

**Contact-induced Grammatical Changes in Khuzestani  
Arabic**

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of  
Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities

2006

Maryam Shabibi

**School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures**

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**ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores the nature of a series of contact-induced changes in Khuzestani Arabic – a dialect spoken in southwest of Iran - under the influence of Persian (the official language of the country). My basic claim is that the distinctive grammatical features that this dialect of Arabic displays are the results of a wide range, long-term and intense contact with Persian. To achieve this aim and in order to interpret the nature of the contact phenomena two methods of data collection namely the questionnaire and the interview were used. The selection of the constructions to be tested in the questionnaire was based on indications of contact influencing particular constructions in Kh. Arabic, which were identified in a pilot investigation by the author. To support the data collected via the questionnaire and to allow every Kh. Arabic speaker – literate and illiterate – to have the chance to participate in the study for more genuine and reliable results, the interview method was also used. Results of the analysis of the collected data supported my claim and revealed that the tested constructions were indeed contact phenomena – cases of convergence - due to Persian influence. Analysis of the contact-induced changes revealed cases of direct borrowing (MAT) of grammatical morphemes (borrowing of discourse elements and the relativizer *ke*), word order accommodation (in the attributive constructions and verb phrases), pivot matching of morphemes or combination of morphemes, hence PAT replication (in the attributive constructions), and some other more interesting results. The variety of contact-induced changes in Kh. Arabic show how far contact can go in influencing the languages involved and how it can have an overall effect on the typology of a language.

## Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning

## Acknowledgements

In the process of completing this work I have received considerable guidance, assistance and support from a number of people to whom I am grateful.

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Yaron Matras for all his advice, help and patience throughout the writing of this thesis. I am deeply thankful to him for his

wealth of knowledge, and unwavering interest and support that have made this work possible.

I would also like to extend my sincerest appreciation, respect and gratitude to my beloved parents, who sadly are not among us to see the completion of this work, for their encouragement and prayers that kept me motivated all the way to the end.

My heart-felt and special thanks also go to my dear husband Khalil and my lovely children Mostafa, Mohammad Masih, and Safa for their love, support, and understanding.

I am also grateful to my brothers, sisters and friends for their support, love and sympathy.

Last, but not least, I would like to thank all those kind Khuzestani Arabs for the invaluable data they provided that enabled me to carry out this research.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Adjectival Attribution
AG	Analytic Genitive
CA	Classical Arabic
CM	Construct marker
COMP	Complementizer
CS	Construct State
DEF	Definite article
DEM	Demonstrative
DEs	Discourse elements
DMs	Discourse markers
DUL	Dual

EZ	Ezafe marker
F	Feminine
IDEF	Indefinite marker
IMP	Imperative
INF	Infinitive
INTJ	Interjection
Kh. Arabic	Khuzestani Arabic
M	Masculine
MAT	Matter
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NA	Noun + Adjective
NEG	Negative
NG	Head noun + Genitive
NOM	Nominative
OM	Object marker
PART	Participle
PAT	Pattern
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessive
PRE.PART	Present participle
PROG	Progressive
PTCL	Particle
RC	Relative clause

REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive
1, 2, 3	First, second, third person

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Language Contact

Language contact has been receiving a lot of attention from linguists and typologists for the last few decades. This is mainly because the coming of languages into contact imposes changes on the system of the languages involved. These contact-induced changes are generally referred to as ‘Language contact Phenomena’.

### 1.1 Background of the contact situation

The contact situation under study in the current work - Iran - is an ethnically and linguistically diverse country in the Middle East with a population of over sixty million. This diversity in race and language has provided a suitable situation for languages of the region to come into contact, as a result of which different kinds of contact-induced changes have occurred in the languages involved. Such is the case of Khuzestani Arabic (henceforth, Kh. Arabic).

The languages of Iran belong to different language families, including Iranian,

Turkic and Semitic. Persian (Farsi) of the Iranian family is the national language of the country and also the first language of a large part of the population. It is the second language for all other language groups.

### **1.1.1 Arabic in Khuzestan**

There are no reliable or documented statistics as to the exact numbers of the Arabic language community in Iran. Based on information from unofficial provincial census data gathered in 1996 by the centre for Iran studies, published in 1997, the population of Arabs in Khuzestan is 2,748,240 from an overall population of the province of 4,533,594 (60.6%). The total number of Arabs in Iran has been calculated as 5,048,240. The ratio to Iran's total population (65,000,000) is then 7.7%.<sup>1</sup>

As to the history of Arabs in Khuzestan, Bani Torof (1999) states that the indigenous Arabs of Khuzestan used to live in the region before the arrival of the Aryans in the Iranian Plateau. His claim gains support from the works of the Iranian historian, Nasser Pourpirar (2000) and the Arab historian Professor Javad Ali.

There is, however, another view about the settlement of Arabs in Khuzestan, proposed by Ahmad Kasravi in 'The forgotten kings'. He states that there is proof to show that the date of the immigration of the Arabs to Khuzestan was centuries before Islam and from the early days of the Sassanid era.

Before the 1908 discovery of oil in Khuzestan most inhabitants were settled or semi-nomadic Arabs. However, throughout the 1930s, Reza Shah Pahlavi and his successor Mohammad Reza Pahlavi implemented policies to suppress nomadism and tribal cultures.

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<sup>1</sup> This information was disclosed by Bani Torof, the Khuzestani Arab author of 'The Arab Tribes of Khuzestan' in one of his speeches in (1999).

Khuzestan, an oil-rich province and its Arab inhabitants were particularly under scrutiny.

The growth of the oil industry and the Pahlavi's government policies - forced displacement of the Arabs and the settlement of immigrants from outside Khuzestan on their lands - tipped the demographic balance of the area.

## **1.2 Bilingualism in the contact situation**

In an attempt - by the Pahlavi's - to unify the entire nation (so they claimed) and bring it under a single cultural and linguistic banner for the purpose of bringing Iran into the modern age, Persian was imposed over minority language communities. Since then, Persian has become the only official language of the country and therefore the language of education, business, commerce, media, and everyday life outside the home area. In other words, Persian is used diaglossically everywhere, while Kh. Arabic has sociolinguistically become the minority language. Most Kh. Arabic speakers are bilingual. Arabic is strictly used as a language of the extended family and of occasional communications with Arabic speakers in streets or shops. The domain of use of Persian has spread so far as to reach the home of many Arab families. In many cases Arabic is being used at home to interact with mainly grandparents (if there are any). Many children of Arab parents have acquired or are acquiring Persian as their first language. Kh. Arabic is a strictly oral language and has no support from private or governmental institutions. Standard, written Arabic is however taught as a subject in secondary schools. On the whole, most of the Kh. Arabic speakers are bilingual in Arabic and Persian.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> A large number of the members of the older generation, particularly those of the rural areas who are also illiterate, are Arabic monolinguals or have very low command of speaking Persian.

### 1.3 Related Studies

Unlike other dialects of Arabic, Kh. Arabic has not attracted much attention on the part of linguists, sociolinguists, or dialectologists. There is no known study on this dialect, and no reference-grammar, or dictionary. Ingham (1997) however devoted a chapter to this dialect. In this chapter a comparison between the rural and urban dialects of Arabic in Khuzestan is presented. The rural dialect that has been considered was - as Ingham himself mentioned - that of the Kuwawila (Gypsies). The point about this group is that they are not Arabs and originally learned Arabic as a means of communication with the Arabs of the region.<sup>3</sup> So although Ingham points out that his main informant<sup>4</sup> found the speech of the Kuwawila to be identical to that of the rural dialect of his tribe, the comparison would have been more reliable if the sample was from rural Arabs rather than from those who are not Arabs.

In general in his study Ingham rightly pointed to and discussed some features specific to Kh. Arabic that had not been addressed in any study before.<sup>5</sup>

In an earlier study I have investigated the influence of Persian - the contact language - on the lexicon of Kh. Arabic and the existence of variation in employing Persian

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<sup>3</sup> The gypsies' occupation was entertaining the Arab residents of the area. They were normally living like nomads. Thus, moving to Khuzestan, particularly where Arabs were residing, at the time of crop harvest or that part of the year when there were many wedding ceremonies to play music and dance in such ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> The study of Ingham (1997) on the rural and urban dialects of Kh. Arabic has been based on recorded speech of informants from Abadan, Ahwaz, Khorramshahr, Shadegan, and Gachsaran (of Khuzestan Province). As a sample for the urban dialect he has selected a speaker from Khorramshahr and as mentioned above the Kuwawila of Ahwaz have been used as representatives for the rural dialect.

<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless with regard to distinguishing features of urban and rural Kh. Arabic I have to say that some of the mentioned features are shared by both dialects and cannot therefore be considered distinguishing. In terms of vocabulary, for example, he mentions the word /yom/, 'day' which, according to him, is used in rural Kh. and not the urban dialect to signify any moment in time in certain sentences. This is however a vocabulary feature of both urban and rural Kh. Arabic. Or the transitive verb *ga* 'ad, 'woke up' which he has listed as an urban word for the rural equivalents *nidah* and *fazzaz*. All three of these verbs are used in both rural as well as urban Kh. Arabic.

lexical borrowings in the speech of Khuzestani Arabs.<sup>6</sup>

The presence of numerous Persian lexical borrowings in Kh. Arabic is a distinguishing feature of Kh. Arabic, setting it apart from other neighbouring dialects of Arabic. Persian words are integral parts of the vocabulary of this dialect. However, they are used in various degrees of frequency by different groups of Kh. Arabic speakers.

The purpose of my earlier study was to find out whether there was any variation in the use of Persian lexical borrowings in the Arab speech community, i.e. if some speakers had a higher knowledge of Kh. Arabic words and/or made more use of lexical borrowings than others, and if there was such variation, whether it was related to age, education, gender, city of residence, or number of Arabs compared to non Arabs in a city. In order to collect the data for that work both oral questionnaires and interviews were used. The analysis suggested that variation indeed existed in the use of Persian borrowings. The city of residence - Ahwaz or Shadegan - and the level of education of the speakers were revealed to correlate with the use and knowledge of Arabic words. In other words, the more educated a Kh. Arabic speaker was the higher his knowledge of Arabic words was.

The city of residence - another independent variable in the study - was also found to correlate with the knowledge and use of Arabic words. Surprisingly, the residents of Shadegan, a city with 100% Arab population, were shown to have less knowledge of Arabic words. This in turn led to more use of the Persian borrowings. On the other hand the Arab residents of Ahwaz who comprise just over 60% of the overall population of the city were found to possess a higher knowledge of Arabic words.

Education - another independent variable which was found to correlate with

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<sup>6</sup> Shabibi, M).1998). Variation in the use of Persian loan words among Iranian Arabic speakers. Unpublished Msc. Dissertation. The University of Edinburgh.

knowledge and use of Arabic words - might be held responsible for the unexpected results of the correlation of city of residence with knowledge of Arabic words. That is to say because Ahwaz is a bigger city and also the centre of the province it has naturally attracted more educational facilities than other cities of the province. Therefore it can be expected to have a larger number of residents with higher education who have in turn proved to have a wider Arabic vocabulary span than the less educated speakers. And finally, this wide Arabic vocabulary span of the educated speakers of Kh. Arabic was proved to have negatively influenced the degree of use of the lexical borrowings from Persian.<sup>7</sup>

#### **1.4 The aim of the study**

The aim of the current research has been to present a systematic explanation of the contact-induced grammatical changes that have occurred or are still ongoing in Kh. Arabic under the influence of Persian.

An earlier investigation by the author in 1997-8 has inspired her with a number of issues (questions) that were considered as a leading thread to attain the stated aim. Moreover getting exposed to different dialects of Arabic after my arrival in the UK, I myself, more than anyone else was surprised to see that communication with other Arabs - even those whom we thought spoke a similar dialect to Kh. Arabic, e.g. Iraqi, Kuwaiti - was not easy despite my attempt not to use Persian loan words. At times I had to continue the conversation in English to make the addressee understand what I was saying. This made me think whether extensive use of Persian loan words was the only feature that

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<sup>7</sup> The findings of the research were based on data collected from 40 Kh. Arabic speakers from two cities of Khuzestan province namely Ahwaz - the centre of the province - and Shadegan. Ahwaz was chosen as a sample of a city of mainly Arab residents but also with a large number of Persian speakers which could mean

distinguished Kh. Arabic from other dialects or there was more to it than it is known. It was then that my interest in the grammar of Arabic flourished and I started leaning more about it. I did not need to go deep into the grammar books to notice that there were some grammatical features in Kh. Arabic that distinguished this dialect from other dialects of Arabic, and which indicated signs of influence from Persian.

On analysing the data from my earlier study on this dialect, several grammatical structures were picked that were different from or completely non-existent in other dialects of Arabic. These constructions displayed some contact phenomena. This whole scenario triggered the start of the current research, putting forward the following questions for investigation: firstly, whether there has been any grammatical influence in addition to lexical borrowings from Persian (the contact language) on Kh. Arabic; secondly, if the answer to the first question is positive then what the outcome of this influence has been; thirdly, which domains of Kh. Arabic have shown proneness to contact-induced change; and lastly how the nature of the occurred changes can be interpreted. Finding answers to the stated questions is the aim of this research.

### **1.5 Organization of the thesis**

In the light of the stated questions a series of grammatical elements which were hypothesized to be contact-induced phenomena were investigated, the detailed analysis and results of which will be presented throughout chapters 5-8.

Chapter two of the thesis will deal with the theoretical preliminaries of contact-induced change, including the various types of contact phenomena (convergence,

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a more intense contact situation than Shadegan, a city with 100% of Arab residents and therefore probably a less intense contact situation.

grammaticalization, metatypy, etc.), models and definitions proposed with regard to each phenomena, and the borrowing hierarchies.

Chapter three presents a descriptive grammar of Kh. Arabic which is the first ever written grammar of this dialect. The chapter starts with an introduction on the dialect and its features, including the lexicon which is the immediately striking and distinguishing feature of this dialect. The following sections deal with phonology, noun morphology, verb morphology and finally the syntax of this dialect.

Chapter four will deal with the methodology side of the thesis, explaining methods of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Reasons behind selection of the questionnaire and the interview methods for collecting my data, design of the questionnaire, choice of independent and dependent variables in the questionnaire and the interview (as two methods of data collection in this study), and selection of the informants of the study are topics that will be addressed in this chapter.

Chapters five to eight will be dealing with the main body of the thesis, i.e. the contact-induced changes in Kh. Arabic.

Contact-induced change in the area of attributive constructions is the main issue of discussion in chapter five. A cross comparison of these constructions in Arabic - Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), and/or Classical Arabic (CA) - Persian, and Kh. Arabic will be presented with the aim of interpreting the contact-induced change that has occurred in these construction in Kh. Arabic.

Chapter six interprets the ongoing change in a closely related subject to the one in chapter five, namely erosion of the Arabic definite article in relative clauses and adjectival attributions. The role of the definite article /al-/ in MSA relative clauses (RCs) and

attributive constructions, the role of the Persian Ezafe in such constructions, and finally and most importantly the way definiteness is marked in Kh. Arabic will be discussed.

Chapter seven addresses still another change that has occurred in Kh. Arabic. It is fusion of Arabic and Persian discourse elements (DEs) which can eventually lead to a wholesale borrowing of a category of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic. A systematic analysis of the category of DEs in Kh. Arabic is the main topic of this chapter.

The contact phenomenon in the area of word order will be studied in chapter eight. Various word order forms employed in Kh. Arabic will be discussed with a focus on SOV word order type which is the typology of word order in Persian. This is to interpret the contact-induced change, i.e. use of pre-verbal objects, and verbs in final position.

Finally, chapter nine will provide a summary of the findings in this research and concludes the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO:                   Theoretical preliminaries**

### **2.0   Introduction**

When speakers speak two or more languages alongside each other in their daily communications (bilingual or multilingual) on a regular basis, the grammar of the languages they use could get influences from each other and therefore experience change. The changes or outcomes that come about as the result of contact of languages have been referred to as ‘Contact-induced phenomena’.

This chapter will provide an overview of the most recent models of contact-induced change, namely Ross’s (1996, 2006) metatypy, Heine and Kuteva’s (2003, 2005) contact-induced grammaticalization, and Matras and Sakel’s (2006) MAT/ PAT replication. General views on convergence and fusion - two other types of contact-induced change - will also be presented. Also some of the proposed hierarchies of vulnerability to contact-induced change will be addressed. But first contact-induced change will be dealt with sociolinguistically, an issue which is the focus of the next section.

