern Standard Arabic. As noted in the introduction, intransitive verbs are verbs that require no objects to be considered grammatical, only a subject. In the following examples, proper nouns are used as subjects and not pronouns as in the latter a Pro-drop construction is more likely to occur. The examples are ordered according to the order provided in table (5.1), starting with form I verbs, which will reoccur in the following sections, and ascend accordingly:

1. Form I

- (315) ṣahara l-hilaal-u
 appear.PERF.3SG.M DEF-crescent-NOM
 'The crescent appeared.'

2. Form V

- (316) tafaʿʿala n-niṣaam-u
 activate.PERF.3SG.M DEF-system-NOM
 'The system has been activated.'

3. Form VI

- (317) taṣaaʿada n-niqaaš-u
 escalate.PERF.3SG.M DEF-argument-NOM
 'The argument escalated.'

4. Form VII

- (318) ʾinxafaḍ-at al-ḥaraarat-u
 decrease.PERF.3SG-F DEF-temperature-NOM
 'The temperature dropped.'

5. Form VIII

- (319) ʾištahara ṭ-ṭabiib-u
 become.famous.PERF.3SG.M DEF-doctor.M-NOM
 'The doctor became famous.'

6. Form IX

- (320) ʾixḍarr-at as-suhuul-u
 become.green.PERF.3SG-F DEF-plains-NOM
 'The plains became green.'

5.2.1.2 Verbal clause headed by monotransitive verb

Clauses headed by monotransitive verbs require a subject and an object. The following examples are of clauses headed by monotransitive verbs in Modern Standard Arabic. Note that form I is present in these examples as well:

1. Form I

- (321) qatala l-qit-u l-fa'r-a
 kill.PERF.3SG DEF-cat-nom DEF-mouse-ACC
 'The cat killed the mouse.'

2. Form II

- (322) raddada t-taalib-u š-ši'r-a
 recite.PERF.3SG.M DEF-student.M-nom DEF-poetry-ACC
 'The student recited poetry.'

3. Form III

- (323) saa'ada l-walad-u l-'ajuuz-a
 help.PERF.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM DEF-old.lady-ACC
 'The boy helped the old lady.'

4. Form IV

- (324) 'afsada l- qit-u l-maa'idat-a
 ruin.PERF.3SG.M DEF-cat-NOM DEF-table-ACC
 'The cat ruined the table.'

5. Form X

- (325) 'istašgara l-'adu-u l-jaiš-a
 belittle.PERF.3SG DEF-enemy-NOM DEF-army-ACC
 'The enemy belittled the army.'

5.2.1.3 Verbal clause headed by ditransitive verb

A ditransitive verb is a verb that requires a subject, a direct and an indirect object in order for the clause to be grammatical. The following examples illustrate clauses headed by ditransitive verbs in Modern Standard Arabic:

1. Form I

- (326) wahaba l-malik-u n-nas-a mal-an
 gift.PERF.3SG.M DEF-king-NOM DEF-people-ACC money-ACC.INDEF
 'The king gave the people money.'

2. Form II

- (327) saxxara Allah-u n-ni'am-a li-l-'insaan
 provide.PERF.3SG Allah-NOM DEF-blessings-ACC for-DEF-man
 'God provided man with blessings.'

3. Form III

- (328) ṭaalaba aš-ša‘b-u l-malik-a bi-ḥaqq-i-him
 ask.PERF.3SG DEF-PEOPLE-NOM DEF-king-ACC in-right-GEN-3SG
 'The people asked for their rights from the king.'

4. Form IV

- (329) ‘aṭaa ‘ali-u Salim-a hadiyyat-an
 give.PERF.3SG.M Ali-NOM Salim-ACC gift-ACC.INDEF
 'Ali gave Salim a gift.'

5.2.2 The verbal clause in Hadari

Hadari is considered to have SVO word order as the subject is followed by the verb and the object in a simple declarative clause. Hadari does not have overt case marking and grammatical roles are determined by word order (5.3). Again, the number of arguments is determined by the transitivity of the verb as it can either be transitive or intransitive.

Verbs in Hadari may differ in form and derivational process from Modern Standard Arabic, but their semantics and transitivity remain the same in the two varieties. The following table summarizes the verb forms in Hadari and provides an overview of their transitivity:

Form	Perfect	Imperfect	meaning
I	fə‘əl	yif‘əl	basic pattern (both transitive and intransitive)
II	fə‘‘əl	yifə‘‘il	causative
III	faa‘əl	yifaa‘il	conative
IV	NA	NA	NA
V	təfa‘‘əl	yitəfa‘‘əl	Reflexive of II
VI	təfaa‘əl	yitəfaa‘əl	reciprocal
VII	‘ənfə‘əl	yinfi‘il	Intransitive
VIII	‘iftə‘əl	yiftə‘il	Middle voice reflexive
IX	fə:‘əl	yafo:‘il	color or bodily defect (inchoative)
X	‘istəf‘əl	yistəf‘il	reflexive-benefactive

Table 5.2 Verb derivation paradigm in Hadari

Verb derivation in Hadari is consistent with that of Modern Standard Arabic with the exception of form IV, which rarely occurs in Hadari. Form I can occur as transitive and intransitive in Hadari, while forms II and III largely transitive and forms V, VI, VII,

VII, IX, and X are intransitive. Form X in Modern Standard Arabic is mostly transitive while in Hadari it is mostly intransitive.

5.2.2.1 Verbal clause headed by intransitive verb

In Hadari, the verb occurs after the subject in verbal clauses headed by an intransitive verb. The following examples demonstrate the intransitive forms I, V, VI, VII, VIII and IX in Hadari:

1. Form I

- (330) Naaşir təl'ə' (LR)
 Naser leave.PERF.3SG.M
 'Naser left.'

2. Form V

- (331) Fahad təxərrəj (I)
 Fahad graduate.PERF.3SG.M
 'Fahad graduated.'

3. Form VI

- (332) əl-yahaal təraagə'-əu (LR)
 DEF-children bump.into.PERF-3PL
 'The children bumped into each other.'

4. Form VII

- (333) əl-şəḥən 'ənkəsər (A)
 DEF-plate break.PERF.3SG.M
 'The plate broke.'

5. Form VIII

- (334) əl-kaasku 'ixtərə' (LR)
 DEF-parrot become.scared.PERF.3SG.M
 'The parrot got scared.'

6. Form IX

- (335) əd-dişdaaşə şoofər-ət (A)
 DEF-grament become.yellow.PERF.3SG-F
 'The garment became yellowish.'

5.2.2.2 Verbal clause headed by monotransitive verb

In Hadari, a canonical verbal clause headed by a monotransitive verb has the word order of SVO whereas in Modern Standard Arabic it is VSO. Furthermore, , transitive verb forms in Modern Standard Arabic include forms I, II, III, IV, and X, while in Hadari only forms I, II, and III can be considered to be largely transitive, since form IV verbs are rare in the dialect and form X is considered predominantly intransitive. The

following examples illustrate the simple verbal clause in Hadari headed by a monotransitive verb:

1. Form I

- (336) əl-gətu dəbəh əl-faar (A)
 DEF-cat kill.PERF.3SG.M DEF-mouse
 'The cat killed the mouse.'

2. Form II

- (337) Mhəmməd bəlləš əmtiḥaanat (LR)
 Mohammed start.3SG.M exams
 'Mohammed started his exams.'

3. Form III

- (338) Mishary raafəj msaa'əd (A)
 Mishary befriend.PERF.3SG.M Musa'ad
 'Mishary befriended Musa'ad.'

5.2.2.3 Verbal clause headed by ditransitive verb

A clause headed by a ditransitive verb is a clause in which the predicate takes two objects. The clause in example (340) illustrates a clause headed by the verb *ṭərrišət* 'sent' acting as the predicate. On the other hand, A clause like the one in example (339) can be grammatical with or without the second object *'lwaan* 'markers' depending on whether the second object is known to the hearer or not. If the second object was never mentioned in the conversation, i.e. the hearer does not know what it is, the speaker would be obligated to utter the sentence in example (339) but if the indirect object was known to the hearer then its omission would be acceptable.

1. Form I

- (339) Haya 'ətət Mishary 'lwaan (I)
 Haya give.PERF.3SG.F Mishary markers
 'Haya gave Mishary markers.'

2. Form II

- (340) 'əmmət-i ṭərriš-ət l-i məsij (I)
 aunt-1SG send.PERF.3SG-F for-1SG message
 'My aunt sent me a message.'

3. Form III

(341) əl-majlis ʔaaləb əl-ḥikumə b-zyaadət (LR)
 DEF-parliament ask.PERF.3SG DEF-government in-raise
 ər-rawatib
 DEF-salaries
 'The parliament asked the government to raise the salaries.'

5.3 Word order:

5.3.1 Typological generalizations

5.3.2 Greenberg's basic constituent order typology

In 1963, Joseph Greenberg introduced a group of typological universals based on word order in languages. He argued that there are six possible basic constituent order patterns based on the order of the verb, subject and object in a declarative sentence with nominal subjects and objects. He labeled them types I, II and III with the numbering reflecting the position the verb occurs in within each type (initial, medial and final, respectively):

Type I	VSO	VOS
Type II	SVO	OVS
Type III	SOV	OSV

Table 5.3 Greenberg's six constituent orders

According to Greenberg, the six logical word orders are divided into two categories. The dominant and common category among the World's languages includes word orders in which the subject precedes the object while the rare, uncommon category includes word orders in which the object precedes the subject (arguments for the latter will be discussed in further detail in the VO/OV section). For example, Dryer (2005c:330) bases the word order frequencies, summarized in the following, table on a sample of 1377 languages:

Basic Word Order	Number of Languages
SOV	565 languages
SVO	488 languages
VSO	95 languages
VOS	25 languages
OVS	11 languages
OSV	4 languages

Table 5.4 Word order frequencies (Dryer 2005c:330)

From this generalization, Greenberg states his first typological universal:

Universal 1

In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object. (Greenberg 1966:43)

The second basic typological order Greenberg introduces is based on the order of the adpositional phrase and genitive, stating that the two are highly correlated:

Universal 2

In languages with prepositions, the genitive almost always follows the noun, while in languages with postpositions it almost always precedes (Greenberg 1966: 45)

Greenberg bases his third universal on the relationship between word order and the adpositional phrase:

Universal 3

Languages with dominant VSO order are always prepositional. (Greenberg 1966:45)

Greenberg's fourth and fifth universals are related to languages with SOV word order:

Universal 4

With overwhelmingly greater than chance frequency, languages with normal SOV order are postpositional. (Greenberg 1966:45)

Universal 5

If a Language has dominant SOV order and the genitive follows the governing noun, then the adjective likewise follows the noun. (Greenberg 1966:45)

The last two universals belonging to the basic order typology concern dominant and alternative word orders:

Universal 6

All languages with dominant SOV order have SVO as an alternative or as the only alternative basic order. (Greenberg 1966:46)

Universal 7

If in a language with dominant SOV word order there is no alternative basic order, or only OSV as the alternative, then all adverbial modifiers of the verb likewise precede the verb. (Greenberg 1966:46)⁶

5.3.3 Determining basic constituent order

An important theoretical issue that must be discussed when describing word order is the criteria by which a basic word order of a language is identified. Dryer (2007a:73) identifies three main criteria that are usually employed by linguists to determine the basic word order of a language. The first criterion is frequency of usage, which postulates that a basic order can be determined by observing the frequency of its recurrence in the data. This view is one of the most frequently adopted by linguists when it comes to language description and is considered to be the most reliable. However, this is not always the case as some languages that have more freedom in word order and two word orders have relatively similar frequency. For example Yagua, a language spoken in Peru, has an almost 2 to1 SV and VS occurrence according to text counts (Payne 1990:249). Another criticism of frequency, as noted in Dryer (2007a:76), is that frequency is not part of the grammar of the language; it is an abstract phenomenon that cannot be marked grammatically. Regardless of the aforementioned criticism, frequency when combined with observations of correlation pairs and basic grammar universal can result reasonably reliable information about the word order of a language. The second criterion used in determining basic word order is one of distribution, that is, if one order is restricted

⁶ Greenberg also lists several more universals that are pertinent to syntax that have not been discussed here because they are irrelevant to the topic of this section.

in distribution, then it can be assumed that the other, less restricted word order is the basic one. Although this criterion is considered by most to be logical, it is not foolproof. Dryer (2007a:75) presents a simple example in English that shows the limitations of distributional restriction: *the tall woman* and *the woman is taller than John*. In the first example the adjective precedes the noun while in the second sentence it follows the noun; both show restriction as the position of the adjective is fixed making it impossible to choose one over the other. Other than the frequency and the distribution criteria, there is the criterion of pragmatics, which argues that the basic word order is pragmatically neutral while other possible word orders have an extra layer of pragmatics added to them. Payne (1987:783) presents data from Papago, a Uto-Aztecan language in which the order of the verb and the object is associated with object definiteness. More precisely, OV order is linked to indefinite objects while VO order is linked to definite objects. Associating word order with definiteness and having it be part of the matrix of the language's basic word order is not a valid method of describing word order, or according to Dryer 'does not seem right'. It is also worth noting that determining a language's basic word order is not the main concern of linguists when describing a language, but rather is used as a measure for testing whether the language conforms to cross-linguistic expectations or not (Dryer 2007a: 77-78).

Finally, Dryer notes that the foundation of determining word order, although implicitly conveyed, is one of pragmatics: choosing a basic declarative sentence with nominal subject and object, in other words a pragmatically neutral sentence. Although the three methods of determining word order may not be perfect, they have proven to be efficient tools in determining word order long before the arrival of theoretical frameworks like Head-Dependent Theory and Branching Direction Theory.

5.3.4 Elaborating Greenberg's typology

This section elaborates on the different possible types of word order and attempts to place Hadari in one of these groups depending on the relevant defining

characteristics of that group. Furthermore, this section also discusses the issue of the VO/OV typology, presented by Lehmann (1973), Vennemann (1974) and Dryer (1992), and attempts to present the focus of this section through the perspective of the aforementioned dichotomy.

1. Verb-initial languages: (Greenberg's Type I)

In verb-initial languages, the verb occurs in the initial position of a declarative sentence, preceding both the subject and the object. The languages that belong to this category therefore have either VSO or VOS word orders. The characteristics of such languages are found to be the exact opposite of those that V-final languages tend to display. Consequently, the expected characteristics of V-initial languages are as follows:

- a. Manner adverbs follow the verb.
- b. V-initial languages employ prepositions.
- c. The genitive follows the noun.
- d. In comparative constructions, the order is adjective-marker-standard order.
- e. Marker of adverbial subordinate clause occurs at the beginning of the subordinate clause.

2. Verb-medial languages (Greenberg's Type II):

1. SVO languages:

The final major language type is that displaying SVO word order, which is one of the logical possibilities allowed by verb-medial order. However, languages belonging to this type tend to display characteristics that are very similar to V-initial languages, an observation that led linguists like Lehmann (1973) and Vennemann (1974) to develop a typology in which the two main word order types are VO and OV with V-final, V-initial and V-medial as subtypes (discussed in the following). Some of the characteristics SVO languages share

with V-initial languages include use of prepositions as opposed to postpositions, order of adjective-marker-standard, and marker of subordination precedes subordinate clause. SVO displays more variation when it comes to the final two points of comparison: order of noun and genitive and order of manner adverbs and verbs. In SVO languages (like English) the genitive can precede or follow the noun with no one order being considered predominant. The same applies to the order of manner adverbial and verb.

2. Object-initial languages:

Data on strictly object-initial languages OVS and OSV is rather scarce and many of the languages that have been described as object-initial have less than convincing evidence to back them up (Dryer 2007a:71) Since languages seem to pattern according to the order of the object and the verb, then object-initial languages are expected to pattern in the same way and exhibit characteristics that are similar to OV language types. The aforementioned statement is true for the most part as most languages that are categorized as object-initial show OV characteristics. For example, the position of the adpositional phrase is postpositional in Hixkaryana, a Cariban language spoken in Brazil (Dryer 2007a:71):

(342) maryeya ke
knife with
'with a knife'

3. Verb-final languages (Greenberg's Type III):

In a verb-final language, the subject and the object precede the verb. This category includes languages with subject, object, verb (SOV) word order and languages with object, subject, and verb (OSV) word order. Such languages are grouped together because their word order correlates with certain grammatical characteristics. Dryer (2007a:62) lists some of the characteristics SOV languages have in common:

- a. Manner adverbs precede the verb.
- b. V-final languages employ postpositions.
- c. The genitive precedes the noun.
- d. In comparative structures, the standard is followed by the marker followed by the adjective.
- e. Marker of adverbial subordinate clause occurs at the end of the subordinate clause.

5.3.5 Criticism of Greenberg's typology and the VO/OV dichotomy

In his basic order typology, Greenberg claims that the patterns VOS, OVS, and OSV are rare or nonexistent. As explained above, however, this hypothesis did not hold for long as several linguists have found all six patterns to be attested in living languages (e.g. Keenan 1978, Derbyshire and Pullum 1981; cited in Dryer 1991). In the early 1970s, Lehmann (1973) and Vennemann (1974) grouped the six possible word order patterns into two main types, OV and VO, which implied that the role of the subject is negligible in determining basic word order since VSO languages and SVO languages tend to pattern similarly most of the time. Several linguists, including Hawkins (1980) and Comrie (1981) criticized the reduction of the six patterns into two, arguing that there is insufficient evidence to support the claim that SVO languages share a similar pattern with VSO and VOS languages (Dryer 1991). However, Dryer (1991) came to the defense of Lehmann and Vennemann, stating that their dichotomy was largely sound, with a 'few well-defined exceptions'. Dryer argued against one of the major criticisms of this typology, which is mainly concerned with the lack of exceptionless generalizations about SVO. He argued that V-initial languages also have exceptions to their generalizations, which he found by comparing Greenberg's six V-initial languages (Berber, Hebrew, Maori, Maasai, Welsh, and Zapotec) to his own database. The database attested that there are in fact exceptions to generalizations about V-initial languages. Dryer also mentioned that his database could not attest for three characteristics of V-initial languages: RelN (relative clause before noun), PP-V (Adpositional phrase before verb), and Standard-Adjective (in comparative structures). Dryer presented evidence that

supports Lehmann's and Vennemann's VO/OV hypothesis by showing that the characteristics of SVO and V-initial languages are too similar to be dismissed for reasons such as inconsistency in some minor areas.

In sum, the historical development of typological theory provides crucial reasoning behind the motivation for the split found between the word order of Literary Arabic, both Classical and Modern Standard, and that of Colloquial Arabic, which includes Hadari and other spoken dialects of Arabic.

5.3.6 Word order in Hadari

The split of opinions between linguists who argue that V-initial languages and SVO languages should be grouped together and linguists who argue against that approach provides an ideal backdrop for this section, which explores the word order of Hadari, an SVO language, and compares it against Modern Standard Arabic, which has predominantly VSO word order. In other words, the comparison is between two head-initial and VO languages: an SVO language and a V-initial language. This section focuses mainly on the exceptionless properties among V-initial languages based on Greenberg's (1963) typology and Dryer's (1991) paper on SVO languages.

Modern Standard Arabic is a VSO language and predictably exhibits all of the exceptionless properties of V-initial languages discussed by Dryer (1990). Hadari, on the other hand, is an SVO language, which also displays all of the exceptionless properties of V-initial languages. The following is a comparison between Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, which tests each of these properties and their applicability:

1. The adpositional phrase and the verb phrase in VO languages are expected to precede their complements. Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic have these properties.

(343) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. [waḍa'tu ṣ-ṣaḥn-a] 'ala ṭ-ṭawilat-i
 put.PERF.1SG DEF-plate-ACC on DEF-table-GEN
 'I put the plate on the table.'

- b. 'iṣṭḥaba l-'ab-u 'ibn-a-hu 'ila
 accompany.PERF.3SG.M DEF-father-NOM son-ACC-POSS.3SG.M to
 l-madrasat-i
 DEF-school-GEN
 'The father accompanied his son to school.'

(344) Hadari

- a. ḥəṭṭət əl-ma'un 'ələ l-'rə (I)
 put.PERF.3SG.F DEF-plate on DEF-ground
 'She put the plate on the ground'
- b. xəš əl-kurə təḥt əl-kərfaya (LR)

 hide.PERF.3SG.M DEF-ball under DEF-bed
 'He hid the ball under the bed.'
- c. əl-bint g'ədət 'ələ l-qənəfə (A)
 DEF-daughter sit.PERF.3SG.F on DEF-couch
 'The daughter sat on the couch.'
- d. šərəet əl-kura mən əl-bəqqalə (LR)
 buy.PERF.1SG def-ball from DEF-small.grocery.store
 'I bought the ball from the grocery store.'
- e. bə-əs-səyyarə ləgə l-buk (I)
 in-DEF-car find.PERF.3SG.M DEF-wallet
 'He found the wallet in the car.'

2. The adjective is expected to follow the noun in VO languages. Modern Standard Arabic displays this property and so does Hadari:

(345) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. 'akrah-u l-'ayaam-a l-mumṭir-a
 hate.PERF.1SG-IND DEF-days-ACC DEF-rainy-ACC
 'I hate rainy days.'
- b. waalidat-i tu'idd-u ṭa'aam-an šahiyy-an
 mother-POSS.1SG make.PROG.3SG.F-IND food-INDEF.ACC delicious.M-
 INDEF.ACC
 'My mother makes/ is making delicious food.'

(346) Hadari:

- a. 'əndək kəlmə təibə guul (I)
own.IMPERF.2SG.M word good.F say.IMP.M
'If you have something good to say, say it.'
- b. abi qənəfaat yəddəd (LR)
want.IMPERF.1SG couch.PL new.PL
'I want new couches.'
- c. tšəmuun riihə xaaisə (LR)
smell.IMPERF.2PL smell bad
'Do you smell something bad?'
- d. xalət-hə yaaibə saa'ə ġaaliə (LR)
aunt-3SG.F bring.IMPERF.3SG.F watch expensive.F
'Her aunt brought her an expensive watch.'

3. Genitive follows the noun in VO languages. Both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari have this property, as the possessed head noun precedes the possessor:

(347) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. Ali-u ya'iišu fi manzil-i Salim-i
Ali-NOM live.IMPERF.3SG.M in home-GEN Salim-GEN
'Ali lives in Salem's house'
- b. axu Zahir-i yušbihi-hu kaṭiiran
brother Zahir-GEN resemble.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.M a lot
'Zahir's brother looks just like him'

(348) Hadari:

- a. 'əxəḍ səyyaarət Fahad idə ma 'ənd-ək səyyaarə (LR)
take.2SG.M car Fahad if NEG have-2SG.M car
'take Fahad's car if you don't have one (a car)'
- b. bəet Asmaa yədiid (A)
house Asmaa new.M
'Asmaa's house is new'
- c. daar Mishari 'ooda (A)
room Mishari big.F
'Mishari's room is big'

- d. tərə wəld Amiira iid-ə ʿəwiil-ə (LR)
 by.the.way son Amira hand- 3SG.M long-F
 'by the way, Amira's son has a long hand' (idiomatic expression meaning
 hits other kids or that he is aggressive)

4. Verbal Auxiliary is expected to precede verb in VO languages, which is the case for both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari:

(349) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. sawfa naḡhab ila l-maḡaf-i ḡadan
 FUT go.IMPERF.1PL to DEF-museum-GEN tomorrow
 'We will go to the museum tomorrow.'
- b. kuntu na'iman 'indama ittaṣalt
 was.1SG sleeping.M when call.PERF.2SG.M
 'I was asleep when you called.'

(350) Hadari:

- a. raah nšuf-kum b-əl-bər (I)
 FUT see.IMPERF.1PL-2PL in-DEF-desert
 'We'll see you when we go camping.'
- b. gaa'ida tsoləf b-et-telifon (LR)
 PROG talk.IMPERF.2SG.F in-DEF-phone
 'she's on the phone'
- c. wələd-ha gaam yəmši (LR)
 son- 3SG.F start.PERF.3SG.M walk.PROG.3SG.M
 'Her son started to walk.'

5. In VO languages, it is expected that the intensifier follows the adjective, which is the case for Modern Standard Arabic. However, in Hadari the intensifier can occur before or after the adjective with no dominant order:

(351) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. as-samaa'-u ba'iidat-un jiddan
 DEF-sky-NOM far.F-INDEF.NOM very
 'The sky is very far.'

- (352) Hadari:

- (353) Hadari:

6. VO languages that have question particles marking polar interrogatives are expected to place this particle in initial position rather than final position. Modern Standard Arabic displays this property with the polar question marker *hal*, and the verbal question affix *a-* (which attaches to verbs) occurring in initial position. In Hadari, there is no corresponding interrogative particle; polar questions are expressed by raising the intonation at the end of a sentence (see Chapter 9 for a discussion of interrogatives):

- (354) Modern Standard Arabic:

- 140

(355) Hadari:

a. haadə bəet-kum (A)
this.M house-3PL
'This is your house.'

b. haadə bəet-kum (A)
this.M house-3PL
'Is this your house?'

7. In VO languages the interrogative phrase in constituent interrogatives is expected to occur in sentence initial position rather than in situ (or other non-initial position). This is a property of Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. However, Hadari shows more freedom in the position of interrogative phrases, as they can occur in sentence final position or in postverbal position if the questioned element is the subject and object but not adjuncts (Chapter 9).

(356) Modern Standard Arabic:

a. ayn dahab Moḥammed
where go.PERF.3SG.M Mohammed
'Where did Mohammed go?'

b. mata 'aada Ali
when return.PERF.3SG.M Ali
'When did Ali return?'

(357) Hadari:

a. wəen saakən rəfii-ək (LR)
where reside.3sg.m friend-2sg.m

b. rəfii-ək wəen saakən (A)
friend-2sg.m where reside.3sg.m

c. rəfii-ək saakən wəen (A)
friend-2sg.m reside.3sg.m where
'Where does your friend live?'

8. In VO languages, relative clauses are expected to follow their head nouns. This is the case consistently for Modern Standard Arabic. However, in Hadari the relative clause can either follow or precede the noun, a feature which was not attested for in Dryer's database (1991). RelN and NRel orders in Hadari have the same meaning and neither of the orders seems to have an effect on information packaging:

(358) Modern Standard Arabic:

- a. ar-rajul-u allađi daxala l-masjid-a ab-i
 DEF-man-NOM REL enter.PERF.3SG.M DEF.mosque-ACC father-GEN
 'The man that entered the mosque is my father.'

- b. al-bait-u ř-řađir-u allađi marar-na
 DEF-house-NOM DEF-small-NOM REL pass.PERF.1PL-3PL

 bi-janibi-hi huwa bait-u 'am-i
 to-next-3SG.M PN.3SG.M house-nom uncle-POSS.1SG
 'The house that we passed by is my uncle's house.'

(359) Hadari:

- a. əl-bətaqə illi yaabət-ha Mariam (LR)
 DEF-invitation.card REL bring.PERF.3SG.F-3SG mariam

 ɣəg-nə
 for-1PL

- b. illi yabat-ha Mariam əl-bətaq-ə (A)
 REL bring.PERF.3SG.F-3SG.F mariam DEF-invitation.card

 ɣəg-nə
 for-1PL
 'the invitation card that Mariam brought is for us'

- c. illi kaan gaa'əd yəmm-ə 'əmm-ə gal-i (I)
 REL was.3SG.M sitting.M next.to-3SG.M uncle-3SG.M say.PERF-1SG
 diř
 enter.IMP.3SG.M

- d. 'əmm-ə illi kaan ga'əd yəmm-ə (A)
 uncle-3SG.M REL was.3SG.M sitting.M next.to- 3SG.M
 gal-i diř
 say.PERF.M-1SG enter.IMP.3SG.M

'His uncle that was sitting next to him told me to come in.'

9. In VO languages, adjectives in comparative constructions are expected to precede the standard. The adjective precedes the standard in comparative constructions in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari:

(360) Modern Standard Arabic

- a. Layla 'ajmalu min Suad
Layla prettier than Suad
'Layla is more beautiful than Suad'
- b. Ali 'aṭwal min Aḥmed
Ali taller than Ahmed
'Ali is taller than Ahmed'

(361) Hadari:

- a. Mḥəmməd 'əṣṭər mən xalid (A)
Mohammed smarter than Khaled
'Mohammed is smarter than Khaled.'
- b. əl-ṣḡir-a 'əḥlə mən əl-'ood-a (I)
DEF-small-F prettier than DEF.big-F
'The younger daughter is more beautiful than her older sister.'

Predictions of VO word order	Modern Standard Arabic	Hadari
Preposition [P[NP]]	✓	✓
Noun Adjective	✓	✓
Noun Genitive	✓	✓
Auxiliary Verb	✓	✓
Adjective Intensifier	✓	both orders are possible
Polar question particle	✓	N/A
Wh- initial	✓	both initial and in situ
Noun Relative Clause	✓	both orders are possible
Adjective Standard	✓	✓

Table 5.5 Predictions of VO word order

It is apparent from the comparison between Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari that the predictions of the VO word order are substantially accurate as illustrated by the examples above. Hadari offers a number of exceptions to the predictions as three of the categories, namely Adjective Intensifier, Wh-word position, and Noun

Relative Clause, demonstrate more freedom in syntactic positions than those found in Modern Standard Arabic. Furthermore, only the polar question particle does not apply to Hadari as it does not occur in the dialect at all.

Although Greenberg's typology offers fairly accurate predictions, it does not offer explanation for the exceptions found in Hadari. The Branching Direction Theory, henceforth BDT, is applied to the dialect to further investigate the exceptions in Hadari as it allows for a more fine-grained analysis of why some word order predictions are born out while others are not.

5.3.7 Branching Direction Theory (BDT)

A further development of the OV/VO dichotomy is Dryer's BDT, a modern interpretation of the extent to which VO and OV orders correlate with the ordering of the subparts in other phrasal units within a language. This section discusses pairs of syntactic elements that correlate with the order of the verb, subject, and object in Hadari. The pairs are presented with the aid of Dryer's Branching Direction Theory in order to determine whether Hadari is consistently right-branching according to the data presented and to account for the exceptions the dialect illustrated when the VO typology was applied.

Dryer bases his theory on Greenberg's (1963) typology, which states that the composition of certain phrasal units correlates with properties of basic word order. Furthermore, Dryer points out the BDT is different from Greenberg's basic typology as the latter focused mainly on presenting exceptionless universals while BDT's main concern is to show which pairs of syntactic elements correlate with the order of the verb and object. Dryer uses the terms 'verb patterners' and 'object patterners' to refer to correlation pairs and he uses the following formula to describe the various pairs of elements that correlate with word order:

Verb patterners are non-phrasal (nonbranching, lexical) categories and object patterners are phrasal (branching) categories. That is, a pair of elements X and Y will employ the order XY significantly more often among VO languages

than among OV languages if and only if X is a nonphrasal category and Y is a phrasal category. (Dryer 1992: 98)

According to the aforementioned statement, languages are categorized as either left-branching or right-branching depending on the order of their verb and object patterners. To define those two terms, verb patterners are nonphrasal, nonbranching categories while object patterners are phrasal, branching categories. These definitions imply that right-branching languages are VO types, and left-branching languages are OV types.

Although Dryer adopts the VO/OV dichotomy presented by Lehmann (1973) and Vennemann (1974), which in its turn drew attention to the possibility of the existence of an underlying structure for his research, he clearly states that neither of them presented enough evidence using correlation pairs to support their claims. Moreover, one of the reasons Dryer presented BDT in the first place is to argue against what he calls 'the most popular view of correlation pairs': the Head-Dependent Theory. HDT argues that correlation pairs have the tendency to order grammatical heads with respect to their dependents (Dryer 1992).

According to HDT, verb patterners are heads while object patterners are dependents, thus languages have two main tendencies: head-initial in which the heads precede their dependents and head-final in which the head follows the dependents. Dryer argues that the notion of 'head' is not well defined and could have different interpretations according to different languages which is thus one of his main motivations for presenting BDT as an alternative.

Dryer adopts the concepts of correlation pairs and non-correlation pairs presented by the HDT summarized in the following quote:

If a pair of elements x and y is such that X tends to precede Y significantly more often in VO languages than in OV languages, then <X,Y> is a correlation pair and X is a verb patternner and Y is an object patternner. Dryer (1992)

According to Dryer (1992) word order is affected by the aforementioned correlation pairs, however, one must make a distinction between correlation pairs which pattern consistently with VO or OV order ('true correlation pairs') and pairs that do not ('non-correlation pairs'). True correlation pairs identified by Dryer are summarized in the following table:

VERB PATTERN	OBJECT PATTERN	EXAMPLE
verb	object	ate+ the sandwich
adposition	NP	on+ the table
copula verb	predicate	is+ a teacher
'want'	VP	wants+ to see mary
tense/aspect auxiliary verb	VP	has+ eaten
negative auxiliary	VP	
complementizer	S	that+ john is sick
question particle	S	
adverbial subordinator	S	because+ bob has left
article	N'	the+ tall man
plural word	N'	
noun	Genitive	father+ of john
noun	relative clause	movies+ that we saw
adjective	standard of comparison	taller+ than bob
verb	PP	slept +on the floor
verb	manner adverb	ran+slowly

Table 5.6 True Correlation Pairs (Dryer 1992: 29)

Conversely, Dryer states that noncorrelation pairs are elements that do not reliably bear correlation to the order of the verb or object. Table 5.6 lists the non-correlation pairs identified by Dryer:

DEPENDENT	HEAD	EXAMPLE
adjective	Noun	tall+ man
demonstrative	Noun	that+ man
intensifier	adjective	very+ tall
negative particle	Verb	not+ go

Table 5.7 Noncorrelation Pairs (Dryer 1992: 29)

5.3.8 Hadari according to BDT

According to BDT, Hadari is expected to be a right-branching language as it belongs to the VO language type. The main objective of the application of BDT to Hadari is not to provide further evidence for the argument presented by BDT, but to attempt to find explanation for the exceptions to Greenberg's VO typology found in the

dialect. Nevertheless, true correlations pairs presented in BDT are applied to Hadari test the applicability of the theory.

5.3.8.1 Correlation pairs in Hadari

The following is a table of all the true correlation pairs found in VO languages along with Hadari examples (Note: all examples are provided by author):

VERB PATTERN	OBJECT PATTERN	EXAMPLE
verb	object	kələ+ əş-şəmuunə ate+the sandwich
adposition	NP	‘ələ+ əl-gaa’ on+the floor
copula verb	predicate	Osama cop+ mudarrəs Osama is+a teacher
‘want’	VP	yəbi+ yšuuf Mariam want+to see Mariam
tense/aspect auxiliary verb	VP	gaa‘əd+ yaakəl prog+eating
negative auxiliary	VP	ma+ kələ kək neg+ eat cake
complementizer	S	‘ənnə+ Sami məriiz comp+Sami sick
question particle	S	mətə+ šərəet səyyaara when+buy a car
adverbial subordinator	S	‘əšaan+ Hadi tələ’ because+Hadi left
article	N’	əl+ bəet əlqədiim the+ old house
plural word	N’	kəl+ əlyaahaal all+the children
noun	Genitive	ubu+ Jasim father+Jassim
noun	relative clause	əl-fələm+ illi šərəənaah Thr movie+ that we bought
adjective	standard of comparison	‘ətwəl+ mən Sami taller+ than Khaled
verb	PP	naam+ ‘ələ əl-fraaš slept+on the bed
verb	manner adverb	məšə+ šwəi šwəi walked+slowly

Table 5.8 correlation pairs in Hadari

From the examples illustrated above, it is apparent that Hadari provides strong evidence for Dryer’s BDT true correlation pairs, as the order of the verb patterners and object patterners is consistent with the predictions postulated by BDT.

5.3.8.2 Noncorrelation pairs in Hadari:

Noncorrelation pairs are less consistent in Hadari as the order of demonstrative-noun and intensifier-adjective are not fixed, the latter being one of the exceptions that Hadari has demonstrated when Greenberg's exceptionless VO typology was applied to the dialect in the previous section. In contrast, the other two noncorrelation pairs, adjective-noun and negative particle-verb, are fairly fixed in Hadari and do not offer support to the predictions made by BDT. The following examples demonstrate the inconsistency found in Hadari's noncorrelation pairs, demonstrative-noun and intensifier-adjective:

Dependant: demonstrative Head: noun

(362) haadə r-rəyyaal
this DEF-man
'this man'

(363) ar-rəyyaal haadə
DEF-man this
'this man'

Dependant: intensifier Head: adjective

(364) waayid təwiil
very tall
'very tall'

(365) təwiil waayid
tall very
'very tall'

5.3.9 Conclusion:

The predictions postulated by BDT are born out in Hadari as the examples of correlation pairs demonstrate that Hadari is consistently right-branching. Furthermore, the noncorrelation pairs presented by BDT provide clarification for the inconsistent order of adjective-intensifier found in Hadari, a constituent order the VO typology assumes to be exceptionless. Adjectives and their intensifiers are

considered noncorrelation pairs that do not bear correlation to the order of the verb and the object.

Despite the consistency of Hadari correlation pairs with the predictions of BDT, BDT does not take into account key elements like prosody and stress when describing spoken varieties which are likely factors in the inconsistency found in Hadari.

Furthermore, the theory does not provide explanation for the occurrence of both wh-word movement and in situ in the same language which warrants a full investigation of the influence of prosody in this phenomenon as well as the pragmatic implications of information structure.