## 2.1 Contact-induced change

Sociolinguistically speaking contact-induced changes are *substratum*, *superstratum* or *adstratum*.

When the native speakers of a language in contact, say language A, become bilingual in a new coming language, language B, they start using language B, but with influences (interference) from their native language. If after shifting to the newly acquired language these elements from the native language are passed over to later generations of speakers of the dominant language we are dealing with a case of *substratum influence* or *substrate* (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Lehiste 1988, Croft 2000, Field 2002). Lehiste (1988) suggests that typically it is the phonology of the adopted language that is affected by substratum, but she does not overlook the possibility of influence in other parts of the language. Thomason and Kaufman consider change in phonological and syntactic patterns as major linguistic effects of substratum influence and point out that such alternations do not occur in actual morphemes but rather in abstract and schematic patterns. Alteration of word order of the acquired language by the society of the native language can be considered as a case of substratum influence.

Alterations as a result of substratum influence are different from alterations which are due to borrowing:

“...while borrowed morphosyntactic structures are more often expressed by actual borrowed morphemes, morphosyntactic interference through shift more often makes use of reinterpreted and/or restructured [original language] morphemes” (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 114-115).

The term 'substratum' was originally coined because it was often the case that a shifting speech community was socio-politically subordinate to the speech community whose language they were adopting. The case of Cushitic and the influence it has had on the Semitic languages of Ethiopia which has been addressed in a major study by Leslau (1945) can be considered as substratum.

Thomason and Kaufman consider substratum influence as an outcome of imperfect group learning during the process of shifting languages.

Substratum influence is socially triggered by the fact that there is no resistance on the part of native speakers of a language in merging with speakers of the second or acquired language.

Thomason and Kaufman consider the relative size of the shifting population, its social status and the length of the time of the shift as the social factors that affect the degree of successful substratum influence. When the shifting population outnumber the native population of the acquired language, when they are socially superordinate and when the shift is happening rapidly, we are dealing with a scenario of successful substratum influence. But as it has been rightfully pointed out by Croft (2000: 204) that it rarely happens that a large superordinate population would shift and it is normally the subordinate population that shifts. With the elimination of this factor – the shifting population are superordinate - from the suggested scenario of successful substratum influence we are left with a scenario that entails a large shifting population and a rapid shift. Croft refers to bilingualism of most of the shifting speakers as another important characteristic of this scenario:

“The larger the number of bilingual speakers, the greater proportion of innovations will occur in the acquired language due to interference from the shifting speakers’ native language” (2000: 204).

The large number of the shifting population relative to the native population according to Croft (2000:204) will lead to propagation of the innovations brought into the acquired language by the shifting population:

“...through accommodation by the native speakers or by a lack of access to enough native speakers on enough occasions of use”.

Another reason which may make the native speakers willing to accommodate to the non native speakers could be the high social status of the shifting speakers who they wish to be identified with (Croft 2000).

The scenario proposed above interprets the way elements of a language (linguemes in Croft’s words) enter another language. In his evolutionary framework of language change Croft (2000: 204-205) does not consider the simplified elements of the acquired language due to shift as lingueme transfer, but rather as altered replication of the elements of the acquired language.

Substratum influence has been socially differentiated from borrowing, a contact-induced change universally recognized as the application, reproduction or replication of forms and structures of the model language (the language that acts as a model for replication) into the replica language (the language that replicates models)<sup>8</sup> - in the sense that in a borrowing scenario the speakers of the replica language maintain their

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<sup>8</sup> The terms ‘model language’ and ‘replica language’ were first used by Weinreich (1953).

linguistic identity and resist merging with speakers of the model language. Moreover the degree of social contact is considered as a determining factor in a description of borrowing patterns but not in the case of substratum influence.<sup>9</sup>

Superstratum influence occurs when the speakers of the dominant language (newcomers, in Lehiste's terms) adopt the native (indigenous) language, but transmit some of the elements of their language to the subordinate language.

In a scenario of language contact - two or more languages being in contact - when the minority or subordinate language or languages come under the influence of the dominant or superordinate language we are dealing with a case of superstratum influence. Hence the languages in contact are in superstratum relationship. The relation between Persian and Kh. Arabic represents a case of superstratum relationship, since the minority language (Kh. Arabic) has been under a heavy influence of Persian (the superstrate). Sociolinguistic factors such as duration, continuity, intensity of contact, prestige, social status of Persian and Kh. Arabic can all be considered as facilitating factors of linguistic influence (change) of Persian on Kh. Arabic.

Superstratums are believed to affect the lexicon more, but they may also affect other parts of the language (Lehiste 1988, Thomason 2001, Field 2002 and others). As a case of superstratum influence Thomason (2001: 75) gives the example of Norman French speakers shifting to English in England in which hundreds or thousands of loanwords entered English as an indirect result of the Norman Conquest.

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<sup>9</sup> See Croft (2000), Thomason and Kaufman (1988)

There is not much about adstratum influence in the literature. The term ‘adstratum’ refers to a language that is equal in prestige or social status to another language in the society. When one of the two languages influences the other - equal in prestige and social status - a scenario of adstratum influence is brought about. Such phenomena are however relatively rare. As an example of such relationship one could consider India where many languages are spoken and many of which might be considered to share adstratum relationship with each other. Hindi is certainly the dominant language. French and Dutch in Belgium have roughly the same status and may therefore be considered as adstrates. Adstrates may exist at the level of a nation-state and its institutions, but whether such a thing as adstrate exists at the level of the individual speaker is arguable.

The following section will address the issue of convergence, a contact-induced phenomenon, and the difference between convergence and borrowing. Different views on the issue will also be presented.

### **2.1.1 Convergence**

Convergence, as a contact-induced structural change has been looked at as a change or shift in distribution, concept or order of native or inherited structures under the influence of another language (Matras and Sakel 2005). It is an abstract process which affects the morphosyntactic structure of the language. Clyne (2003), uses the term ‘transference’ as a covering term for most changes that are triggered by contact, including convergence which he defines as a process that makes languages similar to each other by having common structures (structural isomorphism). *Sprachbund* or ‘convergence areas’ in the Balkan are indisputable evidence of languages in the world that share a number of structures through

prolonged contact resulting in convergence of some of the structures of these languages. Myers-Scotton's (2002: 164, 2006: 271) definition of convergence shows a similar view to that of Matras and Sakel and many others, in the sense that in her definition she assigns the abstract structure of the speech of a bilingual speaker to one language, and the surface level forms to another. Hence, the structural patterns are provided by one language while the materials come from another language.

Convergence is a linguistic process that affects the whole community of speakers of a particular language and it does not happen at once. It is a gradual change that may take several generations to complete. Based on the Matrix Language Frame model Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) considers structural convergence as a process of gradual and incomplete turnover of the Matrix Language which primarily affects the rules of syntactic distribution and semantics. She goes on further to say that the source of the Matrix Language is not a single source language, but abstract structures or patterns with a blend of grammatical morphemes of more than one participating language will cooperate in making the frame which results in a composite Matrix Language (cf. Bolonyai 1998). In other words bilingual speakers are making use of two languages at the same time by employing the structures of a language alongside the forms of another language, an outcome that Bolonyai (1998: 23) refers to as 'bilingual speech appearing in the disguise of monolingual speech'.

Convergence can be a bilateral process, i.e. languages involved get influence from one another, but it can also be unilateral which means one language is the replica while the other is the model. In the latter case it is the dominant language - culturally, socially,

officially - which influences the subordinate, minority, or less prestigious language and not the other way round.

As a result of convergence the languages in contact start to share common features which make them look similar. Hence convergence allows the languages (systems) in contact to compromise.

Convergence is generally believed to mostly influence morphology and syntax. This however does not necessarily mean that the lexicon and phonology are not affected by convergence.

Clyne (2003: 78) points out a form of converging to a language namely 'the way to say something' which is a word for word translation (calquing) of a phrase or proverb from the dominant language. In this regard he gives the example of Australian German speakers' word for word translation of the English offer 'have a cool drink' into German. Matras (2000: 190) also makes reference to calquing as lexical manifestation of convergence.

The question 'How does convergence start?' is not an easy one to find a straight forward answer to, but based on the numerous examples available from different languages in contact all over the world, a universal model of convergence can be sketched tentatively.

When languages are in contact, normally long-term and intense, their speakers have recourse to more than one language repertoire and choose - unconsciously - from these parallel repertoires to communicate. In cases they might make mixed use of the systems, for example, while communicating in their native language they might use a particular item from the other language (Matras [in press]). Such spontaneous and unintentional lapses (to

use Matras's terms) could then gradually gain acceptability, first on the part of the speaker himself and then community acceptance and then get conventionalized as part of the language. In such cases which are very many, the native or inherited forms will be used along side the new form (the one with foreign elements). Acceptability of such variations in a language triggers change. With regard to variation as a motivation for change Matras states that:

“Where two different forms compete for the same function, speakers are likely to regard one of them as more fashionable than the other” (in press).

It is at this stage that the native form is compromised for the sake of the model one. Hence convergence occurs. But this point has to be mentioned that borrowing or replication of the foreign model can result in convergence (change) only if there is compromise and acceptability on the part of the speech community toward the new model.

#### **2.1.1.1 Convergence and Borrowing**

Convergence and borrowing are two separate processes of contact-induced change.

In the case of borrowing, it is the concrete formal-structural material of the model language with their meaning that is replicated while in the case of convergence it is not the forms of a language that are replicated but this replication is rather implied in shift in meaning, distribution, or organization of the material of the replica language. Borrowing has therefore been described as the effect of language contact on the replica language manifested through MAT (cf. § 2.1.5) replication and has been defined as:

“...the incorporation of foreign features into a group’s native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features” (Thomason and Kaufman 1998: 37).

McMahon (1994: 213) considers borrowing and convergence different in the sense that: firstly, borrowing can occur in minor degrees of bilingualism, while convergence occurs only when there has been long-term bilingualism; Secondly, borrowing usually occurs in the area of lexicon, whereas convergence normally affects syntax and morphology;<sup>10</sup> And finally, borrowing is normally unilateral, but convergence is bilateral (both/all languages involved) are affected. The issue of convergence being bilateral is arguable since the literature has revealed cases of unilateral convergence.

Matras sees convergence as “a compromise between merging patterns and retention of structural autonomy” (2000: 576).

Applying these criteria - difference between borrowing and convergence - to the case of Kh. Arabic, there is indeed long-term bilingualism in the area of contact. Also convergence is proved - in Kh. Arabic - to have mostly influenced syntax and morphology. In the case of the direction of convergence which McMahon has considered to be bilateral (triggering changes in both/ all languages involved),<sup>11</sup> this feature does not gain support from the case of Kh. Arabic. Hence, it is Kh. Arabic that has undergone convergence and not Persian.

Discussing convergence Myers-Scotton (2006) maintains that change in situations of language contact influences content morphemes, or what she calls ‘early system

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<sup>10</sup> Matras (2000: 576), and many others believe that lexical semantics as well as inflectional morphology can be affected by convergence.

morphemes' particularly nouns and verbs in contrast to 'late system morphemes' which she considers to be more resistant to change.

As an example of borrowing of early system morphemes she refers to a particular kind of convergence, i.e. substitution of one word for two that happens when the replica language has one meaning which is explained by two words but the dominant language employs one word for that particular meaning. For this type of convergence she cites the case of Hungarian in the US where the dominant language is obviously English. There are two verbs in Hungarian to cover different types of 'knowing'. The verb *tud* is used if you know something; on the other hand if you know someone or another animate the verb *ismer* is used. Under the influence of English with the verb 'know' for both animate and inanimate one word (verb) has been substituted for two by Hungarian- English bilinguals.<sup>12</sup> She also states that the kind of structures that have undergone convergence in the Balkan area (Sprachbund) largely involve content or early system morphemes.

Going further and arguing that late system morphemes show more resistance to change, Myers-Scotton gives the example of Australian-Croatian case of language contact in which case markers - late system morphemes - did not undergo convergence and in fact they were either largely retained or revealed substitution of other Croatian case markers. Case marking substitution has also occurred in the Russian-English case in which instrumental case marking has been replaced by a nominative case marker.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> See also Matras (2000: 576)

<sup>12</sup> Bolonyai (1999) gives the example of a child who made no distinction between two different senses of the verb 'know' in Hungarian and used the verb *tud* (for inanimate) to refer to an animate.

<sup>13</sup> In Standard Russian the nominative case marker *-a/* has replaced the instrumental case marker */oj/* which was used with past or future tenses. The following example from Schmitt 2000: 208 cited in Myers-Scotton 2002: 224 displays this phenomenon. *Ona bud-et uchitel'nits-a* (3SG. NOM be-3/FUT teacher NOM.F.SG), 'She will be a teacher.'

She then compares convergence and attrition, Myers-Scotton (2006) and adds a further characteristic to convergence. According to Myers-Scotton the changes that occur due to convergence do not necessarily need to be huge and in cases where a large number of elements of a replica language have changed as the result of convergence that particular language can still be identified as a different language from the model language.

Language contact may result in another kind of change which Matras (1998, 2000) calls 'Fusion'. This contact-induced phenomenon will be discussed in the following section.

### **2.1.2 Fusion**

Unlike convergence in which the autonomy of the native system is retained, in 'Fusion' speakers do not distinguish between the two different systems in carrying out certain linguistic-mental tasks and make use of the resources of one particular system for the whole functional category. Convergence can influence the morphosyntactic aspect of a language as well as its lexicon and phonology, while fusion typically occurs in the category of discourse elements.

“Fusion is thus the wholesale non-separation of languages for both forms and functions of a given class of grammatical items” (Matras 2000: 577).

The motivation behind fusion, Matras believes, is the cognitive pressure exerted on the speaker in choosing from the available systems which leads to reducing this mental-processing load and therefore making use of one system only. Fusion normally happens in highly automatized discourse operations which could cause high conversational tension for the speaker. Discourse elements including connectives, phrasal

adverbs, discourse particles and focus particles are thus more prone to fusion (Matras 2000).

The system - language - that is chosen in fusion is what Matras refers to as the ‘pragmatically dominant language’ which could be the speakers’ first language, the majority language, or the one that is dominant in a particular situation. Fusion is not deliberate or conscious and aims at highly automatisized processing functions and not those with referential or situative saliency. Matras gives the case of Domari, a Neo-Indic language of the Near East in which there has been a wholesale merging of its system of clause combining elements (particles and conjunctions) with those of Arabic, the contact language. The category of discourse elements in Kh. Arabic seems to be in the early stages of undergoing fusion.<sup>14</sup>

### **2.1.3 Metatypy**

Metatypy, a term coined by Ross (1996) refers to a contact-induced phenomenon that involves change in the morphosyntax, grammatical organization and the semantic patterns of a language. Ross defines metatypy as:

“...a diachronic process whereby the morphosyntactic constructions of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community are restructured on the model of the constructions of the speakers’ other language” (Ross 2006a: 1).

As the result of a metatypic change the constructions of the language undergoing metatypy, (the modified language in Ross’s terms) match those of the language that provides the metatypic model in meaning and morphosyntax. The forms used in the

modified language resemble its inherited forms (those in its genetic relatives), but with different meanings than the inherited ones.

“In the case of grammatical morphemes, this change in meaning often entails not only the restructuring of the paradigm to which the morpheme belongs, but also rearrangement of the morphosyntactic structures in which the members of the paradigm occur” (Ross 1996: 182).

As a general point a language which has undergone metatypy resembles its genetic relatives in form and partially in meaning but corresponds precisely in meaning and shows resemblances in morphosyntax to the language that provides the metatypic model.

In comparison a language which has undergone convergence may or may not resemble its genetically-related relatives in form, or correspond in meaning to the model language. Moreover, although it is generally believed that morphosyntactic convergence is usually preceded by lexical borrowing, this is not considered as a prerequisite for convergence to occur, i.e. a language can undergo syntactic convergence under the influence of a contact language without necessarily borrowing any words from that language.

Metatypy, however according to Ross (2006a) is chronologically preceded by lexical and grammatical calquing, but it is completely separate from these two processes. In other words a language has to have undergone lexical and grammatical calquing before it becomes metatypized.

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<sup>14</sup> Chapter 7 discusses the contact-induced phenomena - including fusion - that are occurring in Kh. Arabic discourse elements.

He defines lexical calquing as a process through which corresponding words, compounds and formulaic sequences in the two languages involved share the same ranges of meaning. Ross's lexical calquing partly corresponds to Clyne's (2003) 'the way to say something', Heine and Kuteva's (2005) 'polysemy copying' and what Matras (2000) considers as lexical manifestation of convergence, all of which entail the process of calquing from the model language. Creation of paradigms of closed-set items with meanings that match the model language is an example of grammatical calquing. Lexical and grammatical calquing are preconditions for metatypy but they will not necessarily lead to metatypy. Hence there are languages that have undergone lexical and grammatical calquing but not metatypy (Ross 2006a: 10).

As an example of metatypy Ross gives the case of Takia, an Austronesian language of the Oceanic subgroup spoken on Karkar Island off the north coast of New Guinea. Takia has undergone intense contact-induced change under the influence of Waskia, a Papuan language of the Trans-New Guinea. Takia displays influences from Waskia in the form of lexical and grammatical calquing as well as metatypy.

The speakers of the replica language - the language that gets metatypized - imitate (not copy) a construction in the model language - the language that provides metatypic model - in different ways. They may express a particular constructional meaning by using an inherited construction which they match with a similar construction in the model language, extend or change the constructional meaning of a construction in the replica language to the meaning of a construction in the model language, or adapt an inherited construction in the direction of a construction in the model language (Ross 2006: 14).

The concept of imitation - rather than copying - involved in contact-induced changes has also been pointed out by Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005). They, too, believe that replication of grammatical meanings or functions of the model language by speakers of the replica language is a creative process through which various variables are combined - by the speakers of the replica language - to create new forms of expressing grammatical meanings in the replica language. Speakers of the replica language, according to Heine and Kuteva (2005: 37) are not simply imitators of grammatical categories - of the model language - they are rather developers of new use patterns and categories in their language based on the model of another language.

The social aspect of metatypy, according to Ross, is that in the majority of cases the language which is 'emblematic of its speakers' identity' is the one that undergoes metatypy while the language that is used for communication with people outside the speech community provides the metatypic model.

Another recent model on contact-induced change is that of Heine and Kuteva (2003, 2005) which is based on grammaticalization theory. In fact their principal claim is that all parameters of grammaticalization theory apply to contact-induced changes. They refer to their model as 'contact-induced grammaticalization' which is the topic of discussion in the next section.

#### **2.1.4 Contact-Induced grammaticalization**

Heine and Kuteva's (2003, 2005) main claim is that creativity in contact-induced grammatical replication featured by transfer of grammatical meaning - not form - is constrained by the universal principles of grammaticalization. Hence, it - grammatical replication - has to be viewed through the prism of grammaticalization theory. They suggest that in contact situations, a minor use pattern can change to a major use pattern based on the model of another language. Such replications appear in higher frequency, in an extended distribution context and associated with a new grammatical function (2005: 44-5). They argue that contact-induced changes are subject to the unidirectional nature of grammaticalization, i.e. a lexical item is expected to become grammatical and a grammatical item to become more grammatical but not the other way round. Hence a grammatical item cannot, under the unidirectionality principle, become less grammatical or lexical.<sup>15</sup> They admit that counterexamples might be found – although they consider them as very rare - and as an exception they cite the case of post-verbal perfect markers of Malaita Oceanic languages which have been further grammaticalised to topicalising particles.

“Still, such examples are rare; on the whole, contact-induced language change is in accordance with principals of grammatical change to be observed elsewhere, even if there may be specific circumstances triggering a violation of the unidirectionality principle” (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 109).

Grammaticalization – whether contact-induced or not - can involve the following four parameters; (a) extension, the emergence of new grammatical meanings when linguistic elements are extended to new contexts, (b) desemanticisation, loss in meaning

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<sup>15</sup> See chapter 6 for contradictory evidence to the unidirectionality principle.

content or semantic bleaching, (c) decategorialisation, loss of morphosyntactic properties, and (d), erosion, reduction of phonetic substance (2005: 15). Although, according to Heine and Kuteva, an ideal case of grammaticalization displays the four parameters, this is not always the case. Hence there are cases that involve only one of the four principles.

Heine and Kuteva (2003: 533, 2005: 81) propose a mechanism for ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization which shows the transfer of grammatical structures from the model language (M) to the replica language (R):

- a. Speakers notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
- b. They create an equivalent category **Rx** in language **R** on the basis of the use patterns available in **R**.
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.
- d. They grammaticalise **Ry** to **Rx**".

In the above mechanism it is assumed that speakers consciously calque, and grammaticalise constructions. Ross (2006) argues against this assumption and states that although calquing may entail a degree of awareness, metatypy and even calquing are driven by psychological load-reduction processes of which the speakers are not much aware.

A second type of grammaticalization process observed by Heine and Kuteva (2003: 539, 2005: 92) is 'replica grammaticalization'. In the previous mechanism a grammatical structure is transferred while replica grammaticalization involves transfer of a grammaticalization process - not a grammatical structure - that has occurred in the model language to the replica language. Such cases according to Heine and Kuteva are rare.

The third kind of development suggested by Heine and Kuteva (2005: 100-103) is ‘polysemy copying’ (or grammatical calquing), which involves loan translation or calquing instead of grammaticalization. In polysemy copying, there is direct replication of a particular model in the replica language without any grammatical change in that model.

Matras and Sakel (2006: 30) however question the existence of a clear cut border between the mechanisms proposed and argue, for example that there is a close relationship between polysemy copying and replica grammaticalization in the sense that they both imply copying of the same grammaticalization process that underlies the parallel construction in the model language. It is not clear, for instance, whether the case of the Macedonian Turkish modal construction should be considered as a mere extension of the optative’s distribution context and syntactic environment or if the emergence of the subjunctive should be considered as a new category of the verb.

Heine and Kuteva (2005: 124) categorise the structural effects of contact-induced grammaticalization on the replica language into six separate situations.

Gap filling introduces a previously non-existent category in the replica language. Aikhenvald (2002: 4) refers to the changes under this category as system-altering changes.

The existing category in the replica language comes to be used alongside the new category in what Heine and Kuteva refer to as coexistence. Coexistence can appear in two forms: the old and the new categories are used in the same construction, a situation that results in double marking; or they are used as alternatives in the replica language. With the exception of a small number of the Persian discourse markers used in Kh. Arabic (chapter seven of this thesis) all other contact-induced changes can be considered as examples of

coexistence, whereby the inherited structures and the new ones modelled on Persian coexist as alternative constructions available to speakers of the replica language (Kh. Arabic). Heine and Kuteva suggest that coexistence of an inherited and novel structure may eventually end up in category replacement, where the inherited structure gives way to the new one.

The third situation is differentiation, in which the new and the old (already existent) structures are used side by side but the old one undergoes some redefinition due to the presence of the new category.

In the fourth situation a category in the replica language is restructured based on an equivalent category in the model language. Hence, the grammatical categorisation of the replica is influenced. This is what Heine and Kuteva call 'equivalence'.

Contact may also influence the replica language in the form of 'category extension', whereby the replicated pattern - the new pattern - is assigned a role in the old category, which gives the old category a wider range of use and which in turn means that the internal structure of the old category is changed.

The last effect of contact-induced grammaticalization Heine and Kuteva introduce is 'category replacement' which entails replacement of the old category by the new one.

#### **2.1.5 MAT/ PAT replication**

The procedure in Matras and Sakel's (2006) model is replication of the abstract organizational pattern of the model construction by making use of suitable elements from the replica language. This procedure which they refer to as 'Pattern replication', or PAT:

“... operates under the constraint of the exclusion or avoidance of direct replication of matter (or MAT) from the model language, and so under the constraint to respect the overt structural coherence of the replica language as the language of the current communicative interaction” (Matras and Sakel 2006: 31).

In this mechanism a pivot - a particular construction - is identified in the model language and a matching one in the replica language. The pivot in the replica then provides an environment for the function of the model feature to be replicated, i.e. the model feature is replicated around the pivot feature in the replica. The model construction may be structurally accommodated with regard to its place in the utterance, its connection to the other elements present in the utterance and its distribution. In this model the process of replication then is regarded as:

“...an export of constructions from a model language to the replica language, rather than an import” (Matras and Sakel 2006: 31).

In Matras and Sakel’s model, MAT replication refers to replication of morphological material (forms) from the model language while PAT means replication of structural patterns from a model language in the replica language. PAT replication which entails pivot-matching conveys a similar notion to Ross’s (1996, 2006) ‘metatypy’.

As an example of pattern replication, Matras and Sakel refer to the case of a transitive/intransitive split in past-tense verbs in Neo-Aramaic based on a Northern Kurdish model. In the case of Kh. Arabic there is pivot-matching of the definite article /a-/ and the Persian Ezafe which has resulted in the Persian Ezafe being replicated by the definite article to function in a Kh. Arabic construction. Hence it is a case of PAT replication. Use of

Persian discourse markers is however a case of MAT replication, i.e. the Persian morphemes along their function and meaning are used.

Some language categories according to Matras and Sakel show resistance to MAT but not PAT. As an example, MAT replication of tense/aspect markers is a rare phenomenon while the literature provides many cases of PAT replication of the same category (2006: 18).

Matras and Sakel consider grammaticalization as an outcome of pattern replication which promotes structures with more concrete meaning to an abstract function which in turn results in creation of new categories or extension of their context distribution or increase in the frequency of an already existent construction. Such grammaticalization processes, in their view are functional to pivot-matching since, like pattern replication they speak of the use of existing matter (form) in replication of an abstract operational pattern from the model language.

## **2.2 Hierarchies of contact-induced change**

It is obvious that some linguistic elements are more easily borrowed than others. Various hypotheses have therefore been proposed by linguists about the kind of items susceptible to contact-induced change.<sup>16</sup>

Admitting that different claims or hierarchies have been made on the borrowability or unborrowability of some items, Thomason (2001) argues that counterexamples can be found for every claim. Nevertheless, it is generally argued that words are the most easily borrowed.

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<sup>16</sup> Whitney, 1981; Haugen, 1950; Muysken, 1984; Moravcsik, 1978; and many others.

While the least easily borrowed or susceptible elements to the influence of contact are thought to be the syntax and morphology of a language (Romaine 1995, Sankoff 2002). Borrowing lexicon can in turn lead to structural changes at every level of linguistic structure (cf. Muysken 1985, 1999). Phonology is also very susceptible to change as a result of lexicon borrowing (Sankoff 2002).

Aikhenvald (2003) argues that language communities differ in their acceptance of borrowed items. In some linguistic communities a large number of loans (borrowings) are acceptably used while there are communities that do not accept borrowings which they consider as unacceptable language mixing. Thomason (2001) gives a very short answer to the question about the kind of items that can be borrowed and that is anything in a language is prone to being adopted or borrowed by another language. Clyne (2003: 104) shares the same view and states that every aspect of a language, i.e. phonetic, morphophonemics and prosodic as well as the syntactic level can undergo change (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2005). Campbell (1993) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also admit that it is possible for every linguistic feature to be transferred from one language to another. Campbell therefore suggests thinking of the proposed universals and principals of borrowing as general tendencies rather than absolute constraints.

Whitney was probably the first linguist who suggested that nouns are the most frequently borrowed elements followed by other parts of speech. Suffixes, inflections and individual sounds follow in the borrowability scale in the stated order (Whitney 1881, van

Hout and Musken 1994, cited in Field 2002: 35). Others have also suggested more or less similar hierarchies of borrowing with nouns occupying the left end of the hierarchy.<sup>17</sup>

Such implicational borrowing scales are consistent in suggesting that content elements are borrowed easier and more frequently than grammatical elements which are in turn adopted more frequently than inflectional affixes (Comrie 1989: 209-210). It could be therefore, inferred that there is a close link between degrees of grammaticalization and degrees of borrowability.<sup>18</sup>

Field (2002: 38) links grammaticalization to borrowability of language structures in a contact situation. In fact the implicational hierarchy he proposes evidently reveals his view.<sup>19</sup> Such close links can also be inferred in other implicational borrowing scales discussed earlier which almost all share a common feature, i.e. claiming that content elements are borrowed easier and more frequently than grammatical elements which are in turn more borrowable than inflectional affixes. Thus, elements which are structurally autonomous and stable are more likely to be influenced than those which are structurally dependent, i.e. more grammaticalised. The proposed borrowing scales could be summarised in the general statement that:

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<sup>17</sup> Based on the analysis of his data from American Norwegian and American Swedish Haugen (1951) suggests the following borrowing scale:

Nouns > verbs > adjectives > adverbs, prepositions, interjections

See also Moravcsik's (1978) hierarchy.

<sup>18</sup> Linking grammaticalization to borrowability Field (2002: 38) gives the following hierarchy:

Content item > function word > agglutinating affix > fusional affix

He considers the scale as two-folded in its implication nature. First, X will borrow from Y a greater number of content items than grammatical words, more grammatical words than agglutinating affixes and more agglutinating affixes than fusional affixes. Second, there is a temporal claim that suggests if X has borrowed fusional affixes from Y, it means that it has already borrowed agglutinating ones; and if it has borrowed agglutinating ones then it has already borrowed grammatical words and so on.

See footnote 19 above

“...elements which show structural autonomy and referential stability are more likely to be affected by contact than those which display stronger structural dependency and referential vagueness or abstractness” (Matras 2000: 567).

Haase (1991 cited in Matras and Sakel 2005) who also believes that grammaticalization is linked to borrowing in the way that the less grammaticalised the item, the more borrowable it is and the other way round, considers the essence of the scenario of language-contact grammaticalization as the following: the equivalent translation of two morphemes leads to the identification of these two to one another. Matras and Sakel (2006: 16) consider this central to the process of borrowing because it will result in an abstract relationship between structures of the languages involved which have two structurally distinct and contextually independent systems.

Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-5) study structural borrowability based on the intensity of cultural contact between the languages involved and propose a five-stage borrowing scale. In the first stage there is casual contact resulting in borrowing of content words. A slightly more intense contact (stage 2) brings about borrowing of function words, starting with conjunctions and various adverbial particles, minor phonological, syntactic, and semantic features. Borrowing of other function words such as adpositions, derivational suffixes, and phonemes are the result of a more intense contact situation introduced in stage three of their scale. The fourth stage involves moderate to heavy structural borrowing and can give rise to borrowing of word order patterns, inflectional morphology and distinctive features in phonology. The last stage entails very heavy cultural pressure leading to significant typological and phonetic changes.

The borrowing scale of Thomason and Kaufman analyzes structural changes resulting from degrees of social contact between languages and leaves the possibility of the role of the internal functions of grammatical categories and the communicative needs of the speakers in a multilingual society in such changes unexplained. Matras (2000: 568) considers Stolz and Stolz's (1996) hierarchy of grammatical borrowing as one implying the unaddressed aspects of language change in Thomason and Kaufman.

Stolz and Stolz's (1996) Hierarchy of borrowing

Discourse > text > paragraph > clause conjoining > clause grammar >  
constituent combining > word grammar (cited in Matras, 2000: 568)

Stolz and Stolz (1996) base their arguments on the diffusion of Spanish conjunctions and discourse particles in Mesoamerican languages. The gap-hypothesis<sup>20</sup> does not gain any support from their analysis since equivalent or similar function existed alongside the borrowed one. They however consider prestige of Spanish in Mesoamerican contact situations as the main trigger for borrowing such elements. They do not consider the borrowing of discourse particle as function-based and claim that they are borrowed because they do not require complex adaptation in the borrowed language. Matras nevertheless provides evidence that shows that borrowing of discourse particles and coordinating conjunction is functionally-driven.

“Both classes - clause initial coordinating conjunctions, and focus particles - while being contact susceptible on the whole, show internal hierarchization that support the following impression: items that convey contrast, change, or

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<sup>20</sup> The gap-filling hypothesis suggests that those items are borrowed that have no equivalents in the recipient language. Hence they are borrowed to fill the gap in the recipient language.

restriction are more prone to contact-related change than those that express addition, continuation, elaboration” (2000: 568).