5.4 Case:

5.4.1 Typological Overview

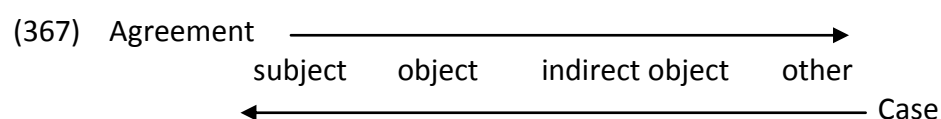
Case is an inflectional category that marks the grammatical functions of nouns in a given sentence. As observed by Sapir (1921: 66), languages that have morphological case often have relatively flexible word order. A well known instance of this is Latin, which displays highly flexible word order; as all the dependents of the verb are case marked, changing their position does not have semantic consequences, although it may have discourse or stylistic effects. On the other hand, in languages that do not have morphological case marking, such as English, changing the position of an argument often has semantic consequences as it can alter the proposition of the utterance. Hence, there is often a strong correlation between relative freedom of word order and the presence of morphological case marking in a language.

In the typology of case, languages are divided into two main types: those that have morphological case marking and those that do not. Languages that have morphological case marking employ a set of inflectional morphemes to mark nominal grammatical relations, and languages that do not have a morphological case marking system tend to define nominal relations through word order (Song 2001:138). With regard to the morphological marking of grammatical relations, Nichols (1988) distinguishes head marking and dependent marking: languages that mark case on the dependents of the verb are dependent marking, while languages

that mark subject/object agreement on the verb are head marking languages. However, languages do not always behave in this either-or manner as in some languages both the head and the dependent are marked. For example, many languages with morphological case also show subject agreement on the verb. One key element of describing the case system is its interaction with the indexation system in a given language. The agreement hierarchy, introduced first by Corbett (1979), makes several generalizations about number and gender marking crosslinguistically and predicts that marking grammatical relations starts with subjects and descends down the hierarchy to mark objects, indirect objects and other functions (Whaley 1997:153). The following example describes the agreement hierarchy:

(366) subject > direct object > indirect object > other

The case system, on the other hand, offers a mirror image of the agreement hierarchy; starting at the bottom of the agreement hierarchy by marking other, then ascends to mark indirect object, object, all the way to subject (Whaley 1997:154). The case marking continuum predicts that if the subject is marked for case in a given language, then it is likely that all positions lower than subject will also be marked for case. Furthermore, the hierarchy predicts that it is unlikely for a language to have the subject and the indirect object marked for case and the object not to be marked for case. The case marking continuum and the agreement hierarchy interact with each other as the case hierarchy carries the marking of grammatical relations wherever the agreement hierarchy stops. While we might expect these processes to take place with minimum overlap, it is not unusual for a language to have case and indexation marking the same position. The following example illustrates the grammatical relationship between the agreement hierarchy and the case marking hierarchy in languages which employ both case marking and agreement:



The continuum postulates that in a language that utilizes both case and agreement systems, the grammatical relations of nouns are not doubly marked and rarely demonstrate overlap as one system carries off where the other stops on the continuum. For example, a language that marks agreement on the subject would more likely mark case on the object and the indirect object but not the subject, and so on.

To describe the interaction between case and grammatical relations in detail, typologists distinguish three grammatical-semantic categories; A for agent (transitive subject), S for subject (intransitive subject) and P for patient (Comrie 1978). Based on these three parameters, five distinct case marking systems are logically possible (Song 2001:141), although only two of these are widespread: the nominative-accusative system and the ergative-absolutive system.

The nominative-accusative system marks A and S with the same morphology, and P differently. The ergative-absolutive system marks S and P with the same morphology, and labels A differently. The third system is the tripartite system in which each of A, S and P is marked with different case markers. This system is very rare and is found in languages that have both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive case marking, and it only surfaces when the two systems interact with each other in some noun phrases (Comrie 1989: 125). The fourth system, one of the least common systems in the languages of the world, is the AP/S system, which is found in languages that mark A and P with the same case marker and S with a different case marker.

There are two main explanations for the rarity of these minor cases systems when compared to systems that are nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive. The first reason is relational visibility, which states that grammatical relations should be retrievable from the morphosyntax of a language (Whaley 1997:159, adopted from Gredts 1990, Kibrik 1991). In other words, the main purpose of case marking, agreement and word order is to mark grammatical relations; different sentence components are marked with distinguishable grammatical markers. Thus, systems

like AP/S are rare because the core grammatical relations subject and object are indistinguishable.

The second principle is relational economy, which states that systems tend to avoid unnecessary redundancy and that nominals are not multiply identified to avoid unnecessary morphosyntactic distinctions (Whaley 1997:159). Thus, in nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive systems, the core nominal relations A and P are marked differently from one another, while S does not need its own marking because it never co-occurs with either A or P. The tripartite system is thus rare because it violates relational economy. The last system of case marking is the neutral system which is present in languages that do not distinguish A, S and P.

Languages that do not distinguish grammatical relations either by morphology or word order are rare, which can be explained by the principle of relational visibility. However, many languages that do not distinguish grammatical relations by morphological case marking indicate grammatical relations through word order alone. For example in English, an SVO language that has a nominative-accusative alignment, A and S are indicated in the same way by virtue of occurring in preverbal position, while P is distinguished from A and S by virtue of occurring in postverbal position. The following table summarizes these various case systems:

Case Marking System	Summary	Frequency
Nominative-accusative	A and S marked the same, P differently	Common
Ergative-absolutive	S and P marked the same, A differently	Common
Tripartite	A, S, P all marked differently	Rare
AP/S	A and P marked the same, S different	Rare
Neutral	A, S and P are not distinct	Rare

Table 5.9 Frequency of Case Marking Systems (based on Whaley 1997)

5.4.2 Case in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic is an example of a language that has morphological case marking and a nominative-accusative system. Nouns are marked for nominative,

accusative, and genitive cases. The case marker in Modern Standard Arabic is an affix that attaches to the end of a common noun. The cases are marked by adding *-u* for nominative, *-a* for accusative, and *-i* for genitive. The case of personal pronouns is indicated by a combination of morphology and word order; nominative pronouns are free morphemes that precede the verb, while accusative and genitive pronouns are bound morphemes that follow the verb or noun (Section 5.5 pronouns, indexation and Pro-drop).

The nominative case in Modern Standard Arabic is mainly employed to mark the subject of the sentence while the accusative case is mainly employed to mark direct objects of a transitive verb as illustrated in example (377). Furthermore, the accusative case occurs with existential *kaana* ‘was’ and its sisters *laysa* ‘not’, *aṣbaḥa*, *ṣaara*, *’amsaa*, *baata* ‘became’, *baqi*, *ḡala*, *maa zaala*, *maa daama* ‘remained’. With *kaana* and its sisters, the subject is marked as nominative while the predicate is marked as accusative. The following examples illustrate:

(368) al-walad-u naa’im-un
 DEF-boy-NOM asleep-NOM.INDEF
 ‘The boy is asleep.’

(369) maa zaala l-walad-u naa’im-an
 remain DEF-boy-NOM asleep.ACC.INDEF
 ‘The boy is still asleep.’

The accusative marker also occurs with another special set known in traditional grammar as *’inna* and its sisters, *’anna* ‘that’, *laakin* ‘but’, *li’anna* ‘because’, *ka’anna* ‘seems’, *la’ala* ‘perhaps’. This set marks the subject as accusative and the predicate as nominative as the following examples illustrate:

(370) an-naṣr-u qariib-un
 DEF-victory-NOM near-NOM.INDEF
 ‘Victory is near.’

(371) ka'anna n-naşr-a qariib-un
 seems DEF-victory-ACC near-NOM
 'It seems that victory is near.'

Furthermore, the accusative occurs with what is traditionally known in Arabic grammar as *'af'aal al-quluub* 'verbs of the heart' which are verbs that relate to perception like *ya'tabir* 'consider' *yazun* 'suppose'. A subject and predicates occurring after verbs of this type are both marked as accusative as illustrated by the following examples:

(372) al-waqt-u muta'axir-un
 DEF-time-NOM late-NOM.INDEF
 'It is late.'

(373) ya'tabiru l-waqt-a muta'axir-an
 consider.IMPER.3SG.M DEF-time-ACC late-ACC.INDEF
 'He considers it to be late'

The genitive case assumes many functions in Modern Standard Arabic. The first function is that it marks the possessor element in a possessive construction as discussed in section 3.6. The second function is to mark other syntactic constructions which are syntactically identical to possessive constructions but display different semantic relationships (Al-Afghani 1971). The following are examples of these relationships:

a) Relationship between part and whole:

qit'at-u l-xubz-i
 piece-NOM DEF-bread-GEN
 'piece of bread'

b) Relationship between the item and the material it is made of:

qaaruurat-u z-zujaaj-i
 bottle-NOM DEF-glass-GEN

‘a bottle made of glass’

c) Relationship between item and its contents:

kiis-u l-baṭaaṭis-i

bag-NOM DEF-potato-GEN

‘a bag of potatoes’

The third function is to mark a noun phrase occurring after a preposition as in:

(374) al-bait-u l-kabiir-u

DEF-house-NOM DEF-big

‘the big house’

(375) fi l-bait-i l-kabiir-i

in DEF-house-GEN DEF-big-GEN

‘in the big house’

The fourth and final function of the genitive case is to mark nouns occurring after a special set of nouns in Arabic labeled *al-asmaa’ al-xamsa* ‘the five nouns’ which are *ḍuu* ‘owner’ *fuū* ‘mouth’ *ḥamu* ‘father-in-law’ *axu* ‘brother’ and *abu* ‘father. Any noun occurring after these five special nouns is marked as genitive. Although the five nouns themselves are marked for all cases, the nouns that follow them always occur in the genitive case. The following examples illustrate the special noun *ḍuu* in Modern Standard Arabic:

(376) taajir-un ḍuu jaah-in

merchant-NOM.INDEF owner.NOM fortune-GEN.INDEF

‘a merchant that owns a fortune’

(377) ra’aitu taajir-an ḍaa jaah-in

see.PERF.1SG merchant-ACC.INDEF owner.ACC fortune-GEN.INDEF

‘I saw a merchant that owns a fortune’

In languages that employ morphological case marking, typologists predict more freedom in word order. Consequently, even though Modern Standard Arabic has a

dominant VSO word order, other word orders like SVO, VOS and OVS are considered possible as well (Holes 2004:250). The following textbook examples demonstrate the different possible word orders:

(378) 'aḍ al-kalb-u r-rajul-a
bite.3SG.M DEF-dog-NOM DEF-man-ACC

(379) al-kalb-u 'aḍ ar-rajul-a
DEF-dog-NOM bite.3SG.M DEF-man-ACC

(380) 'aḍ ar-rajul-a l-kalb-u
bite.3SG.M DEF-man-ACC DEF-dog-NOM

(381) ar-rajul-a 'aḍ al-kalb-u
DEF-man-ACC bite.3SG.M DEF-dog-NOM

'The dog bit the man'

Although those examples are grammatical, they are not as natural or frequently occurring as the VSO example in (378). Indeed, Holes (2004:250) argues that examples like those in (379)(380)(381) are unnatural and contrived, often being presented by Arab grammarians who are exponents of generative grammar in order to support a theoretical point. Holes observes the following:

[Examples] given by Arab grammarians have a flavor of artificiality about them. Sentences constructed by schoolmen in order to prove a point whose truth has been assumed a priori without reference to the fact and contexts of actual usage. (Holes 2004:250)

This observation has some validity, as constructions like those in examples (379),(380)(381) are not natural in spoken language and are not used outside of special contexts like poetry or religious prose. Thus, even though Modern Standard Arabic has a case marking system, its dominant word order is VSO.

word order appear shows that these examples have a number of constraints that cast doubt on this claim. First, most of the examples Brustad provides lack an independent subject as they have pronominal affixes attached to the main verbs, and are thus instances of pro-drop (Brustad 2000:321). Furthermore, the majority of the examples occur in a narrative context describing a continuous string of events in which the speaker has already mentioned the subject once and does not need to repeat the subject, a context consistent with pro-drop. The following are some examples of V-initial constructions from Brustad (2000:317):

(386) Egyptian Arabic:

'alit-lu, 'ənta ḥadritak ti'rafni?
 tell.PERF.3SG.F-3SG.M, you.M sir know.IMPERF.3SG.M-1SG
 'She said to him, you, sir, do you know me?'

(387) Kuwaiti Arabic:

gə'ədnə, sə'əl-hə s'əlt-ə, səlaam,
 sit.PERF.1PL, ask.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.F ask.PERF.3SG.F-3SG.M, bye,
 mə'ə s-səlaamə
 with DEF-safety
 'we sat, he asked her she asked him, goodbye, goodbye (we're done)'

Thus, Hadari has no morphological case marking system and relies on word order (section 5.3) to indicate grammatical functions of nouns.

5.5 Pronouns, indexation, and Pro-drop

5.5.1 Pronouns

Personal pronouns are morphemes that refer to the interlocutors in a given utterance; the speaker (first person), the addressee (second person), and the referents spoken about (third person), which are presumed retrievable by both speaker and hearer (Schachter 2007:24). Languages around the world express personal pronouns differently, some languages like use free pronouns like English in the following example:

(388) I think she knows you.

Other languages use bound morphemes instead of free morphemes. Schachter (2007:25), notes that affix morphemes often attach to verbs when they refer to a subject or an object as in Quechua (Schachter, 2007:25):

- (389) Maqa-ma-nki
Hit-me-you
'You hit me.'

Another type is languages that have personal pronouns but may opt not to use them as the referents can be deduced from the context. Japanese is one such language that employs this system; the following sentences do not have explicit personal pronouns (Schachter, 2007:26):

- (390) John wa Mary o shitte-imasu ga, amari yoku wa shirima-sen
John top Mary obj knows but, really well top knows-not
'John knows Mary, but he doesn't know her that well.'

- (391) gohan o tabe-tai
rice OBJ eat-want
'I want to eat rice.'

5.5.1.1 Affixes vs. Clitics

One particular issue that needs to be addressed before discussing pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari is the choice between affix and clitic when describing pronominal morphology in both the language and the dialect. The literature on both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic fluctuates between the use of the terms 'clitic' and 'affix' when referring to bound morphemes, but none of the sources provides explanation of choosing one term over the other. Haspelmath (2002:153) presents basic defining parameters a bound morpheme must demonstrate in order to be considered a clitic. A clitic is considered to be intermediate between an affix and a free form morpheme as a clitics is a subtype of word (that is, a clitic has its own word class independent of its host), but has features that are characteristic of a bound morpheme. To list a few, clitics depend on the prosody of their host, which means that an utterance is interruptible between two free morphemes but is not interruptible between two bound forms. Moreover, clitics cannot be clefted, topicalized or coordinated like free forms (Haspelmath,

2002:152). The following table summarizes the differences between affixes and clitics as presented by Haspelmath:

Clitics	Affixes
freedom of movement	no freedom of movement
freedom of host selection	no freedom of host selection
not prosodically integrated	prosodically integrated
may be outside the domain of a phonological rule	always within the domain of a phonological rule
may not trigger/undergo morphological suppletive alternations	may trigger/undergo morphological suppletive alternations
clitic-host combinations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • may not have idiosyncratic meanings • may not have arbitrary gaps 	affix-host combinations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • may have idiosyncratic meanings • may have arbitrary gaps

Table 5.10 Clitics vs. affixes (Haspelmath: 2002:153)

Haspelmath notes that one of the characteristics in which clitics are differentiated from affixes is that clitics show freedom of movement: they can occur in different positions in the sentence. However, this type of movement is not possible in Arabic as the following examples from Modern Standard Arabic illustrate:

(392) 'anaa 'a'taytu-**hu** l-mal-a
I give.PERF.1SG-3SG.M DEF-money-ACC
'I gave him the money.'

(393) *'ana-**hu** 'a'taytu l-mal-a
I-3SG.M give.PERF.1SG DEF-money-ACC
'I gave him the money.'

(394) *'anaa 'a'taytu l-mal-**hu**
I give.PERF.1SG DEF-money-3SG.M
'I gave him the money.'

According to Haspelmath, affixes demonstrate lack of freedom of movement and not clitics. The third person singular masculine object morpheme *-hu* does not show freedom of movement as it can only attach to the verb in the examples above and changing its position would make the sentence ungrammatical. However, clitic movement is a property of languages that also allow freedom of movement for their non-clitic counterparts. For example if the object morpheme *hu-* was replaced by a

proper name, for example *Salim*, it will still demonstrate lack of freedom of movement as in:

- (395) 'anaa 'a'taytu Salim-a l-mal-a
 I give.PERF.1SG Salim-ACC DEF-money-ACC
 'I gave Salim the money.'
- (396) *'anaa Salim-a 'a'taytu l-mal-a
 I Salim-ACC give.PERF.1SG DEF-money-ACC
 'I gave Salim the money.'
- (397) ??'anaa 'a'taytu l-mal-a Salim-a
 I give.PERF.1SG-3SG.M DEF-money-ACC Salim-ACC
 'I gave Salim the money.'

Examples (396) is considered ungrammatical in Modern Standard Arabic and (397) can be made grammatical if *Salim* was marked by preposition *li-* 'for'.

Furthermore, same bound morpheme *-hu*, can attach to verbs, nouns and prepositions in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (398) 'anaa 'a'taytu-**hu** l-mal-a
 I give.PERF.1SG-3SG.M DEF-money-ACC
 'I gave him the money.'
- (399) 'axaḡa 'ibna-**hu** 'ila ṭ-ṭabeeb-i
 take.PERF.3SG.M son-3SG.M to DEF-doctor-GEN
 'He took his son to the doctor.'
- (400) ṣaqaṭa 'alay-**hi** l-bab-a
 fall.PERF.3SG.M on-3SG.M DEF-door-ACC
 'The door fell on him.'

The previous examples show that the morpheme *hu-* has freedom of host selection by being able to attach to words belonging to different syntactic categories, which is one of the characteristics of clitics cited by Haspelmath. Thus, the same morpheme *hu-* demonstrates characteristic of affixes and clitics in the same language.

Another characteristic of clitics is that they are not prosodically integrated. For example, the verb *'a'taytu* 'gave' has stress on the second syllable which does not change when the morpheme *hu-* is attached to it. The morpheme *hu-* has its own separate stress that does not intervene with the stress of the element it is attached

to. In addition, the morpheme *hu-* does not add idiosyncratic meaning to the element it attaches to and does not have suppletive alternations as demonstrated in the examples above. Thus, Arabic pronouns have more characteristics of clitics than of affixes and one can conclude that the pronominal bound morphemes in Modern Standard Arabic should be accurately described as clitics and not affixes.

5.5.1.2 Pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic has two methods of encoding pronouns: the first is by employing free morphemes that occur in subject position, and the second is by employing bound pronominal morphemes that attach to verbs, nouns and prepositions. These bound pronominal forms in Modern Standard Arabic can function as direct object, possessor in genitive constructions, and complement of prepositions. (Holes 2004:177). Free morphemes are illustrated in table 5.9 and pronominal clitics are illustrated in table 5.10:

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1 st	'anaa	'anaa	naḥnu	naḥnu	naḥnu	naḥnu
2 nd	'anta	'anti	'antuma	'antuma	'antum	'antanna
3 rd	huwa	hiya	huma	huma	Hum	hunna

Table 5.11 Pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1 st	-ni/-i	-ni/-i	-na	-na	-na	-na
2 nd	-ka	-ki	-kuma	-kuma	-kum	-kunna
3 rd	-hu	-ha	-huma	-huma	-hum	-hunna

Table 5.12 Pronominal clitics in Modern Standard Arabic

The following examples illustrate the masculine paradigm of free subject pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic:

(401) 'anaa ḡahabtu 'ila l-madrasat-i
 I go.PERF.1SG to DEF-school-GEN
 'I went to school.'

- (402) **naḥnu** ḡahabna 'ila l-madrasat-i
 we go.PERF.1PL to DEF-school-GEN
 'We went to school.'
- (403) 'anta ḡahabta 'ila l-madrasat-i
 you.M go.PERF.2SG.M to DEF-school-GEN
 'You went to school.'
- (404) 'antuma ḡahabtuma 'ila l-madrasat-i
 you.DUAL go.PERF.2DL to DEF-school-GEN
 'You both went to school.'
- (405) 'antum ḡahabtum 'ila l-madrasat-i
 you.PL go.PERF.2PL to DEF-school-GEN
 'You went to school.'
- (406) **huwa** ḡahaba 'ila l-madrasat-i
 he go.PERF.3SG.M to DEF-school-GEN
 'He went to school.'
- (407) **huma** ḡahaba 'ila l-madrasat-i
 they.DUAL go.PERF.3DUAL.M to DEF-school-GEN
 'They both went to school.'
- (408) **hum** ḡahabu 'ila l-madrasat-i
 they go.PERF.3PL to DEF-school-GEN
 'They went to school.'

The following set of examples illustrates some of the positions the pronominal clitic can occur in:

1. Direct Object:

- (409) 'aaqab-**ni** l-mudarris-u
 punish.PERF.3SG.M-OBJ.1SG DEF-teacher-NOM
 'The teacher punished me.'

2. Possessive:

- (410) waalid-**i** rajul-un musin-un
 father-1SG man-NOM.INDEF old.M-NOM.INDEF
 'My father is an old man.'
- (411) beet-u-**hu** kabeer-un
 house-NOM-3SG.M big.M-NOM.INDEF
 'His house is big.'

5.5.1.3 Pronouns in Hadari

Hadari's pronominal paradigm follows the same pattern employed by Modern Standard Arabic in that it has two sets of pronoun; free and bound. The free pronoun paradigm in Hadari is basically the same as the one used by Modern Standard Arabic in that it is restricted to subject position. However, like most urban dialects of Arabic, the dual is completely lost from the paradigm, as is the gender distinction in third person plural (Holes 2004:178). Note that the verb agrees with the subject pronoun in Hadari, as in MSA, (5.5.2 indexation section). The following table shows the free pronouns used in Hadari:

Person	Singular		Plural
	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
1	'aanə	'aanə	'əḥnə
2	'əntə	'əntəi	'əntəu
3	'əhuwə	'əhyə	'əuhmə

Table 5.13 Pronouns in Hadari

The following are examples of each of the free pronouns in Hadari (Note: examples are provided by the author):

(412) 'aanə səmə't ʃoot
I hear.PERF.1SG voice
'I heard a voice.'

(413) 'əḥnə səmə'nə ʃoot
we hear.PERF.1PL voice
'We heard a voice.'

(414) 'əntə səmə't ʃoot
you.M hear.PERF.2SG.M voice
'You heard a voice.'

(415) 'əntəi səmə'təi ʃoot
you.F hear.PERF.2SG.F voice
'You (f) heard a voice.'

(416) 'əntəu səmə'təu ʃoot
you.PL hear.PERF.2PL voice
'You (pl) heard a voice.'

(417) 'əhuwa səmə' ʃoot
 he hear.PERF.3SG.M voice
 'He heard a voice.'

(418) 'əhyə səmə'ət ʃoot
 she hear.PERF.3SG.F voice
 'She heard a voice.'

(419) 'əuhmə səmə'əu ʃoot
 they hear.PERF.3PL voice
 'They heard a voice.'

The second set of pronouns used in Hadari is the bound pronominal clitics. Similar to the free forms, the dual and the third person plural gender are lost in Hadari compared to Modern Standard Arabic. Similarly to Modern Standard Arabic, these clitics mark direct object, indirect object, possessor of genitive construction and complement of preposition in Hadari (Table 5.14).

	Singular		Plural
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
1 st	-ni/-i	-ni/-i	-nə
2 nd	-ək	-əč	-kum
3 rd	-əh	-hə	-hum

Table 5.14 Pronominal Clitics in Hadari

The following examples illustrate the form and distribution of these pronominal clitics in Hadari. (Note: all examples are provided by the author):

1. Direct Object

(420) 'əli 'aawən-**ni**
 Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-me
 'Ali helped me.'

(421) 'əli 'aawən-**nə**
 Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-US
 'Ali helped us.'

(422) 'əli 'aawən-**ək**
 Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-you.M
 'Ali helped you.'

- (423) 'əli 'aawən-əč
Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-you.F
'Ali helped you.'
- (424) 'əli 'aawən-kum
Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-you.PL
'Ali helped you.'
- (425) 'əli 'aawən-əh
Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-him
'Ali helped him.'
- (426) 'əli 'aawən-hə
Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-her
'Ali helped her.'
- (427) 'əli 'aawən-hum
Ali help.PERF.3SG.M-them
'Ali helped them.'

2. Indirect Object

- (428) Salim 'əṭa-ni I-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-me DEF-letter
'Salim gave me the letter.'
- (429) Salim 'əṭa-na I-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-US DEF-letter
'Salim gave us the letter.'
- (430) Salim 'əṭa-k əl-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-you.M DEF-letter
'Salim gave you the letter.'
- (431) Salim 'əṭa-č əl-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-you.F DEF-letter
'Salim gave you the letter.'
- (432) Salim 'əṭa-kum əl-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-you.PL DEF-letter
'Salim gave you (pl) the letter.'
- (433) Salim 'əṭa-əh əl-maktub
Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-him DEF-letter
'Salim gave him the letter.'

(434) Salim ‘əṭa-**hə** l-maktub
 Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-her DEF-letter
 'Salim gave her the letter.'

(435) Salim ‘əṭa-**hum** əl-maktub
 Salim give.PERF.3SG.M-them DEF-letter
 'Salim gave them the letter.'

3. Possessor of genitive construction

(436) bəet-i ‘ood
 house-my big.M
 'My house is big.'

(437) bəet-**na** ‘ood
 house-our big.M
 'Our house is big.'

(438) bəet-**ək** ‘ood
 house-your.M big.M
 'Your house is big.'

(439) bəet-**əc** ‘ood
 house-your.F big.M
 'Your house is big.'

(440) bəet-**kum** ‘ood
 house-your.PL big.M
 'Your house is big.'

(441) bəet-**əh** ‘ood
 house-his big.M
 'His house is big.'

(442) bəet-**hə** ‘ood
 house-his big.M
 'Her house is big.'

(443) bəet-**hum** ‘ood
 house-their big.M
 'Their house is big.'

4. Prepositions

(444) əl-kəbət ṭaah ‘ələ-i
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-me
 'The cupboard fell on me.'

- (445) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**na**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-us
 'The cupboard fell on us.'
- (446) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**ək**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-you.M
 'The cupboard fell on you.'
- (447) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**əč**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-you.F
 'The cupboard fell on you.'
- (448) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**kum**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-you.PL
 'The cupboard fell on you. (pl)'
- (449) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**əh**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-him
 'The cupboard fell on him.'
- (450) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**hə**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-her
 'The cupboard fell on her.'
- (451) əl-kəbət ʔaah ʔələi-**hum**
 DEF-cupboard fall.PERF.3SG.M on-them
 'The cupboard fell on them.'

5.5.2 Indexation

Indexation is a grammatical relation between verbs and their arguments that is usually expressed by inflectional morphology marking the verb. As mentioned in the section 5.4, case and indexation mark similar information within a language and may sometimes overlap. Furthermore, if language has agreement on the verb it would most likely be subject agreement, although other languages also mark object agreement. An example of a language that demonstrates the interaction between the case and agreement hierarchy is Turkish (Kornfilt, 1987; cited in Whaley, 1997:154).

(452) ben bu makale-yi yarın bitir-eceğ-im
 I this article-ACC tomorrow finish-FUT-1SG
 'I shall finish this article tomorrow.'

(453) Hasan çocuğ-a elma-yı ver-di
 Hasan child-DAT apple-ACC give-PERF
 Hasan gave the apple to the child.'

(454) kitap-lar masa-dan yer-e duş-tu
 book-pl table-ABL floor-DAT fall-PERF
 'the book fell from the table to the floor.'

5.5.2.1 Indexation in Modern Standard Arabic

As defined in the introduction to this section, indexation is marking grammatical relations on the verb by inflectional morphology and verbs in Modern Standard Arabic are marked for agreement with subjects in gender, person and number. In the perfect paradigm, the agreement markers appear as suffixes attaching to the verb. Table 5.13 demonstrates the different possible agreement suffixes in perfect verb:

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1 st	-tu	-tu	-na	-na	-na	-na
2 nd	-ta	-ti	-tuma	-tuma	-tum	-tunna
3 rd	-a	-at	-aa	-ataa	-u	-na

Table 5.15 Perfect verb agreement markers in Modern Standard Arabic

On the other hand, verbs occurring in the imperfect, agreement affixes are a combination of both prefixes and suffixes on the verb (Table 5.14).

	Singular		Dual		Plural	
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1 st	'a-u	'a-u	na-u	na-u	na-u	na-u
2 nd	ta-u	ta-ina	ta-ani	ta-ani	ta-una	ta-na
3 rd	ya-u	ta-u	ya-ani	ta-ani	ya-una	ta-na

Table 5.16 Imperfect verb agreement markers in Modern Standard Arabic

Bahloul (2006a:48) notes that Modern Standard Arabic affixes indicating person are always encoded as a prefix, while number affixes are encoded as a suffix except for

first person, and affixes marking gender agreement are expressed as a prefix except for first person. It is worth noting that the expression of verb agreement in Modern Standard Arabic is dependent on the position of the subject. If the subject occurs in a preverbal position, then the verb is marked for person, gender and number agreement with the subject. However, if the subject occurs after the verb, maintaining Modern Standard Arabic's dominant word order of VSO, then verb is marked for person and gender but the verb is always marked as singular. The following examples illustrate this asymmetry:

(455) an-nas-u ḡahab-u
 DEF-people-NOM go.PERF-3PL.M
 'The people left.'

(456) ḡahab-a n-nas-u
 go.PERF-3SG DEF-people-NOM
 'The people left.'

(457) al-walad-aan ya-l'ab-aan
 DEF-boy-NOM.DUAL IMPERF.3.M-play-NOM.DUAL
 'The two boys are playing.'

(458) ya-l'abu l-walad-aan
 IMPERF.3.M-play DEF-boy-NOM.DUAL
 'The two boys are playing.'

5.5.2.2 Indexation in Hadari

Like Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari marks the verb for subject agreement in person, number, and gender. However, Hadari does not have a separate dual form like Modern Standard Arabic and uses the plural form to refer to dual subjects. Moreover, Hadari does not code gender in plural forms as it has one form to code both genders. Similarly to Modern Standard Arabic, past tense verbs in Hadari are marked with a suffix while present tense verbs are marked with a combination of both prefixes and suffixes. Unlike Modern Standard Arabic, changing the order of the subject and the verb does not affect agreement as the examples (465) and (466)

demonstrate. Tables 5.17 and 5.18 respectively show the perfect and imperfect paradigms in Hadari:

	Singular		Plural
Person	Masculine	Feminine	
1 st	-t	-t	-nə
2 nd	-t	-təi	-təu
3 rd	ə	-ət	-əu

Table 5.17 Perfect verb agreement markers in Hadari

	Singular		Plural
Person	Masculine	Feminine	
1 st	'aa-ə	'aa-ə	naa-ə
2 nd	taa-ə	taa-in	taa-un
3 rd	yaa-u	taa-u	yaa-un

Table 5.18 Imperfect verb agreement markers in Hadari

The following examples illustrate the aforementioned agreement paradigms in Hadari (Note: examples provided by the author):

(459) 'aanə səmə't
I hear.PERF.1SG
'I heard.'

(460) 'əhənə səmə'nə
we hear.PERF.1PL
'We heard.'

(461) ənt səmə't
you hear.PERF.2SG.M
'You heard.'

(462) uhu səmə'
he hear.PERF.3SG.M
'He heard.'

(463) əhi smə'ət
she hear.PERF.3SG.F
'She heard.'

(464) uhum smə'əu
they hear.PERF.3PL
'They heard.'

(465) əl-yahaal naaməu
 DEF-children sleep.PERF.3PL
 'The children went to sleep.'

(466) naaməu l-yahaal
 sleep.PERF.3PL DEF-children
 'The children went to sleep.'

5.5.3 Pro-drop

Pro-drop is a linguistic phenomenon in which a pronominal subject is suppressed or dropped because the information it expresses is retrievable from context, typically but not always because it is marked in the verb by means of affixal agreement. Typologically, out of a language sample containing 711 languages, Dryer (2005d: 410) found that pro-drop was employed by 473 of them, which makes the expression of pronominal subjects as affixes attached to the verb the most common in the sample.

Furthermore, Dryer (2005d:413) notes that the term of pro-drop, which stems from the Chomskian government and binding theorem (1981), implies that sentences without a pronominal subject have an underlying pronoun in subject position that is deleted in the surface structure. He criticizes this approach for being Anglo-centric, as it analyzes languages that allow pro-drop as having the same underlying structure as English. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997:331, cited in Dryer 2005d:413), introduce an alternative view that considers the affixal pronoun to be the real subject of the sentence and the pronominal subjects as separate noun phrase conflicting with the affixal pronouns. This notion highlights the link between affixal pronouns and pro-drop, as languages that allow pro-drop are normally languages that have subject agreement on the verb, which is the case for both Modern Standard and colloquial Arabic. Another less frequent type of pro-drop is object pro-drop, normally found in languages that have object agreement. However, there are languages that do not have overt object agreement and allow object pronouns to be dropped like Chinese (Huang, 1989:187). The following examples illustrate null subject and object pronouns in Chinese:

(467) Zhangsan kaanjian Lisi le ma
 Zhangsan see Lisi PERF Q
 'Did Zhangsan see Lisi?'

(468) ta kaanjian ta le
 he see hee PERF
 'He saw him.'

(469) kaanjian le
 see PERF
 'He saw him.'

This section describes focuses mainly on subject pro-drop in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. However, before describing pro-drop, this section discusses the function of pronouns in Arabic. Furthermore, this section includes an overview of Mushira Eid's (2008) functional analysis of subject pronouns, in which she uses Egyptian Arabic as an example.

5.5.3.1 Pro-drop in Modern Standard Arabic

In Modern Standard Arabic, perfect and imperfect verbs show agreement with the subject in person, gender, and number (5.5.2). These features can also be marked by independent personal pronouns (5.5.1). However, because of the agreement system used in Modern Standard Arabic, the features of the subject are retrievable from the verb, which licenses subject pro-drop (Eid, 2008:708).

Moreover, in Arabic, only verbs are marked with person, number and gender agreement affixes; prepositions do not carry agreement features at all, and nouns and adjectives carry gender and number features, but not person. This fact makes pro-drop impossible in non-verbal present tense copular sentences⁷, because the full set of subject features are irretrievable from the predicative noun, adjective or preposition phrase. Thus, the presence of pronominal marking on the verb is the main condition for pro-drop to occur in Arabic. In other words, as Eid (2008:708)

⁷ The term 'non-verbal present copular sentences' is used here to refer to copular sentences that are set in the present tense and a definite noun which have no verb functioning as head. The term excludes quasi-copula /kaan/ which is discussed in fuller detail in section 8.4

notes, the predicate phrase must be marked for tense and person in order for pro-drop to be licensed.

The following examples illustrate the cases in which pro-drop is not permitted in Modern Standard Arabic:

1. Nominal predicates

(470) 'anaa ṭabiib-un
I doctor.M-NOM.INDEF
'I am a doctor'

(471) huwa mariiḍ-un
he patient.M-NOM.INDEF
'he is a patient'

(472) ??ṭabiib
doctor.M
'doctor'

(473) ??mariḍ
patient.M
'patient'

2. Adjectival predicates

(474) hiya jamiilat-un
she beautiful.F-NOM.INDEF
'She is beautiful.'

(475) 'anaa kasuul-un
I lazy.M-NOM.INDEF
'I am lazy.'

(476) *jamiila
beautiful.F
'beautiful'

(477) *kasuul
lazy.M
'lazy'

3. Prepositional predicates

(478) 'anta kunta fi l-masjid-i
 you were.2SG.M in DEF-mosque-GEN
 'you were in the mosque'

(479) 'anaa fawqa s-sariir- i
 I on DEF-bed-GEN
 'I was on the bed'

(480) *fi l-masjid-i
 in DEF-mosque-GEN
 'in the mosque'

(481) *fawqa s-sarir-i
 on DEF-bed-GEN
 'on the bed'

5.5.3.2 Pro-drop in Hadari

Subject pro-drop in Hadari is common. Similar to verbs found in Modern Standard Arabic, verbs in Hadari show agreement with the subject in person, number, and gender, which licenses subject pro-drop. The following examples illustrate verbal clauses with pro-drop in Hadari:

(482) raah-ə**t** əl-bæet (A)
 go.PERF-3SG.F DEF-house
 'She went home.'

(483) təl'-nə əmbəččir (LR)
 leave.PERF.3-1PL early
 'We left early.'

(484) dəfə'-t fluus (A)
 pay.PERF-1SG/2SG.M money
 'I paid money.' or 'You (m) paid money.'

Note that the past tense first person and second person masculine share the same suffix, which could lead to ambiguity, as example (484) demonstrates. In cases where the context does not provide sufficient information to allow retrieval of the subject referent, an independent pronoun would be used by the speaker to disambiguate the utterance. The following examples provide an ambiguous

(485) tələ't bərra (l)
 go.PERF-1/2SG.M outside
 'I/you went outside.'

(487) 'əntə ʔələ't bərra (A)
 you go.PERF.2SG.M outside
 'you went outside.'

(488) 'əhyə təbçi u 'aanə 'azhək (TV)
 she cry.IMPERF.3SG.F and I laugh.imperf.1sg
 'she cries and I laugh'

(490) 'əhɲə tələ'nə u 'əhumə əg'ədəu (A)
 we leave.PERF.1PL and they sit.PERF.3PL
 'we left and they stayed behind'

(492) wəʃəlɲə ʼəɦɲə u ʼəntəu məʃeetəu (A)
arrive.PERF.3PL we and you.PL WALK.PERF.2PL
'We arrived and you left.'