He then goes on to propose an implicational hierarchy of the coordinating conjunctions which suggests that borrowing of ‘*and*’ entails borrowing of ‘*or*’ and borrowing of ‘*or*’ entails borrowing of ‘*but*’.<sup>21</sup>

In his study on discourse markers and focus particles Matras (1998) in fact looks at contact-induced change from a different angle and analyzes such change based on the internal communicative function of an element, the role it plays in discourse and what a speaker may gain in terms of the mental processing activities by merging grammatical operations of two languages.

The following hierarchy is depicted in his data of discourse markers, focus particles and coordinating conjunctions:

The semantic-pragmatic vulnerability hierarchy for ‘utterance modifiers’ (Matras, 1998)

Contrast, change, restriction > addition, continuation, elaboration

Having said all this about predictability or unpredictability of contact-related change proposed in different forms or hierarchies, the question remains ‘Which hierarchy applies to which language in what contact situation? Can we assume that all discussed hierarchies apply to every contact situation?’ Matras’s (2000: 571) answer to this question is:

“...the answer will depend on the extent to which speakers’ motivations to model linguistic behaviour on the structures of an L2 are diverse”.

The question of how predictable language contact changes are then has no straightforward answer but could be approached in different ways. The literature on language contact with its many cases of contact-induced changes, for example partially supports the claim that some elements or functions are more susceptible to change than others. Besides the structural properties of the languages in contact may also help in speculating what elements of those languages involved are subject to change. This view of considering the structural properties of languages involved for speculating the linguistic elements more prone to change can be considered in line with ‘the principle of system compatibility’. This principle suggests we identify the compatible form classes by superimposing the morphological typology of language A over that of Y. Only those classes that are compatible in both the contact language and the native language can be borrowed.<sup>22</sup> There are however counterexamples to this principle in the literature. In fact there is evidence to show that some structural borrowings are the result of an attempt on the part of native speakers of a language to make their language more compatible with the contact language.

In conclusion, it has to be emphasised that whether or not any kind of contact-induced change occurs in a language depends on more than one factor. The sociolinguistic conditions of the speech community, i.e. prestige, economic and social dominance, exposure to structural variation, intensity and length of this exposure as well as the internal properties of a language are all factors that can have crucial effect on the occurrence and type of contact-induced change.

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<sup>21</sup> See Matras (1998) for similar hierarchies on focus particles.

<sup>22</sup> Millet (1921b) believed that grammatical borrowing occurs between very similar systems, especially dialects of a single language. Many others shared the same view. (Haugen 1954, Weinreich 1953, Vildomec 1971, and others)

## **CHAPTER THREE: Grammar of Khuzestani Arabic**

### **3.0 Introduction**

Before embarking on the main chapters, i.e. the ones dealing with the contact phenomena in Khuzestani Arabic, henceforth Kh. Arabic, it seems necessary to introduce the dialect which is the subject of this investigation.

### **3.1 Khuzestani Arabic (Kh. Arabic)**

Kh. Arabic is a Mesopotamian dialect spoken in southwest Iran, Khuzestan province. It is the mother tongue of over 60% of the population of the province which comprises a population of over 2.5 million. It is mainly spoken in the following cities of the province: Abadan, Omidia, Ahwaz, Bandar-Mahshahr, Khorramshahr, Dasht-Azadegan, Shadegan, and Susa.<sup>23</sup> Kh. Arabic is an oral language and is acquired naturally.<sup>24</sup> It is a minority language which is differentiated from other neighbouring Arabic dialects mainly by the large number of Persian loans which it contains. For the last couple of decades transmission of this dialect to the younger generation speakers in the family has been showing drastic decline, with Persian becoming the first language of many young speakers.

This chapter provides an overview of the grammar of Kh. Arabic. The main source of the examples provided is the corpus of tape-recorded interviews and oral questionnaires of primarily Ahwazi speakers of this dialect (see chapter 4).

### **3.2 Characteristic Features of Kh. Arabic**

#### **3.2.1 Lexicon**

Traces of Persian, the contact language are noticeable in this dialect. Persian's most significant domain of influence is the lexicon, particularly names, names of people, places, electronic/electric devices, household tools, vegetation, dishes (cuisines), etc. Shabibi

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<sup>23</sup> Iran Population Census 1997, Centre for Iran Studies.

<sup>24</sup> Arabic language and not the Kh. Arabic has been named as the second language of the country in the constitution. It is nevertheless taught as merely a subject like any other subject (English for example which is considered as a foreign language) in high schools. There is no language institution, for instance, to teach Arabic.

(1998) has provided a large list of Persian loan words, the Arabic equivalents of many of which are not even known to the Kh. Arabic speakers.

Although the use of Persian loans is inevitable in many cases, since the Iran-Iraq war there has been a tendency among some Arabic speakers to avoid using Persian words. On the other hand there were and still are other groups of speakers who consider Persian a prestigious language compared to their own language and therefore started to even avoid speaking in Arabic to their children at home, thus bringing up the new generation as Persian monolinguals.

### 3.2.2 Kh. Arabic Vs other dialects of Arabic

There are a few structural isoglosses that demarcate the Arabic dialect in Khuzestan from other neighbouring dialects, for example the Iraqi Arabic.

In phonology, the /ġ/ voiced uvular fricative replaces the /q/ voiced uvular plosive as in *ġāla* ‘said-3SG.M’ rather than *qāla* (in reciting the Quran for example). Or the voiced palatal plosive /j/ is replaced by the voiced palatal glide /y/ as in *yidīd* ‘new’ instead of *jadīd* or *yo* ‘hunger’ rather than *jū*. The second phenomenon according to Watson (2002:16) is also displayed in the Syrian Desert, Hadarmawt, Dhofar, and the Gulf dialects. Right on the other side of the border, in Iraq these two sets of sounds have separate realizations.

In syntax there are features that distinguish Kh. Arabic from all other dialects of Arabic. These are the syntactic constructions that have been replicated from Persian, either in form and function or function only. An adjective modifier in a Construct State which is normally post-posed to the second noun of the construction immediately follows the noun it

modifies in Kh. Arabic as in *əbn č-čəbīr l-modīr*, (son DEF-big DEF-chief), ‘the chief’s big son’. This is indeed the way adjectives are treated in Persian, the superstrate in the area. Definite adjectives overtly marked with the definite article /*al-*/ can modify indefinite nouns. In other words the head noun which is expected to also be definite loses its definite article as in *bīət l-abyaḍ*, (house DEF-white) ‘the white house’. Sentences with the SOV word order type- which is a typological feature of Persian is not displayed in any other dialect of Arabic- are being formed in Kh. Arabic. As an example note the following sentence by one of my Kh. Arabic informants in which the verb has been located sentence-finally.

- (1) haḍan xālāi-i līsāns-hən kazzan-na  
 these.F aunts-1SG BA degree-3PL.F took.3PL.F-3SG  
 ‘My aunts got their first degrees.’

It has to be mentioned that analysing the context of the whole discourse, the context of this sentence can confidently be considered pragmatically neutral.

The last distinguishing feature of Kh. Arabic to be mentioned here is that a large number of the Persian discourse markers have been replicated in Kh. Arabic with forms and functions. The integrated Persian elements of this category are, *ham*, ‘too, also, and’, *ham...ham*, ‘both...and’, *xo/xob/xoš*, ‘well, OK, alright’, *hič*, literally ‘nothing’, *agarče*, ‘although’, *bāinke*, ‘although, despite’, *balke*, ‘but also’, and *albate*, ‘of course’.

All of the replicated matter (elements) play the same role and function in Kh. Arabic as the one they do in Persian. Matras (2000) refers to this phenomenon as ‘*fusion*’ which entails wholesale replication of a structural category from the model language into the replica language.

### 3.3 Phonology

#### 3.3.1 Vowels

The inventory of vowels has ten phonemes. Five of these appear in short form: /i/, /a/, /u/, /o/, and /ə/, the first two of which are open, the next two closed and the last one is the central schwa /ə/ and can only be found in unstressed positions. The other five vowels are long: /ī/, /ū/, /ē/, /ō/, and /ā/ -two closed, /ī/, /ē/- the rest are open. /ā/ has two realizations, one as a long, low, front and the other as long, low, back as in *fāt*, ‘passed-3SG-M’ (long, low front) and *rāḥ*, ‘went.3SG.M’(long, low, back).

##### 3.3.1.1 Short vowels

**Table 1. Short vowels**

/i/	short high front	<i>ḥilim</i> , ‘dream’, <i>‘ilim</i> , ‘knowledge’
/u/	short high back	<i>umm</i> , ‘mother’, <i>ḍulum</i> , ‘oppression’
/a/	short low front	<i>walad</i> , ‘boy’, <i>ta‘ab</i> , ‘got tired.3SG.M’
/ə/	short mid central	<i>əbn</i> , ‘son’, <i>šəbəl</i> , ‘shovel’
/o/	short mid back	<i>xaḏ-o</i> , ‘took.3PL.M-3SG.M’, <i>mo‘alləm</i> , ‘teacher.M’

##### 3.3.1.2 Long vowels

**Table 2. Long vowels**

/ī/	long high front	<i>‘azīz</i> , ‘dear’, <i>īθār</i> , ‘sacrifice’
/ū/	long high back	<i>šhūr</i> , ‘months’, <i>‘arūs</i> , ‘bride’
/ē/	long mid front	<i>ḥēl</i> , ‘hard’, <i>‘umrēn</i> , ‘two lives’
/ō/	long mid back	<i>ḏōq</i> , ‘taste’, <i>rōba</i> , ‘yogurt’

/ā/	long low back	<i>rāḥ</i> , ‘he went’, <i>xayyāt</i> , ‘tailor’
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### 3.3.1.3 Diphthongs

Kh. Arabic has only one known diphthong namely /īə/, as in *bīṭ*, ‘house’, *šīṭ*, ‘chief or head of a tribe’. The movement in this diphthong starts from a front closed position /i/ to central open-mid /ə/.

**Table 3. Vowel- comparison in MSA and Kh. Arabic**

Standard	Example (MSA)	Kh. variants	Example (Kh. Arabic)	Translation
<i>i</i>	<i>ibn</i>	/ə/	<i>əbn</i>	son
	<i>rāzi</i>	/i/	<i>rāzi</i>	satisfied

<i>ī</i>	<i>asīr</i>	/ī/	<i>asīr</i>	captive
<i>a</i>	<i>waqaf</i>	/ə/	<i>wəgaf</i>	stood
	<i>akbar</i>	/a/	<i>akbar</i>	bigger
<i>u</i>	<i>mu'allim</i>	/o/	<i>mo'allom</i>	principal
	<i>umm</i>	/u/	<i>umm</i>	mother
	<i>šubbāk</i>	/ə/	<i>šəbbāk</i>	window
<i>ū</i>	<i>nūr</i>	/ū/	<i>nūr</i>	light
<i>ay</i>	<i>xayṭ</i>	/ē/	<i>xēṭ</i>	thread
	<i>bayt</i>	/īə/	<i>bīət</i>	house
	<i>šāy</i>	/āy/	<i>čāy</i>	tea
<i>aw</i>	<i>fāwq</i>	/ō/	<i>fōg</i>	above
<i>ā</i>	<i>banāt</i>	/ā/	<i>banāt</i>	girls

### 3.3.2 Consonants

There are thirty two consonants in Kh. Arabic, four consonants more than MSA and they are /p, g, č, ž/. These borrowed consonants are part of the consonant system of Persian in Iran. /p/ and /ž/ are only used in loan words as in *žēnērāl*, 'General (army rank)' from Latin and *parda*, 'curtain' from Persian. The two remaining are very productive.

### 3.3.2.1 Stops

The stop positions are: bilabial /p, b/, velar /k, g, q/, dental /t, d/ and the pharyngealised dental /t̤/. The glottal /ʔ/ and the uvular /q/ have no voiceless counterparts. Both voiced and voiceless stops can occur in initial, medial and final positions.

**Table 4. Stops**

b	voiced bilabial stop	<i>bāb</i> , ‘door’, <i>šāyəb</i> , ‘old man’
p	voiceless bilabial stop	<i>parda</i> , ‘curtain’, <i>tāp</i> , ‘top’ <sup>25</sup>
d	voiced dental stop	<i>dīč</i> , ‘rooster’, <i>rə’īd</i> , ‘thunder’
t	voiceless dental stop	<i>tūt</i> , ‘berry’, <i>kətbət</i> , ‘wrote.3SG.F’
g	voiced velar stop	<i>šag</i> , ‘tore.3SG.M’, <i>bagga</i> , ‘insect’,
k	voiceless velar stop	<i>ktāb</i> , ‘book’, <i>fak</i> , ‘opened.3SG.M’
q	voiceless uvular stop	<i>qəsmə</i> , ‘fate’, <i>haq</i> , ‘right’
ʔ	glottal stop	<i>ma’ mūr</i> , ‘delegate’, <i>’āna</i> , ‘I’
t̤	voiceless pharyngealised dental stop	<i>tiyūr</i> , ‘birds’, <i>rəbaṭ</i> , ‘joined.3SG.M’

### 3.3.2.2 Fricatives

**Table 5. Fricatives**

s	voiceless alveolar fricative	<i>səma</i> , ‘sky’, <i>rās</i> , ‘head’
z	voiced alveolar fricative	<i>zəlmə</i> , ‘man’, <i>fāz</i> , ‘won.3SG.M’
v	voiced labiodental fricative	<i>vīlā</i> , ‘villa’, <i>vīyolon</i> , ‘violin’ <sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> This consonant is only used in loan words.

f	voiceless labiodental fricative	<i>fāra</i> , ‘mouse’, <i>šāf</i> , ‘saw.3SG.M’
ð	voiced dental fricative	<i>ðīb</i> , ‘wolf’, <i>xaða</i> , ‘took.3SG.M’
θ	voiceless dental fricative	<i>θob</i> , ‘dress’, <i>əɾəθ</i> , ‘inheritance’
š	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative	<i>ša‘ar</i> , ‘hair’, <i>təmšij</i> , ‘walks.3SG.F’
ž	voiced palato- alveolar fricative	<i>žilā</i> , ‘girls’ name’, <i>rož</i> , ‘lipstick’ <sup>27</sup>
x	voiceless uvular fricative	<i>xubuz</i> , ‘bread’, <i>dāx</i> , ‘felt dizzy.3SG.M’
ġ	voiced uvular fricative	<i>ġarīb</i> , ‘strange’, <i>fārəġ</i> , ‘free.3SG.M’
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative	<i>ħār</i> , ‘hot’, <i>rāħ</i> , ‘went.3SG.M’
‘	voiced pharyngeal fricative	<i>‘alam</i> , ‘flag’, <i>bā‘</i> , ‘sold.3SG.M’
h	voiceless glottal fricative	<i>huwwa</i> , ‘he’, <i>fāhm</i> , ‘understanding’
ʒ	pharyngealised voiced interdental fricative	<i>ʒamīr</i> , ‘conscience’, <i>ħoʒ</i> , ‘pool’
ɖ	pharyngealised voiced dental fricative	<i>ɖāləm</i> , ‘cruel’, <i>ɖal</i> , ‘stayed.3SG.M’

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ has no voiced counterparts. It is used in word-initial, medial and final positions.

### 3.3.2.3 Other consonants

**Table 6. Other consonants**

j	voiced palato-alveolar affricate	<i>jamīl</i> , ‘beautiful’, <i>rəja‘</i> , ‘returned.3SG.M’
č	voiceless palato-alveolar affricate	<i>čəbīr</i> , ‘big.M’, <i>malač</i> , ‘naughty.3SG.M’
w	voiced labio-velar approximant	<i>walad</i> , ‘boy’, <i>rāħaw</i> , ‘went.3PL.M’

<sup>26</sup> Used in loans only.

<sup>27</sup> This sound is used mainly in loan words. It does however exist in the Arabic dialect of the marshland dwellers. In fact the voiced palato-alveolar affricate /j/ is manifested as the voiceless alveolar fricative /ʒ/.

y	voiced palatal approximant	<i>yōm</i> , ‘day’, <i>māy</i> , ‘water’
l	alveolar lateral approximant	<i>lōm</i> , ‘blame’, <i>ōlāl</i> , ‘shadow’
m	bilabial nasal	<i>marag</i> , ‘curry’, <i>ḥammām</i> , ‘bathroom’
n	alveolar nasal	<i>nām</i> , ‘slept.3SG.M’, <i>amān</i> , ‘safety’
r	trill	<i>rāzi</i> , ‘satisfied’, <i>ša‘ar</i> , ‘hair’

All of the above consonants can be used in word-initial, medial and final positions. Like other dialects of Arabic, in Kh. Arabic consonants can occur as geminates (doubling of a spoken consonant), as in ‘*adad*, ‘number’ vs. ‘*addad*, ‘counted’, ‘*alam*, ‘flag’ vs. ‘*allam*, ‘taught’. The only two consonants that cannot be geminated are the two borrowed consonants /*ž*, *p*/.

Gemination of the middle consonant is a means of forming the causative equivalent of any verb as in *šarab*, ‘drank’ vs. *šarrab*, ‘caused someone to drink’, *nəzal*, ‘came down’, *nazzal*, ‘caused someone or something to come down/ be put down’.

### 3.4 Nominal Morphology

#### 3.4.1 Nouns

The inherent properties of nouns are: gender and animacy. Like any other dialect of Arabic nouns are either feminine or masculine in Kh. Arabic. There is no overt morphological manifestation of gender on nouns in general; however feminine nouns normally take the

suffix /*āt*/ in their plural form. Agreement patterns in the demonstratives and anaphora are overt morphological manifestation of gender (*hāy*, ‘this.F’/ *hāḏ*, ‘this.M’, *haḏan*, ‘these.F’/ *haḏōl*, ‘these.M’, *ḏiĉ*, ‘that.F’/ *ḏāk*, ‘that.M’, *ḏiĉan*, ‘those.F’/ *ḏakōl*, ‘those.M’).

Inanimate nouns are also gender-marked and therefore the rule for noun-verb gender agreement has to apply to them. This however excludes the plural inanimate nouns which are treated as feminine by affixing the feminine plural suffix /*āt*/ to them as in *bās*, ‘a bus’, *bāsāt*, ‘buses’. Adjectival agreement with inanimate plural nouns assumes the form of the feminine singular (*ḥiṣṣān naḏīfā*, ‘clean houses’) or the feminine plural (*ḥiṣṣān naḏīfāt*).

Loan words are also gender-marked. Animate nouns are assigned gender based on the gender of their referents (*xānom*, ‘lady, madam’, *āḡā*, ‘gentleman, Mr’). Inanimate nouns are mostly assigned the masculine gender when singular, but feminine when plural (*yaxĉāl*, ‘fridge.M’, *yaxĉāl-āt*, ‘fridges.F’).<sup>28</sup>

Nominal derivation in Kh. Arabic has similar formations to other dialects of Arabic. In general derivational suffixes are used to form nouns from verbs (*kətab*, ‘wrote’, *kətāba* ‘writing’), nouns from nouns (*Ahwaz*, *Ahwazi*, ‘inhabitant of Ahwaz’) nouns from adjectives (*zīən*, ‘good’, *zīənīyya*, goodness) etc. There are however nouns formed from verbs, or other nouns by a change in their vowels rather than derivational suffixes, i.e. broken plurals, as in *xobza*, ‘loaf of bread’, *xabbāz*, ‘baker’.

#### 3.4.1.1 Number

All nouns are marked for number. There is a distinction between singular, dual and plural nouns in Kh. Arabic. The only available dual suffix is /*īən*/ (*bīət*, ‘a house’, *bīətīən*, ‘two houses’, *sā’a*, ‘an hour’, *sā’tīən*, ‘two hours’). Plural nouns are formed in different ways.

A large number of singular nouns, particularly animate nouns are pluralized with the suffix /-īn/ to form masculine plural nouns (*mo‘allam*, ‘a teacher.M’, *mo‘allamīn*; *modīr*, ‘a chief/ boss.M’, *modīrīn*). The suffix /-āt/ is used to form feminine plural of both animate and inanimate nouns (*mo‘allama*, ‘a teacher.F’, *mo‘allemāt*, ‘teachers.F’, *modīra*, ‘a chief.F’, *modīrāt*) and (*ktāb*, ‘a book’, *ktābāt*, *sā‘a*, ‘a clock/an hour’, *sā‘āt*). The suffix /-iyya/ can be attached to certain nouns of occupation to form their plurals (*ḥarāmi*, ‘a thief’, *ḥarāmiyya*). A large number of animate loan nouns from Persian are pluralized through this suffix (*sarbāz*, ‘soldier’, *sarbāziyya*, *dānəšju*, ‘university student’, *dānəšjuīyya*).

Inanimate loan words are typically pluralized with the suffix /āt/, whether they are considered feminine or masculine in nature (*frīzərāt*, ‘freezers’, *utobūsāt/ bāsāt*, ‘buses’, *kāmpūtərāt*, ‘computers’). Note that the singular forms of the first two nouns are considered masculine, but for their plural forms the feminine plural marker has been affixed to them. This of course does not necessarily mean that they are considered as feminine. As briefly mentioned above there are nouns whose plurals are formed by internal vowel change in their singular form, namely ‘broken plural’ (*nəḏər*, ‘religious promise’, *nḏūr*, *ṭāləb*, ‘a student.M’, *ṭollāb*). There are some nouns, probably a limited number that can be pluralized both as a broken plural and a normal one (by adding a suffix), (*šame‘*, ‘a candle’, *šmū‘/ šam‘āt*).

#### 3.4.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness is expressed by different forms; the most obvious of which is the use of the definite article /l-/ (*l-bāb*, ‘the door’, *l-bət*, ‘the girl’). The definite article can be assimilated to the immediately following consonant (*əs-sayyāra*, ‘the car’, *əj-jazīra*, ‘the island’).

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<sup>28</sup> The three words are loans from Persian.

Assimilation of the definite article occurs only when the adjacent consonants are alveolar, dental or interdental.

A noun can also be marked as definite by possessive pronouns (*bīṭ-i*, ‘my house’, *umm-ha*, ‘her mother’) or by using the noun in a Construct State in which the head noun has no overt definite marking, but is interpreted as definite. The second noun is overtly marked definite by the definite article (*ʿabn l-modīr*, ‘the chief’s son’, *ktāb l-walad*, ‘the boy’s book’). Proper nouns are all treated as definite with or without the definite article (*īrān*, ‘Iran’, *ʿas-su-ūdiyya*, ‘Saudi Arabia’, ‘*aḥmad*’, ‘Ahmed’). Adjectives agree in definiteness with their nouns and are marked with the definite article (*ʿaš-šajra l-ʿālya*, ‘the tall tree’, *ʿaz-zʿalma šabūr*, ‘the patient man’).

Abstract, mass, collective and generic nouns are all marked as definite with the definite article. The following examples resemble the listed classes of nouns respectively:

(2) *l-ḥaqīqa taḍhar*

DEF-truth appear.3SG.F

‘The truth will appear/come out.’

(3) *ʿat-tammān ḡālī*

DEF-rice expensive

‘Rice is expensive.’

(4) *l-xēl asra‘ mən l-īmāl*

DEF-horses faster from DEF-camels

‘Horses are faster than camels.’

- (5) əç-čadðāb yənsa  
 DEF- liar forget.3SG.M  
 ‘Liars are forgetful.’

### 3.4.2 Local relations and case roles

**Table 7. Overview of local prepositions**

b-	in	barra	out	‘ala	at
dāxəl	inside	xārəj/ barra	outside	yam	next to
b-	into	mən	Out of		
l-	to	l-	towards	‘ala tül	along
wya	with	ḥatta/-l	until		
mjäbəl	in front of	wara	behind	ḥador	below
fog	over	‘ala	on	fog	above
‘akəs	opposite	bīən	between		
tül	through	ḥol	around		

The table above summarizes local prepositions that express spatial relations. Each one of the /l-/, /‘ala/, and /b-/ which are prefixed to nouns or pronouns are used to cover more than one meaning, only one of which expresses location.

(6) l-banāt yarḥ-an l- əl-madrəsa

DEF-girls go-3PL.F to-DEF-school

‘The girls go to school.’

(7) xalla l-əktāb ‘ala l-mīz w rāḥ

left.3SG.M DEF-book on DEF-table and go.3SG.M

‘He left the book on the table and left.’

(8) ’āna ḡallēt b-l-bīət

I stayed.1SG in-DEF-house

‘I stayed home.’

*/b/* is also used to express temporal location:

(9) mḡammad wə'al əṭ-ṭəhrān b-yōm l-jum‘a

Mohammad arrived.3SG.M to-Tehran on-day DEF-Friday

‘Mohammad arrived at Tehran on Friday.’

Note that the particle */l-/*, ‘to’ has been assimilated to the initial consonant in the word ‘Tehran’ and thus appeared as */ṭ/*.

The benefactive and goal are also displayed by */l-/*:

(10) xallaṭ š-šəḡul əl- əč

Finished.1SG DEF-work for-3SG-F

‘I finished the work for you.’

- (11) *yəgra darəs bas l-əl-madrak*  
 read.3SG.M lesson only for-DEF-degree  
 ‘He studies only for a degree.’

*Mən* is used to express partitive, source, reference objects and material source of a noun, object of comparison:

- (12) *wāḥəd mən frūx-i*  
 one of children-1SG  
 ‘One of my children’

- (13) *’āna mən īrān*  
 I from Iran  
 ‘I am from Iran.’

- (14) *wāyəd ssawwi ta’rīf mənn-a*  
 very do.3SG.F complement of-3SG.M  
 ‘She speaks very highly of him’

- (15) *hdūm-ha kəl-hən mən əbrīsam*  
 clothes-3SG.F all-3PL.F from silk  
 ‘All her clothes are silk.’

- (16) *moḥammad akbar mən ‘afā*  
 Mohammad bigger from Safa

‘Mohammad is older than Safa.’

Comitative and instrumental roles are expressed by the particle *wya*:

- (17) l-əfrūx      rāḥ-aw      wya ubū-hum  
DEF-children went-3PL.M with father-3PL.M  
‘The kids went with their father.’

- (18) ga·at      l-kīəka      wya/b saččīna čibīrə  
Cut.3SG.F DEF-cake with knife big.F  
‘She cut the cake with a big knife.’

### 3.4.3 Possession

Possession is expressed either through the possessive pronouns suffixed to the head noun, the possessive particle *māl* (used only with inanimate nouns and agrees with the head noun in number and gender) followed by the possessive pronouns or the possessor (noun), or the Construct State. In a Construct State two nouns (a possessor and a possessed) immediately follow each other (*ktāb l-walad*, ‘the boy’s book’) to express possession. As was mentioned in § 3.4.1.2, the first noun always appears without the definite article, but is interpreted as definite in a definite Construct State. The second noun however can be either overtly marked as definite or appear without the definite article, hence interpreted as indefinite.

- (19) l-əktāb      māl-i  
DEF-book POSS-1SG  
‘My book’

(20) l-əktābāt mālāt-i<sup>29</sup>  
 DEF-books POSS.PL-1SG  
 ‘My books’

(21) sayyārt-a  
 car-3SG.M  
 ‘His book’

### 3.4.4 Pronouns

#### 3.4.4.1 Personal pronouns

The only available case in the system of personal pronouns is the nominative. Object and possessive markers inflect for person, number and gender. In the following table both object and possessive markers have been introduced under the heading pronominal markers, since except for 1SG, the rest are identical.

**Table 8. Personal pronouns**

		Nominal Markers	Pronominal Markers
1SG		’āna	ni/i <sup>30</sup>
2SG	m	ənta	ak
	f	ənti	əč

<sup>29</sup> Remember that the plurals of inanimate nouns (masculine or feminine) are formed by the feminine plural marker /-āt/.

<sup>30</sup> /ni/ always attaches to verbs while /i/ always attaches to nouns or prepositions.

3SG	m	huwwa	a
	f	hiyya	ha
1PL		əḥna	na
2PL	m	əntum	kum
	f	əntan	čan
3PL	m	humma	hum
	f	hənnā	hən

Out of politeness and/or respect, particularly to the elders or in formal situations the 2.PL.M pronoun *əntum* can be used instead of the 2.SG.M/F pronoun.

### 3.4.5 Demonstratives and referentiality

Demonstrative pronouns agree in number and gender with their reference (*hāḏa l-walad*, ‘this boy’, *hāy l-bət*, ‘this girl’, *haḏol z-zələm*, ‘these men’, *haḏan n-nəswān*, ‘these women’). Inanimate plural nouns as mentioned earlier are all treated as feminine and therefore are modified by the feminine plural demonstratives, *haḏan/ḏakan l-bāsāt*, ‘these/those buses’. The general demonstrative /*ha*/ can be used to refer to feminine/masculine and singular/plural nouns, as in *ha l-walad*, ‘this boy’, *ha l-bət*, ‘this girl’, *ha l-banāt*, ‘these girls’, *ha l-awlād*, ‘these boys’. The referent of the demonstratives has to be marked as definite.

The situative deictic forms are (*hāḏ*, *hāy*, and *haḏan*) which can be used to refer to an entity in the discourse situation.

(22) *hāḏ z-zamān mū xoš zamān*

This.M DEF-time NEG good time

‘This time is not a good time.’

The demonstratives *ǝāk* ‘that.m’, *ǝič*, ‘that.f’, *ǝakol*, ‘those.m’, and *ǝakan*, or *ǝičan*, ‘those.f’ are all used to refer to entities located outside the speech situation.

- (23) *ǝāk z-zamān mā-čān ʿǝdhum ǝʿtǝgād l-bət*  
that-M DEF-time NEG was.3SG.M with-3PL belief DEF-girl  
*kūn trūḥ madrəsa*  
must go.3SG.F school  
‘At that time they did not believe that a girl should go to school.’

The same demonstratives are used for inanimate referents, too.

### 3.4.6 Reflexives

Reflexive focus is expressed through the use of *b-nafs*, ‘with self’:

- (24) *huwwa bnafsa ʿammār l- bīət*  
he REFL.3SG.M repaired.3SG.M DEF-house  
‘He himself did the repairs of the house.’

This reflexive is inflected for gender and number.

- (25) *l-wuzarā bnafəs-hum čān-aw hnāk*  
DEF-ministers REFL-3PL.M was-3PL.M there  
‘The ministers themselves were there.’

### 3.4.7 Interrogatives

**Table 9. Interrogatives**

‘what’	šən(h)u
‘where’	wēn
‘when’	yamta
‘why’	līəš
‘how’	šlon
‘how much’	šgad
‘which’	yā
‘who’	yāhu
‘whose’	l-man, māl man

The question word *yāhu*, ‘who’ is the default form, however if the gender or number of the object of the question is known this question word inflects for gender and number (*yāhi*, ‘3SG.F’, *yāhən*, ‘3PL.F’, *yāhum*, ‘3PL.M’). *šən(h)u*, ‘what’ can only be inflected for gender *šən(h)i*, ‘3SG.F’.

### 3.4.8 Indefinites

Inspired by Matras and Reershemius (2003) I am following Haspelmath (1997) who has identified various types of indefinites based on their information status, and for each semantic domain: Person, Object, Location and Time. The related types for the domain of ‘Object’ are Direct Negation, Indirect Negation, Questions, Free-Choice, Comparative, Conditional, Irrealis, and Specific. The following examples display the use of indefinite pronouns:

Direct Negation:

- (26) maḥḥad iḥəb-ha  
 nobody like.3SG-3SG.F  
 ‘Nobody likes her.’

Indirect Negation:

- (27) mā-yəftəhəm ay-ši w ·āyər mo‘alləm  
 NEG-understand.3SG.M any thing and became.3SG.M teacher  
 ‘He has become a teacher while he does not understand anything.’

- (28) mā-ləgo-ha ay-məkān  
 NEG-found.3PL.M-3SG.F any-where  
 ‘They did not find her anywhere.’

Question:

- (29) aḥḥad māxəð ġalm-i ?  
 anybody took.3SG.M pencil-1SG

‘Has anybody taken my pencil?’

- (30) yābat            wyā-ha    ši?  
brought.3SG.F with-3SG.F anything  
‘Did she bring anything with her?’

Free-Choice:

- (31) kəl aḥḥad yəgdar    yəgra    darəs  
anyone can.3SG.M study.3SG.M lesson  
‘Anyone can study.’

- (32) yumkən farəd wakət ərrūḥ l-hum  
maybe sometime go.1PL to-3PL.M  
‘We might go to them sometime.’