176

first half of the contrastive construction shows more flexibility in terms of subject-predicate order when compared to the second half as examples (491) and (492) demonstrate. Furthermore, the change word order in (492) shifts the focus of the clause rendering the contrastive construction into a resultative construction; the action in (492) is foregrounded and is considered the reason that caused the second half of the sentence to occur 'we arrived and as a result of our arrival you left'. As in Modern Standard Arabic, non-verbal clauses consisting of predicative nouns, adjectives or prepositions must have a subject pronoun to be considered acceptable if the subject is not retrievable from the context.

1. Nominal predicates

- (493) 'əhyə mudarrisa (A)
 she teacher.F
 'She is a teacher.'
- (494) 'əntəi mudarrisa (A)
 you.F teacher.F
 'You are a teacher.'
- (495) *mudarrisa (A)
 teacher.F
 'teacher'

2. Adjectival predicates

- (496) 'əntəi həlwə (A)
 you.f pretty.F
 'You are pretty.'
- (497) 'aanə həlwə (A)
 I pretty.F
 'I am pretty'
- (498) *həlwə (A)
 pretty.F
 'pretty'

3. Prepositional predicates

- (499) 'əhnə 'ələ l-bəħər (I)
 we on DEF-sea
 'We are at the beach.'

(500) 'əhumə 'ələ l-bəḥər (A)
 they on DEF-sea
 'They are at the beach.'

(501) *'ələ l-bəḥər (A)
 on DEF-sea
 'at the beach'

5.5.3.3 Eid's (1983) analysis of the functions of personal pronouns

Eid (1983) argues that subject pronouns have two main functions in Arabic:

1. Anti-ambiguity devices
2. Indicator of subject switch

As an anti-ambiguity device, subject pronouns can be employed to disambiguate a discourse with more than one antecedent. Eid (1983) provides the following relative clause examples from Egyptian Arabic to illustrate her point:

(502) 'ali kallim il-walad illi ʔ šatamu imbariḥ
 Ali talked DEF-boy REL insulted yesterday
 'Ali talked to the boy who insulted him yesterday.'
 or
 'Ali spoke to the boy he insulted yesterday'

Adding the subject pronoun to the relative clause disambiguates the sentence:

(503) 'ali kallim il-walad illi huwa šatamu imbariḥ
 Ali talked DEF-boy REL he insulted yesterday
 'Ali spoke to the boy he insulted yesterday.'

The other function of personal pronouns according to Eid is that they indicate the switch of subject in a sentence. Eid (1983:197) claims that the presence of a pronoun can alter the interpretation of subject-to-subject readings, as illustrated by the following examples from Egyptian Arabic:

(504) 'ali ɖarab samir o ʔ šatamu
 Ali hit samir and ʔ insulted.him
 'Ali hit Samir and insulted him.'

(505) 'ali ɖarab samir o huwa ŝatamu
 Ali hit samir and he insulted.him
 'Ali hit Samir and he insulted him.'

Eid claims that in the unmarked example (504) 'Ali hit Samir and Ali insulted Samir' would be the expected interpretation, while in example (505) the interpretation is the opposite because of the introduction of the personal pronoun *huwa* 'Ali hit Samir and Samir insulted Ali'. However, example (505) does have another possible interpretation as in 'Ali hit Samir and he (Ali) insulted him', which places more focus on Ali and his actions. This ambiguity, which Eid does not observe, casts some doubt on this 'subject switch' function of subject pronouns. The second argument against subject switch is that there exists a more common method for switching subjects in Arabic, which is using the name of the subject instead of using a personal pronoun, and coordinating the two clauses. The more natural, unambiguous way of expressing subject switch in Egyptian would be the following:

(506) 'ali ɖarab samir o samir ŝatamu
 ali hit samir and samir insulted.him
 'Ali hit Samir and Samir hit him.'

Thus, While Eid's theory of personal pronouns functioning as disambiguation markers is a very probable one; the second function is slightly problematic and does not hold very well.

5.6 Summary

In section 5.2, the term 'verbal clause' is introduced through two perspectives; the traditional grammar perspective and the modern linguistics perspective. The choice of the modern linguistic perspective is then made based on the need for a general comprehensive term that can be used to describe verbal clauses in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. The next section reviews the transitivity of verbs before providing illustrative examples on verbal clauses in both varieties. It is apparent that Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic are similar in terms of transitivity, as most of the verbal paradigms used by Modern Standard Arabic are also used by Hadari. The

most striking difference is that Modern Standard Arabic verb forms I, II, III, IV, and X are transitive, while in Hadari only forms I, II, and III are transitive, form X is intransitive, and form IV rarely occurs in the dialect in general.

In the next section (5.3.6), the basic word order in Hadari is found to be SVO, which differs from Modern Standard Arabic's VSO word order, as both are presented through Greenbergian universals. That being said, both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic are V-initial languages, and demonstrate all of exceptionless properties presented by Greenberg (1963) and Dryer (1991). Next, section (5.3.7) presents an application of Dryer's BDT to Hadari, providing substantial evidence for its applicability as all of the true correlation pairs proposed by the theory are exemplified in the dialect.

The next section (5.4) discusses loss of case in Hadari and the impact it has on the flexibility of word order in the dialect. Although Hadari does not have morphological case, it clearly has a nominative-accusative syntactic case system as the examples from Hadari have shown.

From section (5.5.1), it is established that pronouns in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic are very similar as both varieties use two methods of encoding pronouns; free morphemes which are restricted to subject position and bound morphemes which mark direct object, indirect object, possessor of genitive construction and complement of preposition. Once again, the main difference between the two is found in number, as Modern Standard Arabic has a dual set of pronouns while Hadari does not. Next, in section (5.5.2), indexation is shown to be similar in both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic in that it marks the verb for subject agreement in person, number (exception, dual in Hadari), and gender.

Section (5.5.3) concludes the chapter with a description of the pro-drop phenomenon in Hadari, showing that it is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic as verbs agree with the subject in person, number, and gender.

Chapter 6 Modality and Aspect

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the concepts of mood and aspect in Modern Standard Arabic. The chapter first starts with an overview of the theory of grammaticalization and provides examples of grammaticalized forms in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. The next section provides an overview of the basic definitions regarding mood and modality. The topic of mood was introduced in section (3.9), thus the next section in this chapter discusses modal verbs and lexical modality in Modern Standard Arabic. After the overview of Modern Standard Arabic modality, the chapter describes modal verbs in Hadari, comparing them to modal verbs used in Modern Standard Arabic. The section on Hadari modal verbs provides a list of unique modal verbs employed in the dialect that express epistemic and deontic modality, along with examples further illustrating the two.

The second part of this chapter discusses grammatical aspect (as opposed to lexical aspect) in Modern Standard Arabic and in Hadari. The section begins with an introduction to basic terminology regarding the notion of aspect and some of the main descriptive views in Arabic regarding the topic. Next, the section reviews some of the existing descriptions of aspect in the spoken dialects of Arabic, acknowledging the descriptions provided by Alnajjar (1984), Holes (2004), and Brustad (2000). The chapter concludes with a description of lexical aspect in Hadari, which is expressed through a group of motion verbs that mark aspect when combined with main verbs.

6.2 Grammaticalization:

As a general definition, grammaticalization refers to the gradual change a lexical item undergoes in the process of becoming a grammatical item (Heine 2002). The notion of grammaticalization is viewed through both diachronic and synchronic perspectives. From a diachronic perspective, grammaticalization refers to the evolution of a grammatical form from a lexical form, while the synchronic perspective pertains to the usage of a single form in multiple contexts that vary from concrete to abstract (Esseesy 2007: 191). A lexical form goes through a number of logical processes that contribute to its grammaticalization; desemanticization,

extension, decategorialization, and erosion. During desemanticization a lexical item loses, partially or totally, its concrete semantics and becomes more abstract. Then the lexical item starts to occur in new specialized contexts that differ from the contexts it generally occurs in through the process of extension. After extension, the lexical item starts losing its lexical morphosyntactic characteristics which ultimately lead to phonetic reduction, or erosion (Heine 2002, Lehmann 1995, cited in Essees 2007:194).

For example, the Modern Standard Arabic future marker *sawfa* was historically a full noun meaning ‘tolerance’ that could be marked as definite and from which causative form *sawwaf* ‘make someone wait’ is derived (Ibn Manẓūr 1955). The future marker lost its lexical meaning, through desemanticization, and became restricted to marking future and went through a process decategorialization which caused it to lose its morphosyntactic properties as it can no longer take the definite marker (Essees 2007:192). The future marker has also undergone a process of phonetic erosion as it occurs as the clitic *sa-* in Modern Standard Arabic which attaches to imperfective verbs to mark future. The stages of the future marker in Modern Standard Arabic reflect the stages of grammaticalization proposed in Hopper and Traugott’s grammaticality cline. The cline postulates that a content word becomes grammaticalized into a grammatical word which in its turn is grammaticalized to a clitic to finally become an inflectional affix (Hopper and Traugott 2003:6) following figure illustrates the cline:

Content word > Grammatical word > Clitic > Inflectional affix

Figure 6.1 Hopper and Traugott’s cline of grammaticality

An example of a lexical item that is the result of grammaticalization from Hadari is the future marker *yābi* which also exists in Hadari as a fully functioning lexical verb as well. Originally, *yābi* is a verb, which means ‘he wants’, that has gone has lost its lexical meaning and became more abstract through semantic bleaching and whose use has been extended to the specific context of marking an imperfective verb as

future. The marker has also gone through the process of erosion as it now coexists with the clitic *b-*, a truncated form of the future marker *yəbi*.

Furthermore, the process of grammaticalization is predominantly a unidirectional as lexical forms become grammatical forms which become more grammatical going down the cline (Heine 2002:4, Haspelmath 2008:32). It should also be taken into consideration that although the inflectional affix occurs at the end of the cline, it is not the end of the cycle as it is possible for an affix to become zero (Givón 1979:209, cited in Esseezy 2007).

Both synchronic and diachronic interpretations are used to describe grammaticalization in the literature. However, for the purposes of this thesis, only the synchronic interpretation which focuses on the occurrence of a single form in different context is used in the description of grammaticalized modal and aspectual markers in Hadari.

6.3 Modal Verbs

The grammatical category of mood pertains to the reality status of a proposition. This term refers to an inflectional category modifying a verb, which differs from the category of modality. Modality is expressed through the use of modal verbs, which provide a periphrastic alternative to morphologically expressed mood, as modals also indicate the reality or factuality of a given situation (Trask, 1993:173-74) (Palmer, 2001:4). Palmer notes that, cross linguistically, languages essentially have a binary system to describe mood; propositions rooted in reality or the factual are labeled 'realis', and propositions based on assumptions are labeled 'irrealis'. Furthermore, Palmer notes that these two terms are often used when typologically describing mood across languages, instead of more specific terms like 'indicative' and 'subjunctive' (Palmer, 2001:4). Furthermore, the category of modality is broadened to include a variety of modal systems, mainly epistemic and evidential, and deontic and dynamic. Epistemic modality is related to the speaker's judgment regarding a factual proposition, while evidential modality is the speaker presents the

evidence they have to prove the factuality of the proposition (Palmer, 2001:8). Deontic modality expresses obligation or giving permission to a certain individual, thus it is external, whereas dynamic modality is related to the individual's ability or willingness, and thus it is internal (Palmer, 2001:9 -10).

The topic of mood and modality in Modern Standard and Colloquial Arabic has received considerable attention from a number of linguists. Holes (2004:223) states that mood and modality in Modern Standard Arabic are 'intimately bound', as mood is expressed in the inflectional morphology of affixation and modality is expressed by lexical verbs in the same sentence. What Holes refers to here is the interaction between prefixing verbs and the modal verbs described in this section. Furthermore, Holes (1990:198-204) provides examples of the interaction between aspect and lexical modal verbs in Bahraini Arabic noting that although the spoken dialects have no mood morphology, irrealis and realis are expressed through aspectual markers. Holes' descriptive approach focuses mainly on the various moods resulting from combining the two aforementioned elements in the dialect.

Another description of mood in Colloquial Arabic is provided by Brustad (2000), who compares mood in four spoken dialects of Arabic; Moroccan, Syrian, Egyptian, and Kuwaiti. Brustad's main focus is describing mood in the morphological form of the imperfective verb in the four dialects, and she does not address lexical markers of modality. Brustad cites Mitchell and El-Hassan (1994) as a source that describes lexical modal verbs in Arabic. Although Mitchell and El-Hassan do provide a detailed account of modal verbs in colloquial Arabic, the main focus of their description is dialects spoken in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine and does not include any of the dialects spoken in the Gulf area.

This section provides an overview of modal verbs and modal expressions in Modern Standard Arabic and a description of modal verbs and modal expressions found in Hadari.

6.3.1 Modality in Modern Standard Arabic

Palmer (2001:86) notes that epistemic modality is a property of the speaker, as it expresses the speaker's beliefs or attitude towards a certain proposition, or the degree of factuality he/she assigns to a proposition. On the other hand, deontic modality is linked to events that are potential or have not been realized. Many languages, including English, use the same verbal auxiliaries/forms to express both epistemic and deontic modality. The following English examples, which are ambiguous between epistemic or deontic (Palmer 2001:86):

(507) He may come tomorrow.

(508) The book should be on the shelf.

(509) He must be in his office.

This formal ambiguity does not occur in Modern Standard Arabic, as the language has different verbs to express each type of modality. Epistemic modality in Modern Standard Arabic formally marks the relationship between the speaker and the proposition. A verb expressing epistemic modality is always marked with a subject agreement suffix marking gender, person and number, allowing for pro-drop to occur (section 5.5.2). Furthermore, objects of epistemic modal verbs can be expressed by pronominal suffixes. Syntactically, epistemic modal verbs are followed by a finite subordinate clauses marked with the complementizer *'anna* (complementizers are discussed further in Chapter 11). In other words, these auxiliary verbs behave like regular verbs in Modern Standard Arabic in the case of lexical modality. Some of the epistemic modal verbs in Modern Standard Arabic include *ḥasib* 'think', *ḍan* 'assume', *wajad* 'find', and *'ad* 'consider' (Firanescu 2008:234). What is noteworthy is that these verbs are not simply auxiliary verbs used in the language, but full lexical verbs that can occur in the perfect or the imperfect as demonstrated in the following examples of the epistemic verb *ḥasib* 'think' in Modern Standard Arabic:

(510)	yaḥasab	'anna	l-ḥarb-a	'intahat
	think.IMPERF.3SG.M	COMP	DEF-war-ACC	be.over.PERF.3SG.F
	'He thinks that the war was over.'			

(511) hiya ḥasib-at 'anna l-ḥarb-a 'intahat
 she think.PERF-3SG.F COMP DEF-war-ACC be.over.PERF.3SG.F
 'She thought that the war was over.'

(512) ḥasib-a-ha 'intahat
 think.PERF-3SG.M-3SG.F be.over.PERF.3SG.F
 'He thought it was over.'

Deontic modality in Modern Standard Arabic is expressed through verbs like *yajib* 'must' and *yanbaḡi* 'should' (Firanescu, 2008:235). Deontic verbs are marked for the third singular masculine by default and they do not show agreement with the subject like epistemic verbs do, nor do they allow pronominal suffixes to be attached to them. Subjects of deontic modal verbs are optional in Modern Standard Arabic, and are expressed by adding an adpositional phrase after the verb, the adpositional 'ala 'on' must follow the verb and have the subject follow it or the subject pronoun attached to it. Like epistemic modal verbs, deontic verbs are followed by subordinate clauses. However, the subordinate clause is always introduced by the non-factual complementizer 'an (discussed in Chapter 11) and is headed by a verb marked by the subjunctive mood marker -a (3.9). Deontic verbs are always in the imperfective in Modern Standard Arabic (Firanescu, 2008:235) as the following examples of the verb *yajib* 'must' demonstrate:

(513) yajib 'an nusaa'id-a l-fuqara'-a
 must COMP help.IMPERF.1PL-SUB DEF-poor-ACC
 'We must help the poor.'

(514) yajib 'ala Salim 'an yusaa'id-a l-fuqara'-a
 must on Salim COMP help.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB DEF-poor-ACC
 'Salim must help the poor.'

(515) *yajib nusaa'id al-fuqara'
 must help.IMPERF.1PL DEF-poor
 'must help the poor'

Moreover, deontic modality can be expressed by using modal expressions, a combination of the preposition *min* 'from' and a noun, (Firanescu, 2008:235) that are semantically deontic as in the following examples:

- (516) min ad-ḍaruuri 'an nusaa'id-a l-fuqara'-a
 from DEF-necessary COMP help.IMPERF.1PL-SUB DEF-poor-ACC
 'It is of necessity that we help the poor.'
- (517) min al-mafruuḍ 'an nusaa'id-a l-fuqara'-a
 from DEF-imposed COMP help.IMPERF.1PL-SUB DEF-poor-ACC
 'It is of necessity that we help the poor.'
- (518) min al-waajib 'an nusaa'id-a l-fuqara'-a
 from DEF-duty COMP help.IMPERF.1PL-SUB DEF-poor-ACC
 'It is by duty that we help the poor.'

6.3.2 Modality in Hadari

The expression of epistemic and deontic modality in Hadari is less complex than it is in Modern Standard Arabic. Modal verbs in Hadari are followed by a finite subordinate clause, however, unlike Modern Standard Arabic; the complementizers introducing the subordinate clauses are optional in Hadari. Epistemic modality in Hadari is expressed through some verbs that resemble those found in Modern Standard Arabic, as well as other verbs that are unique to the dialect. Like regular verbs, these epistemic verbs are marked for person, number and gender, which allows pro-drop to occur. Furthermore, these verbs allow attachment of pronominal suffixes as shown in examples (522) and (525). In addition to the aforementioned characteristics, epistemic verbs in Hadari can occur in the perfective and the imperfective. The following examples demonstrate epistemic verbs used in Hadari:

- (519) ('əhuwa) yḥəsib əl-imiṭḥaan səhil (LR)
 (he) think.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-test easy
 'He thinks that the test is easy.'
- (520) ('əhuwa) yḥəsib 'ənnə l-imiṭḥaan səhil (A)
 (he) think.IMPERF.3SG.M comp DEF-test easy
 'He thinks that the test is easy.'
- (521) ('əhuwa) ḥəsəb əl-imiṭḥaan səhil (A)
 (he) think.PERF.3SG.M DEF-test easy
 'He thought that the test would be easy.'
- (522) ('əhuwa) ḥəsəb-ə səhil (A)
 (he) think.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.M easy
 'He thought that it is easy.'

- (523) ('əhuwa) həgə l-yaahaal ga'diin (I)
 (he) assume.PERF.3SG.M DEF-children awake.PL
 'He assumed that the children were awake.'
- (524) ('əhyə) həgət əl-yaahaal ga'diin (A)
 (she) assume.PERF.3SG.F DEF-children awake.PL
 'She assumed that the children were awake.'
- (525) ('əhyə) həgət-hum ga'diin (A)
 (she) assume.PERF.3SG.F-3PL awake.PL
 'She assumed that the children were awake.'

Besides epistemic verbs, Hadari employs a set of periphrastic and grammaticalized expressions, usually in the form of a prepositional phrase consisting of preposition and noun and a verbal phrase consisting of a verb and a noun, that express epistemic modality. These expressions function like regular verbs in that they show subject agreement and take pronominal suffixes. Table 6.1 provides a list of the epistemic expressions in Hadari along with examples of each:

epistemic expression	meaning
'ələ baal-ə on mind-3SG.M	'he thinks'
'ə-baal-ə on-mind-3SG.M	'he thinks'
həs-baalə feel-mind	'he thinks' lit. 'his mind felt'
həʔ fi baal-ə put in mind-3SG.M	'assume/think'
ytəraawaa-l-ə imagine-for-3SG.M	'he imagines' lit. 'it appears to him'
xaaʔr-ə heart-3SG.M	'he wishes'
wəd-ə desire-3SG.M	'he wishes'

Table 6.1 Epistemic expressions in Hadari

- (526) 'ələ baal-ə l-imiṭhaan səhil (A)
 on mind-3SG.M DEF-test easy
 'He thinks the test is easy.'
- (527) ytəraawaa-l-i l-imiṭhaan səhil (A)
 imagine-for-1SG DEF-test easy
 'I imagine the test is easy.'

(528) wəd-hum ysaafuun amriikə (R)
 desire-3PL travel.IMPERF.3PL America
 'They wish to travel to America.'

(529) həs-baal-hə gaa'də b-əl-bæet (I)
 feel-mind-3SG.F sit.imperf.3SG.F in-DEF-home
 'She thinks she is at home.'

Deontic Modality in Hadari is expressed by employing expressions that indicate obligation, duty, and possibility. However, these expressions in Hadari do not require to be preceded by a prepositional *min*. Instances of deontic expressions in Hadari include *laazim* 'necessary', *əl-məfruḍ* 'imposed, obligation', *əl-'əwlə* 'superlative form of 'first'', *əl-'əḥsən* 'the best (thing to do)'. The following examples demonstrate the uses of these expressions in Hadari:

(530) laazim 'ənaam əmbəččir (LR)
 necessary sleep.IMPERF.1SG early
 'I must go to bed early.'

(531) əl-məfruḍ truḥ-uun əd-dəfaan (LR)
 DEF-obligation go.IMPERF-3PL DEF-burial
 'You must attend the burial.'

(532) əl-'əwlə ubuu-i ykəlm-ə (LR)
 DEF-first father-POSS.1SG talk.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.M
 'My father should talk to him.'

(533) əl-'əḥsən nəntir-hum (A)
 DEF-best wait.IMPERF.1PL-3PL
 'We should wait for them.'

6.4 Aspectual auxiliaries

This section discusses the category of aspect in Hadari and introduces some of the more frequently used aspect markers in the dialect. The definition of aspect is a grammatical category that describes the status of a verb in relation to time. Whaley (1997:204) defines aspect as a grammatical tool used to focus on the internal temporal makeup of a situation. Comrie (1976:81) differentiates aspect from tense as follows: while tense is defined as ‘a grammaticalization of action in time’, aspect is defined as ‘a grammaticalization of internal temporal constituency’. A further distinction that requires attention is the one between grammatical aspect and lexical aspect. Grammatical aspect is a form of aspect that is expressed using morphemes or auxiliaries that are specifically used to mark aspect; a set of morphemes that modify main verbs and cannot stand alone in a sentence. Lexical aspect, on the other hand, is aspect inherent to the meaning of a lexical item, regardless of the presence of formal aspectual marking. For example, in English the difference between the sentences ‘I slept’ and ‘I was sleeping’ is a matter of grammatical aspect; in the first sentence the speaker is not making any particular reference to the flow of time and is just describing an action that took place in the past while in the second sentence although the speaker is describing an action that took place in the past, he/she is adding extra information about the flow of time or what is grammatically called imperfective aspect. In contrast to this, lexical aspect in English is expressed by numerous verbs some of which describe state, stative verbs, like *seem* in ‘He seems nice.’ while others express an action, for example dynamic verbs, like *eat* in ‘He was eaten by a lion.’

The topic of aspect in Arabic, both Classical and Modern, is the source of much controversy and debate among linguists. On the one hand, linguists have conventionally described the verbal system of Arabic as aspectual, believing that the affixal morphology of the verb is employed for conveying aspect (Holes 1990, Badawi 2004, Fleish 1979). On the other hand, there are linguists who argue that Arabic has a three-way tense system that is considered a recent development, implying that aspect is carried syntactically by aspectual auxiliaries (Holes 2004; Badawi 2004; Horesh 2009). This section will not go into further detail about the controversy since

it has been sufficiently debated elsewhere (Fleish, 1979; Horesh, 2009:455). Instead, this section will provide an overview of the unique aspectual auxiliaries found in Hadari.

This section draws upon Balqees Alnajjar's (1984) findings, whose study represents the first attempt of its kind to substantially describe aspect in Kuwaiti. While Alnajjar's study describes both lexical aspect and grammatical aspect, the main focus of this section is grammatical aspect. The time gap between Alnajjar's detailed study of aspect and this current treatment allows for an interesting comparison, as it highlights some recent changes the dialect has undergone.

Another prominent linguistic view of aspect is presented by Kristen Brustad (2000), who provides a comparative study of aspect in four different dialects of Arabic: Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti. Brustad's study takes a largely functional approach to describing aspect in the four dialects, mainly by associating aspect with what she labels 'contour narrative' rather than providing a grammatical description of aspect. Brustad describes the function of these verbs in terms of 'narrative contour' (Brustad 2000:192) as they mark 'twists and turns' in the narrative. Some of Brustad's 'contour verbs' in Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti Arabic are shown in Table 6.2:

function	dialect	Moroccan	Egyptian	Syrian	Kuwaiti
go: next action		mša	raah	raah	raah
come: next action		Ja	ga	'ija	ya
get up: new or sudden action		naad	'aam	'aam	gaam
sit down: continue action verbs		bqa	'a'ad	'a'ad	gə'əd
complete: state/motion verbs		təmm	tann	tamm	təm
return: resume previous action		'aawəd	rigi'	riji'	rijə'

Table 6.2: 'Contour verbs' (Brustad 2000:193, 6-3)

Brustad states that speakers use this contour tool in two ways: the first way is to control the narrative dimension of actions and highlight a background even, or add progressive or stative dimension to foreground events. The other function of these auxiliaries, according to Brustad, is to give contour to the entire narrative, preparing the listener to what she labels ‘twists and turns’ of the upcoming foregrounded events. The listed Kuwaiti auxiliary *ya* is in fact a verb of motion that has no aspectual meaning in modern Hadari, although it might have been a marker of aspect the Kuwaiti dialect Brustad bases her description upon: a much older version of the dialect used by uneducated speakers, which is no longer in use.

6.4.1 Aspectual auxiliaries in Hadari

Hadari employs a variety of motion verbs that function as auxiliary markers of grammatical aspect, with the main verbs to mark aspect. The following is a list of these aspect markers in Hadari along with examples:

1. *gaam* ‘to stand’ or ‘get up’.

This aspectual auxiliary is a grammaticalized form of the verb ‘to stand’ in Hadari. When combined with a main verb, this auxiliary marks the beginning of an action or event. It means that the subject began performing an action that they have not been doing before. In traditional grammar this form of aspect is labeled inchoative. Alnajjar (1984:24), notes that this verb can also occur as a main verb, but has no inchoative aspect. The following examples from my data demonstrate the verb *gaam* functioning as main verb:

(534) *haya gaamət* (A)
haya wake.up.PERF.3SG.F
 ‘Haya woke up.’

(535) *Salim kaan gaa‘əd u gaam* (A)
Salim was sit.IMPERF.3SG.M and stand.up.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘Salim was sitting and then he stood up.’

As an aspectual marker, *gaam* can occur in the present (536), past (539) and imperative (542)-(544).

- (536) wələd-ha gaam yəmshi (I)
son-POSS.3SG.F AUX.INCH.3SG.M walk.IMPERF.3SG.M
'Her son started to walk.'
- (537) əl-mərə gaam-ət thawəš əl-şbayan (I)
DEF-woman AUX.INCH.3SG-F yell.IMPERF.3SG.F DEF-boys
'The woman started yelling at the boys.'
- (538) yoom šafn-i 'əşşbt gaam (I)
day see.PERF.3SG.M-1SG get.angry.PERF.1SG AUX.INCH.3SG.M
yraggi'
patch.up.IMPERF.3SG.M
'When he saw me getting angry he started to calm me down.'
- (539) yoom nəzəl mə'aš-a gaam (I)
when come.DOWN.PERF.3SG salary- 3SG.M AUX.INCH.3SG.M

ħətt-a b-iid-i
put.PERF.3SG.M-3SG in-hand-1SG
'When he received his salary he gave it all to me.'
- (540) gaam wadda 'yal-a l-bəet (LR)
AUX.INCH.3SG.M take.PERF.3SG.M children- 3SG.M DEF-home
'He took his children home.'
- (541) kalləmat-ha omm-i u gaam-at (TV)
talk.to.PERF.3SG.F-3SG.F mother-1SG and AUX.INCH.3SG-3SG.F

iz'ələt
become.UPSET.PERF.3SG.F
'My mother talked to her (about it) and she got upset.'
- (542) guum ruḥ əş-şəlat (TV)
AUX.INCH.IMP.2SG.M go.IMP.3SG.M DEF-prayer
'Go to the Friday's prayer!'
- (543) bənt-ək tə'bana guum wəd-ha (TV)
daughter- 2SG.M sick.IMPERF.3SG.F AUX.INCH.IMP.2SG.M take-3SG.F

ṭ-ṭabib
DEF-doctor
'Your daughter is sick take her to the hospital.'

- (544) Fahad gaa'id yštəgəl guumu (LR)
 Fahad AUX.PROG.3SG.M work.IMPERF.3SG.M AUX.INCH.IMP.3PL

sa'd.u-h
 help.2PL-3SG.M
 'Fahad is working go help him.'

2. *bidə* 'start' or 'begin'

This verb is similar to *gaam* to some extent. When combined with present tense verbs, *bidə* marks the beginning of an action. As a main verb, *bidə* is intransitive and takes one argument. The following examples demonstrate the occurrence of *bidə* as main verb:

- (545) əl-fələm bidə (LR)
 DEF-movie start.PERF.3SG.M
 'The movie started.'

- (546) əl-'ətlə bidə-t (A)
 DEF-vacation start.PERF.3SG-F
 'The vacation started.'

Alnajjar (1984:24) points out that as an aspectual marker, the difference between *bidə* and *gaam* is that *bidə* is 'lexically inchoative', which means that it cannot occur with past tense verbs as it refers to an action that did not take place in the past. The occurrence of *bidə* is constrained to present tense and in some cases imperative.

- (547) bidə ygələt 'ələihum (I)
 AUX.begin.M insult.IMPERF.3SG.M on.3PL
 'He began insulting them.'

- (548) Mariam bidə-t tsug sayyara (A)
 Mariam AUX.begin-F drive.IMPERF.3SG.F car
 'Mariam started driving a car.'

- (549) ahl əl-'ərus bidə-əu yqdmon 'əşir (I)
 family DEF-bride AUX.begin-3PL serve.IMPERF.3PL juice
 'the bride's family started serving juice'

- (550) 'əbdə 'əktəb əl-wajəb (A)
 AUX.begin.IMP.2SG write.IMP.2SG.M DEF-homework
 'Begin writing your homework!'

- (551) 'əbda-əu 'əzf-əu məqtu'ət-kum (A)
 AUX.begin.IMP-3PL play.IMP-3PL piece-3PL
 'Begin playing your piece!'

3. *ga'id* 'to sit' or 'be seated'

This verb marks progressive when it occurs as an aspectual auxiliary. The following examples demonstrate *gaa'id* as a main verb:

- (552) Salim gə'əd 'ələ l-kirsi (A)
 Salim sit.PERF.3SG.M on DEF-chair
 'Salim sat on the chair.'

- (553) Salim gə'əd (A)
 Salim sit.PERF.3SG.M
 'Salim sat down.'

The aspectual auxiliary can occur with imperfective (554)-(555), perfective (557)-(558), and imperative (559)-(560), and are marked for future (561)-(562) with either the future tense marker affix *b-* or the tense auxiliary *rah* (Alnajjar, 1987:45). The following examples illustrate.

- (554) ga'd-a tsoləf b-et-telefon (LR)
 PROG-F talk.IMPERF.3SG.F IN-DEF-telephone
 'She's talking on the phone.'

- (555) bəet-na ga'din ytəğdon (LR)
 home-1PL PROG.3PL have.lunch.IMPERF.3PL
 'Our family is having lunch.'

- (556) Ahmed gə'əd yəmši (R)
 Ahmed PROG.3SG.M walk.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Ahmed is walking.'

- (557) Issa gə'əd təğədda 'ənd-i (I)
 Issa PROG.PERF.3SG.M have.lunch.PERF.3SG.M at-1SG
 'Issa had lunch at my place.'

- (558) Mḥəmməd gə'əd dərəs (A)
 mohammed PROG.PERF.3SG.M study.PERF.3SG.M
 'Mohammed stayed and studied.'

- (559) 'əg'əd təgəddə (I)
 PROG.IMP.2SG.M have.lunch.IMP.2SG.M
 'Stay and have lunch!'
- (560) gə'əd-ay nam-ay 'ənd-hum (I)
 PROG.IMP.2SG-F sleep.IMP.2SG-F at-3PL
 'Sleep over at their place!'
- (561) b-ag'əd 'əktəb (A)
 FUT-PROG.1SG write.IMPERF.1SG
 'I will be writing.'
- (562) Asmaa b-təg'əd tdərrəs 'yaal-ha (LR)
 Asmaa FUT-PROG.3SG.F school.IMPERF.3SG.F children-POSS.3SG.F
 'Asmaa will be teaching her children.'

4. *tam* 'to complete' 'to finish'

This verb indicates that an action is being continued or repeated. Alnajjar (1984:44) notes that this verb used to occur as a lexical verb in the dialect and then developed into an aspectual auxiliary. It seems that the lexical use of this verb is completely lost in today's spoken dialect and only the aspectual marker remains, as this verb never appears in my data as a main verb, only as an aspectual marker. This durative auxiliary can occur with present tense verbs only, as the following examples demonstrate:

- (563) təm yəktəb əl-wajib (A)
 DUR.3SG.M write.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-homework
 'He continued writing his homework.'
- (564) təm-t təštəki mən rəyil-ha (R)
 DUR.3SG-F complain.IMPERF.3SG.F from husband-POSS.3SG
 'She kept on complaining about her husband.'

5. *raḥ* 'to go'

Although this is really a tense marker, this expression is listed here due to its unique method of tense marking, and is semantically contrasted with the aspectual marker *rəjə'*. As a main verb, *raḥ* is the past tense form of the verb meaning 'to go', as the following examples show:

- (565) xaaləd raḥ (A)
 Khaled go.PERF.3SG.M
 'Khaled went.'

- (566) xaaləd raḥ əl-bæet (A)
 Khaled go.PERF.3SG.M DEF-home
 'Khaled went home.'

As an aspectual marker, *raḥ* occurs with present tense verbs to mark that the action will take place in the future. Alnajjar (1984: 90) distinguishes *raḥ* from future marker *b-* (as discussed in section 3.8); she traces the future tense marker *b-* back to the verb *abghii* 'I want' from Modern Standard Arabic. Alnajjar states that the verb has lost its original meaning of intent in Hadari and has acquired a sense of volition instead. She also states that intent was transferred to *raḥ*, which is a verb of motion that grammaticalized into an idiosyncratic tense marker in Hadari.

- (567) raḥ aruḥ əl-bæet (LR)
 FUT go.IMPERF.1SG DEF-home
 'I will go home.'

- (568) raḥ ndawim baačər (LR)
 FUT go.to.WORK.1PL tomorrow
 'We will go to work tomorrow.'

- (569) raḥ yəg'əd yədrəs (A)
 FUT PROG.3SG.M study.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'He will stay and study.'

6. *rəjə'*, or more commonly *rəd* 'to return'

This auxiliary can be considered semantically antonymous to *raḥ* and is one of the few auxiliary markers not described by Alnajjar. It describes a change of a state from being x to being y or to mark the beginning of an action that has ended in the past. As a main verb, it means 'to return' as the following examples demonstrate:

- (570) xaaləd rəjə' (A)
 Khaled return.PERF.3SG.M
 'Khaled returned.'

- (571) xaaləd rəd əl-bæet (A)
 Khaled return.PERF.3SG.M DEF-home
 'Khaled returned home.'

The auxiliary marker can occur with verbs in the past and present tense as well as with imperative verbs as the following examples illustrate:

- (572) 'əşşəb awwal shəi b'dæen rəjə' (LR)
 become.angry.PERF.3SG.M first thing later return.PERF.3SG.M

 ysoləf u ytəgəšmə
 chat.IMPERF.3SG.M and joke.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'He got angry at first then he started chatting and making jokes.'

- (573) 'əli rəd ytənajər (LR)
 Ali return.PERF.3SG.M fight.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Ali returned to his old habit of fighting.'

- (574) rədd-ət əgləṭət 'ələ r-rəyyal (R)
 return.PERF.3SG-F insult.PERF.3SG-F on DEF-man
 'She started to insult the man (again).'

- (575) ərjə' ruḥ əl-xayyaṭ goll-a (LR)
 return.IMP.2SG.M go.IMP.2SG.M DEF-tailor.M tell.IMP.2SG.M-3SG.M
 ygaṣər-ha
 to.shorten.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F

'Go back to the to the tailor and tell him to shorten it!'

7. *Kaan*

This is one of the most commonly used auxiliaries in Hadari. It can be used as a past tense quasi-copula verb (see section 8.2) and as an aspect marker when it is combined with a present verb it marks it as a habitual imperfective. In early descriptive grammars of Modern Standard Arabic, it is listed as a modal verb that marks time merely because it shares syntactic effects on the case system with modal verbs (Firanescu 2008:234). Alnajjar (1984:212) notes that when the aspectual auxiliary *kaan* is combined with the continuous marker *gaa'ad*, it indicates that the action was being carried out in the past and is no longer true in the present, interrupted by another event as in:

(576) kaan yədrəs barra (A)
 was.M study.IMPERF.3SG.M outside
 'He used to study abroad.'

(577) kaan ga'əd yədrəs barra (A)
 was.M PROG.M study.IMPERF.3SG.M outside
 'He was studying outside.'

(578) um-i kaan-ət twadi-ni l-madrīsa(l)
 mother-POSS.1SG was-F take.IMPERF.3SG.F-1SG DEF-school
 'Mom used to take me to school.'