Comparative:

- (33) tətḥax    aḥsan mən kəl aḥḥad  
cook.3SG.F better from anyone  
‘She cooks better than anyone.’

Conditional:

- (34) lo aḥḥad iyya            gəlli-l-ī  
if anybody came.3SG.M IMP.tell-to-1SG  
‘If anybody comes, tell me.’

Irrealis:

- (35) ddawwər ‘ala hḥad l-īṣā‘əd-ha  
search-3SG-F on somebody REL-help.3SG.M-3SG.F  
‘She is looking for somebody who has a car.’

- (36) arīd aštərī fard šī l-walad-ha  
Want.1SG buy.1SG something for-son-3SG.F  
‘I want to buy something for her son.’

Specific:

- (37) kalīət farəd šī wāyəd ḥəlū  
ate.1SG something very pretty  
‘I ate something very delicious.’

- (38) rāḥ farəd mukān bə‘īd  
Went.3SG.M somewhere far  
‘He went somewhere far.’

**Table 10. Indefinites**

nobody	maḥḥad
anything	ay-šī
nothing	

anywhere	ay-mukān
anybody	aḥḥad
anyone	kəl aḥḥad
sometime	farəd wakət
something	farəd šī
somewhere	farəd mukān

### 3.4.9 Quantitatives

Adjectival ‘all’ is expressed by *kəl* (*kəl əssənīn*, ‘all years’). This quantitative can be used to make indefinite markers (*kəl aḥḥad*, ‘anyone’, *kəl šī*, ‘everything’, *kəl mukān* ‘everywhere’). It can also express total inclusiveness (*kəl əš-šəta*, ‘the whole winter’).

*Farəd* ‘single, one’ is another quantitative that can also combine with other expressions for some indefinites (*farəd mukān*, ‘somewhere’, *farəd šī*, ‘something’, *farəd wakət*, ‘sometime’).

Other quantitatives include: *šwayya*, ‘a little’, *wāyəd*, ‘many, much’, *čam*, ‘some, few’, *wāḥəd*, ‘one’, *wəḥda b- wəḥda*, ‘one by one’.

### 3.4.10 Numerals

**Table 11. Cardinal numerals**

one	wāḥəd	sixteen	sətta‘aš
two	θnīən	seventeen	sabəta‘aš
three	θalāθa	eighteen	θamənta‘aš
four	‘arba‘a	nineteen	təsə‘ta‘aš

five	xamsa	twenty	‘əšrīn
six	sətta	twenty-one	wāḥəd-w‘əšrīn
seven	sab‘a	thirty	ṯalāṯīn
eight	ṯamānya	forty	arbə‘īn
nine	təs‘a	fifty	xamsīn
ten	‘ašra	sixty	səttīn
eleven	hada‘š	seventy	sab‘īn
twelve	ṯnaa‘š	eighty	ṯamānīn
thirteen	ṯaləṯta‘aš	ninety	təs‘īn
fourteen	‘arba‘ta‘aš	hundred	miyya
fifteen	xaməs- ta‘aš	thousand	‘aləf

**Table 12. Ordinal numbers**

first	awwal
second	ṯāny
third	ṯāləṯ
forth	rābə‘
fifth	xāməs
sixth	sāt
seventh	sābə‘
eighth	ṯāmən
ninth	tāsə‘
tenth	‘āšər

Ordinal numbers over the ‘tenth’ are not available and in case of a need for an ordinal number over that the cardinal numbers are used. Persian ordinals are also common, (*dovvom*, ‘second’, *sevvom*, ‘third’, *čārom*, ‘fourth’)

### 3.4.11 Adjectives

#### 3.4.11.1 Inflection

Generally adjectives follow the noun and inflect for gender, number and definiteness.

(39) bət həlwa

girl pretty

‘Pretty girl’

(40) l-bət l-həlwa

DEF-girl DEF-pretty

‘The pretty girl’

(41) l-olād l-həlw-în

DEF-boys DEF-pretty-PL.M

‘The handsome boys’

In predicative forms there is no definiteness agreement between the adjectives and the nouns. Predicative adjectives inflect for number and gender.

(42) z-zələm mašgūl-în

DEF-men busy-PL.M

‘The men are busy.’

- (43) ‘yūn l-mara kbār  
 eyes DEF-woman big.PL  
 ‘The woman’s eyes are big.’

### 3.4.11.2 Comparison

Like other dialects of Arabic Kh. Arabic displays no separate forms for comparative and superlative adjectives and one form is used to express both. The comparative/superlative adjectives are formed through an internal vowel change in the adjective. The position of an adjective with regard to the noun it modifies determines its function (superlative or comparative). In an attributive form the comparative adjective follows the noun and inflects for definiteness (*l-bīāt č-čəbīr*, ‘the big house’, *l-bīāt l-akbar*, ‘the bigger house’, *bīāt čəbīr*, ‘a big house’, *bīāt akbar*, ‘a bigger house’). In a superlative form however it precedes the noun and does not inflect for definiteness, number, or gender (*bīāt čəbīr*, ‘a big house’, *akbar bīāt*, ‘the biggest house’, *l-mara l-ḥəlwa*, ‘the pretty woman, *aḥla mara*, ‘the prettiest woman’). The following examples display the use of comparative/superlative adjectives in predicative constructions.

- (44) ‘āna čənət akbar bət b-l-bīāt  
 I was.1SG bigger girl in-DEF-house  
 ‘I was the eldest daughter in the house.’

- (45) mīnā aḥsan mənn-i b-d-darəs  
 Mina better from-1SG in-DEF-lesson

‘Mina is better than me in studying.’

### 3.4.12 Adverbs

Lexical adverbs are normally identical to their adjective forms, and their position and function in the context determine their identity. These adverbs can either precede or follow their verbs:

(46) ‘alī sarī‘ yəḥči

Ali fast speak.3SG.M

‘Ali speaks fast.’

(47) umm-i yawāš tākəl

mother-1SG slow eat.3SG.F

‘My mother eats slowly.’

(48) əhwa yəštaḡul naḏīf

he work.3SG.M clean

‘He works in a clean way.’

Local prepositions are used as location adverbs, *barra*, ‘outside’.<sup>31</sup> Nouns expressing times of day function as temporal adverbs. An exception to this rule is the noun *līəl*, ‘night’ which has to have the local preposition /b-/ prefixed to it to form a temporal adverb, *b-l-līəl*, ‘at night’, but , *ṣabah*, ‘in the morning’, *ḏ-ḏahər*, ‘at noon’, *l-‘a-ur*, ‘in the afternoon’. Temporal adverbs expressing remoteness are: *bāčər*, ‘tomorrow’, ‘*ugub bāčər*,

‘the day after tomorrow’, *aməs*, ‘yesterday’, *awwal aməs*, ‘the day before yesterday’, *l-bārḥa*, ‘last night’.

**Table 13. Days of the week, seasons of the year**

Saturday	əssabət	spring	arrəbī‘
Sunday	əlaḥḥad	summer	l-gīəḍ
Monday	əθθnīən	autumn	l-ə-fəri
Tuesday	əθθalāθ	winter	əššəta
Wednesday	əlarba‘a		
Thursday	əlxamīs		
Friday	əljum‘a		

Prepositions express temporal relations:

(49) *gabl sbū‘*  
 before week  
 ‘a week ago’

(50) *b-šahar*  
 in-month  
 ‘in a month’

(51) *ba‘d sant-īən*

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<sup>31</sup> See § 3.4.2 for a list of local prepositions.

after year-DUL

‘two years later’

(52) mən awwal aməs

from first yesterday

‘Since the day before yesterday’

(53) l-‘ugub bāčər

to-after tomorrow

‘Until the day after tomorrow’

The focus particles are *ham*,<sup>32</sup> ‘too, also’, *bas* ‘only’, *hatta*, ‘even’. *Rdūd*, ‘again’ expresses repetition.

### 3.5 Verb morphology

Finite verbs are very prominent and are inflected for gender and number as well as tense and mood. The following are different categories of verbs in Kh. Arabic: tense (perfective or past tense and imperfective or present tense)<sup>33</sup>, modality (indicative, imperative), voice (active, passive) and aspect (progressive, past perfect).

#### 3.5.1 Verb derivation

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<sup>32</sup> *Ham* is only one item from among a whole category of particles that have been borrowed in Kh. Arabic. See chapter 7 for a detailed discussion on *ham* and other borrowed discourse elements (DEs) from Persian.

<sup>33</sup> As there is no straightforward answer as to whether imperfective/perfective is an aspect or tense category and as it is used to refer to the same present/past tense category in the literature - although traditional grammarians

### 3.5.1.1 Lexical derivation

There is no verb derivation marker and verb forms are derived from triconsonantal stems ('*akl*, 'to eat', *šarb*, 'to drink'), which are then inflected for person, tense, and mood.

### 3.5.1.2 Passive

The passive voice or the *majhūl* is normally formed by the addition of the prefix /*in*/ or /*it*/ (a variant of this prefix is /*ti*/) to the verb and sometimes by modification of the vowel pattern of the stem plus the use of the passive prefixes. /*in*/ is said to indicate a 'true passive' while /*it*/ is a marker of pseudo-passive or reflexive (Holes 1990:181). Both prefixes are employed to form passive verbs, but cannot be used interchangeably. There is no particular rule or reason behind the choice of one prefix over the other in forming passives. Compared to /*ət*/ or /*tə*/ the prefix /*ən*/ is more commonly and frequently used to form passives. Passive forms also inflect for number and gender for their subjects (objects of the active sentences). Note that

/*ət*, *tə*, *ən*/ are Kh. Arabic pronunciation of /*it*, *ti*, *in*/.

(54) ādrəs-na      tbaddal

address-1PL changed.3SG.M

'Our address got changed. '; 'We changed our address.'

(55) l-baraġ      kəl      līəla      yəngəṭə'

DEF-electricity all      night      cut.3SG.M

'The power is cut off every night.'

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have considered Arabic a language without tense - I would use this category (imperfective/perfective) to mean present/past.

Passives can also be formed through the use of a past participle (*isim maf'ūl*) for present tense and the auxiliary *čān* or its different variants plus a past participle for past perfect.

- (56) 'āna majbūra                      asawwi hēč  
 I            forced.PART.1SG do.1SG    like this  
 'I am forced to/ have to do such a thing.'

- (57) l-yom    šəfət-ha                      l-bīət        čān            mənba'  
 DEF-day saw.1SG-3SG.F    DEF-house was.3SG    sold.PART  
 'When I saw her the house had been sold.'

### 3.5.1.3 Person concord

There is a distinction between singular and plural in person concord. In each of the singular and plural forms there are first, second and third persons. The endings are all different in different tenses except for the 1 & 2SG.M which have the same form in the past tense (*šəfət*, 'I saw' or 'you.M saw'). The context determines which is being meant. In the present tense (imperfective) 2SG.M and 3SG.F have the same form.

In the 3SG.M there is zero ending in present and past tense (*rāh*, 'he went', *yrūh*, 'he goes/ will go')

### 3.5.2 Verb inflection classes

Like any other dialect of Arabic Kh. Arabic makes a distinction between strong and weak verbs. A verb is defined as weak when one of the letters of a triconsonantal verb stem is /ʔ/, *w*, or *y*/ as in *wajd*, ‘to find’ which has the consonant /w/ among its three consonants, or *ʔaxð*, ‘to take’ that contains /ʔ/ as one of its three consonants. Any verb that does not have one of the /ʔ/, *w*, or *y*/ in its stem is referred to as a strong verb like *xaraj*, ‘to leave’, *daras* ‘to study’.

### 3.5.2.1 Perfective Vs. Imperfective

Like other dialects of Arabic, Kh. Arabic has perfective (past) and imperfective (present) verb forms. The perfective aspect denotes completed events (past), while the imperfective is used to denote actions that are still in progress (present/future). A verb of perfective conjugation is formed by the verb stem plus personal suffixes, *rāḥ-aw*, ‘They. M. went’, *rāḥ-at*, ‘she went.’ A verb of imperfective conjugation, however, consists of the verb stem and prefixes, *y-arḥ-ūn*, ‘they. M. will go/ go’, *t-rūḥ*, ‘she will go/goes.’ While it is possible for verbs of both conjugations to have suffixes which denote the element of number, for example, only verbs of imperfective conjugation have to always have prefixes and the other verb conjugation is the one that always has suffixes.

The imperfective conjugation denotes the present indicative. There is no indicative-subjunctive distinction in Kh. Arabic. The future form is identical to the present indicative and is distinguished through the use of temporal adverbs:

(58) ʔaḥmad y-rūḥ l-əl-madrəsa

Ahmad go.3SG.M to-DEF-school

‘Ahmad goes to school.’

(59) 'aḥmad y-gdar y-rūḥ l-əl-madrəsa  
 Ahmad able-3SG.M go.3SG.M to-DEF-school  
 'Ahmad is able to/ can go to school.'

(60) 'ahmad y-rūḥ l-əl-madrəsa bāčər  
 Ahmad go-3SG.M to-DEF-school tomorrow  
 'Ahmad will go to school tomorrow.'

Both perfective and imperfective verb forms can follow the conditional particle *lo*, 'if' to form a real (future) conditional construction as in the following:

(61) lo šəft-a xābur-ni  
 If saw.2SG.M-3SG.M call.2SG.M-1SG  
 'If you see him, call me.'

(62) lo t-šūf-a xābur-ni  
 If see-2SG.M-3SG.M call.2SG.M-1SG  
 'If you see him, call me.'

The perfective as displayed in the above examples denotes simple past and real conditional constructions, while the imperfective denotes present-indicative, future-indicative and real conditional sentences.

Both weak and strong verbs, discussed in §3.5.2 above, form their imperfective and perfective in the same way. In other words the same suffixes/prefixes are used for both

strong as well as weak stems. Below are conjugations of a strong verb (*šarab*, ‘to drink’) and a weak verb (*wə·al*, ‘to arrive, reach’) for both perfective and imperfective:

**Table 14. PERFECTIVE (Strong)**

šarab-ət	1SG	šarab-na	1PL
šarab-ət	2SG.M	šarab-tu	2PL.M
šarab-ti	2SG.F	šarab-tan	2PL.F
šarab	3SG.M	šerb-aw	3PL.M
šerb-at	3SG.F	šerb-an	3PL.F

**Table 15. IMPERFECTIVE (Strong)**

a-šrab	1SG	nə-šrab	1PL
tə-šrab	2SG.M	t-šərb-ūn	2PL.M
t-šərb-in	2SG.F	yə-šərb-an	3PL.F
yə-šrab	3SG.M	yə-šərb-ūn	3PL.M
tə-šrab	3SG.F	t-šərb-an	3PL.F

**Table 16. PERSFECTIVE (Weak)**

wə·al-ət	1SG	wə·al-na	1PL
wə·al-ət	2SG.M	wə·alt-um	2PL.M
wə·al-ti	2SG.F	wə·alt-an	2PL.F
wə·al	3.SG.M	wə·l-aw	3PL.M
wə·l-at	3SG.F	wə·l-an	3PL.F

**Table 17. IMPERFECTIVE (Weak)**

o-al	1SG	no-al	1PL
to-al	2SG.M	to-lūn	2PL.M
to-lin	2SG.F	to-lan	2PL.F
yo-al	3SG.M	yo-lūn	3PL.M
to-al	3SG.F	yo-lan	3PL.F

### 3.5.2.2 Tense and modality

There are three tenses in Kh. Arabic: the present, past and perfect. Present is formed by the stem of the verb, person suffixes and prefixes<sup>34</sup>. The present tense is also used to refer to an event in the future with temporal adverbs with future reference.

- (63) d-dəktora gālat bāčər tyīb  
 DEF-doctor.F said.3SG.F tomorrow bring.3SG.F  
 ‘The doctor said ‘she will give birth tomorrow.’

- (64) mən sana l-yāyya ba‘ad mā-tarḥīn l-əl-madrassa  
 From year REL-coming.PRE.PART.F PTCL NEG-go.3SG.F to-DEF-school  
 ‘From next year you will not go to school anymore.’

<sup>34</sup> See tables 15 and 17 for the present tense conjugations.

The past perfect (the only available perfect) is based on a present or past participle form of a verb in conjunction with the auxiliary *čān*, ‘was’ inflected for person. There is no present form of this auxiliary.