8. *čud*

Alnajjar (1984:190) lists *cuud* as an auxiliary aspect marker in Kuwaiti, stating that it is used to mark an even that has taken place and finished, having an adverbial effect similar to 'already'. The following examples are provided by Alnajjar's data:

(579) riht ašūuf-a b-əl-məl'əb willa huə
 go.PERF.1SG see.IMPERF.1SG in-DEF-playground to.my.surprise he

 čud lə'əb u xəl'f'əs
 already play.PERF.3SG.M and finish.PERF.3SG.M
 'I went to see him at the playground only to find that he had already finished playing.'

(580) uhu čud kitāb maktuub gəbil' la
 he already write.PERF.3SG.M letter before NEG

 yšūuf-ha
 see.IMPERF.3SG.M-3sg.F
 'He had already written a letter before he saw her.'

This aspectual auxiliary rarely occurs in this sense anymore and can only be heard in the speech of speakers who are in their 60s or 70s. Due to modernization and exposure to English through school and media, *čud* has been

replaced by the English loanword *already*, which can be found in the speech of speakers of all age groups⁸.

6.5 Summary

This chapter surveys the basic concepts regarding modality and syntactic aspect. The chapter includes an overview of the grammaticalization framework, using to discuss some examples in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. In section (6.3.2), modality in Hadari is shown to be less complex than modality in Modern Standard Arabic. Hadari expresses both epistemic and deontic modality through a group of modal verbs and modal expressions followed by an optional complementizer to introduce the complement clause. Furthermore, in addition to the modal verbs found in Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari uses a group of epistemic expressions to express wishes, desires, and assumptions that are unique to the dialect and are not found in Modern Standard Arabic. In deontic modality, Modern Standard Arabic uses modal expressions (usually a definite noun) that are obligatorily marked with a preposition *min* 'from'. However in Hadari, deontic expressions do not allow to be preceded by preposition

The next section (6.4) describes a group of aspectual auxiliaries that occur in Hadari. This section surveys a range of the most commonly used aspectual auxiliaries in Hadari by comparing my data with Alnajjar's findings. The comparison sheds light on some of the changes the dialect has undergone in the past 20 years, mainly the replacement of some of the auxiliaries by ones from other languages and the complete loss of some other.

⁸ Alnajjar (1984) lists additional aspectual markers that have not been included in this section for a number of reasons. First, some auxiliaries have been completely lost and have no replacements in today's Hadari. Second, other auxiliaries listed by Alnajjar are in fact a property of dialects other than Hadari, like Egyptian and Lebanese, which may have been borrowed from those dialects.

Chapter 7 Valency

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the concept of valency in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic with relation to major typological valency changing processes employed in languages. This section starts out with an overview of the different valency changing processes employed by different languages of the world which consist of four valency decreasing processes: passives, anti-passives, noun incorporation, and reflexives, and two valency increasing process; applicatives and causatives. The introduction of the processes is then followed by Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Prototype (1980), which proposes a description of valency and how it interacts with transitivity. Finally, the section compares the valency changing processes employed by both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari in an attempt to shed some light on some of the similarities and differences found between the two.

7.2 A typology of valency changing processes

7.2.1 Valency decreasing processes

1. Passive

Passive constructions are characterized by a decrease in the number of arguments required by a transitive verb, thus making a monotransitive intransitive, or a ditransitive monotransitive. The verb or verb group in the passive construction is distinct from its active counterpart. In addition, objects are promoted to subject position of the passive construction and subjects are demoted into optional adjuncts. There are mainly two types of passives: morphological passives and periphrastic passives. The morphological passive involves verb modification, as in Japanese (581), while periphrastic passives are formed by adding an auxiliary to mark the main verb as passive as in English (2):

(581) Japanese:

- (a) ayumi wa keeki o tabe-ta
ayumi TOP cake ACC eat-PERF
'Ayumi ate the cake.'

- (b) Keeki ga (dareka ni) tabe-rare-ta
 cake NOM somebody by eat-PASS-PAST
 'The cake was eaten (by somebody).'

(582) English:

- (a) John ate the cake.
 (b) The cake was eaten (by John).

Passive constructions occur predominantly in nominative-accusative languages.

2. Antipassive

While the passive construction is characteristic of (but not limited to) nominative-accusative languages, the antipassive construction is characteristic of (but not limited to) ergative-absolutive languages (Silverstein 1972, 1976). In ergative-absolutive languages, the patient is marked as absolutive and the agent is marked as ergative in the active construction, while in the antipassive construction the agent is marked as absolutive, the object by a case lower on the case hierarchy and the verb is marked as antipassive. The following example is from Chukchi, spoken in eastern Siberia:

(583) Chukchi (Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652)

- (a) 'aaček-a kimit'-ən ne-nl'etet-ən
 youth-ERG load-ABS 3PL.SUBJ-carry-AOR.3SG.OBJ
 'The young men carried away the/a load.' (TRANS)
 (b) 'aaček-ət ine-nl'etet-g'e-t kimit'-e
 youth-ABS ANTIP-carry-AOR.3SG.SUBJ-PL load-INSTR
 'The young men carried away the/a load.' (ANTI)

3. Noun incorporation

The third type of valency decreasing device is noun incorporation, in which the object is incorporated into the verb, which renders the verb intransitive. According to Whaley (1997:187) noun incorporation is most common when the object being incorporated is indefinite. The following example demonstrates:

(584) Tiwa, Kiowa Tanoan, New Mexico (Allen, et al 1984:12)

- (a) ti-pi-sheuw-we
 1SG.ABS-deer-hunt-PRES
 'I'm hunting for deer'
 'I'm deer-hunting'

4. Reflexive

Reflexivization is the fourth of the major types of valency decreasing devices. It is expressed by modifying the morphology of the verb in order to make it reflexive. There are two methods by which languages can express reflexivity; the first is the morphological modification and the second is the analytic or periphrastic reflexive. The periphrastic reflexive is expressed in a language by adding special reflexive pronouns to the construction, making them arguments of the verb. Thus, although both methods are able to express reflexivity, only the morphological reflexive causes the valency to decrease while it remains unchanged in analytic reflexive constructions (Whaley, 1997:186). An example of a morphological reflexive construction can be found in the Halkomelem, a Salishan language spoken in Canadaa

(585) Halkomelem (Gerdt 1989)

- a. ni kwóləšt-ám'š-əs kw̥tə swáy'qe'
 AUX shoot-1.OBJ-3.ERG DET man
 'The man shot me.'
- b. ni kwóləšt-ət kw̥tə swáy'qe'
 AUX shoot-self DET man
 'The man shot himself.'

7.2.2 Valency increasing processes

1. Applicative

Applied constructions, or simply applicatives, are constructions in which an oblique is promoted to object position, and the main verb is inflected to reflect its increased transitivity. The following example is from Tukaang Besi, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesiaa

- (586) Tukaang Besi (Donohue 1999: 256)
- (a) Basic construction, two-place predicate
no-ala Te Kau
3.REALIS-fetch the Wood
'She fetched the wood.'
 - (b) Applicative construction, three-place predicate
no-ala-ako Te ina-su te kau
3.REALIS-fetch-APPL the mother-my the wood
'She fetched the wood (as a favor) for my mother.'

2.Causative

One of the most frequently used valency-increasing devices is the causative. Comrie (1989:165) defines a causative construction as a single expression describing two micro situations combined to give one macro situation. The first is the causing event, in which the causer triggers an action, while the second is the caused event, in which the causee is affected by the causing event. There are three types of causative constructions. The first is the analytical causative, which is a periphrastic construction formed by joining two clauses; the phrase containing the causer and its predicate is foregrounded while the phrase containing the causee and the outcome predicate is backgrounded. The following example demonstrates:

- (587) Mary made John clean the house.

The second type is the morphological causative, in which the verb is marked as a causative by a morphological modification, and the third type is the lexical causative (e.g. *teach*, which is the causative counterpart of *learn* and has an additional argument). The lexical and morphological causatives contrast with the periphrastic type in that the causing event and its effect are contained in one lexical item and the construction is monoclausal (Song, 2001:283). Japanese is an example of a language with a morphological causative:

- (588) Japanese (Song, 2001:283)

Kaanako	ga	Ziro	o	ik-ase-ta
Kaanako	NOM	ziro	ACC	go-CAUS-PERF

'Kaanako made Ziro go'

7.2.3 Hopper and Thompson's Transitivity Prototype:

The valency of a verb entails its transitivity. While valency relates to the number of arguments a verb can have, transitivity relates to the number of objects a verb can have, which is a reflex of its valency. Paul Hopper and Sandra Thompson develop a unique view of transitivity in their influential (1980) paper *Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse*. In this paper, they attempt to distinguish the parameters that comprise transitivity and argue that transitivity is a gradable value rather than a polar value. Hopper and Thompson postulate that these parameters, which reflect the degree of transitivity in a clause, are found universally among all languages and that the defining properties of transitivity are discourse-related. Table 7.1 lists the parameters, where A stands for agent and O for object:

	High	Low
PARTICIPANTS	2 or more	1
KINESIS	action	non-action
ASPECT	Telic	atelic
PUNCTUALITY	punctual	non-punctual
VOLITIONALITY	action is volitional	non-volitional
AFFIRMATION	affirmative	negative
MODE	Realis	irrealis
AGENCY	A is high in potency	A is low in potency
AFFECTEDNESS of O	O totally affected	O not affected
INDIVIDUATION of O	O is highly individuated	O non-individuated

Table 7.1 Hopper and Thompson's parameters of Transitivity

The parameters are further explained by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252)

- a. PARTICIPANTS: No transfer of action can take place unless at least two participants are involved, thus a clause with two or more participants is higher in transitivity than a clause with a single participant.
- b. KINESIS: Actions can be transferred from one participant to another; states cannot. Thus verbs that encode action entail high transitivity in a clause.
- c. ASPECT: An action viewed from its endpoint, i.e. a telic action, is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint. Thus, a clause with telic aspect is higher in transitivity than a clause with atelic aspect.

- d. PUNCTUALITY: Actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inception and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are inherently on-going. Thus, a clause with punctual aspect is higher in transitivity than a clause with non-punctual aspect.
- e. VOLITIONILITY: The effect on the patient is typically more apparent when the A is presented as acting purposefully, therefore a clause with an agent subject is higher in transitivity than a clause with a non-agent subject. Hopper and Thompson contrast the volitional *I wrote your name* with the non-volitional *I forgot your name*.
- f. AFFIRMATION: This is the affirmative/negative parameter; an affirmative clause is higher in transitivity than its negated counterpart.
- g. MODE: This refers to the distinction between 'realis' and 'irrealis' modality. A clause that encodes an action which either did not occur, or which is presented as occurring in a non-real (contingent) world, is lower in transitivity than one that encodes an event whose occurrence has reality status.
- h. AGENCY: It is obvious that participants high in Agency can affect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot. A clause with an agent subject that encodes a high degree of potency is higher in transitivity than its counterpart in which the agent has a low degree of potency. The sentences *George startled me* and *The picture startled me* are examples of agency as the earlier presents a perceptible event with perceptible consequences while the latter could be describing an internal state.
- i. AFFECTEDNESS OF O: The degree to which an action is transferred to a patient is a function of how completely that patient is affected, thus a clause with a highly affected patient is high in transitivity.

- j. INDIVIDUATION OF O: refers both to the distinctness of the patient from the A and to its distinctness from its own background; a clause with a highly individuated patient is high in transitivity. Hopper and Thompson present the following table that divides the conditions of this parameter as INDIVIDUATED and NON-INDIVIDUATED:

INDIVIDUATED	NON-INDIVIDUATED
Proper	Common
human, animate	inanimate
concrete	abstract
singular	Plural
Count	Mass
referential, definite	non-referential

Table 7.2 Conditions of the Individuation parameter (Hopper and Thompson (1980:253))

If a clause has two or more of the parameters mentioned above, then all parameters will 'agree' in terms of high or low transitivity, but will never be mixed. Based on the aforementioned parameters defined by Hopper and Thompson (1980:252), the Transitivity Hypothesis is formulated:

If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in transitivity according to any of the features, then if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere in the clause that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity. (Hopper and Thompson, 1980:255)

The hypothesis predicts that transitivity can be 'measured' through a set of parameters so that a given clause can be classified as more or less transitive than another (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 253). For example, the hypothesis predicts that the sentence *Jerry knocked Sam down* is more transitive than *Jerry likes beer* because it has the following components:

- (589) Kinesis: action
Aspect: telic
Punctuality: punctual
Affectedness of O: total
Individuation of O: high, referential, animate and proper

7.3 Valency in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari

7.3.1 Valency decreasing processes

7.3.1.1 The passive in Modern Standard Arabic

Since Arabic is nominative-accusative, it is unsurprising that it has a passive construction. Modern Standard Arabic has a morphological passive: passive verbs are formed by changing the internal vowel of the active verb. The following are some examples of active sentences each followed by their passive counterparts, which show a reduction in valency:

- (590) kasara Sami ṭ-ṭawilat-a
break.PERF.3SG.M Sami DEF-table-ACC
'Sami broke the table.'
- (591) kusira-t ṭ-ṭawilat-u
break.PERF.PASS-PN.3SG.F DEF-table-NOM
'The table was broken.'
- (592) kusira-t ṭ-ṭawilat-u (min-qibal Sami)
break.PERF.PASS-3SG.F DEF-table-NOM by Sami
'The table was broken by Sami.'
- (593) saraqa I-liṣ-u I-mujawharat-a
steal.PERF.3SG.M DEF-thief-NOM DEF-jewelry-ACC
'The thief stole the jewelry.'
- (594) suriqa-t al-mujawharat-u
steal.PERF.PASS-3SG.F DEF-jewelry-NOM
'The jewelry was stolen.'
- (595) suriqa-t al-mujawharat-u (min.qibal al-liṣ-i)
steal.PERF.PASS-3SG.F DEF-jewelry-NOM (by DEF-thief-GEN)
'The jewelry was stolen.'

In the passive examples (591), (592), (594) and (595), the patient is marked as nominative and it can either occur in preverbal or postverbal position which means that it can be fronted, however the agent in (592) and (595) cannot be fronted and must always occur in postverbal position.

7.3.1.2 The passive in Hadari

The formation of passives in Hadari involves a different morphological process from passivization in Modern Standard Arabic. The passive in Hadari is formed by employing the form VII verb template *'ən*, and agreement suffixes of gender and number that agree with the subject of the sentence. The imperfective form is usually used in didactic speech, for example in cooking shows and school lessons. The following is a list of examples of active and passive clauses in using verbs in both the perfective and the imperfective:

- (596) gal kəlmə (A)
say.PERF.3SG.M word
'He said a word.'
- (597) kəlmə 'əngal-ət (I)
word PASS.PERF-say.PERF-3SG.F
'A word was said.'
- (598) 'ən-gal-ət kəlmə (A)
PASS.PERF-say.PERF-3SG.F word
'A word was said.'
- (599) Haadi saalfə tin-gal b-Allah (LR)
this.F story PASS.IMPERF.F-say.PERF in-Allah
'By Allah! Is this a story that should be shared?'
- (600) yəmkīn tin-gal kəlmə b-əl-ğələt (TV)
maybe PASS.IMPERF.F-say.PERF word in-DEF-mistake
'A word maybe said in error.'
- (601) l-ə'yal əšrəbəu l-šai (A)
DEF-children drink.PAST.PL DEF-tea
'The children drank the tea.'
- (602) əl-šai 'ən-šərəb (TV)
DEF-tea PASS.PERF-drink.PAST.SG.M
'The tea has been drunk.'
- (603) 'ən-šərəb əl-šai (A)
PASS.PERF-drink.PAST.SG.M DEF-tea
'The tea has been drunk.'
- (604) əl-šai yin-šərəb (A)
DEF-tea PASS.IMPERF.M-drink.PAST.SG
'The tea is being drunk.'

In one of the occurrences, the speaker was recounting an incident that happened at work when the speaker wrongfully accused one of her colleagues of opening a private package that belonged to the speaker. The colleague was later proven to be innocent and the speaker was reprimanded by her boss.

- (607) ookəi yəmkən 'ənʒəlm-ət bəs mən gəbəl (I)
 Ok maybe misjudge.PASS.PERF-3SG.F but from before
- 'ənʒaadət b-saalfə 'əl'an
 catch.PASS.PERF-3SG.F in-story worse
- 'Ok she might have been misjudged [in this situation] but she got caught red-handed in a worse situation'

In the following example, the speaker was telling a folktale about a poor lumberjack's daughter who ends up marrying a prince.

- (608) əl-wələd təzəwwaj u 'ən'ərfət əl-bənt (I)
 DEF-guy marry.PERF.3SG.M and spread.PASS.PERF.3SG DEF-girl
- axiiran
 finally
- 'the guy [prince] got married and the girl [he married] has finally become known [to the public]'

In this example, the speaker was recounting an incident that happened during her wedding reception. One of the guests stole a very expensive watch from the pile of gifts and no one had noticed that the watch was gone until after the reception was over. The guest who stole the watch is unknown to the speaker hence the use of the passive.

- (609) əs-saa'ə 'ənbaag-ət mən bəen kəl əl-hədaayə u (I)
 DEF-watch steal.PASS.PER-3SG.F from between all DEF-gifts and
- l-ħəraamiyya 'ənʔəššət bəen əl-mə'aaziim
 DEF-thief.F hide.PASS.PERF-3SG.F between DEF-guests
- məħħəd 'ənʒaad
 nobody catch.PASS.PERF-3SG.F
- 'The watch was stolen from the stack of gifts and the thief was hidden between the guests, nobody was caught from'

Passive constructions are used in more semantically and pragmatically constrained contexts like apologies or excuses, but nevertheless, they are abundantly present. The following example is from my own recorded data, and contextualizes example (597) ‘a word was said’ was uttered (the speaker was explaining why one of his friends was angry with him and stopped visiting him. He attempts to distance himself from what he has said by using a passive construction instead of an active one:

(610)	yə'ni		ma	yšiir	kəl	yoom	əl-gə'də
	mean.IMPERF.3SG.M		NEG	appropriate	every	day	DEF-gathering
	'ənd-i	aanə,	u	ma	fi-hə	šəi	idə gəlt
	at-1SG	me,	and	NEG	in-3SG.F	something	if say.PERF.1SG
	maa	l-i	xəlg	'əg'əd	u	idə gəlt	
	NEG	for-1SG	feel	sit.IMPERF.3SG	and	if say.PERF.1SG	
	mənəu	ytəhəməl	dəwaniə	kəl	yoom	kəlmə	
	who	bare.IMPERF.3SG.M	gathering	every	day	Word	
	'ən-gaal-ət		u	bəs,	kəfər-na		
	pass.perf-say.PERF-3SG.F		and	enough,	become.heathen-1PL		

‘What I mean is that it’s not appropriate to have a gathering every day at my place! And there’s nothing wrong with me saying that I don’t feel like hanging out and that no one is willing to have a gathering at their place every single day! A word was said (I am sorry that I said it, or I didn’t mean it in that sense, it’s not that serious) did we become heathens (for saying it)?’

7.3.1.3 The medio-passive in Modern Standard Arabic

A further valency-reducing affix in both Modern Standard Arabic and in Hadari is the form VII ‘ən- intransitivity prefix, also known in traditional Arabic grammar as the ‘compliance pattern’ or ‘medio-passive’. This prefix is the source of the dialectal passive-forming prefix ‘ən-. This prefix is used in Modern Standard Arabic to turn a transitive verb to an intransitive verb, also known as *medio-passive*, which results a semantic effect similar to that of passivization, as the agent of the verb is rendered anonymous or unnecessary. The following are some examples of a simple transitive

clause, an intransitive version of it using the intransitivity prefix *'an-* and a passive version of it in Modern Standard Arabic:

(611) Transitive: Salim-u kasar-a n-naafiqat-a
 Salim-NOM break.PERF.PASS-1SG.M DEF-window-ACC
 'Ali broke the window.'

(612) Mediopassive: 'in-kasar-at an-naafiqat-u
 INTRANS-broke-3SG.F Def-window-NOM
 'The window broke.'

(613) Passive: kusirat an-naafiqat-u
 Break.PERF.PASS.3SG.F DEF-window-NOM
 'The window has been broken.'

There is a fine semantic distinction between the mediopassive, intransitive clause and the passive clause in Modern Standard Arabic: the intransitive sentence means that the window either broke on its own or that the act was carried out by someone. In contrast, the passive sentence definitely entails that the window was broken by someone and that it was not an accident. This distinction is almost completely lost in Hadari, where the passive construction is ambiguous between the two interpretations: the window could have broken on its own or been broken by somebody. Of course, such ambiguity can be resolved in Hadari by the addition of adverbials.

Maalej (2009) compares the compliance pattern with the internal passive in Modern Standard Arabic by noting that although both forms 'upgrade' a patient from accusative to nominative and detransitivize the verb, they each have different functional motivations for demoting the logical subject. He argues that the absence of the logical subject from the internal passive structure is caused by ignorance of the identity of the agent, or fear of the outcome of mentioning the agent's name (Al-Nadiri, 1995:503). On the other hand, the logical subject of a compliance pattern is the 'compliant noun', which is the logical agent of the act of compliance, thus it need

not surface (Maalej, 2009:626). The following are some examples of the compliance reflexive pattern, glossed REFLEX-COMP, in Modern Standard Arabic:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (614) 'in-kasara
REFLEX-COMP.PERF-break.PERF.3SG.M
'The glass broke.' | z-zujaaj-u
DEF-glass-NOM |
| (615) 'in-qalabat
REFLEX-COMP.PERF-rotate.PERF.3SG.F
'The picture rotated.' | al-'ayt-u
DEF-picture-NOM |
| (616) 'in-qalaba
REFLEX-COMP.PERF-rotate.PERF.3SG.M
'The spell backfired.' | s-siħr-u
DEF-magic-NOM |
| (617) aḏ-ḏalaam-u
DEF-darkness-NOM | 'in-jalaa
REFLEX-COMP.PERF-dissipate.PERF.3SG.M
'The darkness faded away.' |

7.3.1.4 The ‘impersonal passive’ in Hadari

Holes identifies another form of passive construction in colloquial Arabic, labeled the ‘impersonal passive’. This passive form does not require any overt argument. Holes proposes that this form of passive only occurs with a few intransitive verbs, such as *nam* ‘sleep’ (Holes, 1990:182). Holes provides the following example:

- (618) h-al-bæet ma yinnaam fi-h
This-DEF-house NEG 3MSG-PASS-sleep in-3SG.M
'This house can't be slept in.'

Holes also states that this example is a variant of the following impersonal passive sentence in which the impersonal nature of the verb is clearer:

- (619) ma yi-nnaam fi hal-beet
NEG PASS.IMPERF-sleep.PERF.3SG.M in this-DEF-house
'This house can't be slept in.'

The passive template shows gender agreement with the grammatical subject in regular passive constructions. However, in impersonal passive constructions, the

verb takes the third person masculine prefix *yin-* as a default. The following examples from my data illustrate the use of impersonal passives in Hadari:

- (620) maa yin-ṭəl'ə' b-ha-al-jəw (R)
 NEG PASS.IMPERF-go.out.PERF.3SG.M in-this-weather
 'It is impossible to go out in this weather.'
- (621) yin-ṭələ' b-ha-al-jəw (A)
 PASS.IMPERF-go.out.PERF.3SG.M in-this-weather
 'It is possible to go out in this weather.'
- (622) yin-simə' 'ihni (I)
 PASS.IMPERF-HEAR.PERF.3SG.M here
 'It is possible to hear in here.'

In this sense, the prefix is functionally similar to the English expletive pronoun 'it' in that it indicates a subject even though the subject is semantically empty and grammatically absent. Moreover, attempting to change the tense of the aforementioned examples would make the sentences unacceptable, if not ungrammatical:

- (623) *maa 'ən-ṭəl'ə' b-ha-al-jəw
 NEG PASS.IMPERF-go.out.PERF.3SG.M in-this-weather
 'It's impossible to go out in this weather.'
- (624) ??b-yən-ṭələ' b-ha-al-jəw
 FUT-PASS.IMPERF-go.out.PERF.3SG.M in-this-weather
 'It is possible to go out in this weather.'
- (625) ?? 'ən-simə' 'ihni
 PASS.PERF-hear.PERF.3SG.M here
 'It was possible to be heard here.'

In contrast, tense and gender agreement is found in regular passives in Hadari, where the verbal prefix is a marker of gender agreement as well as tense. The following examples illustrate:

- (626) 'əʃidət-hə ma tən-wəkil (LR)
 stew- 3SG.F NEG PASS.F-eat.IMPERF.IMPERF.3SG
 'Her stew can't be eaten.'

- (627) 'əʃidət-hə 'ən-wəkil-at (A)
 stew-3SG.F PASS.PERF-eat.PERF.3SG-F
 'her stew was eaten.'

From the examples provided, it is obvious that the use of impersonal passive in Hadari is restricted to a few intransitive verbs like *yənnaam* 'to be slept in' *yənṭalə* 'got out in' and *yənsimə* 'be heard'. Contrastively, regular passive constructions can be applied relatively freely to any verb in Hadari. As noted in the introduction on Hadari passives, the imperfect tense of the regular passive can be observed in daily conversations, cooking shows, classrooms and any other didactic contexts.⁹

7.3.1.5 Reflexives in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic mainly employs periphrastic constructions to express reflexivity, forming these constructions with a combination of verb followed by the noun *nafs* 'soul' with a pronominal possessive suffix attached to it:

- (628) ra'a-t nafsa-ha jamiila
 see.PERF.3SG-F self-3SG.F beautiful.F
 'She thought herself beautiful.'
- (629) yuḥaddiṭu Sami nafsa-hu
 speak.IMPERF.3SG.M Sami self-3SG.M
 'Sami talks to himself.'

Modern Standard Arabic also has a morphological reflexive. The prefix *t-* is added to certain templates to render those forms reflexive, for example form II verb *akala* 'eat.3sg' becomes *t-akala* 'disintegrate'. These verbs are discussed in more detail in the morphology chapter. Reflexivity decreases the valence of a verb, for example a monotransitive verb like *aalama* 'hurt' requires two arguments; agent and patient, but the verb *t-aalama* 'be hurt' has a valency of one.

⁹ Brustad relates her work on passive constructions in spoken Arabic to Li and Thompson's (1976) article 'Subject and Topic: A new typology of language' noting that the lack of passive constructions is a typological characteristic of what they call topic-prominent languages.

7.3.1.6 Reflexives in Hadari

Hadari has the same periphrastic reflexive employed by Modern Standard Arabic, as it uses the nouns *nəfs* 'soul', *ruuḥ* 'soul' and more recently '*umr* 'age' plus a pronominal possessive suffix to convey reflexivity:

(630) Sami 'əwwər ruuḥ- əh (TV)
 Sami hurt.PERF.3SG.M self-3SG.M
 'Sami hurt himself.'

(631) laa tʒəi' 'umr-ək (TV)
 NEG lose.IMPERF.3SG.M self-2SG.M
 'Don't lose yourself.'

(632) ḥəliimə jəkkər-ət ruuḥ- hə (LR)
 Halima make.ugly.CAUS-3SG.F self-3SG.F
 'Halima made herself ugly.'

Hadari also has a morphological reflexive, which is formed by applying verb template X '*əstəf'al*' to nouns and adjectives, making them the predicate of the construction.

The following are examples of morphological reflexives in Hadari:

(633) aḥməd ʃaar čəlb (A)
 Ahmed become.PERF.3SG.M dog
 'Ahmed turned into a dog (he became mean).'

(634) aḥməd 'əstəčəlb (A)
 Ahmed dog.REFL.PERF.3SG.M
 'Ahmed became mean.'

(635) dəbəḥ ruuḥ- əh 'ələ l-wəʒʔifa (A)
 kill.PERF.3SG.M self-3SG.M on DEF-job
 'He killed himself to get the job.' (figurative: he really wanted the job)

(636) 'əstəḍbəḥ 'ələ l-wəʒʔifa (I)
 kill.REFL.PERF.3SG.M on DEF-job
 'He killed himself to get the job.' (figurative: he really wanted the job)

(637) ʃaar məriiz (A)
 become.PERF.3SG.M sick.M
 'He became sick.'

(638) 'əstəmrəz (A)
 sick.REFL.PERF.3SG.M
 'He became sick.'

(639) ġəriib (A)
 weird.M
 'weird'

(640) 'əstəġrəb (A)
 weird.REFL.PERF.3SG.M
 'He became puzzled.'

7.3.2 Valency-increasing processes

7.3.2.1 Causatives in Modern Standard Arabic

As discussed in the introduction, the typology of causatives is dependent upon the distance between the causer and the causee. Bernard Comrie states that a three-way typological distinction can be based on the relationship between what he calls 'the causative of a macro-situation and the resultant micro-situation' (Comrie 1989:166).

There are three types of causatives that occur in Modern Standard Arabic: morphological, lexical and analytical. The morphological causative is formed in Modern Standard Arabic by using form II verbs; verbs that are derived from the basic form I by duplicating the second consonant of the root. Form IV is another causative forming pattern in Modern Standard Arabic, which involves adding the prefix 'a- to a form I verb. The main function of the prefix 'a- is that of increasing transitivity; it turns an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. Although 'a- shares this transitivity function with the duplicating process of form II, it does have more functions and meaning in Modern Standard Arabic that are transitive but not necessarily causative. Sibawayh (8th century) lists 10 functions of form IV, some of which are 'became X' and 'to consider something X' among others, but the main function is increasing the transitivity of a verb. As is the case with causative constructions, the valency of the verb and the number of arguments it requires increases when using this form in Modern Standard Arabic. Example (641) is of an intransitive clause, and examples (642) and (643) illustrate its causative counterparts:

(641) fariḥa Sami
 become.HAPPY.PERF.3SG.M Sami
 'Sami became happy.'

Another form of causative constructions that is employed in Hadari is the analytical or periphrastic causative. In this type of causative construction verbs are employed as auxiliaries to show causality in a given situation. In Hadari the verb *xəl* ‘allow, let’ when used in combination with another verb, the outcome can mean either ‘allow to x’ or ‘force to x’. To avoid confusion between causality and permissiveness speakers add the adverb *ǧaṣab* ‘compulsorily’ at the end of the sentence or switch to the more commonly used morphological causative if possible. The function of the periphrastic causative is equal to that of the morphological causative, although they are syntactically different. As demonstrated in examples of morphological causative, the verb’s transitivity increases when the verb is marked as transitive, while in the analytical causative, the verb does not undergo any change in valency. Note that the auxiliary *xəl* is marked for tense and agreement with the newly added agent as well as carrying pronominal affixes that agree with the cause, as the following examples demonstrate. These examples show simple sentences followed by sentences with the causative marker *xəl* to demonstrate the difference:

- (648) *Aḥməd ʔaah* (A)
 Ahmed fall.PERF.3SG.M
 'Ahmed fell down.'
- (649) *xələd xəllə Aḥməd ʔiḥ* (A)
 Khaled CAUS.PERF.1SG.M Ahmed fall.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Khaled caused Ahmed to fall down.'
- (650) *xələd xəllə ʔiḥ* (A)
 Khaled CAUS-PERF.1SG.M fall.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Khaled made him fall down.'
- (651) *xələd ʔxalli Aḥməd ʔiḥ* (A)
 khaled CAUS.IMPERF.1SG.M Ahmed fall.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Khaled causes Ahmed to fall down.'

We have seen so far that Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari both have causatives as valency-increasing constructions. However, neither Modern Standard Arabic nor Hadari have applicative constructions, which is typologically predictable since applicatives are a feature of languages that have minimal case marking, such as Bantu, Austronesian, and Uto-Aztecan (Polinsky 2011).

7.3.3 Summary:

From the survey presented in the chapter, Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic have a number of valency changing processes that either decrease or increase the valency of a verb. Valency decreasing processes in Hadari are passive, impersonal passive (Holes 1990:182), and reflexives which are divided in their turn to periphrastic reflexive and morphological reflexive. Modern Standard Arabic, on the other hand, employs the passive, medio-passive, and reflexives, both periphrastic and morphological. Furthermore, neither Hadari nor Modern Standard Arabic employs noun incorporation or anti-passive as valency decreasing processes. On the other hand, Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic use one valency increasing process; the causative. The causative in both varieties is either expressed morphologically through verb derivation, or periphrastically by combining an auxiliary verb and an imperfective main verb.

Chapter 8 Non-verbal Predications

8.1 Introduction

This chapter describes types of non-verbal predications employed in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. In the introduction, the chapter introduces an overview of key terminology and concepts according to which the description will be carried out. The definitions are then followed by a typological overview of how these concepts are encoded cross-linguistically, using illustrative examples from various languages. The next section describes types of nonverbal predicates, namely adjectival, nominal, and prepositional, and provides examples of each type. Next the section discusses verbal and nonverbal copular constructions in Modern Standard Arabic. The syntactic functions of definite marking in Arabic are also described in the section on Modern Standard Arabic, shedding light on previously mentioned functions like definiteness and clause formation (section 4.2), possessive constructions (section 3.6), and attributive adjective (section 4.6). The section concludes with a description of verbal and nonverbal copulas employed in Hadari.

The term ‘copula’ is used here to refer to a function word that links a subject to its nonverbal predicate. The nonverbal predicate is a phrase that identifies the subject, characterizes it, or provides information regarding its location. The following are some examples of nonverbal predicates from English (bracketed):

(652) The car is [a Porsche].

(653) The car is [red].

(654) The car is [in the garage].

The aforementioned English examples illustrate the three possible categories of nonverbal predicates: nominal, adjectival, and locative, respectively (Dryer 2007b:225). Note that the label ‘locative’ is used here instead of ‘adpositional’ to avoid analyzing languages from an Anglo-centric perspective, as not all languages mark the locative predicate with a preposition like English does.

8.2 Types of Copulas

Languages of the world code copulas differently: some have overt copulas, some have zero copulas, while others employ clitics or affixes to mark these constructions. Furthermore, copulas vary in terms of category. English, as illustrated in examples (652), (653) and (654), uses overt verbal copulas to link subjects and predicates. Some languages use grammaticalized verb forms as copula verbs, like Wambaya (Nordlinger 1998, cited in Dryer, 2007b:225), a language spoken in Australia, which uses the verb ‘sit’ as a copula

(655) mirra girr-aji nganaarra-ni
sit EXCL.1PL-HABIT.PERF Brunette.Downs-LOC
‘We stayed at Brunette Downs.’

(656) ini gi-n galyurringi mirra
this3SG-PROG water sit
‘This is water.’

Other languages use nonverbal copulas, often grammaticalized from pronouns. An example of such languages is the Nilotic language Nuer, spoken in Sudan. Nuer has copulas that are derived from the third person pronouns, which are used with subjects that are first or second person. The following example is of the copula occurring with a first person subject (Dryer, 2007b:226):

(657) ε gän dec
be.SG 1SG soldier
‘I am a soldier.’

Other languages have no overt copulas to introduce nonverbal predicates, resulting in what is known as a zero copula construction, like Russian (Stassen 2005, cited in Dryer 2007b):

(658) Moskova gorod
MOSCOW CITY
‘MOSCOW IS A CITY’

Another type of copula can be found in languages that have clitics functioning as copulas attached to the predicate. In Eastern Pomo, a Hokaan language spoken in

California, adjective and locative predicates are marked with the clitic 'è (McLendon 1975, cited in Dryer 2007b:227)

(659) bāhe' ̀odī-'è
 that good-COP
 'That one is good.'

(660) káy-ṇa-'è
 ground-on-COP
 'It's on the ground.'

8.3 Nonverbal predicates

Cross-linguistically, there are three main types of nonverbal predicates: adjectival, nominal, and locative (Dryer 2007b: 227). The realization of each of these demonstrates considerable variation between the world's languages. For example the adjective in a language like English or Japanese is considered a separate word class from nouns, as it has different grammatical forms and functions than nouns. However, adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic demonstrate many of the qualities and grammatical functions found in nouns (3.4.2), thus adjectives and nouns are often coalesced into one category. However, this section presents the three types of nonverbal predicates separately and highlights some of the variations found in the languages of the world.

1. Adjectival predicate

This first type of nonverbal predicate is the adjectival predicate. Adjectives are considered as one of the major lexical categories found cross-linguistically that, just like nouns and verbs, carries semantic content. For example, in English adjectives have their own separate category, they modify nouns in their attributive function, and they co-occur with the copula verb *be* in their predicative function:

(661) Alice is crazy.

2. Nominal predicate

The nominal predicate is the second common type of nonverbal predicates.

These are often used in equational constructions like *John is a teacher*. English sentences that have a nominal predicate are formed with the copula *be*, just like English adjectives. However, this is not necessarily true for all of the languages of the world as many of them have ways of distinguishing adjectival and nominal predicates. For example in Mizo, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in India adjectival predicates, shown in (662), do not require a copula while nominal predicates, illustrated in (663), do (Dryer 2007b:230):

- (662) keel a tahii
 goat 3SG dead
 'a goat is dead'

- (663) ka aar a nii
 1SG hen 3SG be
 'it is my hen'

3. Locative predicate

Locative predicates are predicates that indicate the location of the subject, as in *Suarez is in America*. Locative predicates refer to the origin of the subject as in *Suarez is from Mexico*. Once again, this type of predicate is marked with the same copula used for adjectival and nominal predicates in English. However, it is not uncommon for languages to employ a copula different from the one used for adjectival or nominal predicates to mark locative predicates. In Koromfe, a Niger-Congo language spoken in Burkina Faso, adjectival and nominal predicates are marked the same while the locative predicate is marked with a different copula (Dryer 2007b:239):

- (664) mə la a jɔ
 1SG be ART chief
 'I am the chief'

- (665) də lugni a binia la
 3SG cat.PL ART black.PL be
 'his cats are black'

(666) də wε daanε
 3sg be.at at.home
 'he is at home'

Furthermore, the locative predicates are often distinguished descriptively from the other two predicate types for other reasons too. For example, in English the nominal and adjectival ones are traditionally described as predicative complements while the locative one is described as an adverbial complement, despite the fact that it is also predicative. This is in an attempt to capture the fact that it shows some similarity with the adverbial function in terms of locative meaning and a less fixed position in word order, the latter a feature found cross-linguistically, hence the interest in the phenomenon of locative inversion. This division is also reflected in Stassen's (2005) categorization, where he separates nominal and adjectival predicates from the locative ones.

8.4 Copulas in Modern Standard Arabic:

8.4.1 Verbal copula

Modern Standard Arabic has a zero copula construction, which is characterized by two components: present tense and a definite subject. Zero copula clauses always occur in the present tense while clauses that display past or future tense are always marked with a temporal auxiliary verb (discussed in the sections on aspectual auxiliaries 6.4 and modal verbs 6.3). As for the second component, definiteness or specificity, a noun phrase occurring in a clause initial position as subject with a nonverbal predicate can be a proper noun, a definite pronoun, a noun marked with a pronominal suffix (i.e. a possessive) or a noun marked with the definite marker *al-*. In other words, a noun phrase must be definite if it occurs as the subject of a nonverbal predicate in copular sentence (Hoyt 2008: 385, Holes 2004:199). An indefinite phrase consists of an adjective or noun lacking the definite prefix *al-*. Conversely, in a phrase where both the subject noun and the predicative adjective/noun are marked with the definite prefix *al-*, the construction is a definite noun phrase with an attributive adjective (section 4.2). If a phrase contains two nouns, of which the first is indefinite and the second is a definite or proper noun, then it is a possessive construction (3.6).

However, in a zero copula clause, a definite or specific noun is followed by non-verbal predicate which could be an indefinite noun or adjective or a preposition phrase. The following examples illustrate these patterns in Modern Standard Arabic:

1. Adjectival predicate

- (667) al-fatat-u ṣaġirat-un
 DEF-girl-NOM small-NOM.INDEF
 'The girl is small.'

2. Nominal predicate

- (668) al-fatat-u ṭalibat-un
 DEF-girl-NOM student-NOM.INDEF
 'The girl is a student.'

3. Locative predicate

- (669) al-fatat-u fi l-madrasat-i
 DEF-girl-NOM in DEF-school-GEN
 'The girl is in school.'

The following examples set the aforementioned sentences in the past tense, using the existential *kaana* 'was':

- (670) al-fatat-u kaanat ṣaġirat-an
 DEF-girl-NOM was.3SG.F small.F-ACC.INDEF
 'The girl was small.'
- (671) al-fatat-u kaanat ṭalibat-an
 DEF-girl-NOM was.3SG.F student.F-ACC.INDEF
 'The girl was a student.'
- (672) al-fatat-u kaanat fi l-madrasat-i
 DEF-girl-NOM was.3SG.F in DEF-school-GEN
 'The girl was in school.'

Several linguists that follow the generative grammar approach adopt the 'null copula' analysis, which holds that although the present tense verbal clause does not

have an overt copula in the surface form, a verb does exist in the underlying structure of the sentence (Farghal, 1986:104; Fassi, 1993:51; Olmsted Gary 1982:23).

However, the null copula analysis does not hold when tested against case assignment in Arabic, an argument proposed by Benmamoun (2000:42). Copulas function like regular transitive verbs in Modern Standard Arabic in that they assign accusative case to their objects, as illustrated by examples (670) and (671). Thus, if the null copula analysis predicts that there is an underlying copula verb in the zero copula clauses, then one would expect that the predicate/object in these clauses would also be marked in the accusative case (Bahloul, 2006a:43, 2006b:511). However, both of the predicates illustrated in examples (667) and (668) are marked with the nominative case instead of the accusative predicted by the null copula analysis. Consequently, the proposal that zero copula sentences have verbs that have been suppressed does not stand.

Furthermore, the existential *kaan* described as a copula by generative grammarians belongs to a set of quasi-copulas verbs. These verbs correspond to *was* or *will be* in English, but only in meaning and not in category. In the following examples of Egyptian Arabic, the existential *kaanit* 'was' is glossed as a copula in Olmsted Gary and Gamal Eldin (1982):

(673) hiyya mudarrisa
she teacher.F
'She is a teacher.'

(674) hiyya kaanit mudarrisa
she COP.PAST.F teacher.F
'She was a teacher.'

As previously defined, a copula is a category that links the subject with its non-verbal predicate, but another key element of the definition is that a copula is semantically void (Trask, 1993:64). The quasi-copulas, presumed to be copulas by the null copula analysis (674), all have meanings that differentiate them from one another in addition to marking present, past and future tenses. They also have declarative and

imperative forms. While the case assignment argument (Benmamoun 2000:42) is a very sound argument against the null copula analysis, it does not address the fact that the zero copula construction is being compared to quasi-copulas and not copular verbs. The quasi-copula verbs in question are labeled as temporal modal verbs by some linguists, and they are used to change the tense in zero copula clauses that are present by default. Arabic modal verbs are described in more detail in their own respective section (6.3). Thus, Modern Standard Arabic does not have an overtly realized copular verb as suggested by generative grammarians and the null copula analysis. *Kaana* is not a modal verb because it does not have modal meaning, but a tense carrying quasi-copula.

8.4.2 Nonverbal copula

Modern Standard Arabic, like other Semitic languages, also has a copular construction that does not involve a verb/zero copula, but a pronoun (Eid 1983:42). The pronominal paradigm has been described in the pronoun section 5.5.1), thus, only the pronominal copula constructions will be discussed here.

One of the various functions of personal pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic is its role as copula in third person subject verbless clauses (Eid, 1983). As discussed in the previous section, one of the main components of a zero copula construction is definiteness; the subject must be definite and the nominal or adjectival predicate must be indefinite. Modern Standard Arabic employs personal pronouns in order to express definite equational sentences and avoid the ambiguity between them and definite noun phrases. Thus, when the predicate is marked as definite in a copular construction then a personal pronoun, which agrees with the subject in number, person and gender, precedes it. The following are examples of equational constructions in Arabic:

(675) Aḥmad huwa I-maḡluub
 Ahmed he DEF-defeated.M
 'Ahmed is the defeated (one).'

(676) ??Aḥmad al-maḡluub
 Ahmed DEF-defeated.M
 'the defeated Ahmed'

(677) Aḥmad huwa l-muʿallim
 Ahmed he DEF-teacher.M
 'Ahmed is the teacher.'

The difference between the equative examples (675), (677) and the attributive example in (676) is that in the equative clauses the subject and the predicate are reversible, while the elements in the attributive examples are not reversible.

The aforementioned examples in (675) and (677) contain adjectival and nominal predicates, and they are both equational copular clauses. However, example (676) is not a clause, but a noun phrase. The pronominal copula construction is only licensed with third person subjects (and therefore third person pronouns) in Modern Standard Arabic. Moreover, this type of pronominal construction does not occur with locative predicates:

(678) *aḥmad huwa fi l-madrasat-i
 Ahmed he in DEF-school-GEN
 'Ahmed is at school.'

Thus, although their occurrence is limited to nominal and adjectival predicates in third person, nonverbal copulas do occur in Modern Standard Arabic.

A similar phenomenon is found in Modern Hebrew in which an anaphoric pronoun is inserted after the topic (Matras & Shiff 2005: 182). However, Modern Hebrew differs from Modern Standard Arabic in that the pronoun in an equational copular sentence with nonverbal predicate is considered optional in Modern Hebrew while it is obligatory in Modern Standard Arabic. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon in Modern Hebrew (Matras & Shiff 2005: 182):

(679) íma šel-i i meód peʿ il-á
 mother of-1SG she very active-SG.F
 'My mother is very active'

(680) prág ʿir yefeyf-iyá kmó ciyúr
 Prague city pretty-SG.F like painting
 'Prague is a city [that is] pretty like a painting.'

8.5 Copulas in Hadari

8.5.1 Verbal copula

Zero copula constructions are found in the Hadari dialect, which is similar to Modern Standard Arabic. As illustrated in the section on definiteness 4.2, the definite marker in Hadari differs from the one used in Modern Standard Arabic in terms of phonology only, with the Hadari marker being *ə/-* while the marker is *al/-* in Modern Standard Arabic. In terms of syntactic functions, the definite marker is identical in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. In Hadari, zero copula clauses are always in the present tense and the subject is marked as definite. The following are examples from Hadari illustrating zero copula clauses with the three types of nonverbal predicates:

1. Adjectival predicate

- (681) əl-kuwæet zʕgir-ə (I)
DEF-kuwait small-F
'Kuwait is small.'
- (682) ən-nəhaar ʔiwiil (R)
DEF-day long
'The day is long.'

2. Nominal predicate

- (683) əd-diktoor amriiki (A)
DEF-doctor American
'The doctor is an American.'
- (684) əl-kuwæet dəwlə ʕərəbiyy-ə (R)
DEF-kuwait country.F arab-F
'Kuwait is an Arabian country.'

3. Locative predicate

- (685) lə-kuwæet bəen lə-ʕrag u s-siʕdiyyə (R)
DEF-kuwait between DEF-Iraq and DEF-Saudi Arabia
'Kuwait is between Iraq and Saudi Arabia.'

- (686) əl-jaam'ə b-faalmər (A)
 DEF-university in-Falmer
 'The campus is in Falmer.'

8.5.2 Nonverbal copula

Personal pronouns in equational copular clauses occur in Hadari, as they do in Modern Standard Arabic, and they are used to express emphasis as well as to disambiguate between clausal and phrasal syntactic functions. In Modern Standard Arabic, if both the subject and the predicate are marked as definite, then resulting construction is phrasal, as in (676). However, in Hadari this is not necessarily the case as the construction can still be marked as clausal by changing the intonation: in this case, speakers raise the intonation at the end of the subject and use a falling intonation for the predicate as in example (689) (marked with ^ for rising and falling intonation). This change of intonation is also used when both the subject and the predicate are nouns, otherwise the absence of the intonational pattern combined with the absence of a pronominal copula renders the clause ungrammatical as in examples (691).

Like Modern Standard Arabic, the use of personal pronouns is limited to the third person with adjectival or nominal predicates in Hadari. As with zero copular constructions, the tense of pronominal clauses is the present. The following are examples of the pronominal copula in Hadari:

1. Adjectival predicate

- (687) Fahad 'əhuwa ʔ-ʔəwiil (A)
 Fahad he DEF-tall.M
 'Fahad is the tall one.'
- (688) Fahad ʔ-ʔəwiil (A)
 Fahad DEF-tall.M
 'The tall Fahad.'
- (689) Fahad^ ʔ-ʔəwiil (A)
 Fahad def-tall.M
 'Fahad is the tall one'

2. Nominal predicate

- (690) aṣ-ṣubaḥ 'əhumə l-ḥikkaam (R)
 DEF-Sabah they DEF-rulers
 'The Sabah family is the royal family.'
- (691) *aṣ-ṣubaḥ al-ḥikkaam (A)
 DEF-Sabah DEF-rulers
 'The Sabah family the royal family.'
- (692) aṣ-ṣubaḥ ^ al-ḥikkaam (A)
 DEF-Sabah DEF-rulers
 'The Sabah family is the royal family.'

Pronominal copulas are also required when the subject is a demonstrative instead of a definite noun. Predictably, the change of intonation can change the grammaticality of these examples with the use of a rising-falling intonation after the subject. The following examples are intended to show the need of demonstratives when there is no change in the tone:

- (693) *haaḍə l-bæet (A)
 this DEF-house
 'This the house.'
- (694) haaḍə 'əhuwa l-bæet (I)
 this he DEF-house
 'This is the house.'
- (695) həḍaak 'əhu l-wələd (I)
 that he DEF-boy
 'That is the boy.'
- (696) haadi 'ihi l-sayyara (A)
 this.F she DEF-car
 'This is the car.'

8.6 Summary

4.6 Copula constructions in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic show a variety of similarities and differences. Verbal copula in Hadari is formed in a similar manner to the verbal copula found in Modern Standard Arabic, as it is expressed in both varieties by the zero copula construction. Conversely, the expression of nonverbal copula involves the use of a personal pronoun after a definite subject noun and a definite nominal or adjectival predicate in both Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic. However, Hadari differs from Modern Standard Arabic in that it can employ intonation to mark a nonverbal copula construction, which renders the use of a personal pronoun optional in the dialect.

Chapter 9 Interrogatives

9.1 Introduction

This chapter pertains to types of interrogatives in Hadari. Section (9.2) presents a typological overview of both polar interrogatives and content interrogatives and their relation to word order cross linguistically. The next section (9.3) provides an overview of interrogatives in Modern Standard Arabic and draws a comparison between them and the interrogative constructions found in Hadari.

9.2 Typological overview

9.2.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar interrogatives express questions that attempt to elicit answers equivalent to ‘yes’ or ‘no’. Consequently, they are often referred to as ‘yes-no questions’.

Cross linguistically, there are overall seven typological strategies for forming polar question according to the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer 2005e:470).

The present section presents an overview of these types in order to set within a typological context the strategies used by Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari.

1. Interrogative particle

A relatively common way of forming polar questions is the addition of an interrogative particle to a declarative sentence. Modern Standard Arabic provides a good example of this strategy as it employs the question particle *hal* to change a declarative sentence into a question.

(697) akalta l-tufaḥat-a
eat.PERF.2SG.M DEF-apple-ACC
‘You ate the apple.’

(698) hal akalta l-tufaḥat-a
Q eat.PERF.2SG.M DEF-apple-ACC
‘Did you eat the apple?’

2. Interrogative verb inflection

The second strategy for coding polar interrogatives is the use of interrogative verbal morphology. In this strategy, a specialised affix attaches to the verb marking the sentence as a polar interrogative. Japanese is one of these languages as the suffix *-ka* attaches to the verb and marks the utterance as a question. Observe the following examples (Hinds 1986:97, cited in Dryer 2005e):

- (699) Taro wa Nara e ikimashita
Taro TOP Nara to go.PERF
'Taro went to Nara.'
- (700) Taro wa Nara e ikimashita-ka
Taro TOP Nara to go.PERF-Q
'Did Taro go to Nara?'

3. Both interrogative particle and interrogative verb inflection

The third type is of languages having both the aforementioned strategies as interrogatives can be marked by an interrogative particle added to a declarative sentence or by distinct interrogative verbal morphology. Dryer notes that this feature is not very common, as there are only 15 known languages that employ both strategies. The following examples are taken from Pirahã (Everett 1986:236, 237, cited in Dryer 2005e):

- (701) xíí bait-áo-p-l 'híx
cloth wash-TELIC-IMPF-PROX Q
'Are you going to wash clothes?'
- (702) xísi íb-áo-p-óxóí
3.animal hit.arrow-TELIC-IMPF-Q
'Did you arrow fish?'

4. Inversion

The fourth strategy is inversion. English uses this strategy, as do most European languages, but this feature is uncommon outside of Europe.

- (703) You are happy.
- (704) Are you happy?

5. Absence of declarative morpheme

The fifth method of coding polar questions is by absence of morphemes used in the declarative sentences. This is also considered one of the less common methods for coding a sentence as a polar question. In Zayse, spoken in Ethiopia, the forms of verbs used in declarative sentences contain a morpheme *-tt(e)-* that is absent from corresponding interrogative forms (Hayward 1990: 307).

(705) *hamá-tte-ten*
'I will go'

(706) *háma-ten*
'will I go?'

6. Intonation

The sixth and most common means of coding a sentence as a polar interrogative is by using a distinct intonation pattern. In this strategy the word order and morphology remain unchanged and only the change in intonation marks the utterance as an interrogative. Hadari belongs to this type of languages. While languages belonging to the first five types may also employ intonation along with their other respective methods, Hadari, like many languages, has no other way of coding polar interrogatives besides intonation.

9.2.2 Content interrogatives

This type of interrogative sentence requires specific information in the answer rather than the simple 'yes' or 'no' answers generated by polar questions. Moreover, content interrogatives contain an interrogative phrase consisting either of a single interrogative head word or multiple words, as in the italicized constituents in the examples taken from English below (Dryer, 2005f:378):

(707) *Who* did you meet?

(708) *Which store* did you go to?

In the case of single word interrogative constructions, the interrogative phrase is either an interrogative pronoun equivalent to e.g. 'who, what', or an interrogative adverb like 'why, where, how, when'. On the other hand, in interrogative phrases containing multiple words, the interrogative expression is typically the determiner in a noun phrase, marking the whole phrase as interrogative e.g. *what house, which child*.

Typological studies yielded two distinct patterns of cross linguistic position of interrogative phrases. The first type is of the interrogative phrase occurring obligatorily in situ as in English:

(709) Why did he die?

(710) Who killed him?

The second type is of languages that allow interrogative movement as the interrogative phrase does not obligatorily occur in situ. There are 614 languages out of a 901 language sample that fall into the second category according to the data presented in Dryer (2005f: 378) and Hadari is one of these languages along with most of the spoken Arabic dialects. As is the case with all natural languages, these two types are not to be considered as absolutes since they represent the two extremes of the spectrum and have minor mixed categories between them.

9.3 Interrogatives in Arabic

9.3.1 Polar interrogatives in Modern Standard Arabic

Polar interrogatives are expressed in Modern Standard Arabic through two strategies: interrogative particle and affixation. The affixation strategy could also be interpreted either as an instance of verb inflection or another type of clause-initial particle that occurs with V-initial clauses. Modern Standard Arabic uses the interrogative particle *hal* in clause initial position to ask a yes-no question. The second strategy, affixation, is expressed thorough attaching the interrogative prefix 'a- to the main verb of a declarative sentence. The following examples are of polar questions Modern Standard Arabic:

(711) *hal ta'rifin* *Aḥməd*
 Q know.IMPERF.2SG.F Ahmed
 'Do you know Ahmed?'

- (712) 'a-ta'rif-in Aḥməd
 Q-know.IMPERF.2SG.F Ahmed
 'Do you know Ahmed?'

9.3.2 Polar interrogatives in Hadari

Unlike Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari does not mark polar questions morphologically or syntactically. As mentioned in the typological introduction, the formation of polar interrogatives in Hadari depends on raising the intonation at the end of a declarative sentence. The following examples illustrate the change of intonation using the high tone accent *ˈ* on the final word of the sentence:

- (713) Mariam raahəṭ ad-dawam (A)
 Mariam go.PERF.3SG.F DEF-work
 'Mariam went to work.'

- (714) Mariam raahəṭ ad-dawám (LR)
 Mariam go.PERF.3SG.F DEF-work
 'Did Mariam go to work?'

9.3.3 Content interrogatives in Modern Standard Arabic

The interrogative phrase occurs in a fixed sentence initial position in Modern Standard Arabic. Although the position of the interrogative is fixed in Modern Standard Arabic, there are some cases where the interrogative phrase occurs at the end of the interrogative sentence with the aid of a prepositional auxiliary. Another context that allows interrogative phrases to occur in positions other than initial is poetry, where rhyme is held in a position higher than grammar:

- (715) aina ɢahaba Aḥməd?
 where go.PERF.3SG.M Ahmed
 'Where did Ahmed go?'

- (716) maɢa qala Ali?
 what say.PERF.3SG.M Ali
 'What did Ali say?'

(717) man yasma'u l-musiqa?
 who listen.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-music
 'Who is listening to music?'

(718) dahaba Aḥmed 'ila ain
 go.PERF.3SG.M Ahmed to where
 'Ahmed went where?'

Although constructions like example (718) are acceptable to some degree, they are not as common as the one in the earlier examples. The table 9.1 provides some of the basic question words used in Modern Standard Arabic:

Interrogative word	gloss
mata	when
'ain	where
man	who
'ay	which
maḍa	what
kaif	how

Table 9.1 Interrogative words in Modern Standard Arabic

9.3.4 Content interrogatives in Hadari

As discussed in the previous section, Modern Standard Arabic employs a syntactic fronting strategy to form content interrogatives. Hadari also employs a syntactic strategy but with some interesting differences. Hadari shares some of its interrogative words with Modern Standard Arabic, but it also has some unique forms, as the table 9.2 demonstrates:

Question word	gloss
wɛɛn	where
məta	when
lɛɛš	why
minu/minhu	who (masculine)
mini/minhi	who (feminine)
'əlaamə	what's wrong with
šənu	what
'ai	which

Table 9.2 Interrogative words in Hadari

Hadari also makes extensive use of the morpheme 'əš- 'what' to form content questions, which attaches to the main verb of the sentence. This morpheme is

actually a truncated form of the question word *šənu* ‘what’. Orthographically, the morpheme occurs in my data as either a clitic or a separate morpheme, as it is sometimes written being attached to the verb or as a separate word in informal writing contexts like internet blogs and text messages. The following examples demonstrate that the two *šənu* and *’əš-* forms are interchangeable:

- (719) *šənu gaal ubu-i* (TV)
 what say.PERF.3SG.M father-POSS.1SG
 ‘What did my father say?’
- (720) *’əš-gaal ubu-i* (A)
 what-say.PERF.3SG.M father-POSS.1SG
 ‘What did my father say?’
- (721) *šənu yaakil ha-ṭ-ṭəēr* (A)
 what eat.IMPERF.3SG.M this-DEF-bird
 ‘What does this bird eat?’
- (722) *’əš-yaakil ha-ṭ-ṭəēr* (A)
 what-eat.IMPERF.3SG.M his-DEF-bird
 ‘What does this bird eat?’

One of the most interesting features of Hadari interrogatives is their flexibility. Holes (1990) recognized three possible positions for the interrogative clause to occur in in the Gulf dialects: initial position, preverbal position, and clefting (Holes 1990:11). Predictably, all of the possibilities are governed by a set of conditions that allow them to appear in their respective positions. Holes provides a concise account of these interrogatives and their positions in Bahraini, with some of the examples illustrating constructions that are only possible in Bahraini and not in the rest of the Gulf dialects. Holes does not discuss interrogatives in Hadari, and the following examples are from my own data.

1. Clause-initial interrogative phrase

In Hadari, both interrogative pronouns and adverbs can occur in sentence initial position. In my data, interrogative phrases most commonly occur in sentence initial position. In this aspect, Hadari parallels the interrogative word order of Modern Standard Arabic, where the interrogative phrase occurs strictly in an

initial position and is very much fixed. This order represents the unmarked word order in Hadari:

- (723) minu gaal-ič in-i aḥəb-ha? (TV)
 who.M say.PERF.M-2SG.F that-1SG love.IMPERF.1SG-3SG.F
 'Who told you that I love her?'
- (724) mətə wadət-ha l-mustašfa? (TV)
 when take.PERF.2SG.M-3SG.F DEF-hospital
 'When did you take her to the hospital?'
- (725) wɛɛn səwət-i 'ərs-əč? (TV)
 where make.PERF-2SG.F wedding-POSS.2SG.F
 'Where did you hold your wedding?'

Holes also states that the 'substitution of a question word for a sentence element and its movement marks it as carrying emphasis' (Holes 1990:12). Thus, changing the position of a question word brings focus to the questioned element. The following examples show the change of position of a question word:

- (726) minu təg əl-bab (TV)
 who knock.PERF.3SG.M DEF-door
 'Who knocked on the door?'
- (727) illi təg əl-bab mən-u (A)
 REL knock.PERF.3SG.M DEF-door who
 'Who was it that knocked the door?'

The latter cleft example displays more severity in tone than the former. This type of question is not used in everyday interactions as much as the first since it has a much stronger tone and requires special context. It is used more frequently in police integrations, courtrooms or by parents reprimanding their children.

2. Preverbal interrogative phrase

The second possible position is the preverbal position, in which an interrogative word or phrase is positioned after the subject and before the verb (Holes, 1990:12). The following examples are from Hadari:

- (728) xaaləd mətə ytaxarraǰ? (LR)
 Khaled when graduate.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'When does Khaled graduate?'
- (729) Fahad wəin ystəǵəl? (LR)
 Fahad where work.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Where does Fahad work?'
- (730) Salim mən təǵ? (A)
 Salim who hit.PERF.3SG.M
 'Who did Salim hit?'

3. Clefted interrogative phrase (wh-cleft)

Another type of focus strategy used to highlight questioned elements is clefting. Holes (1990: 11) notes that this construction is only applicable to subjects and objects but not to adverbs. However, the dataset used for the current thesis contains a number of examples showing adverbs focused through clefting. This seems to be a relatively recent development in the dialect given the time between the publication of Holes' grammar and this collection of data (almost 20 years):

- (731) wəin illi 'əṭ-ṭ-ik iyy-ah ǰak əl-yom? (TV)
 where REL give.PERF-1SG-2SG.M the.one-3SG.M that DEF-day
 'Where is the one that I gave you the other day?'
- (732) mətə illi šərət kəl haǰa? (TV)
 When REL buy.PERF.3SG all this
 'When was it that you bought all this?'
- (733) ay-hu illi də'əmt-ah? (TV)
 Who-3SG.M REL hit.PERF.2SG-3SG.M
 'Who was it that you hit?'

9.3.5 Multiple interrogatives in Hadari

It is possible in Bahraini and Emirati dialects to question two elements in the same interrogative sentence without the need to use a coordination marker with one element occurring in situ and the other being fronted. In Hadari, on the other hand, multiple interrogative phrases in a single clause are not possible. When there is

more than one element being questioned then the speaker uses a coordination structure to combine two separate questions, resulting in a complex sentence. Hadari shares this feature with Iraqi and Najdi dialects.

(734) wəin rəḥt u mən mə'a? (TV)
 where go.PERF.2SG.M and who with
 'where did you go and whom with?'

(735) wəin rəḥt u mə'a mənū? (A)
 Where go.PERF.2SG.M and with who.M
 'where did you go and with who?'

(736) *wəin rəḥt mən mə'a?
 Where go.PERF.2SG.M who with?
 'where did you go with who?'

A construction like the one in example (736) is not acceptable in Hadari but it is considered acceptable in Bahraini (Holes 1990:12) and Emirati. Speakers of other Gulf dialects like Najdi and Iraqi also find the construction in (736) unacceptable in contrast to the coordination examples.

9.4 Summary

This chapter presents a description of interrogatives in Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic. Polar questions in Modern Standard Arabic are marked with either an interrogative particle or an affix. Hadari, on the other hand, does not mark polar questions syntactically or morphologically, as it solely depends on intonation to express polar interrogatives.

Content question in Modern Standard Arabic occur in sentence initial position. Moreover, the position of the interrogative phrase is predominantly fixed in Modern Standard Arabic. In contrast, Hadari displays more freedom in the position of the interrogative phrase, as it can occur in clause initial position, preverbal position, or clefted (Holes 1990:11).

Chapter 10 Negation

10.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the negation constructions used in Hadari from a typological perspective. First, section (10.2) provides a typological overview of negation strategies used crosslinguistically according to a language sample presented in Dryer (2005g), providing illustrative examples of each type. Next, section (10.3) provides a brief overview of negation in Modern Standard, since this aspect of the language is well described and documented. The next section (10.4) presents a detailed description of negation strategies used in Hadari, using Holes' Gulf Arabic (1990) as a point of reference, and sheds light on some the unique constructions found in the dialect. Finally, the chapter discusses the the concept of coordinated negation in Hadari, listing some illustrative examples from the dialect and comparing them to Holes' findings.

10.2 The typology of negation

The defining typological characteristic of negation is that all languages use negative morphemes to form negation. This means that negation cannot be formed by changing word order, an attested strategy in coding polar questions in English and some European languages, nor can it be realized by changing the intonation of an affirmative sentence (Dryer 2005g:454).

Whaley (1997:226) defines negation as a grammatical category employed to deny the actuality of an event or some portion thereof. He also notes that one must a clear distinction between a language's primary negation strategy that he labels 'standard negation strategy' and its secondary negation strategy. That is not to say that secondary modification is a negation strategy on its own, but rather an accompanying set of features that occur with the standard negation device.

Dryer (1988, cited in Whaley 1997) found that a large number of languages used multiple strategies to mark negation either obligatorily or optionally. Dryer provides a simple syntactic explanation for this phenomenon:

‘Negative morphemes carry a large communicative load in the sense that they carry an important part of the message. If a hearer fails to hear the negative morpheme in a sentence, they will have fundamentally misunderstood the sentence.’ (Dryer 1988: 102)

Crosslinguistically, there are six types of negative morphemes: negative affix, negative particle, negative auxiliary verb, negative word, variation between negative word and affix, double negation.

1. Negative affix

The first type of constructing negation is by adding a negative affix to the verb. There are 302 languages that employ this strategy according to Dryer’s sample of 1159 languages. Farsi is one of these languages as it uses the prefix *na-* to negate a verb in the affirmative as in *raftam* ‘I go’ *naraftam* ‘I don’t go’ or as in the following example (Jung Song, 2001):

(737) budan yâ na-budan
to.be or NEG-to.be
‘to be or not to be’

2. Negative particle

The second type of constructing negation is by using a negative particle, which represents the most frequent negation strategy crosslinguistically in Dryer’s sample with 502 languages out of the 1159 total. English is an example of this type as it employs the particle *not* to negate constructions:

(738) John did not go to school yesterday.
(739) Mary is not feeling well.

3. Negative auxiliary verb

Dryer (2005g) lists negative auxiliary verb as a third type of negation strategy, which is employed by 47 languages in the language sample. Finnish (Karjalainen and Sulkala 1992:115, cited in Dryer 2005g) is an example of this type, with the negative auxiliary verb showing agreement in person and number with the

subject. The main verb of the clause takes a nonfinite participle form in negative constructions (Dryer 2005g:455). The following example illustrates:

- (740) e-n syö-nyt omena-a
 NEG-1SG eat-PTCPL apple-PART
 'I didn't eat an apple'

4. Negative word

The fourth type of particle of negation strategies is labeled by Dryer as 'negative word' since it is not clear whether the negative morpheme is a verb or a particle. An example of this type is found in Maori, a Polynesian language spoken in New Zealand, where both of the verb and the negative word are uninflected, as illustrated in the following example (Bauer 1993:140, cited in Dryer 2005g:456):

- (741) kaahore taatou e haere ana aapoopoo
 NEG 1PL.INCL T/A move T/A tomorrow
 'We are not going tomorrow.'

5. Variation between a negative word and a negative affix

The fifth type of negative strategies is of languages that employ more than one negative strategy, namely a negative word and a negative affix. Rama, a Chibchan language spoken in Nicaragua, is a case of such languages (Grinevald 1988: 183, 185, cited in Dryer 2005g):

- (742) nkiikna-lut uut aa kain-i
 man-PL dory NEG make-TNS
 'The men don't make a dory.'

- (743) I-sik-taama
 3-arrive-NEG
 He did not arrive.'

6. Double (discontinuous) negation

The final negation type consists of languages that employ two negative morphemes occurring simultaneously as in French negative particles *ne...pas*. Another example of this type is Egyptian Arabic, which employs two negative

particles; the first particle precedes that verb while the second is an affix that attaches to the verb.

(744) mə t'ul-š l-ħəd
 NEG tell.2SG.M-NEG to-somebody
 'Do not tell anyone.'

(745) mə bakul-š səmək
 neg eat.PROG.1SG-NEG fish
 'I do not eat fish'

10.3 Negation in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic belongs to the negative particle category of strategies as it uses negative particles to negate affirmative sentences. Negative particles in Modern Standard Arabic are divided in this section into verbal and non-verbal. Verbal negation particles are particles that negate a verbal clause in Modern Standard Arabic and they are *la*, *ma*, *lam*, and *lan*. The particle *la* is employed to negate verbs that are in the imperfect and is also used in prohibition as the following examples illustrate:

(746) Salim-u laa yataħaddat al-ingiliziyat-a
 Salim-NOM NEG speak.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-English-ACC
 'Salim does not speak English.'

(747) la taḡhab ila Dubai
 NEG go.IMPERF.2SG.M to Dubai
 'Don't go to Dubai!'

The particle *ma* is used to negate verbs that occur in the perfect tense. The following example illustrates:

(748) ma nimtu l-bariḡat-a
 NEG sleep.PERF.1SG DEF-last.night-ACC
 'I did not sleep last night.'

The particle *lam*, similarly to *ma*, negates propositions that occurred in the past. However, *lam* occurs with verbs that are in the imperfective. Holes (2004: 323) notes that although both *lam* and *ma* can be translated into 'did not', they differ in terms

of level of participation as *ma* is used with in direct speech and occurs mostly with first person while *lam* is used in with an action carried out in third person. The following example illustrates the use of *lam* particle:

- (749) lam yaḡhab 'ila l-madrasat-i
 NEG go.IMPERF.3SG.M to DEF-school-GEN
 'He did not go to school'

The last verbal negation particle is *lan* which is used to negate propositions that are set in the future. It precedes imperfective verbs as the following example illustrates:

- (750) lan aḡhaba 'ila l-madrasat-i
 NEG go.IMPERF.1SG to DEF-school-GEN
 'I will not go to school'

Non-verbal constructions are negated by using the particle *laysa*, which occurs if the subject in a non-verbal copular clause. Of all the negative particles, *laysa* is the only one that shows morphological agreement with the subject in person, number and gender. The following table illustrates the agreement paradigm of *laysa* in Modern Standard Arabic:

	singular	Dual	Plural
1st	lastu	lasna	lasna
2nd masc.	lasta	lastuma	lastum
2nd fem.	lasti	lastuma	lastunna
3rd masc.	laysa	laysaa	laysuu
3rd fem.	laysat	laysataa	lasna

Table 10.1 *Laysa* paradigm in Modern Standard Arabic

The following example illustrates the agreement between *laysa* and the singular masculine subject:

- (751) Salim-u laysa sa'iid-an
 Salim-NOM NEG.3SG.M happy-ACC.INDEF
 'Salim is not happy'

10.4 Negation in Hadari

10.4.1 Negation strategy

Hadari also belongs to the second type of negative as it employs the negative particles *ma*, *mu* and *la* to mark negation. Also, recalling Whaley's (1997) remark concerning a distinction between standard negation and secondary negation, only one type of negation is found in Hadari that employs a negative particle and occurs with no further modifications to the sentence.

Holes (1990:71) gives a clear account of negation in Gulf Arabic¹⁰, dividing the discussion into two categories; sentence negation and constituent negation. Sentence negation corresponds to verbal clause negation and involves the negative particles *maa*, *laa*, and *mu*. On the other hand, Holes' constituent negation corresponds to non-verbal or nominal clause negation which involves using the particle *mu*.

The first verbal clause negation particle *ma* is used for verbs in the perfective and imperfective which is different from the Modern Standard Arabic *ma* which can only be used with perfective verbs. The as the following examples illustrate use of *mu* in Hadari:

(752)	səwæet	məčbus	dəyai	(LR)
	make.PERF.1SG	steamed.rice	chicken	
	'I made steamed rice with chicken.'			

¹⁰ Hadari and Bahraini are almost identical when coding negation, except that Bahraini has some secondary modification that occurs with the primary negation process that Hadari does not, which fits the description Whaley mentions in his definition. For example in Bahraini *ħilu* 'sweet' and *mu b-ħilu* 'not sweet' show the use of the particle *b-* as a secondary modification accompanying the main negative marker *mu*. Holes either missed this small but defining characteristic of Bahraini, or he simply decided to ignore it for the sake of the dialectal uniformity and consistency that the title of his grammar suggests.

- (753) maa səwɛɛt məčbus dəyai (A)
 NEG make.PERF.1SG steamed.rice chicken
 'I didn't make steamed rice with chicken.'
- (754) səwwə šəi (A)
 do.PERF.3SG.M something
 'He did something.'
- (755) maa səwwə šəi (LR)
 NEG do.PERF.3SG.M something
 'He didn't do anything.'
- (756) yšuf-ə kəl yom (LR)
 see.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.M every day
 'He sees him every day.'
- (757) maa yšuf-ə kəl yom (A)
 NEG see.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.M every day
 'He doesn't see him every day.'
- (758) šaf-ə ɖak əl-yom (A)
 see.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.M that DEF-day
 'He saw him the other day.'
- (759) maa šafə ɖak əl-yom (A)
 NEG see.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.M that DEF-day
 'He didn't see him the other day.'

The other verbal clause negation particle is *laa*, which Holes (1990:71) lists as a negative marker solely used in the imperative. However, the particle *laa* can actually be used with the perfective in Hadari and the construction would have a semantic connotation of wishfulness or well-wishing. In terms of distribution, the negation particle *maa* is used when the proposition is set in the realis while the negation particle *laa* is used when the proposition is set in the irrealis as illustrated in the following examples:

- (760) ruḥ əl-bɛɛt (A)
 go.IMP.3SG.M DEF-home
 'Go home!'
- (761) laa truḥ əl-bɛɛt (TV)
 NEG go.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-home
 'Don't go home!'

- (762) nam əmbəččir (A)
 sleep.PERF.3SG.M early
 'Go to bed early!'
- (763) laa tnam əmbəččir (TV)
 NEG sleep.IMPERF.3SG.M early
 'Don't go to bed early!'
- (764) 'əṭ-ni flus (A)
 give.IMP.3SG.M-1SG money
 'Give me money!'
- (765) laa tə'ṭi-ni flus (TV)
 NEG give.IMPERF.3SG.M-1SG money
 'Don't give me money!'
- (766) laa maalət 'ələ Mozə (TV)
 NEG get.bad.luck.PERF.3SG.F on Moza
 'May Moza never get bad luck.'

The non-verbal clause negative particle in Hadari is *mu*. This negative particle negates nouns, and adjectives in copular sentences. The Hadari particle *mu* is comparable to the Modern Standard Arabic particle *laysa* in terms of function and distribution. However, the Hadari particle does not demonstrate the agreement features of Modern Standard Arabic *laysa*. Regardless, both particles are used to negate non-verbal predicates and both occur after the subject of the clause. The particle *mu* occurs in the same position of *kaana and its sisters* (which include *laysa*) in a copular clause and the same position of the pronominal copula.