- (65) mən wə·alət huwwa čān rāyəḥ  
 when arrived.1SG he was.3SG.M go.PREPART.M  
 ‘When I arrived he had gone.’

- (66) b-əl-yom xābarət-ni d-dəktora čānat  
 in-DEF-day phoned.3SG.M-2SG DEF-doctor.F was.3SG.F  
 ·āyḥat-l-i  
 call.PREPART.F-to-1SG  
 ‘When you telephoned me the doctor had already called me (in).’

- (67) l-yom šəfət-hən wyūh-hən čān-at maxṭūfa  
 DEF-day saw.1SG-3PL.F faces-3PL.F was-3SG.F go pale.PART.F  
 ‘When I saw them they (their faces) had gone pale.’

The past tense (perfective) is formed by the stem of the verb (3.SG.M) in conjunction with a set of personal suffixes.<sup>35</sup>

### 3.5.3 Modality

The only non-indicative mood in Kh. Arabic is the imperative which is formed on the basis of the present tense stem with the same set of suffixes but without the prefixes. Only the

<sup>35</sup> See tables 14 and 16 for the past tense conjugations.

second person form (masculine/feminine, singular/plural) of a verb can appear in the imperative mood. Imperative conjugations of the verb *akl*, ‘to eat’ is provided in the following table:

**Table 18. IMPERATIVE**

əkəl	2SG.M
əkli	2SG.F
əklu	2PL.M
əklan	2PL.F

### 3.5.4 Aspect

The progressive is the only category of aspect that can apply to the present and the past tense to show the continuity of the action of the verb at the time of the event. The particle *gāʿəd* ‘lit. sitting’ precedes the present form of the verb to manifest present continuous tense. It inflects for person, number and gender:

(68) mən yəftahm-ūn            həyya gāʿd-a            təgra            l-əd-doktorā  
 When understand-3PL.M    she    PROG-3SG.F    read.3SG.F    for-DEF-PhD  
 ‘When they realize that she is doing he PhD...’

(69) l-əfrūx    g āʿd-īn            ytaʿašš-ūn  
 DEF-kids    PROG-3PL.M    eat-3PL.M  
 ‘The kids are eating their dinner.’

For the past progressive tense the auxiliary *čān* is used in conjunction with the present form of the verb. This auxiliary is inflected for person, number and gender:

(70) *čənt agra darəs l-yom ‘arrasət*  
 was.1SG read.1SG lesson DEF-day married.1SG  
 ‘I was studying when I got married.’

(71) *mā-čānat to-al r-rayyəl-ha*  
 NEG-was.3SG.F reach.3SG.F to-husband-3SG.F  
 ‘She was not taking care of her husband.’

### 3.5.5 Negation

The particles *mā*, *lā* and negative indefinites are used to express negation. *mā* is used to negate both perfective (past) and imperfective (present) verb forms by immediately preceding the verb:

(72) *’aḥmad mā-rāḥ l-əl-madrəsa*  
 Ahmad NEG-went.3SG.M to-DEF-school  
 ‘Ahmad did not go to school.’

(73) *l- əbnayya mā-təšrab ‘a-īr*  
 DEF-little girl NEG-drink.3SG.F juice  
 ‘The little girl does not drink any juice.’

The particle *lā* negates imperative verb forms:

(74) *lā təl‘ab bə-š-šārə‘*  
 NEG play.2SG.M in-DEF-street  
 ‘Don’t play in the street.’

(75) *lā tta‘axxər-īn lə-l-madrəsa*  
 NEG be late-2SG.F to- DEF-school  
 ‘Don’t be late to school.’

To express negation in coordinated sentences *lā...w lā...* is used:

(76) *lā gara darəs w lā nām*  
 NEG read.3SG.M lesson and NEG slept.3SG.M  
 ‘He neither studied nor slept.’

(77) *š-šāyəb lā yšūf w lā yəsma‘*  
 DEF-old man NEG see.3SG.M and NEG hear.3SG.M  
 ‘The old man (can) neither see(s) nor hear(s).’

In nominal or verbless sentences the particle *mā* is used to express negation:

(78) *mā ‘əd-ha frūx*  
 NEG with-3SG.F kids  
 ‘She does not have kids.’

The expletive *aku*, ‘there’ like ‘*and*’ ‘with’ is negated by the particle *mā* which precedes it:

(79) mā ku xabar  
NEG there news  
'There is no news'.

(80) mā ku aḥḥad isā'əd-na  
Neg there someone help.3SG.M-1PL  
'There is no one to help us.'

*Mu* is another negative particle that when followed by the imperfective form of the verb means 'should not, must not':

(81) mū-təns-īn ktāb-əč  
NEG-forget-2SG.F book-2SG.F  
'You should not forget your book.'

The concept in (81) can also be expressed via the use of the particle *lā* followed by the imperfective form of the verb, in which case it will lack the emphasis (81) has:

(82) lā təns-īn ktāb-əč  
'Don't forget your book.'

*Mū* can also precede nouns or pronouns to negate them:

(83) mū xalil rāḥ  
NEG Khalil went.3SG.M  
'It was not Khalil who went.'

A sentence can also be negated by the negative indefinite *maḥḥad* with no other negative marker.

(84) maḥḥad yəftəhəm 'āna š-agūl

Nobody understand.3SG.M I what-say.1SG

‘Nobody (no one) understands what I say’

### 3.5.6 Auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are finite and as their complements they can have the present form of the verb or the present participle. The only available auxiliary verb in Kh. Arabic is *čān*, ‘was’ with different inflections for person, number and gender.

*Čān* is used to refer to simple past tense in nominal sentences:

(85) *mā-čənət farḥana*

NEG-was.1SG happy.1SG.F

‘I was not happy.’

(86) *kəl wakət čənət ‘ayzāna*

All time was.1SG tired.1SG.F

‘I was always tired.’

For past progressive *čān* precedes the present form of the verb, for past perfect it precedes the present or past participle:

(87) *xawāt-i čān-an yarḥ-an l-əl-madrasa*

Sisters-1SG was-3PL.F go-3PL.F to-DEF-school

‘My sisters were going to school.’

(88) *bətt-i čān-at tgūl liəš xālāt-i gar-an*

Daughter-1SG was-3SG.F say.3SG.F why aunts-1SG read-3PL.F

darəs amman ənti lā

lesson but you.F NEG

‘My daughter was always saying why my aunts studied but you did not.’

(89) mən wə'al-na l-fələm čān mxalla·

When arrived-1PL DEF-film was.3SG.M finished.PART

‘When we arrived the film had already finished.’

(90) čənət šāyfat-ha mən gabul

was.1SG seen-PREPART.F-3SG.F from past

‘I had seen her before.’

To express necessity and obligation at the time of the verb or future the modal *kūn* is used before the present form of the verb and takes no inflection:

(91) kūn təsbaḥ gabul mā tnām

Should bathe.2SG.M before sleep.2SG.M

‘You should take a bath before you sleep.’

(92) bāčər kūn axalla· hāð l-əktāb

Tomorrow should finish.1SG this.M DEF-book

‘I should/must finish this book tomorrow.’

*Kūn* in conjunction with *čān* and present or past participle is used to express necessity and obligation in the past:

(93) kūn čənət rāyḥa aməs

Should was.1SG go. PREPART.F yesterday

‘I should have gone yesterday.’

(94) mā-kūn      čān-aw      ma‘zūm-īn

NEG-should was-3PL.M invited.PART

‘They should not have been invited.’

### 3.6 Syntax

#### 3.6.1 Simple sentences

##### 3.6.1.1 Declarative clauses

In the basic order of the constituents in a declarative sentence the subject has the initial position immediately followed by the verb. The object is typically situated after the verb.

(95) ’aḥmad xalla·                      taklif-a

Ahmad finished.3SG.M homework-3SG.M

‘Ahmad finished his homework.’

(96) hīyya tḥəb                      l-warəd

She like.3SG.F DEF-flowers

‘She likes/loves flowers.’

The subject can also occupy the final position of a simple declarative sentence:

(97) kazz-at      l-lisāns      əxt-i

got-3SG.F DEF-BA sister-1SG

‘My sister got her first degree (BA).’

It is possible for the subject to come between the verb and the object; however this order of constituents is not very common.

The subject pronouns may be left out.

- (98) gāl-aw    līš    mā-yyēt-u  
 say-3PL    why NEG-came-2PL  
 ‘They said ‘why didn’t you come?’’

An object can precede its verb:

- (99) haḏan        xālāt-i    līsāns-hən        kazz-ann-a  
 These.3PL.F aunts-1SG BA degree-3PL.F took-3PL.F-3SG.M  
 ‘My aunts got their first degrees (BA).’

As for the order of elements within a sentence, the Arabic determiner /*al-*/ always precedes its head noun as a prefix (*l-mo‘allam*, ‘the teacher’, *l-ēblād*, ‘the country’). Demonstratives immediately precede the determiner (*hāḏa l-walad*, ‘this boy’, *hāy l-mara*, ‘this woman’).

All cardinal numbers precede their head nouns except the number *wāḥed*, ‘one’ which has to follow the noun (*zəlma wāḥed*, ‘one man’) but (*arba‘ zəlma*, ‘four men’, ‘*ašr snin*, ‘ten years’). The particle *farəd* ‘one’ can replace the number *wāḥed* in which case it will occupy the same position other numbers take (pre-nominal), (*farəd zəlma*, ‘one man’).

- (100) farəd zəlma    daš                      b-l-bīət  
 One    man    entered.3SG.M in- DEF-house  
 ‘A man entered the house.’

### 3.6.1.2 Interrogative clauses

A declarative statement in Kh. Arabic can be transformed into a yes/no question by dropping the voice pitch and then sharply raising it on the element to be questioned and continuing to rise on any following unstressed syllables:

- (101) 'aḥmad xalla· dars-a  
Ahmad finished.3SG.M lesson-3SG.M  
'Ahmad finished his lesson.'

- (102) 'aḥmad xalla· dars-a (rising intonation on the last element)  
'Did Ahmad finish his lesson?'

Yes/no questions can also be formed by a rising intonation on the last element in conjunction with *lo lā*, 'or not'.

- (103) naḍḍaft-i l-ḥoš lo lā?  
cleaned-2SG.F DEF-yard or NEG  
'Did you clean the yard or not?'

- (104) tarḥ-ūn l-īrān lo lā?  
Go-2PL.M to- Iran or NEG  
'Do/will you go to Iran or not?'

The negative form of the verb can be repeated at the end of the statement instead of the particle *lā*:

- (105) tarḥ-ūn l-īrān lo mā-tarḥ-ūn?  
Go-2PL.M to-Iran or NEG-go-2PL.M  
'Will you go to Iran or you will not go?'

Other question forms begin with the interrogatives. Depending on the element to be questioned in the sentence the order of the constituents that follow the question word is determined. Hence the interrogatives are followed by the subject which is then followed by the verb when non-subjects are questioned. Otherwise the verb usually appears after the question word. The same order of the constituents in a declarative statement can be observed with the question word coming sentence initially. The interrogative /yā/, ‘which’ is however followed by the object (the element of the question):

(106) muna aməs xubz-at hāð l-‘ēš bə-l-fēr  
 Mona yesterday baked-3SG.F this DEF-bread in-DEF-oven  
 ‘Mona baked some bread in the oven yesterday.’

(107) yāhu xubaz/ yāhi xubz-at hāð l-‘ēš  
 Who.3SG.M baked.3SG.M/who.3SG.F baked-3SG.F this DEF-bread  
 bə-l-fēr aməs  
 in-DEF-oven yesterday  
 ‘Who baked this bread in the oven yesterday?’

(108) šinhu muna amas xubz-at bə-l-fēr  
 what Mona yesterday baked-3SG.F in-DEF-oven  
 ‘What did Mona bake in the oven yesterday?’

(109) līəš muna amas xubz-at hāð l-‘ēš bə-l-fēr  
 Why Mona yesterday baked-3SG.F this DEF-bread in-DEF-oven  
 ‘Why did Mona bake some bread in the oven yesterday?’

(110) *yamta muna xubz-at hāḏ l-‘ēš bə-l-fēr*  
 when Mona baked-3SG.F this DEF-bread in-DEF-oven  
 ‘When did Mona this bake bread in the oven?’

(111) *yā ‘ēš muna amas xubz-att-a bə-l-fēr*  
 Which bread Mona yesterday baked-3SG.F-3SG in-DEF-oven  
 ‘Which bread did Mona bake in the oven yesterday?’

The final and important point about the position of the interrogatives in the sentence is that their position is flexible and they can be placed at any position in the sentence.

### 3.6.2 Complex sentences

Coordination and subordination are two categories of complex sentences. The category of coordinating conjunctions has been influenced by Persian. Hence many coordinating conjunctions borrowed from Persian are being used either as the only option or alongside the native counterparts.

#### 3.6.2.1 Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions used in Kh. Arabic are the following: /w/ ‘and’, *ham*, ‘too, also’, *ham...ham*, ‘both...and’, *mu bas...balke*, ‘not only...but also’<sup>36</sup>, *bas*, *amma(n)* ‘but’, *yo* or *lo*, ‘or’. /w/ in addition to connecting two separate words, complements, clauses can be used to express sequencing of events in a piece of discourse and is normally followed by the deixis *nob*, ‘then’:

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<sup>36</sup> These last three conjunctions have been borrowed from Persian, but are productive in Kh. Arabic. For a comprehensive discussion on ‘Discourse Elements’ borrowed from Persian see chapter 7.

- (112) w ənnob səma‘-na mara ʔarrax  
 and then heard-1PL woman scream.3SG.F  
 ‘And then we heard a woman screaming.’

*Ham* can occupy a pre- or post-subject position and each position could have a different meaning: *Ham* after the subject could mean either ‘and too’ or ‘also’ as in example (113) in which *ham* follows the Kh. Arabic subject pronoun ‘*ana*, ‘I’. When used before the subject *ham* could mean ‘(and) even’, ‘and also’ (114):

- (113) ðič ‘əd-ha θnīən frūx ʔāna ham ‘ənd-ī θnīən  
 That.F with-3SG.F two kids I also with-1SG two  
 ‘She has two children and I have two children, too.’

- (114) čān-an ham b-ðič z-zamān banāt č-čān-an yarḥ-an,  
 were-3PL.F also in- that.F DEF-time girls REL-were-3PL.F go-3PL.F  
 ḥatta dānəšga ham čān-an yarḥ-an  
 even university also were-3PL.F go-3PL.F  
 ‘There were, also, girls, who were going to school. There were girls who would even/also go to the university.’

Each part of the compound conjunction *ham...ham* is positioned before those elements of the clause that are to be connected:

- (115) umm-ī ham gəsl-at lə-mmā‘in ham naḍḍəf-at l-bīət  
 mum-1SG too washed-3SG.F DEF-dishes also cleaned-3SG.F DEF-house  
 ‘My mother both washed the dishes and cleaned the house.’

Example (115) can be expressed through the use of *mu bas...balke* with more or less the same meaning:

- (116) umm-ī    mū bas    ġəsl-at            lə-mmā‘in balkə    l-biət    ham  
 mum-1SG not only    washed-3SG.F DEF-dishes    but also    DEF-house too  
 naḍḍəf-at-a  
 cleaned-3SG.F-3SG

*Amma* and *bas* are the two adversative connectives in Kh. Arabic:

- (117) wāyəd ‘ayzān            ammā/bas lāzəm            axalla·    š-šugul  
 very    tired.1SG.M    but            necessary    finish.1SG DEF-job  
 ‘I am very tired but I have to finish the work.’

The adversative conjunction *lākən* is less commonly used than the other two and sounds formal.

The following examples show the position of *lo/yo* (used interchangeably and the choice is very much personal style related) in a clause:

- (118) tard-īn    təgr-īn    darəs    lo    tnām-īn  
 want-2SG.F study-2SG.F lesson    or    sleep-2SG.F  
 ‘Do you want to study or sleep?’

### 3.6.2.2 Subordination

A subordinate clause is marked by a conjunction at the beginning of the clause. Normally but not necessarily the verb is positioned immediately after the conjunction. Under the subordination category there are relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, embedded interrogative clauses and purpose clauses.

The relative pronoun *əlli*, its other variant */I-/*, or *llađi* (with no inflection) positioned at the beginning of the clause mark the relative clause:

- (119) l-mara      llađi    šəf-nā-ha      xābar-at  
 DEF-woman REL    saw-1PL-3SG.F    called-3SG.F  
 ‘The woman that we saw called.’