The following examples illustrate the use of *mu* in non-verbal clause negation:

- (767) əl-jəw ḥəlu (A)
 DEF-weather nice.M
 'The weather is nice.'
- (768) əl-jəw mu ḥəlu (A)
 DEF-WEATHER NEG nice.M
 'The weather is not nice.'

- (769) Fahad zə'lan (A)
 Fahad upset.M
 'Fahad is upset.'
- (770) Fahad mu zə'laan (A)
 Fahad NEG upset.M
 'Fahad is not upset'
- (771) Salim šərə sɛɛkəl mu gaari (A)
 Salim buy.PERF.3SG.M motorcycle NEG bicycle
 'Salim bought a motorcycle not a bicycle'
- (772) Fahad mu za'laan farḥaan (A)
 Fahad NEG sad.M happy.M
 'Fahad is not sad, he's happy.'

According to Holes' findings, *mu* is interchangeable with the negation particle *laa* (Holes 1990:71). Holes' observation that the negative particle *mu* is syntactically similar to the imperative negative particle *laa* is accurate. However, the use of the particle *mu* with the imperative verb serves semantically different purpose than that of a simple imperative. When *mu* is used instead of *la* it serves as a warning or a threat to the hearer instead of a simple order or command.

The following examples illustrate the interchangeability of *mu* with the imperative *laa*. For a more illustrative discussion, I decided to use examples (763) and (765) from the earlier section and show how the negative marker *mu* can acceptably be applied to both without rendering the sentences ungrammatical. In examples (773) and (774) *mu* has an implicit consequential effect on the utterance when compared to the *la* examples (763) and (765). In (773), the utterance 'Don't go to bed early' has an undertone that suggests a warning or a consequence of an undesirable outcome if the hearer were to ignore the warning. In other words the same examples can be introduced in a more obvious manner by adding the utterance *or else* to them as in 'Don't go to bed early, or else you'll miss your favorite show'. Examples (763) and (765) do not have this extra layer of semantics due to the use of the basic negation marker *la* instead of the secondary *mu*.

(773) mu tnaam əmbəččir
 NEG sleep.IMPERF.3SG.M early
 ‘Don’t go to bed early!’

(774) mu tə’ti-ni flus
 NEG give.IMPERF.3SG.M-1SG money
 ‘Don’t give me money!’

Finally, I would like to propose an addition to Holes’ list of possible occurrences of *mu*, which is its use in forming affirmative sentences from a sentence with a negative proposition. For example, when a sentence that is marked as negative by *maa* (recall that *maa* occurs with perfective and imperfective verbs only), this sentence can become affirmative by introducing the negative marker *mu* to negate the negative proposition which is a case of double negation. The function of this construction is one of pragmatics, used to lessen the severity of the negative proposition, for example in (778) the construction is equivalent to ‘I hate her’ while in (779) could either mean ‘I like her’ or more literally ‘It’s not like I don’t love her’. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

(775) Q: idɛɛdə tguul t’ərəf hæg (LR)
 Granny say.IMPERF.3SG.F know.IMPERF.2SG.M to

tələfoon-hə maa yəštəgəl
 handset-3SG.F NEG work.IMPERF.3SG.M
 ‘Granny is asking if you know what’s wrong with her handset?’

A: mu maa a’ərəf səwɛɛt-ə ɖaak əl-yoom
 NEG NEG know.IMPERF.1SG.M fix.PERF.1SG-3SG.M that DEF-day
 ‘I know’/‘It’s not that I don’t know, I fixed it the other day!’

(776) maa tgum (A)
 NEG wake.up.IMPERF.2SG.M
 ‘Don’t wake up.’

(777) shuuf raah agə’d-ək mu maa tgum (LR)
 look FUT wake.imperf.1SG-2SG.M NEG NEG wake.up.IMPERF.2SG.M
 ‘Look, I’ll wake you up so wake up!’

- (778) *maa aḥəb-hə* (A)
 NEG love.IMPERF.1SG.M-3SG.F
 'I don't love her.'
- (779) A: *loo ʃij tḥəb-hə guul u nkəlləm* (LR)
 If really love.IMPERF.2SG.M-3SG.F say.IMP.M and speak.IMPERF.1PL
um-hə
 mom-3SG.F
 'If you really love her say so! And we will talk to her mother (to arrange the engagement).'
- B: *mu maa aḥəb-hə bəs aḥəs-hə mətəl*
 NEG NEG love.IMPERF.1SG.M-3SG.F but feel.IMPER.1SG like
ixt-i
 sister-1SG
 'I like her' / 'It's not that I don't love her, but she's like a sister to me.'
- (780) *xaaled maa ykəlləm-hə* (A)
 Khaled NEG talk.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F
 'Khaled does not talk to her.'
- (781) Q: *um-hə tədri xaaled ykəlləm-hə? ma* (LR)
 mom-3SG.F know.IMPER.3SG.F Khaled talk.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F NEG
ykəlləm-hə
 talk.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F
 'Does her mother know if Khaled talks to her? Or doesn't talk to her?'
- A: *mu xaaled maa ykəlləm-hə, ubu-hə mu*
 NEG Khaled NEG talk.IMPERF.3SG.M-3SG.F dad-3SG.F NEG
raaʒi
 pleased
 'Khaled talks to her' / 'It's not that Khaled does not talk to her, her father is not pleased (with the whole marriage arrangement)'

10.4.2 Coordination and negation

The coordination of two negated clauses in Hadari requires the verbal negation particle *maa* to negate the first clause, the coordinator *u* and the imperative negative particle *laa* to negate the second clause. Holes (1990: 73) treats the coordination marker *u* and the negative particle *la* as a single syntactic unit *wila* which might obscure the fact that the coordinator *u* can occur with other negative markers like *maa* and *mu* or even without any negative marker following it:

(782) maa a'ərf-a u maa y'arəf-ni (I)
 NEG know.IMPERF.1SG-2SG.M and NEG know.IMPERF.3SG.M-1SG
 'I don't know him and he does not know me.'/ 'we don't know each other.'

(783) maa yakəl u maa yšrəb (I)
 NEG eat.IMPERF.3SG.M and NEG drink.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'He doesn't eat or drink.'

(784) maa šaf u maa səmə' (TV)
 NEG see.PERF.3SG.M and NEG hear.PERF.3SG.M
 'He did not see or hear...'

A special negative construction that is possible only through coordination is the use of *laa* instead of the verbal negative particle *maa*. Hadari does not allow *laa* to replace *maa* in a regular uncoordinated sentence, but if the sentence has two clauses coordinated then it is possible to replace *maa* with *laa*. This interchangeability does not have any syntactic or semantic significance, and the only condition for it to occur is to be part of a coordinated clause. The following examples illustrate this special occurrence:

(785) maa kələet-a u laa šəmēet riḥ-ta (A)
 NEG eat.PERF.1SG-3SG and NEG smell.PERF.1SG smell-2SG.M
 'I didn't eat it or smell it even!'

(786) laa kələet-ah u laa šəmēet riḥ-ta (A)
 NEG eat.PERF.1SG-3SG.M and NEG smell.PERF.1SG smell-2SG.M
 'I didn't eat it or smell it even!'

(787) maa yərḥəm u laa yxəli (A)
 NEG have.mercy.IMPERF.3SG.M and NEG allow.IMPERF.3SG.M

rəḥmət Allah tənəzəl
 mercifulness Allah descend.2SG.F

'He does not have mercy nor does he allow Allah's mercy to descend (upon us).'

(788) laa yərḥəm u laa yxəli (I)
 NEG have.mercy.IMPERF.3SG.M and NEG allow.IMPERF.3SG.M

rəḥmət Allah tənəzəl
 mercifulness Allah descend.IMPERF.2SG.F

'He does not have mercy nor does he allow Allah's mercy to descend (upon us).'

(789) maa kələt-ah (A)
 NEG eat.PERF.1SG-3SG
 'I did not eat it.'

(790) *laa kələt-ah (A)
 NEG eat.PERF.1SG-3SG
 'I did not eat it.'

(791) maa yərḥəm (A)
 NEG have.mercy.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'He does not have mercy.'

(792) *laa yərḥəm (A)
 NEG have.mercy.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'He does not have mercy.'

Holes identifies yet another use for the negative particle *mu*. Holes states that *mu* can function as an imperative verb negative particle in coordinated negative sentence. Again, the particle *laa* can occur instead of the particle *mu* without changing the meaning. Some might argue that *mu* has a stronger tone than *laa*. The difference here is that particles *mu* and *laa* can occur with simple uncoordinated sentences:

(793) mu tgul ḥəg aḥḥad u laa aḥḥad (A)
 NEG tell.IMPERF.2SG.M to someone and NEG someone
 yədri
 know.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Don't tell anyone and nobody can find out.'

(794) mu tgul ḥəg aḥḥad (A)
 NEG tell.IMPERF.2SG.M to someone
 'Don't tell anyone.'

(795) laa tgul ḥəg aḥḥad (A)
 NEG tell.IMPERF.2SG.M to someone
 'Don't tell anyone.'

10.5 Summary

The section starts with a typological overview of negation, presenting cross linguistic types of negative constructions. The section places Modern Standard Arabic within those typological types and provides examples from the language. Finally the section gives a detailed description of negative constructions in Hadari, discussing each negation particle used in the dialect. From the examples presented in this chapter, it is apparent that the negation system in Hadari resembles the one found Modern Standard Arabic in that it is marked by particles. However, this is the only resemblance between the two, as Hadari employs particles that do not occur in Modern Standard Arabic, *la* being the exception. Furthermore, Modern Standard Arabic negative particles are marked for tense, whereas the ones used in Hadari are not.

Chapter 11 Complex Clauses

11.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a description of subordination and coordination in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. Section 11.2 provides a typological overview of types of subordination constructions, distinguishing them from coordination. Section 11.2.1 discusses major features of a subordinate clause and provides illustrative examples. The following section 11.3 presents a typological overview of complements and sections 11.4 and 11.5 describe subordination in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, surveying the basic features and functions of these constructions in both varieties.

Section 11.6.1 maps out the main features of coordination and introduces the main types of coordination constructions. Sections 11.6.2 and 11.6.3 describe coordination in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, respectively.

Section 11.7 presents relative clauses in Hadari from a modern typological perspective by applying the well-established universals of relative clause strategies to Hadari and exploring the correlation between word order and relative clause position in the dialect.

11.2 Subordination and coordination: a typological overview

The term ‘subordinate clause’ applies to any clause embedded within a higher clause or a matrix clause. Haspelmath (2008:47) notes that subordinate clauses have a number of cross-linguistic characteristics that distinguish them from coordinate clauses. First, subordinate clauses occur within the head clause, in clause-internal position, as in English:

(796) At eight o’clock, after eating breakfast, I went to school.

The second property is that subordination structures allow the extraction of interrogative phrases, as in(797), while coordinate structures do not(798):

- (797) a. She wanted me to eat breakfast
b. What did she want me to eat?
- (798) a. She ate breakfast and went home.
b. *What did she eat and go/went home?
c. *Where did she eat breakfast and go?

The third property pertains to information structure, as subordinate clauses can be focused whereas coordinate clauses cannot, for example:

- (799) a. It was after eating breakfast that I went to school.
b. *It was breakfast she ate and went home.

The last cross linguistic property is that backwards anaphora can only be performed with subordinate constructions. Example (800) shows backwards anaphora using subordination, while example (801) shows how coordination blocks the anaphoric meaning from manifesting as in:

(800) After she got married, Jenny moved out of Buffalo

(801) After she got married and Jenny moved out of Buffalo

In some cases, coordination is not easy to distinguish from subordination. While coordination connects two clauses of equal syntactic status, subordination involves a head-dependent relation. However, as Culicover and Jackendoff (1997:198) observe in relation to English, some cases of ‘semantic subordination’ are realized by clausal coordination, as the following examples illustrate:

- (802) You drink another can of beer and I’m leaving.
- (803) Big Louie sees you with the loot and he puts out a contract on you.

Even though the above examples demonstrate a case of syntactic coordination, they are still considered cases of semantic subordination: the examples involve a conditional reading of the coordinator *and*, and not a symmetrical A-B reading, since (802) means *If you drink another can of beer I’m leaving* and (803) *If big Louie sees you with the loot he will put out a contract on you*. However, Culicover and Jackendoff provide tests for resolving the syntactic ambiguity presented by the

coordinator. They argue that the distribution of conditional *and* is very limited and can be tested by a number of tests. One of the tests relies on changing the tense of clauses, causing *and* to lose its conditional meaning, and consequently, its subordination.

(804) You've drunk another can of beer and I've left.

(805) Big Louie has seen you with the loot and he's put out a contract on you.

Another test that can be used to tell the difference between a coordinator *and* and a conditional *and* is the tripartite test, which causes *and* to lose the conditional reading demonstrated earlier in examples (802) and (803):

(806) You drink another can of beer, Billy eats more pretzels, and I'm leaving.

(807) Big Louie sees you with the loot, you look guilty, and he puts out a contract on you.

Thus, although the interaction between subordination and coordination in English, or any other language, may present some cases of ambiguity, the tests described by Culicover and Jackendoff can relatively straightforwardly this ambiguity between the two.

11.2.1 Features of subordinate clauses

Besides the differences discussed in the previous section, subordinate clauses have a set of distinct grammatical features that help identify them. First, is that subordinate clauses allow subject ellipsis as demonstrated in the subordinate clause in example (796) *after eating breakfast*. Andrews (2007:168) notes that subjects have a tendency to be deleted in multi-clausal sentences. This feature is salient in English subordinate clauses as subject ellipsis is obligatory when the verb of subordinate clause is non-finite, whereas tensed verbs of subordinate clause require a subject. The following examples featuring the subordinator *while* demonstrate these features (Andrews 2007:169):

(808) The student watched the guard while he killed the prisoner.

(809) The student watched the guard while killing the prisoner.

(810) *The student watched the guard while killed the prisoner.

(811) *The student watched the guard while he killing the prisoner.

In terms of grammatical functions, subordinate clauses can serve a number of functions within a sentence, e.g. they can function as nouns, adjectives or adverbs. For example, noun clauses in English can function as a subject (812) or object (813) as in:

(812) **What she did** made me happy.

(813) My dad thinks **that he is getting old**.

In example (813), the particle *that* introduces the complement *he is getting old*, thus the English particle *that* is labeled as a complementizer. Noonan (2007:55) defines a complementizer as a ‘word, particle, clitic, or affix whose function is to identify an entity as a complement’.

Cross linguistically, languages have different types of complementizers, with some requiring complementizers at all times and others lacking them altogether. Irish is one language that requires complementizers whenever an embedded clause occurs (Noonan, 2007:56):

(814) tá a fhios agam go leífidh sí an leabhar
COP its knowledge at.me COMP read.FUT she the book
'I know she'll read the book'

(815) *tá a fhios agam leífidh sí an leabhar
COP its knowledge at.me read.FUT she the book
'I know she'll read the book'

11.3 Typology of clausal complements:

Clausal complements are arguments that are selected by the lexical verb of the main clause. Givón defines clausal complements as ‘propositions functioning in the role of either subject and object argument of the verb’. The term ‘clausal complements’ in modern linguistics refers to the object clause, which is the main focus of this section. The verb of the main clause dictates the syntactic properties of its complement (Givón 1990:515). Givón (1990: 583) also notes that complements are marked according to four crosslinguistic coding devices: co-lexicalization, subordinator, case-marking, and verb-form. These complement coding devices are influenced by what Givón labels ‘degree of integration’ (1990:537). That is to say that the device used to code a complement depends on the closeness of the bond between the main event and the complement event.

11.3.1 Typology of verbs that select clausal complements

The choice of clausal complement is related to the semantics of the verb of the main clause. Dixon (2006) distinguishes two semantic types of verbs: primary types and secondary types. Primary type verbs can take a NP as an argument (e.g. *John knows [French]*) and in some cases a clause (e.g. *I know [that Ottawa is the capital of Canada]*). In contrast, secondary type verbs require a clause as an argument like the verb *think* in *John thinks he is a hero to work* (Dixon 2006: 9). On the other hand, Givón (1984, 1990) identifies three types of verbs that take complements: modality verbs, manipulative verbs and cognitive/utterance verbs. Modality verbs are verbs like ‘want’ and ‘begin’ and require verbal complements. As main verbs, modality verbs semantically indicate inception, intent, and ability among other things. The subject of the complement clause has the same referent as the subject of the main clause, thus the subject is deleted in the complement clause (Givón 1984: 118, 1990: 553). The following example from Modern Standard Arabic illustrates:

(816) yuriidu Salim-u ’an ya’mal-a fi I-kuwait
want.IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM COMP work.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB in DEF-Kuwait
‘Salim wants to work in Kuwait.’

The second type of complement-taking verbs is the manipulative verb, which takes one animate nominal object. The nominal object functions simultaneously as the object of the main verb and the subject of the complement clause (Givón 1984:123).

The following example from Modern Standard Arabic illustrates:

- (817) 'ajbara Salim-u Jasim-a 'an yanaam-a
 force.PERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM Jasim-ACC COMP sleep.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB
 baakiran
 early
 'Salim forced Jasim to sleep early'

Finally, the third types of complement-taking verb, according to Givón (1984), is the cognition/ utterance verb, which takes a clausal complement whose subject may or may not share its reference with the subject of the main clause. The following example is from Modern Standard Arabic:

- (818) ya'taqidu Salim-u 'anna Jasim-a yaskun-u
 Believe.IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM COMP Jasim-ACC reside.IMPERF.3SG.M-IND
 fi d-damaam
 in DEF-Damaam
 'Salim believes that Jasim resides in Damaam'

11.3.2 Complement coding devices

According to Givón, the coding device **verb-form** predicts that the more integrated the main clause and complement clause events are, the less likely the verb of the complement clause is to bear finite morphology. That is to say that the verb form will be close to a nominal form when the events are semantically integrated and the less integrated the two events are the more finite verbal morphology (Givon 1990: 561). The following examples from Modern Standard Arabic illustrate:

- (819) 'araada l-walad-u qawla l-ḥaqiiqat-i
 want.PERF.3SG.M def-boy-NOM speech DEF-truth-GEN
 'The boy wanted to tell the truth.'

(820) tamanna l-walad-u 'an yaquul-a l-ḥaqiiqat-a
 wish.PERF.3SG.F def-boy-NOM COMP tell.IMPERF.3SG.F-SUB DEF-truth-ACC
 'The boy wished that he could tell the truth.'

(821) 'alima l-'ab-u 'anna l-walad-a yaquul-u
 learn.PERF.3SG.M DEF-father-NOM COMP DEF-boy-ACC tell.IMPERF.3SG.M
 al-ḥaqiiqat-a
 DEF-truth-ACC
 'The father learned that the boy is telling the truth.'

Examples (819) and (820) illustrate that the relationship between integration and nominal form as example (819) demonstrates that the predicate and the predication are highly integrated. This means that the main verb requires a non-finite/nominal complement which does not require to be introduced by a complementizer. Example (820) shows events that are less integrated than the ones found in (819) in which the verb takes a finite complement with the verb in the subjunctive. In the final example the two events are least integrated and the complement clause is marked by a complementizer while the verb is marked as indicative. In finite constructions, the dependency of the complement verb is marked on the verb through mood (Matras 2002: 50). In Modern Standard Arabic, for example, both modality and manipulative verbs require their complements to take the irrealis mood: complements of modality and manipulative verbs are marked with the subjunctive marker *-a* on the verb of the complement as in example (820). In contrast, cognition/utterance verbs require their complements to take the realis mood; in Arabic this entails that the verb of the complement clause is marked with the indicative *-u*.

The second device of complement marking is **subordinator**, whose appearance also depends on the level of integration between the main and complement event. Givón (1990:560, 966) notes that according to the iconicity principle, which postulates that language is a reflection of thought, a subordinator is less likely to be used to separate two closely related events. The appearance of the subordinator device is also affected by the type of quote, as direct quotes are typologically less likely to be

marked with a complementizer while indirect quotes are more likely to be introduced by a complementizer. Modern Standard Arabic also illustrates this parameter:

- (822) Salim-u ja‘ala Jasim-a yarḥal
 Salim-NOM make.PERF.3SG.M Jasim-ACC leave.IMPERF.3SG.M
 ‘Salim made Jasim leave.’

- (823) Salim-u tamanna ‘an yarḥal-a Jasim
 Salim-NOM hope.PERF.3SG.M COMP leave.IMPERF.3SG.M Jasim
 ‘Salim hoped that Jasim would leave’

The **co-lexicalization** device predicts that the closer the main event is to the complement are, the more the verbs of the main clause and the complement clause are integrated (Givón 1990:560). The following examples from English illustrate (Givón 1990:538):

- (824) Mary let-go of John.
 (825) Mary let John go.

Co-lexicalization does not occur in Modern Standard Arabic as having two verbs adjacent to one another would make the sentence ungrammatical. However Hadari does employ co-lexicalization as the verb *ydiḡ* ‘call’ is adjacent to the verb *yta’əssaf* ‘apologize’ in the following example:

- (826) Mariam daggat tā’əssəfət mən əl-mərə (l)
 Mariam call.PERF.3SG.F apologize.PERF.3SG.F from DEF-woman
 ‘Mariam called the woman to apologize.’ (lit. Mariam called.apologized to the woman’

Finally, the **case-marking** device relates to the case of the subject of a complement clause, which is predicted to be less-agent like the more the events of the main and

complement clause are integrated. Givón (1990:561) proposes that the case can be predicted according to the agentivity hierarchy:

AGT > DAT > ACC > OTHERS

Consider the following two examples from English, which illustrate two highly integrated events and two less integrated events, respectively; the degree of integration is reflected in the case of the subject of the complement clause (indicated in parentheses):

(827) She made **him** go (Direct Object)

(828) She wished that **he** would go (Subject)

This coding device does occur in Modern Standard Arabic as the subject of the complement clause is marked as accusative in the highly integrated example (827) as the main verb is a verb of manipulation while the second example (830) the two events are less integrated as the verb (827) is one of cognition:

(829) Salim-u ja'ala Jasim-a yarḥal (Direct Object)
 Salim-NOM make.PERF.3SG.M Jasim-ACC leave.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'Salim made Jasim leave.'

(830) Salim-u tamanna 'an yarḥal-a Jasim-u (Subject)
 Salim-NOM hope.PERF.3SG.M COMP leave.IMPERF.3SG.M Jasim-NOM
 'Salim hoped that Jasim would leave'

11.4 Subordination in Modern Standard Arabic

11.4.1 Subject clause

Embedded subject clauses in Classical Arabic syntax are strictly postposed (Le Tourneau, 2009:360). The sentence in (831) is grammatical in Classical Arabic while the sentence in (832) is not.

(831) ṣaḥīih-un 'anna l-'ujrat-a munxafiḍa
 true-NOM.INDEF that DEF-rent-ACC low.F
 'It is true that the rent is low.'

- (832) *’anna l-’ujrat-a munxafiḍa ṣaḥīih-un
 that DEF-rent-ACC low.F true-NOM.INDEF
 ‘That the rent is low is true.’

However, Holes (2004:265) notes that Modern Standard Arabic demonstrates syntactic development in term of the position of subject clauses, as they show more freedom in the language compared to Classical Arabic. Subject Clauses in Modern Standard Arabic can occur in preposition and postposition. Note that non-finite subordinate clauses in Modern Standard Arabic are formed by a complementizer followed by an imperfective verb as shown in example (835). The following examples illustrate subordinate subject clauses in non-verbal main clauses:

- (833) ’anna l-ḡazu-a l-’iraqi-a li-al-kuwait-i jariima
 COMP DEF-invasion-ACC DEF-iraqi-ACC to-DEF-kuwait-GEN crime
 ’amr-un waḍiḥ
 something-NOM.INDEF clear
 ‘That the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a crime is undeniable.’

- (834) min al-waḍiḥ-i ’anna l-ḡazu-a l-’iraqi-a li-al-kuwait-i
 from DEF-clear-GEN COMP DEF-invasion-ACC DEF-iraqi-ACC to-DEF-kuwait-GEN
 jariima
 crime
 ‘It is undeniable that the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is a crime.’

- (835) ’an yafuuz-a al-’arbi ’ala l-qadisiyya mumkin
 COMP win.imperf.3SG.M-SUB DEF-arabi on DEF-qadisiyya possible
 ‘That the Arabi team wins against the Qadisia team is possible.’

- (836) min al-mumkin-i ’an yafuuz-a al-’arbi ’ala
 from DEF-possible-GEN COMP WIN.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB DEF-arabi on
 l-qadisiyya
 DEF-qadisiyya
 ‘It is possible for the Arabi team to win against the Qadisia team.’

- (837) kitabat-u l-maqalat-i šay’-un mumti’
 writing -NOM DEF-article-GEN something-NOM.INDEF fun
 ‘Writing an article is something fun.’

Subordinate subject clauses in verbal main clauses are also possible in Modern Standard Arabic, as the following example illustrates:

- (838) fawz-u Zayd-in fi l-yanašiib
 winning-NOM Zayd-GEN.INDEF in DEF-lottery

faja'-ni jiddan
 surprise.PERF.3SG-3SG.M very
 'That Zayd won the lottery really surprised me.'

- (839) faja'-ni 'anna Zayd-an faza fi
 surprise.PERF.3SG-3SG.M COMP Zayd-ACC win.PERF.3SG.M in

l-yanašiib
 DEF-lottery
 'That Zayd won the lottery surprised me.'

11.4.2 Complements

Complement clauses in Modern Standard Arabic are marked with complementizers *'anna* and *'an* which are distributed according to the factuality of the proposition of the complement. The complementizer *'anna* occurs with complements that are set in the realis or the factual, which is shown using the verb-form coding device as the verb of the complement clause is marked with the indicative marker *-u* as illustrated in example(845). In terms of word order, *'anna* occurs when the complement clause begins with a noun, a pronoun, or a pronominal suffix. On the other hand, complementizer *'an* introduces complements set in the irrealis or the non-factual and the verb of the complement clause is marked with the subjunctive marker *-a* as illustrated in example(840). Furthermore, as discussed in section 11.3.1 the distribution of the complements depends on the semantics of the main verb which can be a verb of modality, manipulation, or cognition and utterance. The following examples demonstrate the environments in which two complementizers occur in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (840) yuriid-u Salim-u 'an yusaafir-a ila l-yabaan
 want.IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM COMP travel.IMPER.3SG.M-SUB to DEF-Japan
 'Salim wants to travel to Japan.

- (841) istaṭa'a l-'adu-u 'an yašuqq-a xaṭṭ-a
 able.PERF.3SG.M DEF-enemy-NOM COMP break.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB line-ACC

d-difa'
 DEF-defense
 'The enemy was able to break the defense line.'

(842) yaqulu l-qa'id-u 'anna n-naşr-a qariib
 say.IMPERF.3SG.M DEF-commander-NOM COMP DEF-victory-ACC near
 'The commander says that victory is near.'

(843) yaḍunnu Salim-u 'anna l-jaw-a yuşbiḥ-u
 think.IMPERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM COMP DEF-weather-ACC become.IMPERF.3SG.M-IND
 jamiilan fi r-rabii'-i
 beautiful in DEF-spring-GEN
 'Salim thinks that the weather becomes beautiful in the spring.'

Subordinate clauses that are marked for past and future tense are introduced as complements using the complementizer *'anna*. The following examples illustrate:

(844) sami'a n-naas-u 'anna Zayd-a 'aad 'ila
 hear.PERF.3SG.M DEF-people-NOM COMP Zayd-ACC return.PERF.3SG.M to
 l-bilaad-i
 DEF-country-GEN
 'The people have heard that Zayd has returned to the country.'

(845) sami'a n-naas-u 'anna Zayd-a sawfa
 hear.PERF.3SG.M DEF-people-NOM COMP Zayd-ACC FUT
 ya'uud-u 'ila l-bilad-i
 return.IMPERF.3SG.M-IND to DEF-country-GEN

'The people have heard that Zayd will return to the country.'

Note that the use of this complementizer is restricted to declarative complement clauses. Modern Standard Arabic uses the complementizer *'amma* 'whether' to introduce both finite and nonfinite polar interrogative complements. In contrast to the declarative and polar interrogative complement clauses, the constituent interrogative complement clause does not permit the use of complementizers. Examples (846)(847) illustrate the unmarked declarative complement clause, examples (847)(848) the corresponding polar interrogative complement clauses, and examples (849)(850) the corresponding constituent interrogative complement clauses.

- (846) hiya qaalat 'anna-hu kaana ṭabiib-an
 she say.PERF.3SG.F COMP-3SG.M was.3SG.M doctor-ACC.INDEF
 'She said that he was a doctor.'
- (847) hiya 'aradat 'an yuṣbiḥ-a ṭabiib-an
 she want.PERF.3SG.F comp become.imperf.3sg.m-SUB doctor
 'She wanted him to be a doctor.'
- (848) hiya sa'alat 'amma 'ida kaana ṭabib-an
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F whether if was.3SG.M doctor-ACC.INDEF
 'She asked if he was a doctor.'
- (849) hiya sa'alat 'amma 'ida kaana sa-yuṣbiḥu
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F whether if was.3SG.M FUT-become.IMPERF.3SG.M
 ṭabib-an
 doctor-ACC.INDEF
 'She asked if he would become a doctor.'
- (850) hiya tasa'alat 'ayna ḡahab
 she wonder.PERF.3SG.F where go.PERF.3SG.M
 'She wondered where he went.'
- (851) hiya sa'alat 'ayna sa-yadḡhab
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F where FUT-go.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'She asked where he will go.'

11.4.3 Participials

Non-finite complement clauses in Modern Standard Arabic are participial clauses, as the following example illustrates:

- (852) ra'aa l-walad-u xuruuj-a s-saariq-i
 see.PERF.3SG.M DEF-boy-NOM leaving-ACC DEF-thief-GEN
 'The boy witnessed the leaving of the thief.'

11.4.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Modern Standard Arabic always occur in sentence final position. Givón (1990:827) provides an overview of types of adverbial clauses along with the links that connect them to the main clause. The following section attempts to provide an overview those adverbial clauses and their semantic links in Modern Standard Arabic through the order presented in Givón (1990).

11.4.4.1 Temporal Clauses:

Givón (1990: 828) presents some of the most common types of temporal clause markers and the following table provides a summary of these markers followed by example from Modern Standard Arabic:

Type	Temporal link
Precedence	qabl 'before'
Subsequence	ba'd 'after'
Simultaneity	baynama 'while'
Terminal Boundary	'until' ḥattaa
Initial Boundry	munḍu 'since'

Table 11.1 Temporal Clause Linkers in Modern Standard Arabic

- (853) xarajat qabl 'an tuwadi'-a-ni
 leave.PERF.3SG.F before COMP say.goodbye.IMPERF.3SG.F-SUB-1SG
 'She left before saying goodbye.'
- (854) nama Salim-u ba'd 'an ḡassala asnaana-hu
 sleep.PERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM after COMP wash.PERF.3SG.M teeth-3SG
 'Salim went to sleep after he washed his teeth.'
- (855) daxalat Wedad-u baynama kaana Waleed-u naa'iman
 enter.PERF.3SG.F Wedad-NOM while was Waleed-NOM asleep
 'Wedad came in while Waleed was asleep.'
- (856) ḡaḥaka ḥatta saalat dumuu'-uh
 laugh.PERF.3SG.M until melt.PERF.3SG.F tears-3SG.M
 'He laughed until tears came out of his eyes.'
- (857) ya'rifu-ha munḍu 'an kaanat ṣaḡiira
 know.IMPER.3SG.M since comp was.F little.F
 'He's known her ever since she was a child.'

11.4.4.2 Conditional Clauses:

According to Givon (1990), conditional adverbial clauses are divided into two main types: irrealis and counter-fact conditional. Irrealis conditionals are in the realm of the non-factual and their truth depends on the truth of the main verb. The main clause of an irrealis conditional in Modern Standard Arabic is set in the irrealis and is usually marked with a modality verb, a future marker, or imperative while the conditional clause is marked as perfective. (Palmer 2001:124, Givón 1990:828). In Modern Standard Arabic, irrealis conditionals are introduced by the marker 'iḡaa 'if'.

In the following example, the main clause is marked by a modality verb, in this case ‘can’:

- (858) *tastaṭii’-u* *’an* *taxruj* *’idaa* *katabta*
 can.IMPERF.2SG.M comp leave.IMPERF.2SG.M if write.PERF.2SG.M
 l-wajib-a
 DEF-homework-ACC
 ‘You can go out if you finish your homework.’

Counter-fact conditionals have a ‘firm, negative truth value’ and describe propositions that could have been true if the proposition of the main event were also true. Furthermore, the main clause of a counter-fact conditional clause can be set in the realis or irrealis (Givón 1990:831). For example, in Modern Standard Arabic counter-fact conditional clauses are introduced by the combination of markers *law* ‘if’ and *la-* ‘would have’ and the main clause is marked by perfective or imperfect. The following example illustrates:

- (859) *law* *’alimta* *bi-ḥaal-i* *la-ta’aaṭafta*
 if know.PERF.2SG.M in-case-1SG would.have-sympathize.PERF.2SG.M
 ma’-i
 with-1SG
 ‘If you knew about my condition, you would have sympathized with me.’

Another type of conditionals is concessive conditionals which are marked using of markers *ḥatta* ‘until’ and *law* ‘if’. The main clause in Modern Standard Arabic is typically set in the irrealis, marked with either future marker *sawfa* or negative marker *lan*, while the conditional clause is marked with either perfective or imperfective. The following example illustrates this type in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (860) *lan* *’qbal* *ḥatta* *law* *’araḍuu* *’ala-i* *ḍi’f*
 NEG accept.IMPERF.1SG even if offer.PERF.3PL on-1SG double
 al-mablag
 DEF-amount
 ‘I will not accept it even if they offered me double the amount.’

11.4.4.3 Causative clauses:

Modern Standard Arabic employs the causative marker/complementizer *li'anna* to introduce causative adverbial clauses. This causative marker is discussed in further detail in the coordination section. The following example illustrates:

- (861) *li'anna-ha 'um raqqa qalbu-ha 'ala*
because-3SG.F mother be.soft.PERF.3SG.F heart-3SG.F on
l-'ytaam
DEF-orphans
'Because she was a mother, she sympathized with the orphans.'

11.4.4.4 Concessive Clause:

This type of adverbial expresses a proposition that provides a background for a main situation that goes against expectations (Givón 1990:834). In Modern Standard Arabic, this type of adverbial is marked using the linkers *'ala ar-ruġm* 'although' for the adverbial clause and *'ila' anna* 'despite that' for the main clause:

- (862) *'ala.ar-ruġm min isti'daad al-fariiq 'ila 'anna l-xasarat-a kaanat*
Although from readiness DEF-team despite COMP DEF-loss-ACC was.F
kabiira
big.F
'Although the team was prepared, they lost by a big margin.'

11.4.4.5 Substitutive Clause:

In this type of adverbial, the proposition introduced by the complement clause is substituted by that of the main clause. Modern Standard Arabic employs the marker *badala* 'instead' to mark substitutive clauses:

- (863) *dahaba 'ila Dubai badala 'an yaqhaba 'ila Qaṭar*
go.PERF.3SG.M to Dubai instead.of COMP go.IMPER.3SG.M to Qatar
'He went to Dubai instead of Qatar.'

11.4.4.6 Additive Clause:

Additive clauses are marked in Modern Standard Arabic by using the marker *'alawat-an 'ala* 'in addition to that (lit. on top of that)'. The following example illustrates:

- (864) 'ujrat-u t-taksii kaanat baahidatan 'alawatan 'ala 'an
charge-NOM DEF-taxi was expensive.F above on COMP
saa'iq-a t- taksii kaana waqih-an
driver-ACC DEF-taxi was rude-ACC.INDEF
'Not only was the taxi fare expensive, but the driver was rude too!'

11.4.4.7 Purpose Clause:

Purpose adverbial clauses have the same referent as that of the main clause and provide reason for the action carried out by the subject of the clause. Modern Standard Arabic employs the marker *ḥatta* 'until, to' to mark purpose clauses:

- (865) rakiba l-qīṭaar ḥatta yaṣil-a 'ila landan
ride.PERF.3SG.M DEF-train for arrive.IMPERF.3SG.M-SUB to London
mubakkiran
early
'He rode the train to get to London early.'

11.5 Subordination in Hadari

11.5.1 Subject clauses

Although subject clauses in Hadari are similar to their Modern Standard Arabic counterparts in that they have a complementizer and that they occur in postposition, they demonstrate considerably more freedom in terms of the occurrence of the complementizer and clause order. In Hadari, subordinate clauses predominantly occur in postposition, but they can also occur in preposition. The following examples illustrate subordinate subject clauses in non-verbal main clauses, and demonstrate that they can occur in postposition or preceding the predicate:

- (866) şij 'ənn-əh əl-məwḍuu' yzə'il (TV)
true COMP-3SG DEF-issue upset.IMPERF.3SG.M
'It is true that (I find) the issue upsetting.'
- (867) 'ih̄timaal 'ənn-əh yruuḥ barra (I)
possible COMP-3SG.M go.IMPERF.3SG.M abroad
'it is possible that he will travel abroad.'
- (868) 'ənn-i 't̄lə' mən əl-kwæet mustəḥil (I)
COMP-1SG leave.IMPERF.1SG from DEF-Kuwait impossible
'It is impossible that I would leave Kuwait.'

The following example illustrates subordinate embedded clauses in verbal main clauses:

- (869) *ḡaayəg-ni ḥeɛl 'ənnə Salim şəqəṭ b-əl-mədrəsə* (A)
 upset.PERF-1SG very COMP Salim fail.PERF.3SG.M in-DEF-school
 'That Salim failed school upset me a lot'

11.5.2 Complement clauses

Hadari has one complementizer *'ən*, which always has a pronominal suffix attached to it, agreeing with the subject of the embedded clause in person, number and gender. The Hadari complementizer does not show a verbal/nominal clause distinction as in Modern Standard Arabic. Furthermore, determining the referent of the pronominal suffix can be problematic if it agrees with both the subject of the matrix clause and the subject of the embedded clause. When this ambiguity occurs, as is the case with other languages, the interlocutor can usually resort to the context to determine the referent. The following examples show the pronominal suffixes attached to the complementizer, with example (870) showing pronominal ambiguity:

- (870) *'əhuwə gaal 'ənn-əh yəbi* (I)
 he say.PERF.3SG.M COMP-3SG.M want.IMPERF.3SG.M

ykəmməl diraast-əh
 continue.IMPERF.2SG.M study-3SG.M

'He said that he wants to pursue a higher degree in education.'

- (871) *um-i tguul 'ən-hum baačir raḥ* (LR)
 mother-1SG say.IMPERF.3SG.F COMP-3PL tomorrow FUT

yoşlun
 arrive.IMPERF.3PL
 'My mother says that they will arrive tomorrow.'

- (872) *'aanə gilt 'ənn-i zə'laan* (A)
 I say.PERF.1SG COMP-1SG upset.M
 'I said that I am upset.'

Unlike those employed in Modern Standard Arabic, complementizers are optional with declarative complements, regardless of the semantics of the main verb. In

example (873) the main verb is a cognition/utterance verb while example (875) illustrates a modality verb and both complements of those verbs can occur without the complementizer as examples (874) and (876) illustrate:

(873) 'əhyə gaalət 'ənn-əh kaan təbiib (I)
 she say.PERF.3SG.F COMP-3SG.M was.3SG.M doctor.M
 'She said that he was a doctor.'

(874) 'əhyə gaalət kaan təbiib (A)
 she say.PERF.3SG.F was.3SG.M doctor.M
 'She said that he was a doctor.'

(875) 'əhyə təbi-əh 'ənn-əh yšiir təbiib (A)
 she want.IMPERF.3SG.F-3SG.M COMP-3SG.M become.IMPERF.3SG.M doctor.M
 'She wants him to be a doctor.'

(876) əhyə təbi-əh yšiir təbiib (A)
 she want.IMPERF.3SG.F-3SG.M become.IMPERF.3SG.M doctor.M
 'She wants him to be a doctor.'

The following examples illustrate polar interrogative embedded clauses in Hadari, which show that a complementizer is not permitted in this type of subordination:

(877) 'əhyə s'ələt 'iḡə kaan təbiib (A)
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F whether was doctor.M
 'She asked if he was a doctor.'

(878) 'əhyə s'ələt 'iḡə b-yšiir təbiib (A)
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F whether FUT-become.IMPERF.3SG.M doctor.M
 'She asked if he will become a doctor.'

The following examples illustrate that complementizers also do not occur in constituent interrogative embedded clauses in Hadari:

(879) 'um-i s'ələt wəen raah (TV)
 mother-1sg ask.PERF.3SG.F where go.PERF.3SG.M
 'My mother asked where he went.'

(880) 'əhyə s'ələt wəen b-yruuh (A)
 she ask.PERF.3SG.F where FUT-go.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'She asked where he is going.'

11.5.3 Participles

The following Hadari examples illustrate non-finite complements clauses headed by a participle form of the verb.

- (881) Fahad lægə ş-şəhən məksuur (A)
 Fahad find.PERF.3SG.M DEF-plate broken.M
 'Fahad found the plate broken.'

- (882) Mishary dərə 'ənn-əh əš-šriṭ naazil (I)
 Mishary learn.PERF.3SG.M comp-3sg.M DEF-game released.M
 'Mishary found out that the game has been released.'

11.5.4 Adverbial Clause

Subordinate adverbial clauses in Hadari show more freedom than they do in Modern Standard Arabic, as they can occur in sentence initial and sentence final positions.

Similar to Modern Standard Arabic, Hadari employs different kinds of adverbial clauses which are distinctly marked by semantic connectives. The following section presents an overview of adverbial clauses in Hadari:

11.5.4.1 Temporal Clauses:

Temporal clauses in Hadari are introduced. Different types of temporal clauses in Hadari are introduced by the following linkers:

Type	Temporal link
Precedence	gabəl 'before' + laa
Subsequence	'əgəb 'after' + maa
Simultaneity	Conjunction + modal gaa'ə+ imperfective verb
Terminal Boundary	Lamma 'until'
Initial Boundary	mən yoom 'from the day'

Table 11.2 Hadari Temporal Clause Linkers

- (883) məšaa gabəllaa 'əšuuf-ə (LR)
 leave.PERF.3SG.M before see.IMPERF.1SG -3SG
 'He Left before I got to see him.'

- (884) Fahad wəşəl 'əgəbmaa həṭəənə ġədə (LR)
 Fahad arrive.PERF.3SG.M after put.PERF.1PL lunch
 'Fahad came in after we served lunch.'

Hadari does not have a distinct marker to link to events that are taking place simultaneously in as is the case in Modern Standard Arabic. Hadari expresses simultaneity by connecting the two events using the conjunction *u* ‘and’ followed by a clause set in the progressive. The following example illustrates:

- (885) Salim dāš ‘ələ-i uaanə gaa’əd ‘ədris (A)
 Salim enter.PERF.3SG.M on-1SG and I PROG study.IMPERF.1SG
 ‘Salim walked in on me while I was studying.’

- (886) b-əntg-əh lamma yxiib tənnaa-əh (TV)
 fut-hit.IMPERF.1PL-3SG.M until wane.IMPERF.3SG.M strength-3SG.M
 ‘We will hit him until he gives up.’

- (887) maa tərəgg’nə mən yoom šaarət naazrə (LR)
 Neg patch.PERF.1PL from day become.PERF.3SG.F principle.F
 ‘We haven’t been doing well ever since she became the principle.’

11.5.4.2 Conditional Clauses:

As in Modern Standard Arabic, irrealis conditionals in Hadari are introduced by the marker *’idə* ‘if’. Furthermore, the main clause in Hadari is marked as future, imperfective, or imperative while the conditional clause is marked as perfective:

- (888) ’idə xəlləšt šəgl-i raah ‘əmər-kum (A)
 If finsh.PERF.1SG work-1SG FUT pass.IMPERF.1SG-2PL
 ‘If I finish my work, I’ll stop by.’

Counter-fact conditionals in Hadari are expressed by using the conditional *loo* ‘if’ and the marker *čaan* ‘would’. The conditional clause is always in the imperfective while the main clause could be perfective or imperfective:

- (889) loo yədry Jasim čaan zə’əl (A)
 if know.IMPERF.3SG.M Jasim would angry.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘If Jasim finds out he would be angry.’

- (890) loo yədry Jasim čaan yəzə’əl (A)
 if know.IMPERF.3SG.M Jasim would angry.IMPERF.3sg.m
 ‘If Jasim finds out he would be angry.’

Concessive conditional markers in Hadari are similar to those found in Modern Standard Arabic as they are marked using *ḥəttə* ‘until’ and *loo* ‘if’. The conditional clause can be either imperfective or perfective while the main clause while the main clause is always marked as future. The following example illustrates this type in Hadari:

(891) ḥəttə loo ydig maa raah ‘ərad (TV)
 even if call.IMPERF.3SG.M NEG FUT answer.IMPERF.1SG
 ‘Even if he calls me, I won’t answer the phone.’

(892) ḥəttə loo dəg maa raah ‘ərad (A)
 even if call.PERF.3SG.M NEG FUT answer.IMPERF.1SG
 ‘Even if he called me, I wouldn’t answer the phone.’

11.5.4.3 Causative clause:

The causative adverbial clause in Hadari is marked with the marker *ləənnə* ‘because’ which is similar to the conditional marker used in Modern Standard Arabic. The marker shows agreement with the subject in gender and number:

(893) Salim nəjəh ləənnə dərəs (A)
 Salim succeed.PERF.3SG.M because-3SG.M study.PERF.3SG.M
 ‘He passed because he studied.’

11.5.4.4 Concessive Clause:

The marker *mə‘ə* ‘with’ followed by the complementizer *‘ən* are combined in Hadari to introduce the concessive clause, which is comparable to the Modern Standard Arabic marker. In the following example the adverbial *mə‘ə ‘ən-hə ḥləəwə* ‘although she’s nice’ represents the background for the main event:

(894) maa yəbii-hə mə‘ə ‘ən-hə ḥləəwə (I)
 NEG want.IMPERF.3SG.M although COMP-3SG.F nice.F
 ‘He doesn’t want to marry her although she’s a nice person.’

11.5.4.5 Substitutive Clause:

Hadari employs the adverbial marker *bədaal* ‘instead’ and the negation marker *laa* to mark substitutive clauses:

(895) raah Dubai bədaal laa yruuh Qaṭar (A)
 go.PERF.3SG.M Dubai instead NEG go.IMPERF.3SG.M Qatar
 ‘He went to Dubai instead of Qatar.’

11.5.4.6 Additive Clause:

Hadari employs the construction *foog haadə* 'on top of that' to introduce additive clauses, which is similar 'alawat-an 'ala 'in addition to that' from Modern Standard Arabic. The following example illustrates:

- (896) Fahad tahaawəš wiyya l-mudarris u (I)
Fahad fight.PERF.3SG.M with DEF-teacher and

foog haadə ʔaag-ə
top that hit.perf.3sg.m-3sg.m
'Fahad fought with the teacher and on top of that he assaulted him.'

11.5.4.7 Purpose Clause:

Purpose adverbial clauses are introduced by the adverbial marker 'əšan 'because' in Hadari.

- (897) 'əšan ubu-əh yštəgl b-əd-diwan (LR)
because father-3SG.M work.IMPERF.3SG.M in-DEF-council

təwazəf b-sər'ə
employ.PERF.3SG.M in-haste
'Because his father works in the council, he got the job immediately.'

- (898) qəddem 'əl-bi'ʔat 'əšan yədris (LR)
apply.3SG.M for-DEF-scholarships because study.IMPERF.3SG.M

bərrə
abroad
'He applied for a scholarship so that he can study abroad.'

11.6 Coordination

11.6.1 Features of coordination

Coordination is the process of combining two separate syntactic constructions to form a larger compound construction. In order to combine syntactic units, the coordinated syntactic elements must belong to the same grammatical category; verbs combine with verbs, nouns with nouns, clauses with clauses and so forth (Haspelmath, 2008:1). Types of coordination are illustrated below:

1. Conjunction:
(899) Alice drank the potion and ate the cake.
2. Disjunction:
(900) It was a rabbit or a hare.
3. Adversative:
(901) Alice was scared but excited.
4. Causal:
(902) Alice shrunk for the potion was enchanted.

In conjunctions, syntactic units are linked together with a semantically neutral coordinator that merely connects these elements. In contrast, a disjunctive coordinator is a word that links two or more syntactic units and assigns whichever unit following it as an alternative to the unit preceding it. Adversative coordination refers to two contrasting notions that are linked by a coordinator; this coordinator makes the unit that follows it the antithesis of the unit that precedes it. Of all the aforementioned types of coordination, only adversative coordination is always binary; coordinating two elements only. The other types however do not have to be binary, as an infinite number of elements can be coordinated (Haspelmath, 2008:2). Elements that can be combined by the aforementioned coordinators include verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs at the word level. At the phrasal level all types of phrase can be coordinated; verb phrases, noun phrase, adjective phrases, and adverbial phrases. Finally, at the clausal level, the units that may be combined are subordinate clauses and full sentences (Haspelmath, 2008:1). Moreover, causal coordination is considered part of coordination because the coordinator links two separate, independent clauses that can stand alone and still be considered grammatical. This aspect is key in defining causal coordination, and allows it to be considered a type of coordination rather than subordination.

11.6.2 Coordination in Modern Standard Arabic

1. Conjunction

The first and most common type of coordination in Modern Standard Arabic is conjunction with marker *wa* 'and'. This coordinator has historically changed from being both a conjunction marker and a 'punctuation marker' to a less frequently used conjunction marker. This change was due to the introduction of the Western punctuation system into the language, which replaced the 'punctuation' function of *wa* (Badawi, 2004:540; Kammensjö, 2004:149). The following examples illustrate the conjunction coordinator in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (903) *ḡabulat al-ašjaar-u wa al-azhaar-u*
wilt.PERF.3PL DEF-tree.PL-NOM and DEF-flower.PL-NOM
'The trees and flowers wilted.'
- (904) *fataat-un laṭifa wa jamiila*
girl-NOM.INDEF nice.F and pretty.F
'a nice and pretty girl'
- (905) *al-kuweit-u istaxdamat amwaal-a-ha wa ṭarawat-a-ha wa*
DEF-Kuwait-NOM use.PERF.3SG.F money-ACC-3SG.F and riches-ACC-3SG.F and
xairaat-a-ha fi musa'adat-i l-ḡeēr-i
goods-ACC-3SG.F in help-GEN DEF-other-GEN
'Kuwait used its money, riches, and goods in helping others.'

2. Disjunction

Modern Standard Arabic has two main disjunction markers; one is employed with declarative sentences *'aw* 'or', while the other is used in interrogative sentences *'am*.

- (906) *Salim-u sa-yuṣbiḥ tayyar-an 'aw muhandis-an*
Salim-NOM FUT-become.3SG.M pilot.M-ACC.INDEF or engineer.M-ACC.INDEF
'Salim will become a pilot or an engineer.'
- (907) *'iḡhab 'ila l-madrasat-i 'aw 'ud 'ila l-bait-i*
go.IMP.M to DEF-school-GEN or return.IMP to DEF-house-GEN
'Go to school or return home.'

- (908) hal turiidu s-safar 'ila n-namsa 'am al-majar
 Q want.IMPER.2SG.M DEF-travel to DEF-Austria or DEF-Hungary
 'Do you want to travel to Austria or Hungary?'

3. Adversative Coordination

In this type of coordination, two contrasting units are combined into one to form an antithesis. In Modern Standard Arabic, the two main adversative coordinators are *lakin* 'but', which is employed in declarative sentences, and *bal* 'but', which is used in negated declarative sentences. If the negative coordinator *bal* 'but' occurs in a declarative sentence, it adds emphasis the combined statements; the second statement enforces the first. The following examples illustrate this type of coordination:

- (909) Ali šaxš-un mušakis-un **lakin** ḥanun
 Ali person-NOM.INDEF naughty.M-NOM.INDEF but kind.M
 'Ali is a naughty but kind person.'
- (910) lam takun ḥamqa' **bal** ḡakiy.a
 NEG be.IMPERF.3SG.F stupid.F but smart.F
 'She was smart, not stupid.'
- (911) kaan walad-an wasiim-an **bal** 'aayat-an min
 be.PERF.3SG.M boy-ACC.INDEF handsom-ACC.INDEF but picture-INDEF of
 al-jamaal-i
 DEF-beauty-GEN
 'Not only was he handsome, but he was the embodiment of beauty.'

4. Causal Coordination

The fourth type of coordination is causal coordination in which the two separate constituents are coordinated with a causation marker indicating that event A was caused by event B. Modern Standard Arabic has a variety of constructions that convey causation (e.g. morphological causatives, verbs that introduce periphrastic causation like *sabab* 'cause') but the only one that can be considered a true coordinator is *li'anna* 'for, because'. Like English's causal coordinator, *li'anna* can be analyzed as two separate units that were combined and grammaticalized to form this marker of causation; the first is *li* 'for' and the

second is the complementizer *'anna* . The expression *li* can attach to full verbs as well as complementizer and serves a causal function but not as causal coordinator. The following are examples of causal coordination in Modern Standard Arabic:

(912) istaqaal Ahmed-u **li'anna** l-mudiir-a kaan sai'
quit.PERF.3SG.M Ahmed-NOM because DEF-boss-ACC was bad.M
'Ahmed quit because the boss was bad.'

(913) ta'axarat Layla **li'anna**-ha lam tasma' kalam-a
late.PERF.3SG.F Layla becaue-3SG.F NEG hear.PROG.3SG.F talk-ACC

ummi-ha
mother-3SG.F
'Layla was late because she did not heed her mother's warning.'

Table 11.3 provides a summary of the aforementioned coordinators found in Modern Standard Arabic:

Type of coordination	Modern Standard Arabic	
Conjunction	<i>wa</i> 'and'	
Disjunction	Declarative: <i>'am</i> 'or'	Interrogative: <i>'am</i> 'or'
Adversative	Declarative: <i>lakin</i> 'but'	Negative: <i>bal</i> 'but'
Causal	<i>li'anna</i> 'for, because'	

Table 11.3 Coordinators in Moder Standard Arabic

11.6.3 Coordination in Hadari

1. Conjunction

Hadari has a conjunction marker that is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic. The conjunction marker in Hadari is *u* 'and', and it functions mainly as a coordinator of two or more grammatical units that belong to the same grammatical category. The following examples illustrate conjunction in Hadari:

(914) 'əshər b-al-ləəl **u** 'ənaam (TV)
stay.up.PROG.1SG in-DEF-night and sleep.PROG.1SG
b-an-nəhaar
in-DEF-day
'I stay up all night and sleep during the day.'

- (915) Teeba **u** Bader šaafəu bəet əs-saahrə (I)
 Teeba and Bader see.PERF.3PL house DEF-witch
 'Teeba and Bader saw the witch's house.'
- (916) əl-bəet məşnu' mən bəskuut **u** kəkkau (I)
 DEF-house make.PTCPL from biscuits and chocolate
 'The house was made of biscuits and chocolate.'
- (917) Teeba šaafət əs-saahrə **u** Bader kəfəx-hə (I)
 Teeba see.PERF.3SG.F DEF-witch and Bader hit.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.F
 b-əl-ḥṭəbə
 with-DEF-stick
 'Teeba saw the witch and Bader hit her with the stick.'

2. Disjunction

Disjunction in Hadari is different from disjunction in Modern Standard Arabic. As discussed in the earlier section, Modern Standard Arabic has two disjunction markers; one for the declarative and another for the interrogative. Hadari employs only one of the coordinators used in Modern Standard Arabic to express disjunction, 'əu 'or', which can occur mainly with declarative and imperative sentences. Hadari has another type of coordinator that occurs with declaratives, imperatives and interrogatives, *wəllə* 'and'. Hadari also used to have a separate coordination marker for interrogatives, *lo* 'or', which has become archaic in the dialect.

Examples (918)-(919) illustrate co-ordination in a declarative clause, examples (920)-(921) illustrate co-ordination in an imperative clause, and example (922) illustrates co-ordination in an interrogative clause:

- (918) ubu-i b-yəštəri Yukon 'əu Tahoe (LR)
 father- 1SG FUT-buy.IMPERF.3SG.M Yukon or Tahoe
 'My dad will buy either a Yukon or a Tahoe'
- (919) b-ašuuf ləhə saa'ə **wəllə** xaatəm (I)
 fut-SEE.IMPERF.1SG for.her watch or ring
 'I might buy her a watch or a ring.'

- (920) ruuḥ al-hadi 'əu s-salam (LR)
 go.IMP DEF-Hadi or DEF-Salam
 'Go to AlHadi hospital or AlSalam hospital.'
- (921) 'əgrə kilma **wəllə** baṭṭəl kitab (A)
 read.IMP.M word or open book
 'Study harder or open a book! (every once in a while)'
- (922) raḥ-au l-bəet **wəllə** təmm-au b-al-ġabə (I)
 go.PERF-3PL DEF-home or stay.PERF-3SG in-DEF-forest
 'Did they go home or stay in the forest?'

3. Adversative Coordination

Hadari has one coordinator to mark adversative coordination, *laakin* 'but', which is identical to the one used in declarative sentence in Modern Standard Arabic. However, Hadari differs from Modern Standard Arabic in that it employs this coordinator for both declarative and interrogative sentences. The following examples illustrate the use of *laakin* in Hadari:

- (923) əl-kuwəet waafaqat **laakin** əl-'rag ma rəzət (I)
 DEF-Kuwait agree.PERF.3SG.F but DEF-Iraq NEG accept.PERF.3SG.F
 'Kuwait agreed but Iraq did not accept.'
- (924) Teeba kaanət xaif-a **laakin** dazat əs-saahrə daxil (I)
 Teeba was.F scared-F but push.PERF.3SG.F DEF-witch inside
 ət-tənuur
 DEF-furnace
 'Teeba was scared but she pushed the witch into the furnace.'

4. Causal Coordination

Hadari's causal coordinator, *lə'an* 'for, because', is similar to the one found in Modern Standard Arabic. Hadari has another causal coordinator, *'əšāan* 'because', which is used interchangeably with *lə'an*, both are discussed briefly in sections 11.5.4.3 and 11.5.4.7. The coordinator *'əšāan* is actually a combination of the prepositional phrase *'əla šān* which consists of the preposition *'əla* 'on' and the noun *'əšān* 'reason, cause' which have been combined and grammaticalized in the dialect.

- (925) kəšo-hə lə'ən-hə maa təstəhi 'ələ wəyih-hə (LR)
 fire.PERF.3PL-3SG.F because-3SG.F NEG has.shame.F on face-3SG.F
 'They fired her because she was not polite.'
- (926) kəšo-hə 'əšaan-hə maa təstəhi 'ələ wəyih-hə (A)
 fire.PERF.3PL-3SG.F because-3SG.F NEG has.shame.F on face-3SG.F
 'They fired her because she was not polite.'
- (927) gəttəu Teeba u Bader b-al-ğaabə lə'ən-hum fəqaara (I)
 throw.PERF.3PL Teeba and Bader in-DEF-forest because-3PL poor.PL
 'They left Teeba and Bader in the forest because they were poor (and
 couldn't support them).'
- (928) gəttəu Teeba u Bader b-al-ğaabə 'əšaan-hum fəqaara (A)
 throw.PERF.3PL Teeba and Bader in-DEF-forest because-3PL poor.PL
 'They left Teeba and Bader in the forest because they were poor (and
 couldn't support them).'

Table 11.4 summarizes the types of coordinators found in Hadari.

Type of coordination	Hadari	
Conjunction	u 'and'	
Disjunction	Declarative: 'əu 'or'	Interrogative: wəllə 'or'
Adversative	lakin 'but'	
Causal	lə'ən, 'əšan 'for, because'	

Table 11.4: Coordinators in Hadari

11.7 Relative Clauses:

This section begins with a typological overview of relative clauses, a discussion of Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy, followed by an overview of relativizing strategies, and concludes with a discussion of all of the above in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. The discussion demonstrates that Modern Standard Arabic has a set of relative pronouns that agree with the head noun in gender and number while Hadari has a single relativizer that does not demonstrate any agreement marking, and that Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari differ in terms of freedom in position of the relative clause.

11.7.1 Typological Overview:

A major typological parameter when it comes to describing relative clauses across languages is the location of the relative clause relative to the head noun, and whether the relative clause is headed externally or internally. Externally-headed relative clauses are labeled as such when the head noun modified by the relative clause is outside the modifying clause. Conversely, when the head noun occurs inside the relative clause, the relative clause is described as internally-headed. According to a study carried out by Dryer (2005h:366), based on a sample of 825 languages, there are overall seven language types when it comes to relativization, each expressing relative clauses differently.

The connection between headedness and word order in language is a well-established part of typology. Keenan (1985) presents the types of relative clauses in relation to word order and links each basic constituent order with its likely relative clause type. Keenan states that V-initial and SVO languages tend to have postnominal relative clauses. On the other hand, V-final languages tend to have prenominal relative clauses. Although it has been argued that SVO languages and V-initial languages are similar and are expected to display similar word order characteristics (Lehmann 1973; Vennemann 1974; Dryer 2007a, 1990), SVO languages have a higher tendency to have both prenominal and postnominal relative clauses than V-initial languages (Keenan & Comrie 1977:64; Keenan 1985:144,

Comrie & Keenan 1979). For more on word order, refer to section 5.3. Keenan also notes that postnominal relative clauses can in principle relativize any grammatical function on the accessibility hierarchy while prenominal relative clauses are more constrained in languages with SVO word order; even though SVO languages can have both postnominal and prenominal relative clauses, it is the postnominal relative clause that is predominant and most productive.

The first type includes languages in which the relative clause follows the noun, a common feature of V-initial languages and SVO languages like Modern Standard Arabic and English respectively. Examples (929) and (930) are from Modern Standard Arabic while (931) and (932) are from English:

(929) al-‘ajuz-a [‘alladi waqa’]
 DEF-old-ACC [REL. 1SG.M fall.PERF.3SG.M]
 ‘the old man who fell...’

(930) as-samak-at-a [‘allati iṣṭadtu-ha]
 DEF-fish-ACC [REL.1SG.F catch.PERF.REFLEX.1SG-3SG.F]
 ‘the fish that I caught...’

(931) the girl [that I like]

(932) the letter [that I gave to Mary]

The second relative clause type is found in languages in which the relative clause precedes the noun, a feature predominantly found in V-final languages. The following example is from Japanese:

(933) [Hohoemu] hitobito wa shiawase desu
 [smiling] people SUBJ happy COP
 ‘The people who are smiling are happy.’

The third language type contains languages that use internally-headed relative clauses. An example of this is found in Mesa Grande Diegueno, a Kumiai language spoken in Mexico (Couro and Langdon 1975: 187, cited in Dryer, 2005h: 366):

- (934) [‘ehatt gaat akewii]=ve=ch chepam
 [dog cat chase]=DEF=SUBJ get.away
 ‘the cat that the dog chased got away’

The forth type is also considered a type of internally-headed relative clause, as the head noun occurs inside the relative clause (Dryer, 2005h:366). However it is differentiated from internally-headed relative clauses because the relative clause occurs outside of the main clause and the head of the relative clause is anaphorically linked to a noun phrase in the main clause. This type is called the correlative relative clause:

- (935) Bambara (Bird and Kaanté 1976:9)
 [Muso min taara], o ye fini san
 [woman REL leave] 3SG PERF cloth buy
 ‘The woman who left bought the cloth.’

The fifth type includes languages that have adjoined relative clauses. This type is similar to the previous type as the relative clause occurs outside of the main clause. However, the difference between this type and the correlative relative clause is that the head noun occurs in the main clause and not in the relative clause, i.e. the relative clause is externally headed.

- (936) Diyari, [Australasian, Southern Australia (extinct)] (Austin 1981:210)
 ŋaŋi wiŋa-ŋi yaŋa-ŋa ŋana-yi [yinda-ŋaŋi]
 1SG.SUBJ woman.LOC speak-FUT AUX-PRES [cry-REL.DS]
 ‘I’ll talk to the woman who is crying’

The sixth type is the double headed relative clause. Kombai, a Papua New Guinea language spoken in Indonesia, is the only language found in Dryer’s sample of 825 languages that displays this type. This type has both external and internal head nouns:

- (937) Kombai (de Vries 1993: 78)
 [doü adiyano-no] doü deyalukhe
 [sago give.3PL.NONFUT-CONN] sago finished.ADJ
 ‘The sago that they gave is finished.’

The seventh and final type is of languages that use mixed relative clauses types. Such languages display two or more of the aforementioned types without one of them being dominant.

11.7.2 The Accessibility Hierarchy

The typology of relative clauses received a great deal of attention after Edward Keenan and Bernard Comrie published their influential paper on relative clause formation in 1977. In their paper, Keenan and Comrie presented the Accessibility Hierarchy, a generalization that is based on a group of language universals pertinent to relative clauses. This hierarchy summarizes all the relative clause universals into a single hierarchy that, through its ranking of sentence elements, can predict the relativization possibilities in a given language. The Accessibility Hierarchy is as follows:

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison

Figure 11.1 Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy

The hierarchy refers to the role that the referent of the head noun receives inside the relative clause, rather than the role of the whole complex noun phrase within the main clause. The hierarchy states that if a language can relativize X then it can relativize everything higher than X on the hierarchy, but not necessarily anything lower than X on the hierarchy. For example, if a language can relativize an indirect object, then the hierarchy predicts that it can relativize direct object and subjects but not necessarily obliques, genitives, and objects of comparison. Keenan and Comrie also note that almost all languages can relativize subjects if they have relativization (Comrie 1977:68, Comrie & Kuteva 2011).

11.7.3 Relativization Strategies

Although languages differ in terms of how they relativize noun phrases, they all employ one or a combination of the following strategies:

1. Gapping Strategy

When using the gapping, the grammatical function relativized by the relative clause is not expressed in the relative clause, resulting in a 'gap' in the construction. English uses this strategy; in (938), an object relative, the object position in the relative clause is empty:

(938) the car [that [Sam bought]]

2. Pronoun Retention Strategy

In this strategy the relative clause represents the function that is relativized by means of a personal pronoun. This strategy explicitly presents the logical structure of the relative clause (Keenan 1972, 1975) because the restrictive clause is formally a sentence that unambiguously refers the head noun in the main clause. Pronoun retaining strategies are found to be applicable to various environments that are difficult to relativize (Keenan 1972, 1975) as they explicitly encode the meaning of the relative clause. Thus, the tendency to employ pronoun retention increases when descending the accessibility hierarchy. Babungo (Schaub 1985:34), a Benue-Congo language spoken in Cameroon, uses this strategy; in this subject relative, the subject position inside the relative clause contains a personal pronoun (in bold):

(939) mà yè wá [nt̪ə fán [ɲwá sí s àŋ ghô]]
I see.pfv person that who he perf2 beat.pfv you
'I have seen the man who has beaten you.'

3. Relative Pronoun Strategy:

In this strategy, the language has a set of pronouns that are restricted to occurring in relative clauses. Relative pronouns agree with the head noun in nominal features such as definiteness, gender, number and case. An example of this is English *who*:

(940) the girl **who** leapt

4. Relativizer Strategy:

Languages that employ this relativizing strategy have a specific complementizer morpheme used to mark an embedded clause as relative. The difference between a relativizer and a relative pronoun is that relative pronouns have nominal features such as case, number and gender; a relativizer on the other hand is merely a marker of the relative clause (a kind of specialized complementizer) and serves no nominal function (Schachter 2007: 50). In some languages, as illustrated by Hadari below, the relativizer is a grammaticalized form of relative pronoun, while in others, like Georgian (Kartvelian, spoken in Azerbaijan), the word *ray-ta-mca*, derived from the question word *ray* ‘what’, functions as relativizer (Harris and Campbell 1995:298, cited in Heine and Kuteva 2002:249):

(941) da ara unda, raytamca icna vin
 And not he:want that he:know someone
 ‘and he didn’t want that anyone know’

11.7.4 Relative Clauses in Modern Standard Arabic:

In Modern Standard Arabic, the grammatical functions that can be relativized are consistent with the Accessibility Hierarchy: relativization of subject, object, indirect object, oblique, genitive and object of comparison are all possible in the language. Modern Standard Arabic uses three of the aforementioned relativization strategies: relative pronouns, gapping and pronoun retention. Modern Standard Arabic has a specific set of relative pronouns that are used in relative clause structures. These pronouns carry nominal agreement features just like regular nouns in Modern Standard Arabic: they are inflected for gender, case and number. The following tables illustrate the paradigms of relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic:

Case \ Number	Number		
	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	'llaḍi	'llaḍaani	'llaḍiina
Acc./Gen.	'llaḍi	'lləḍayni	'llaḍina

Table 11.5 Masculine relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

Number Case	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	'llati	'lataani	'llawaati
Acc./Gen.	'llati	'lataayni	'lladiina

Table 11.6 Feminine relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

There are constraints on the use of some of the relative pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic; for example, the plural forms may only be to refer to human beings and never to animals or inanimate referents. Furthermore, relative pronouns only occur with definite nouns and never with indefinite nouns, which require the second relativization strategy: gapping. Along with the absence of relative pronouns and the presence of gapping, head nouns of indefinite relative clauses take the indefinite suffix *-n*, known in traditional grammars of Modern Standard Arabic as a 'nunation marker' (4.2.34.2). The following two sentences demonstrate the difference between a definite relative clause and an indefinite relative clause with a gapping strategy:

(942) saa'adtu l-'ajuz-a ['lladi waqa']
 help.PERF.1SG DEF-old.man-ACC [REL.SG.M fall.PERF.3SG.M]
 'I helped the old man that fell...'

(943) saa'adtu 'ajuz-an waqa'
 help.PERF.1sg old.man-ACC.INDEF fall.PERF.3SG.M
 'I helped an old man that fell...'

In example (942), the head noun of the relative clause *al-'ajuz-a* 'the old man' has the definite prefix to mark its definiteness while *'ajuz-an* 'old man' has the indefinite suffix *-n*. It is worth noting that Modern Standard Arabic only allows the gapping strategy to be used when the head noun is a subject or a direct object, any elements lower than the aforementioned two on the accessibility hierarchy require the use of the resumption strategy. Conversely, relative pronouns referring to definite nouns are considered optional for the first two levels of the accessibility hierarchy; subject and direct object, and are considered obligatory for the rest of the relativized elements. Comrie and Kuteva (2005) ascertain these predictions made by the accessibility hierarchy:

According to the Accessibility Hierarchy of Relativization proposed in Keenan and Comrie (1977), it is easier to relativize on subjects than it is to relativize on any of the other positions, easier to relativize on direct objects than indirect objects, etc. One of the generalizations that has been made regarding the accessibility hierarchy is that the pronoun retention strategy is preferred at the lower end of the hierarchy.

(Comrie and Kuteva 2005:496)

The third strategy used in Modern Standard Arabic is pronoun retention, which is a characteristic feature of relative clauses in Semitic languages (Keenan and Comrie 1977: 31). Keenan and Comrie (1977:32) use the following schema to summarize elements that are relativized using the pronoun retention strategy in a number of languages including Arabic:

Arabic	Subj	DO	IO	Obl	Gen	OComp
Postnom -case	-	+	+	+	+	+
Postnom +case	+	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11.7 Relativizable Positions in Arabic

Subjects can also be optionally relativized using the pronoun retention strategy as demonstrated below in example (944), which is consistent with Keenan and Comrie's schema. The following set of examples demonstrates that Modern Standard Arabic is fully consistent with the predictions made by the accessibility hierarchy. The first set is of examples are of phrases with a definite relativized element:

(944) Relativization of Subject (relative pronoun and optional pronoun retention)

al-walad-u	'llaḍi	(huwa)	'ijtahada
DEF-boy-NOM	REL.SG.M	he	work.hard.PERF.3SG.M
'the boy who worked hard'			

(945) Relativization of Direct Object (relative pronoun and obligatory pronoun retention)

istaṣir	an-nas-a	'llaḍiina	taṭiq	bi- him
consult.IMP.M	DEF-people-ACC	REL.PL	trust.IMPER.2SG.M	in-them
'Consult the people that you trust'				

- (946) Relativization of Indirect Object (relative pronoun and obligatory pronoun retention)

ar-risala-a 'llati 'aṭa-ha Hadi li Mariam kaanat fariḡa
 DEF-letter-ACC REL.SG.F give.PERF.3SG.M Hadi to Mariam was empty
 'The letter that Hadi gave to Mariam was empty'

- (947) Relativization of Oblique

qara'tu l-kitab-a 'llaḡi waḡa'at-hu 'ala ṭ-ṭawilat-i
 read.PERF.1SG DEF-book-ACC REL.SG.M put.PERF.3SG.F-3SG.M on DEF-table-GEN
 'I read the book that she put on the table'

- (948) Relativization of Genitive (relative pronoun and obligatory pronoun retention)

ar-rajul-u 'llaḡi axaḡa Salim qubba'at-a-hu
 DEF-man-NOM REL.SG.M take.PERF.3SG.M Salim hat-ACC-3SG.M
 'the man whose hat Salim took'

- (949) Relativization of Object of Comparison (relative pronoun and obligatory pronoun retention)

ar-rajul-u 'llaḡi aṭwal min-**hu** Rami
 DEF-man-NOM REL.SG.M taller than-3SG.M Rami
 'the man that Rami is taller than'

The second set is of examples in which the relativized element is indefinite. In these examples, pronoun retention is optional as indefinite examples allow gapping. The pronouns are put in parentheses to signal their optionality.

- (950) Relativization of Subject

walad-un (**huwa**) 'ijtahada
 boy-NOM.INDEF he work.hard.PERF.3SG.M
 'a boy that worked hard'

- (951) Relativization of Direct Object

risalat-an aṭaha Hadi li Mariam (**hiya**) kaanat fariḡa
 letter-ACC.INDEF give.PERF.3SG.M Hadi to Mariam it.F (she) was blank
 'a letter that Hadi gave to Mariam was empty'

(952) Relativization of Indirect Object

aš-šaṣṣ-u 'llaḍi **(huwa)** 'a'ṭa-hu r-risalat-a
DEF-person-NOM that (he) give-PERF.3SG.M-3SG.M DEF-letter-ACC
'the person that he gave the letter to'

(953) Relativization of Oblique

istašir nas-an taṭīq bi-**him**
consult.IMP.M people-ACC.INDEF trust.IMPERF.2SG.M in-them
'Consult people that you trust.'

(954) Relativization of Genitive

rajuḷ-an axaḍa Salim-u qubba'at-**a-hu**
man-ACC.INDEF take.PERF.3SG.M Salim-NOM hat-ACC-3SG.M
'a man whose hat Salim took'

(955) Relativization of Object of Comparison

rajuḷ-an aṭwal min-**hu** rami
man-ACC.INDEF taller than-3SG.M rami
'a man that Rami is taller than'

11.7.5 Relative Clauses in Hadari

11.7.5.1 The relativizer strategy in Hadari

Relative clauses in Hadari are externally-headed and postnominal, indicating that Hadari belongs to the first type of language types discussed by Dryer (2005). However, the position of the relative clause shows more freedom in Hadari than Modern Standard Arabic, as it can either precede or follow the head noun. This is an expected feature of SVO languages according to Keenan (1985:144). Hadari has one invariant relativizer *illi*, which does not demonstrate any of the case or gender grammatical markings of the relative pronouns used in Modern Standard Arabic. In Hadari, the relativizer *illi* is never marked for case, number or gender and has no other function than to mark the relative clause it occurs in. The relativizer occurs mostly with definite subject relatives (Brustad 2000: 92), however, there are some instances where the relativizer occurs with indefinite subjects as well. The following examples are of relativized definite nouns in Hadari:

- (956) t'ərf-in 'əqubət əl-musəddəs illi mu mrəxxəş (TV)
 know.IMPER.2SG-F punishment DEF-gun REL NEG registered.M
 'You know the punishment for unauthorized possession of firearms'
- (957) ləgəet əl-xətʔə illi ətfək-nə mən (TV)
 find.PERF.1SG DEF-plan REL release-1PL from
 məbrukə u məhzuḡəʔ
 Mabrooka and Mahthotha
 'I found the plan that (will) help us dispose of Mabrooka and Mahthotha'
- (958) ət-t'bir illi 'tləqə 'ələ-εεna š-šrṭi (TV)
 DEF-expression REL call.PERF.3SG.M on-1PL DEF-cop
 'the name that the cop called us by'
- (959) əl-məşəḡə illi rəxxəşt-həm (TV)
 DEF-sanatorium REL release.PERF.3SG.F-3pl
 'the sanatorium that released them'
- (960) əl-'hl illi yfəkroon u 'aanə illi 'nəfəḡ (TV)
 DEF-parents REL think.IMPER.3PL and I REL execute.IMPERF.1SG
 'My parents are the ones who plan and I follow their orders.'

So far the occurrence of the relativiser *illi* seems to be analogous to the use of the relative pronoun in MSA, in that it only appears when the head noun modified by the relative clause is a definite noun. However in some rare cases, examples demonstrate the occurrence of the relativizer with indefinite head nouns, as observed by Brustad (2000:95):

- (961) şad-əu ḡəramiyə (illi) baḡ-əu l-bəḡ (LR)
 catch.PERF-3PL thieves REL steal.PERF.3PL DEF-bank
 'They caught the thieves that robbed the bank.'
- (962) fələm yahaal (illi) ubu--hum ymuut (I)
 film children REL father-POSS.3PL die.IMPERF.3SG.M
 u um-hum ətrəbi-hum u əttə'ərrəf
 and mother-3pl raise.IMPERF.3SG.F- 3PL and befriend.IMPERF.3SG.F
 'ələ katib illi bə'dən yəktib peter pan
 on writer.M REL later write.imperf.3sg.m bitər ban
 '...film about some kids, the one where they lose their father and their mother raises them and befriends (a) writer who later writes Peter Pan..'

Indefinite nouns do not require the relativizer *illi* in Hadari but since this is a spoken dialect, a non-standardized spoken variety used in daily discourse which can be affected by prosody and speech pauses, constructions like the ones mentioned above can be found.

The following examples demonstrate that Hadari can relativize all of the elements on the Accessibility Hierarchy. As these examples demonstrate, in addition to the presence of the relativizer in definite relatives, Hadari also uses the gapping and pronoun retention strategies. As with the section on Modern Standard Arabic, the first set of examples are of definite relativized elements. The following examples illustrate (

(963) Relativization of Subject

əl-wələd	illi	yigrə	(A)
DEF-boy	REL	read.PROG.3SG.M	
'the boy who is reading'			

(964) Relativization of Direct Object

haḡi	l-jarida	illi	gərəet-hə	(A)
this.F	DEF-newspaper	REL	read.PERF.1SG	
'This is the newspaper that I read.'				

(965) Relativization of Indirect Object

əl-bənt	illi	r-rayyal	‘əṭa-hə	l-kitab	(A)
DEF-girl	REL	DEF-man	give.PERF.3SG.M- 3SG.F	DEF-book	
'This is the girl that the man gave the book to.'					

(966) Relativization of Oblique

əṭ-ṭawla	illi	ḡaṭ	‘ali-hə	l-mudarris	əl-kitab	(A)
DEF-table	illi	put.PERF.3SG.M	on-3SG.M	def-teacher.M	def-book	
'a table on which the teacher put the book'						

(967) Relativization of Genitive

əl-məynun	illi	bəet-əh	‘ələ	z-zawia	(LR)
DEF-crazy.person.M	REL	house-3SG.M	on	DEF-corner	
'the crazy person whose house is around the corner'					

- (968) Relativization of Object of Comparison
 əl-wəħiīd illi 'anə aṭwəl mənñ-əh 'əhuwə Fahad (A)
 DEF-only.one REL I taller from-3SG.M him Fahad
 'The only person that I am taller than is Fahad.'

The following examples are of indefinite relativized elements, which demonstrate that Hadari also employs the gapping strategy and pronoun retention strategy making it similar to Modern Standard Arabic:

- (969) Relativization of Subject
 wələd yigrə (A)
 boy read.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'a boy who is reading'

- (970) Relativization of Direct Object
 jariida gərəet fi-**hə** xəbər (A)
 newspaper read.PERF.1SG in-3SG.F news
 'a newspaper that I read news in'

- (971) Relativization of Indirect Object
 bənt rayyal 'əṭa-**hə** kitab (A)
 girl man give.PERF.3SG.M-3SG.F book
 'a girl that a man gave a book to'

- (972) Relativization of Oblique
 ṭawla ḥaṭ 'ali- **hə** l-mudarris əl-kitab (A)
 table put.PERF.3SG.M on-3SG.M DEF-teacher DEF-book
 'a table on which the teacher put the book'

- (973) Relativization of Genitive
 məynun bəet-**əh** 'ələ zawie (A)
 crazy.person.M house-3PL on corner
 'a crazy person whose house is around a corner'

- (974) Relativization of Object of Comparison
 *wəħid 'aanə aṭwəl mənñ-**əh** 'əhuwə Fahad (A)
 DEF-only.one I taller from- 3SG.M him Fahad
 'the only person that I am taller than is Fahad'

In example (974) the sentence is considered ungrammatical or grammatically weak because in this level of relativization the sentence has to be definite in Hadari.

Otherwise, all elements can be relativized in Hadari which is similar to Modern Standard Arabic.

11.7.5.2 The gapping strategy in Hadari

The gapping strategy is employed when the head noun is indefinite as in:

- (975) rəyyal yštəgəl mudərris (A)
 man work.IMPERF.3SG.M teacher.M
 'A man that works as a teacher'

- (976) šaf səyyarə ma təštəgəl (I)
 see.PERF.3SG.M car NEG work.IMPERF.3SG.F
 'He saw a car that does not work.'

- (977) flus 'ənbago mən əl-bəng (I)
 money steal.PERF.3PL-3PL from DEF-bank
 'money that was stolen from the bank'

- (978) waahəd rayəḥ rad (I)
 one go.IMPERF.3SG.M return.IMPERF.3SG.M
 'a man who is walking back and forth'

11.7.5.3 The resumption strategy in Hadari

The third strategy Hadari employs in expressing relative clauses is the pronoun retention strategy. According to the Accessibility Hierarchy, if a language can relativize one position in a sentence then it can relativize anything higher than that position. As, previously discussed, Hadari can relativize all of the positions presented on the Hierarchy using the relativizer strategy. Furthermore, Hadari should be able to relativize all of the positions using the pronoun retention strategy according to example (985) which demonstrates the relativization of the Object of Comparison. The following examples explore the predictions of the Accessibility Hierarchy with respect to Hadari:

- (979) əl-bənt [illi **hi** fazət ams] əxt-i (A)
 DEF-girl [REL **she** win.PERF.3SG.F yesterday] sister- 1SG
 'The girl who won yesterday is my sister.'

- (980) 'əṭəṭ ʃoot-i ḥəg ər-ryyal [illi obo-i (A)
give.PERF.1SG vote-POSS.1SG to DEF-man [REL father- 1SG
yə'ərf-əh]
know.3SG.M-**3SG.M**]
'I gave my vote to the guy my dad knows.'
- (981) səmə't əs-salfə illi gal- **hə** ḥəməd (A)
hear.PERF.1SG DEF-story REL tell.PERF.3SG.M-**3SG.F** Hamad
ḥəg 'əli
to Ali
'I heard the story that Hamad told Ali about.'
- (982) om-i t'ərəf rəb'-i [illi 'anə (A)
mother. 1SG know.IMPERF.3SG.F friends-1SG [REL I
ṭalə' wiyya-**hum**]
go.out.1SG with-3PL]
'my mom knows my friends who I go out with.'
- (983) ləgəet əl-qələm [illi l-yahaal ʃəxbəṭ-aw (A)
find.PERF.1SG DEF-pen [REL DEF-kids draw.PERF.3SG-3PL
fi-**əh** 'ələ eṭ-ṭofə]
with-**3SG.M** on DEF-wall]
'I found the pen that the kids drew on the wall with.'
- (984) əl-bənt [illi ubu- hə mat] galət (A)
DEF-girl [REL father-**3SG.F** die.PERF.3SG.M] say.PERF.3SG.F
l-i in- hə zə'lan-ə
to-GEN.1SG that-3SG.F sad-F
'the girl whose father died told me that she was sad.'
- (985) əl-wəḥid [illi **hu** aqwə minn-i bəen əxwan-i] (A)
DEF-only.one [REL **he** stronger than- 1SG between brothers- 1SG]
Fahad
Fahad
'The only one amongst my brothers who is stronger than me is Fahad'

The examples listed above demonstrate that Hadari is one of the languages that can relativize the entire range of grammatical elements presented in the Accessibility Hierarchy using the pronoun retention strategy. Thus, the predictions of the hierarchy are borne out, since the possibility of relativizing an object of comparison

(985) entails that Hadari can relativize everything that is higher than the object of comparison on the hierarchy. Furthermore, pronoun resumption in Hadari is optional when the relativized element is the subject but obligatory for all of the other relativizable positions which further attests that the lower the relativized position is on the Accessibility Hierarchy the higher the chance to employ the pronoun resumption strategy is (Keenan 1972, 1975).

11.7.5.4 Variation in relative clause position in Hadari

The aforementioned examples of Hadari all display relative clauses following their respective head nouns. However, Hadari also allows the relative clause to precede the head noun. According to Dryer (2007a:97), VO languages place the relative clause after the noun while in OV languages both orders, NRel and RelN, are equally common. Dryer also states four logical possibilities for the position of the relative clause in relation to word order, and that one of the four is uncommon while the others are common. The common orders are OV&RelN, OV&NRel, and VO&NRel while the uncommon order is VO&RelN. Hadari is a VO (SVO) language that has illustrates both VO&NRel (with the relative clause preceding the noun, as demonstrated by the aforementioned examples) and the uncommon correlation VO&RelN, as the following examples illustrate:

(986) [illi g'əd-ət yəm-na] l-mərə um əl-mə'rəs (l)
REL sit.PERF.3SG-F next.to- 1PL DEF-woman mother DEF-groom
'the woman that sat next to us is the groom's mother'

(987) [illi šərəet lə-k iyaha] l-lə'ba (LR)
REL buy.PERF.1SG for-2SG.M it DEF-toy
'the toy that I bought you...'

11.8 Summary

The comparison between subordinate clauses in Modern Standard Arabic and in Hadari shows that the expression of subordinate clauses in the two varieties is quite similar. Like Modern Standard Arabic, subordinate clauses in Hadari can precede the predicate or they can occur in postposition. The main difference between the two varieties, however, is that whereas the complementizer is considered obligatory in Modern Standard Arabic, it is predominantly optional in Hadari.

Furthermore, from the contrastive overview presented in the section on coordination, it is clear that coordination in both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari is very similar in terms of the types of coordinators the two varieties employ and the functions performed by these coordinators.

The final section 11.7 in this chapter provides a detailed typological treatment of relative clauses in Hadari and Modern Standard. Through the application of Keenan and Comrie's Accessibility Hierarchy to both Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari, it is apparent that even though the relativizable elements in both languages are similar, Hadari shows more freedom in terms of the position of the relative clause. The section also lists relativization strategies that are applicable to Hadari, which include gapping, pronoun retention, relative pronoun strategy, and the relativizer strategy.

Chapter 12 Conclusions

12.1 Introduction

The thesis presents a synchronic description of main morphosyntactic aspects of Hadari, which includes a comparative description of the morphology of Hadari and Modern Standard Arabic, and a detailed description of the syntax of Hadari relating it to the well-described syntactic features of Modern Standard Arabic. Furthermore, the thesis attempts to set the comparison between the two varieties against a modern typological background.

12.2 Restatement of aims

The main aim of this thesis is to produce a comprehensive synchronic description of the morphosyntax of Hadari with reference to well-established typological universals. Another aim of this thesis is to capture Hadari in its most current form in order to provide a point of reference and comparison which future linguists interested in describing Hadari, or any spoken Gulf Arabic, can return to. Furthermore, the thesis adopts a typological descriptive approach in the hopes of introducing the field of typology and language universals to linguists in the Gulf area, to whom the concept of typology is still considered uncommon if not obscure.

12.3 Summary of findings

A number of findings have emerged from the contrastive approach adopted in this thesis. First, the agreement system between nouns and modifying adjectives in Hadari demonstrates a recent development, as the adjectives in modern day Hadari optionally agree with the head noun in number and can occur in a default singular feminine form. This recent change shows strong resemblance to the noun-adjective agreement system employed in Modern Standard Arabic. This development could be the direct outcome of the increasing level of literacy and education in Kuwait since this construction was not considered acceptable 30 years ago (Fahd 1998). Furthermore, attributive adjectives present another significant finding with regard to the occurrence of the intensifier *wayiid* 'many' as it is attested in the data that the

scope of this intensifier has been amplified by modern Hadari speakers to modify not only adjectives, but nouns as well.

The thesis presents significant contributions in the description of the relative clause in Hadari, which presents the relativization strategies in Hadari and applies the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) to the dialect, finding that Hadari can relativize the entire of grammatical elements predicted by the hierarchy.

Next the thesis provides an application of Dryer's exceptionless properties of V-initial languages (Dryer 1990), to which Hadari presents robust evidence regarding their applicability. Furthermore, the predictions made by the Branching Direction Theory (Dryer1992) are found to be applicable to Hadari, concluding that Hadari is a right-branching language.

Finally, the thesis presents an additional negative marking construction to the constructions presented in Holes (1990), in which the negative marker *mu* is employed in Hadari to express affirmatives by occurring with propositions marked as negative.

12.4 Limitations

The thesis is presented with a number of important limitations that need to be addressed; first, the thesis presents a description of a single spoken dialect in Kuwait, the urban Hadari dialect, which narrows its ability to account for grammatical constructions present in other dialects spoken in Kuwait like Bedouin Kuwaiti. Bedouin Kuwaiti dialects are widely spoken in Kuwait and could provide a number of interesting variations when compared to Hadari. Furthermore, other than the basic sound inventories, the thesis does not provide a description of the phonology of the dialect, which has gone through a number of changes that were observed during data collection and have been preserved for future research. Another limitation of this thesis lies in the presentation of the morphology of the dialect, as the thesis is unable to provide justification for some of the morphological

phenomena found in the dialect. For example, the section on Hadari broken plurals does not capture the motivation behind some of the idiosyncratic patterns found in the dialect.

Furthermore, one of the more important limitations of the thesis is found in chapter 6 Modality and Aspect, where the concept of grammaticalization is introduced without delving into much detail about the grammaticalized modal and aspectual markers. The decision to describe the dialect from a strictly synchronic point of view limits the possibility of providing a thorough application of the grammaticalization framework, which requires both synchronic and diachronic analysis.

In the description of subordination and coordination, the study relies on a categorization that is based on English and not Arabic, which could raise potential semantic and pragmatic misinterpretation of the categories in Modern Standard Arabic and Hadari. Finally, observations on the subject of information structure have not been described in this thesis and have been saved for future research.

References

- Al-Afghani, Saaid. (1971). *Al-muu'jaz Fi Qawa'id Allugha Alarabiya*. Syria: Dar Al-Fikr.
- Abu-Chacra, Faruk (2007). *Arabic: An Essential Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Al-Elaiwa, Fahad. (2010) *Sahir Alleil*. AlWatan TV. Kuwait.
- Al-Nashmi, Mohammed. (2009). *Banat Al-Thanawiya*. Kuwait: Dar Al-Sahwa.
- Al-Rushaid, Khalid. (2011, October 13). Allahja AlKuwaitiyya Lam Tandathir. *Al-Qabas Newspaper*. Available online at <http://www.alqabas.com.kw/node/21578>. Accessed on 2013-4-6.
- Al-Rushaid, Khalid. (2012). *Mawso'at Allahja Alkuwaitiyya*. Kuwait: Dar Al-Oruba.
- Al-Sanea, Rajaa. (2005). *Banat Al-Riyadh*. Beirut : Dar Al-Saqi.
- Allen, Barbara J., Donna B. Gardiner, and Donald G. Frantz (1984). 'Noun Incorporation in Southern Tiwa.' *International Journal of American Linguistics* 50. 292-311.
- AlNadiri, Muhammed. (1995). *Nahwa Allugha AlArabiya*. Beirut: Almaktaba AlAsryia.
- Alnajjar, Balkees. (1984). *The Syntax and Semantics of Verbal Aspect in Kuwaiti Arabic*. PhD. University of Utah.
- Andrews, Avery D. (2007). 'The Major Functions of the Noun Phrase.' In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 168-74.
- Arrajhi, Salwa. (2008). *Kalimat Ajnabiya fi Allahja Alkuwaitiyya*. Kuawit: That Al-Salasil.
- Austin, Peter K. (1981). *A grammar of Diyari, South Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Badawi, El-Said M., M. G. Carter, and Adrian Gully (2004). *Modern Written Arabic: A Comprehensive Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Bahloul, Maher. (2006a) 'Agreement' . In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 1. Boston: Leiden. 43-48.
- Bahloul, Maher. (2006b) 'Copula' . In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 1. Boston: Leiden. 506-11.
- Bassiouney, Reem (2009). *Arabic Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP.
- Bauer, Laurie. (2002). What can you do with derivational morphology? In Sabrina Bendjaballah, Wolfgang Dressler, Oskar Pfeiffer, and Maria Voeikova (eds.) *Morphology 2000: Selected Papers from the 9th Morphology Meeting in Vienna*. February 2000. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 37-48.
- Bauer, Winifred (with William Parker and Evans), Te Kareongawai. (1993). *Maori*. Routledge
- Benmamoun, Elabbas. (2000). *The Feature Structure of Functional Categories: A Comparative Study of Arabic Dialects*. New York: Oxford UP.
- Benmamoun, Elabbas, Lina Choueiri, and Joseph Aoun. (2010). *The Syntax of Arabic*. New York: Cambridge UP.
- Bickel, Balthasar and Johanna Nichols. (2007). 'Inflectional Morphology'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Bielec, Dana. (1998). *Polish--an Essential Grammar*. London: Routledge.

- Bird, Charles, and Mamadou Kanté. (1976). *An Ka Bamanankan Kalan: Beginning Bambara*. Indian University Linguistics Club: Bloomington.
- Blau, Joshua. (1981). *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute.
- Boudai, Haytham. (2010). *Al-Haddama*. Kuwait: Al-Sindibad.
- Broselow, Ellen. (2008). 'Phonology'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 3. Boston: Leiden. 607-615
- Brustad, Kristen. (2000). *The Syntax of Spoken Arabic: A Comparative Study of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti Dialects*. Washington, DC: Georgetown UP.
- Chafe, Wallace L. (1976). 'Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view'. In Charles N. Li *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press. 25-56.
- Choueiri, Lina. (2006). 'Determiners'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich. *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol.1. Leiden: Brill. 579-83.
- Comrie, Bernard. (1976). *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Comrie, Bernard. (1978). 'Ergativity'. In Winfred P. Lehmann (ed.), *Syntactic Typology*. Austin University of Texas Press.
- Comrie, Bernard, and Edward L. Keenan. (1979). 'Noun Phrase Accessibility Revisited'. *Language*. 55 (3). 649-64.
- Comrie, Bernard (1981). *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Comrie, Bernard (1989). *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology: Syntax and Morphology* (Second Edition). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Comrie, Bernard, and Tania Kuteva. (2005). 'Relativization Strategies'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 494-50.
- Comrie, Bernard. (2005). 'Alignment of Case Marking'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 398-400.
- Comrie, Bernard & Kuteva, Tania. (2011). 'Relativization on Obliques'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 123. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/123>
Accessed on 2012-03-11.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1979). 'The agreement hierarchy.' *Journal of Linguistics* 15.02. 203-24.
- Corbett, Greville G. (1991). *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2005). 'Number of Genders'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 126-29.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2010). 'Canonical derivational morphology.' *Word Structure* 3.02. 141 155.

- Couro, Ted, and Margaret Langdon (1975). *Let's Talk 'Iipay Aa: An Introduction to the Mesa Grande*. California: Malki Museum Press.
- Croft, William. (1990). *Typology and Universals*. England: Cambridge UP.
- Culicover, Peter C., and Ray Jackendoff. (1997) "Semantic Subordination despite Syntactic Coordination." *Linguistic Inquiry* 28.2. 195-217.
- De Vries, Lourens (1993). *Forms and Functions in Kombai, an Awyu Language of Irian Jaya*. Canberra, A.C.T., Australia: Dept. of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Derbyshire, Desmond C. & Geoffrey K. Pullum (1981) 'Object initial languages'. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 47. 192–214.
- Dickins, James, and Janet C. E. Watson. (1999). *Standard Arabic: An Advanced Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Ditters, Everhard (1985). The structure of the masdar-noun phrase according to Abu Hayyan al-Andalusi. *Journal of Arabic Linguistics*, 15, 67-79.
- Ditters, Everhard. (2008). 'Masdar'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol.3. Boston: Leiden. 164-69
- Dixon, R.M.W. and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, eds (2006). *Complementation: A Cross-linguistic Typolog*. Oxford: UP.
- Donohue, Mark. (1999). *A Grammar of Tukang Besi*. Berlin Mouton De Gruyter.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1988). Universals of Negative Position. In M. Hammond, E. Moravcsik, & J. Wirth. *Studies in Syntactic Typology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 93-124.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1991). 'SVO Languages and the OV/VO Typology.' *Journal of Linguistics* 27: 443-482
- Dryer, Matthew S. (1992). 'The Greenbergian Word Order Correlations'. *Language* . 68 (1). 81-138.
- Dryer, Matthew S., David Gil, Bernard Comrie, Hans-Jörg Bibiko, Hagen Jung, Claudia Schmidt, Ian Maddieson, Gregory D. S. Anderson, John Hajek, and Martin Haspelmath (2005). *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005a). 'Definite Articles'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 154-57.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005b). 'Indefinite Articles'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 158-61.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005c). 'Word Order'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 330-97.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005d). 'Expression of Pronominal Subjects'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 410-13
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005e). 'Polar Questions'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 470-73.

- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005f). 'Position of Interrogative Phrases in Content Questions'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 378-381
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005g). 'Negative Morphemes'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 454-57.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2005h). 'Order of Relative Clause and Noun'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 366-69
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2007a). 'Word Order'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Clause structure*. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2007b). 'Clause Types'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Clause structure*. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2007c). 'Genitive or possessive constructions'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Clause structure*. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2009). 'The Branching Direction Theory of Word Order Correlations Revisited'. In Sergio Scalise, Elisabetta Magni, and Antonietta Bisetto *Universals of Language Today*. Berlin: Springer.
- Edzard, Lutz. (2008). 'Noun'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol.3. Boston: Leiden. 422-28.
- Eid, Mushira. (2008). 'Pro-drop'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 705-12.
- Eid, Mushira (1983). 'The Copula Function of Pronouns'. *Lingua* . 59 (1), 197-207.
- Ellis, C. Douglas (1983). *Spoken Cree*. Alberta: The University of Alberta Press.
- Esseesy, Mohssen. (2007). 'Grammaticalization'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 2. Boston: Leiden. 191-98.
- Everett, Daniel. (1986). 'Piraha'. In Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum (eds.), *The Handbook of Amazonian Languages*. Vol. I. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fahd, Ghunaymah. (1998). *Kalimāt Dhābat Ma'a Al-ayyām. Al-Kuwayt*. Kuwait: Kuwait.
- Farghal, Mohammed. (1986). *The Syntax of WH-questions and Related Matters in Arabic*. Indiana: Indiana University.
- Fassi, Fehri Abdelkader. (1993). *Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and Words*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Feghali, Michel T., and Albert Louis Marie Cuny (1924). *Du Genre Grammatical En Sémitique*. Paris: Geuthner.
- Ferguson, Charles A. (1959a). 'Diglossia'. *Word* 15. 325-340
- Ferguson, Charles A. (1959b) 'The Arabic Koine'. *Language* 35: 616-30

- Fischer, Wolfdietrich. (2006). 'Adjectives'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 1. Boston: Leiden. 16-21.
- Firanesu, Daniela. (2008). 'Modal Verbs'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 233-36.
- Fleisch, Henri (1979). *Traité De Philologie Arabe*. Beirut: Dar El-Machreq.
- Fück, Johann. (1950). *Arabiya*. Berlin : Akademie Verlag.
- Givón, Talmy. (1979). On understanding grammar. New York: Academic Press.
- Givón, Talmy. (1984). *Syntax: A Functional-typological Introduction*. Vol. I. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Givón, Talmy. (1990). *Syntax: A Functional-typological Introduction*. Vol. II. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Gredts, Donna B. (1989). "Relational Parameters of Reflexives." Ed. Donna B. Gredts and Karen Michelson. *Theoretical Perspectives on Native American Languages*. Albany: SUNW. 259-80.
- Gredts, Donna B. (1990). 'Relational visibility'. In K. Dziwirek, P. Farrell, and E. Mejias-Bikandi (eds.). *Grammatical Relations: A Cross-Theoretical Perspective*. Stanford: California. 199-214.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. (1963). 'Some Universals of Grammar with Particular Reference to the Order of Meaning Elements'. In Joseph Greenberg *Universals of Language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT. 73-113.
- Greenberg, Joseph H. (1966). *Universals of Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Grinevald, Collette G. (1988). *A Grammar of Rama*. Lyon: Université De Lyon.
- Hachimi, Atiq. (2007). 'Systems of Gender Assignment'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 155-64.
- Haiman, John. (1980). *Hua, a Papuan Language of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Hallman, Peter. (2009). 'Quantifiers'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 4. Boston: Leiden. 14-20.
- Harris, Alice C. and Campbell, Lyle. (1995). *Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- Haspelmath, Martin. (2002). *Understanding Morphology*. London: Arnold.
- Haspelmath, Martin. (2008). 'Coordination'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 1-51.
- Haspelmath, Martin. (2011). 'Indefinite Pronouns'. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 46. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/46> Accessed on 2013-05-22.
- Hawkins, J.A. (1980). 'On implicational and distributional universals of word order'. *Journal of Linguistics* 16. 193-235
- Hayward, Richard J. (1990). Omotic Language Studies. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Heine, Brend, and Tania Kuteva. (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

- Hinds, John. (1986). *Japanese*. London: Croom Helm.
- Hinds, Martin, and El-Said M. Badawi (1986). *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic: Arabic-English*. Beirut: Librairie Du Liban.
- Holes, Clive (1984). *Colloquial Arabic of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia*. London: Routledge.
- Holes, Clive. (1990). *Gulf Arabic*. London: Routledge.
- Holes, Clive. (2004). *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties*. Washington, DC: Georgetown UP.
- Holes, Clive. (2006). 'Bahraini Arabic'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 1. Boston: Leiden. 241-55.
- Holes, Clive. (2007). 'Kuwaiti Arabic'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 2. Boston: Leiden. 608-20.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Sandra A. Thompson. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* . 56 (2), 251-99.
- Hopper, Paul J., and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (2003). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Horesh, Uri. (2009). 'Tense'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 4. Boston: Leiden. 254-58.
- Hoyt, Frederick M. (2008). 'Nominal Claus'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 3. Boston: Leiden. 381-88
- Hoyt, Frederick M. (2009). 'Verbal Claus'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 3. Boston: Leiden. 653-59
- Huang, C. (1989). 'Pro-drop in Chinese: A Generalized Control Theory'. In O. Jaeggli and K. Safir (eds), *The Null Subject Parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer
- Ibn Manzūr, Mohammed. (1955) *Lisan Al-'arab*. Cairo: Dār Al-Ma'aarif.
- Iggessen, Oliver A. (2005). 'Number of Cases'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. USA: Oxford UP. 202-205.
- Kammensjö, Heléne. (2005). *Discourse Connectives in Arabic Lecturing Monologue*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.
- Karjalainen, Merja and Helena Sulkala. (1992). *Finnish (Descriptive Grammars)*. London: Routledge.
- Keenan, Edward. (1972). 'Relative Clause Formation in Malagasy'. In Judith Levi, Paul Peranteau and Gloria Phares (eds.) *The Chicago Which Hunt*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society. 169-89.
- Keenan, Edward. (1975). 'Some Universals of Passive in Relational Grammar'. In *Papers from the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Keenan, Edward and Bernard Comrie. (1977). 'Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar'. *Linguistic Inquiry*. 8 (1), 63-99.
- Keenan, Edward. (1978). 'The syntax of subject-final languages'. In Winfred P. Lehmann (ed.), *Syntactic Typology*. Austin University of Texas Press.

- Keenan, Edward. (1985) 'Relative clauses'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol.II Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 141-170.
- Kerswill, Paul. (2002). 'Koineization and accommodation'. In J. K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill & Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell. 669-702.
- Kibrik, Alexander. (1991). 'Semantically Ergative Languages in Typological Perspective.' *Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics* 35. North Dakota: Summer Institute of Linguistics. 67-90.
- Kihm, Alain. (2006). 'Adjective Phrase'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 12-16.
- Kornfilt, Jaklin. (1987). 'Turkish and the Turkic Languages'. In Bernard Comrie (ed), *The World's Major Languages*. London: Routledge. 519-44.
- Kozinsky, Isaac, Vladimir Nedjalkov, and Maria Polinskja. (1988). 'Antipassive in Chukchee.' In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.). *Passive and Voice*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 651-706.
- Kuwait Government Online (2013). Population of Kuwait. Available at: http://www.e.gov.kw/sites/kgoenglish/portal/Pages/Visitors/AboutKuwait/KuwaitAtaGlance_Population.aspx. (Accessed: 31 March 2013)
- Larcher, Pierre. (2009). 'Verb'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 638-46.
- Leemhuis, Fred. (1977). *The D and H Stems in Koranic Arabic: A Comparative Study of the Function and Meaning of the Fa'ala and 'af'ala Forms in Koranic Usage*. Leiden: Brill
- Lehmann, Christian. (1995). *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Lehmann, Winfred P. (1973). 'A Structural Principle of Language and Its Implications'. *Language* 49, 1, 47--66.
- Le Tourneau, Mark S. (2009). 'Subordination'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 638-46.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig. (eds.), (2013). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Seventeenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Li, Charles N. and Sandra A. Thompson. (1976). *Subject and Topic*. New York.
- Longacre, R. (1995). 'Left shifts in strongly VSO languages'. In Pamela Downing, Michael Noonan (eds.). *Word Order in Discourse*. Amsterdam: J, Benjamins. 331-54.
- Maalej, Zouhair. (2009). 'Valency'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 624-27.
- MacDonald, Lorna. (1990). *A Grammar of Tauya*. Berlin M. De Gruyter.
- Macaulay, Monica Ann. (1996). *A Grammar of Chalcatongo Mixtec*. Berkeley: University of California.

- Masliyah, S. (1996). 'Four Turkish Suffixes in Iraqi Arabic: -LI, -LIK, -SIZ and C.' *Journal of Semitic Studies* 41.2 (1996): 291-300.
- Matras, Yaron. (2002). 'Kurmanji complementation. Semantic-typological aspects in an areal perspective.' In *Kurdish Linguistics. Special issue of Language Typology and Universals (STUF)*, ed. Haig, G. & Matras, Y, 49 - 63.
- Matras, Yaron, and Leora Schiff. (2005). Spoken Israeli Hebrew revisited: Structures and variation. In: *Studia Semitica. Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume. Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement* 16, 145-193.
- McLendon, Sally. (1975). *A Grammar of Eastern Pomo*. Berkley: University of California Press.
- McCarthy, John J. (2007). 'Morphology'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 297-307 .
- McCarus, Ernest. (2008). 'Modern Standard Arabic'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 238-62.
- Mitchell, T. F., and S. El-Hassan. (1994). *Modality, Mood and Aspect in Spoken Arabic With Special Reference to Egypt and the Levant*. London: Kegan Paul Interantional.
- Mushira Eid. (1983). 'On the communicative function of subject pronouns in Arabic'. *Journal of Linguistics* 19. 287-303.
- Naïm, Samia. (2008). 'Possession'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 671-76.
- Nichols, John. (1988). *An Ojibwe Text Anthology*. Canada: Centre for Research and Teaching of Canadian Native Languages, University of Western Ontario. London, Ontario.
- Nichols, Johanna & Bickel, Balthasar. (2011). 'Possessive Classification'. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 59. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/59>. Accessed on 2013-06-30.
- Noonan, Michael. (2007). 'Complements. In Timothy Shopen (ed.). *Language typology and syntactic description: Clause structure*. Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Nordlinger, Rachel. (1998), *A Grammar Of Wambaya, Northern Territory (Australia)*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Olmsted Gary, Judith, and Saad M. Gamal-Eldin. (1982). *Cairene Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Othman, Tariq. (1987). *Ala Ad-dinya As-salam*. Kuwait Television. Kuwait.
- Owens, Jonathan. (2008). 'Participle'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 541-46.
- Palmer, F. R. (2001). *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Payne, Doris L. (1987). 'Information Structuring in Papago Narrative Discourse.' *Language* 63: 783-804.
- Payne, Doris L. (1990). *The Pragmatics of Word Order: Typological Dimensions of Verb Initial Languages*. Berlin Mouton De Gruyter.

- Polinsky, Maria. (2011). 'Antipassive Constructions'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures* Online. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 108. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/108>. Accessed on 2012-03-11.
- Randal, Scott. (1998). *A Grammatical Sketch of Tennessean*. Köln: R. Köppe.
- Ratcliffe, Robert R. (1998). *The Broken Plural Problem in Arabic and Comparative Semitic: Allomorphy and Analogy in Non-concatenative Morphology*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Saad, George Nehmeh. (1982). *Transitivity, Causation, and Passivization: A Semantic-syntactic Study of the Verb in Classical Arabic*. London: K. Paul International.
- Sapir, Edward. (1921). *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Scancarelli, Janine. (1987). *Grammatical Relations and Verb Agreement in Cherokee*. Ph.D. UCLA.
- Schachter, Paul. (2007). 'Parts-of-speech systems'. In Timothy Shopen (ed.). *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. I. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Schachter, Paul, and Fe T. Otanes. (1972). *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Schaub, Willi. (1985). *Babungo*. London: Croom Helm.
- Sibawayh, Amr Bin Othman. (1988). *Al-Kitab*. Abdilsalam Haroon (ed.). Cairo: Maktabat Alkhanji.
- Siegel, Jeff (1985). 'Koiné and koinéization'. *Language in Society*, 14, 357-378.
- Silverstein, Michael (1972). 'Chinook Jargon: Language Contact and the Problem of Multi-level Generative Systems, II.' *Language* 48. 596-625
- Silverstein, Michael. (1976). 'Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity'. In Dixon, R.M.W. (ed.) *Grammatical categories in Australian languages*. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 112-171.
- Song, Jae Jung. (2001). *Linguistic Typology: Morphology and Syntax*. Harlow : Longman.
- Stassen, Leon. (2005). 'Predicative Adjectives'. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds) *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. 1st ed. USA: Oxford UP, 2005. 470-73. Print.
- Stump, Gregory T. (2001) *Inflectional Morphology: A Theory of Paradigm Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Trask, Robert. (1993). *A Dictionary of Grammatical Terms in Linguistics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Van Enk, Gerrit J. and de Vries, Lourens. (1997). *The Korowai of Irian Jaya: Their Language in its Cultural Context*. Oxford. Oxford UP.
- Van, Valin Robert D., and Randy J. LaPolla. (1997). *Syntax: Structure, Meaning, and Function*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge UP.
- Vennemann, Theo. (1974). 'Topics Subjects, and Word Order: From SXV to SVX via TVX'. In Anderson, J. M. & Jones C. (eds.) *Historical Linguistics I*. Amsterdam, Oxford: North-Holland, 339--376.
- Versteegh, Kees. (1984). *Pidginization and Creolization: The Case of Arabic*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Versteegh, C. H. M. (1997). *The Arabic Language*. New York: Columbia UP.

- Vicente, Angeles. (2006). 'Demonstratives'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 569-73.
- Watson, Janet C. E. (2002). *The Phonology and Morphology of Arabic*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Whaley, Lindsay J. (1997). *Introduction to Typology: The Unity and Diversity of Language*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Wright, William. (1967). *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Wright, William. (2004) *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. New Delhi: M. Manoharlal.
- Zaki, Abdel-Malek. (1972). *The closed-list classes of colloquial Egyptian Arabic*. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Zemánek, Petr. (2006). 'Assimilation'. In Kees Versteegh, Mushira Eid, Alaa Elgibali and Manfred Woidich *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Boston: Leiden. 204-06.