Note that all three of the relative pronouns can be used interchangeably. When the head noun is indefinite it is possible to have a relative clause with or without a relative pronoun:

- (120) mā    ku    aḥḥad    əlli    irūḥ      hnāk w    yərja‘      sāləm  
 NEG there    someone    REL    go.3SG.M    there    and    return.3SG.M    safe  
 ‘There is no one who would go there and come back unharmed (safely).’

Embedded interrogative clauses may be referred to as indirect questions which are marked by the interrogative words:

- (121) mā-adri      līəš    maḥḥad    yədrək-ni  
 NEG-know.1SG    why    noone    understand.3SG.M-1SG  
 ‘I don’t know why noone understands me.’

- (122) mā-adri      ba‘ad    ša-sawwī-l-ha  
 NEG-know.1SG    PTCL    what-do.1SG-for-3SG.F  
 ‘I don’t know what else to do for her.’

Complement clauses, like relative clauses, are introduced by *llađi*, and *lli* or the Persian complementizer *ke*. */I-/* the other variant of *lli* which looks similar to the definite marker */I-/*, but which is functionally different is not used for marking complement clauses:

(123) gāl                    l-laði/ lli huwwa   mā-yədri                    l-axbār  
 Said.3SG.M COMP    he                    NEG-know.3SG.M DEF-news  
 ‘He said that he did not know the news.’

(124) tədr-īn            ke            rayl-əč                    ‘ala kəl-ši            čađđab  
 know-2SG.F COMP husband-3SG.F on            everything lied.3SG.M  
 ‘You know that your husband lied about everything.’

(125) b-ət-torāt            yāy                    ke            yo hāđ    iyya                    l-bāb            yəftak  
 in-DEF-Torah come-PART COMP if this came.3SG.M DEF-door open.3SG  
 ‘It has come in the Torah that if this man came the door would open.’

In all of the above examples of complement clauses the complementizers both Persian and Arabic can be omitted.

Adverbial clauses are marked by temporal adverbs placed clause-initially:

(126) raftār-hum                    ytağayyar                    mən            išūf-ūn wāḥəđ  
 behaviour-3PL.M change.3PL.M when see-3PL one.M  
 ‘ədd-a            taḥ-īlāt ‘ālya  
 with-3SG.M education high  
 ‘Their behaviour changes when they see someone with higher education.’

Other less commonly used conjunctions originally from Persian are the subordinating conjunctions *agarče*, and *bāinke*, ‘although’ which are positioned at the beginning of the clause:

(127) huwwa rāḥ                    lwaḥda l-əl- pārk            agarče            umm-a  
 He            went.3SG.M alone            to-DEF-park although mum-3SG.M

gall-at- l- a                    lā   yrūḥ

Said-3SG.F-to-3SG.M NEG go.3SG.M

‘He went to the park alone, although his mum had told him not to.’

(128) rayyāl-na b-əl-yom   xəṭab                    bā inke   θalaθ-ta‘aš   sana

man-1PL   in-DEF-day proposed.3SG.M   although   thirteen   year

‘umr-i, sawwum   rāhnamāi,                    ubū-y   qəbal

age-1SG third                    secondary school , dad-1SG   accepted.3SG.M

b-ī

with-3SG.M

‘lit. Our man (my husband), when he proposed, although I was thirteen years old,  
third year at secondary school, my father accepted him.’

*Bā inke* can replace *agarče* in the above examples.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: Methods of Data Collection**

### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter will explore the issue of methods of data collection. The sociolinguistic background of the Arab community in Khuzestan will be explained in § 4.1. The two methods employed in this study to collect the data – the questionnaire and the interview – will be the focus of this chapter. Then the goal of the questionnaires and the interviews will be explained. The next part will deal with the design and format of the questionnaire including selection of variables. General problems with the questionnaire as a method of data collection in this study will also be addressed. The section on the factors that were considered in selection of the informants will then follow. How the questionnaires and the interviews were administered will be explored in detail in the next section. Finally, the last part of this chapter will cover the issue of data presentation and analysis.

### **4.1 Current sociolinguistic situation**

Kh. Arabs identify themselves as members of different tribes, namely Bani Kaab (the largest), Beit Seyyid Shebeeb, Beit Sayyid Hassan, Bani Lam, Bani Saleh, Bani Torof, to name but a few. All the tribes have a common heritage with many of them still retaining their original customs. Arabs are all Shii'a Muslims.

Despite the process of modernization which has undoubtedly spread to Khuzestan, the tribal groups of this province still have a very rich oral tradition.

Most Arabs had a settled or semi-nomadic life before the discovery of oil in Khuzestan in 1908. The growth of the oil industry attracted governmental institutions to the region, a phenomenon which resulted in settlement of immigrants from outside Khuzestan on lands of the Arab inhabitants (Pahlavi's government policy). Then more and more Arabs got engaged in institutional jobs.

The establishment of cities demanded a different lifestyle from nomadic or rural life. Hence, the main occupation of the urban Arabs as well as other residents of Khuzestan is now employment in governmental or private institutions while many of the inhabitants of rural areas of the province are still engaged in agricultural activities (working on their own lands or rented lands from the government or land owners). Cattle breeding is usually done alongside farming, though not all farmers own or breed cattle. Young members of rural families usually carry on doing the same occupation as their fathers, a kind of occupation inheritance which has no manifestation in urban life. The young generation decide on their occupation based on their academic, social, and economic situations.

Khuzestan has now become a live multiracial and multilingual context which is the home of immigrants of different social, linguistic, and racial backgrounds from different parts of Iran. There are two things, though that all inhabitants in Khuzestan have in

common: Islam, and speaking Persian as a second language. Almost all Arabs are bilingual, speaking Kh. Arabic as their mother tongue, and Persian as a second language. The only Arabic monolinguals left in the cities belong to the old generation who did not have any formal education in Persian. In rural areas where 100% of the residents are Arabs Persian plays no role in every day life of the people. In fact, there is rarely any direct contact with Persian. In such contexts the majority of adults (forty and over) mainly woman are Arabic monolingual, while the younger generation (roughly those who are under 35) are all bilingual, learning Persian at school. Speaking Persian in rural areas of Khuzestan is limited to schools, specifically in class with the teacher. However if the teacher is herself a speaker of Arabic then the use of Persian is limited strictly to reading from books. By contrast in the cities the use of Arabic is limited to the family situation while Persian covers every other area of interaction and communication.

Kh. Arabic is an oral language and is not taught or even offered as an optional course in public or private schools. MSA is nevertheless is taught across Iran as a subject in the secondary school education curriculum. All children and most of the adult speakers of Kh. Arabic are educated.

There is radio (few hours a day) and television broadcasting (few hours a week) in MSA in Khuzestan – meant to address the Khuzestanies - as well as other parts of the country, addressing the Arabic speakers across the world. All of these channels are state-owned.

The economy in Khuzestan relies mainly on oil and other minerals industries. To a lesser degree agriculture, which used to be the main sector of the economy before the discovery of oil, also contributes to the economy of the province. The economy of the

province as well as the cultural and social life is focussed on a few urban centres, including Ahwaz, with the biggest steel company (Foulad Ahwaz) and a number of state as well as open universities (e.g. Chamran University previously known as Jondishapour). Other examples of focal urban centres include Abadan with its biggest oil refinery in the country (Palayeshgah Naft Abadan), and Khormshahr Port, which is planned to be announced as a Free Port.

Young speakers, particularly children, are heavily influenced by Persian and nowadays in numerous cases parents do not even speak in Arabic with their children fearing that they might be treated with humiliation by their peer friends at school.

Despite this Kh. Arabic is still spoken by a great majority of adults from different generations as well as children, although the number of the Arab children who can speak Arabic is declining, leaving us with many children who can understand the language without being able to speak it.

## **4.2 Methods of collecting data**

The current research is based on two sets of data, i.e. questionnaires and interviews. Before I deal with the main methods of collecting my corpus data, I will explain the rationale behind the selection of variables and the design of the questionnaire.

### **4.2.1 The Questionnaire: its design and format**

The questionnaire is a major source for eliciting a large amount of information (general and specific). It is considered a powerful evaluation tool and among the most popular methods

in conducting an investigation. To gather the main corpus data of this study a questionnaire was used.

#### **4.2.1.1 Selection of variables**

To design the questionnaire a list of constructions which were to be analyzed has been provided. The selection of the constructions was based on indications of contact influencing particular constructions in Kh. Arabic. These constructions were identified first in a pilot investigation by me, which was on the influence of Persian on Kh. Arabic and was carried out between 1997 and 1998.

The need to carry out a pilot study grew out of my confusion (after getting exposed to other dialects of Arabic) as to why - despite my attempt to use only Arabic words in communicating with speakers of other dialects of Arabic - it was so difficult for me to communicate with other Arabs. This led me to learn more about Arabic grammar. It appeared, then that some constructions in Kh. Arabic display signs of Persian influence.

The analysis of the data collected - for the pilot study - in the form of tape-recorded interviews of 7 Kh. Arabic speakers revealed variation among Kh. Arabic speakers in the use of several constructions, i.e. there was more than one way of expressing a particular grammatical construction. Sometimes the same speaker would use completely different ways of structuring the same construction, only one of which would manifest the rule of that particular construction in MSA and other dialects of Arabic.

Analyzing the variation and searching the literature on other Arabic dialects it appeared that some forms were different or non-existent in other dialects of Arabic, and were constructed based on a Persian model for the same construction. A list of the related

constructions (variables) was then identified, based on which the questions of the questionnaire were prepared. The constructions tested in the questionnaire included the complement clauses, relative clauses, attributive constructions, adverbs, and discourse elements, coordinating and subordinating conjunctions.

In addition to the section on the contact-induced phenomena, the questionnaire included another part (the first) on the personal details of the informants. This part asked the informants about their name, age, and education level. Three more questions were included in the first part, which were for the researcher to complete. They were: 1. the informants' level of competence in Persian, 2. whether there was any other member of the family who had completed the questionnaire and, 3. the age of that member.

The rationale behind the selection of the variable 'Persian competence' was to determine any possible significance of this variable in the performance of the subjects. For instance if any Persian insertion by those informants with a lower level of Persian competence (if different from and/or incompatible with borrowings used by competent speakers) could be interpreted as a way of flagging their limited knowledge of the dominant language (Poplack, 1980) and not contact-induced phenomena.

The other variable - if any other member had taken part in the study - was meant to check whether using or avoiding any particular contact phenomenon is a family-related issue (individual occurrence) rather than a community-related one.

As mentioned above in addition to the family background and language competence of the speakers, their age and education level were also chosen as variables.

In my previous study on Persian loan words in Kh. Arabic (Shabibi, 1998) the results revealed that education played a role in the performance of the informants. The age

of the speakers however was not found to have any significant influence on the speakers' performance. Nevertheless it is worth mentioning that the previous study investigated the lexicon only while the current work aims to investigate the grammar part of this dialect.

#### **4.2.1.2 The format of the questionnaire**

The questions in a questionnaire can be open-ended and/or close-ended in their format (Sawer, 1984).

By open-ended questions it is meant those that allow the informants to give their own answers, they are given the opportunity to express their own thoughts. Such questions demand more effort on the part of the informants, and can produce a variety of answers which makes the analysis of the results more difficult.

The close-ended questions provide lists of answers from which the informants are asked to select one or more. The answers to close-ended questions are more uniform compared to the open-ended ones. They, however depend upon the designer's knowing and including all relevant answers in the provided lists.

The questions in my questionnaire are neither completely open nor completely closed. They do not require unprompted answers from the informants, nor do they provide them with lists of answers. The questions are rather in the form of sentences in Persian for which the informants were asked to provide equivalents in Kh. Arabic. The answers to each sentence were expected to be restricted within the limit of a particular structure, though variety in answers was expected. We might therefore, consider the format of the questions in the questionnaire of this study to be semi-closed, or semi-open.

The questions consisted of sentences that were put into different groups, with each group introducing one of the five constructions identified as variables, i.e. the complement clauses, the relative clauses (RCs), the attributive constructions, the adverbs, and the discourse elements.

The first group of sentences was on the complement clauses – factual and non-factual - with 32 sentences. The next group consisted of 16 sentences on RCs. The third group listed 36 constructions of different types of the attribution, namely, the Construct State (CS) and the adjectival attribution. The fourth group included 8 sentences on the adverbs. The last group introduced the coordinating and subordinating conjunctions in 13 sentences. The questionnaire therefore consisted of 98 sentences as a whole.

Each group consisted of simple sentences – in the third group simple attributive constructions - with simple concepts so that all informants, even those with poor education could understand them. To achieve uniformity, all of the sentences were in the indicative form throughout the questionnaire.

#### **4.2.1.3 Administration of the questionnaire**

The questionnaire was administered orally in Persian with the first part asking the informants to introduce themselves, state their education level and age either in Persian or Kh. Arabic, but preferably in Arabic.

In the second part I read the statements on each syntactic construction clearly to the informants asking them to provide the Kh. Arabic equivalents of the statements. Everything was tape-recorded.

The questionnaire was read to every speaker individually at the time and in the place specified beforehand by the participants. The event usually took place at the informants' houses or in few cases at their work places.<sup>37</sup>

The time it took to complete each questionnaire depended on the informants themselves, i.e. how quick they were in answering, but it usually took no longer than half an hour as a maximum.

#### **4.2.1.4 Problems with the Questionnaire**

Despite providing a convenient way to collect data from a target population, questionnaires could have some disadvantages. The possible problems of the questionnaire in the current study will be addressed in this section.

The first and probably the most noticeable problem is the length of the questionnaire (98 sentences). Due to lack or absence of any literature on the grammar of this dialect, I found the increase in the number of the questions the only way to collect as much data on each construction as possible, a factor that could increase the reliability of the results. Furthermore the nature of the questionnaire as oral rather than written probably eased the problem (if any at all) since the speakers did not have to write anything - a process which would demand a longer time to fill the questionnaire - but rather say the sentences in their language. Besides, the atmosphere through which the questionnaires were administered - informal, friendly and relaxed - was another factor that helped overcome

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<sup>37</sup> The illiterate subjects who were mostly Arabic monolinguals obviously were not given the questionnaire.

this problem.<sup>38</sup>Another point was that the participants were interested in the topic which they, rightly, thought was directly related to them and so were willing to help in any way possible.

Another problem with this questionnaire is that although they were few, the illiterate or those who were poorly educated could not complete the questionnaire. This was despite the fact that the questionnaire was designed to cover the concepts in simple sentences.

The questionnaire required the participants to provide equivalent sentences in Kh. Arabic to those provided in Persian. Since there is the possibility for the participants to non-consciously calque the given constructions in their language rather than give the equivalent for it, elicited data in the way explained might not be completely reliable to base the final findings of a study on. However this potential problem could be resolved by complementing the sets of data collected by the questionnaire with further sets of data collected through another method, i.e. interview or free conversation. This was the case in the current study. Thus the final results of the study are based on two sets of data that were collected through both the questionnaire and the interview methods.

#### **4.2.2 The interview method**

In this study the interview method was used alongside the questionnaire for data collection. There were three goals behind the use of the interview method in this study.

The data available on Kh. Arabic, in general is very limited, and non-existent on topics related to this study. The arguments of the current study therefore needed strong

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<sup>38</sup> Note that none of the participants complained or said anything on this matter.

evidence to be built upon. Although the questionnaire is the best known method of collecting a large amount of data, due to the novel nature of the topic we needed more genuine data from the speakers. The interviews provided us with large sets of such data; large and genuine enough to support our arguments.

To complement, support and increase the reliability of the data elicited on the five main variables (See § 4.2.1.1) in the questionnaire the interviews were conducted.

The last goal of the interviews, which the questionnaires alone could not fulfil, was to allow all Kh. Arabic speakers, literate and illiterate, to take part in the study (See § 4.2.1.4).

The interviews were semi-structured in the sense that the same questions were put to every participant. An attempt was made to follow a set pattern in conducting the interviews, but there were a few cases in which the speakers chose to speak about the topic of their choice. The general pattern was to ask each interviewee to speak about their life in the past, their childhood, their education, their profession and their prospects for the future. Following a pre-set pattern questions, and at the same time giving the informants the freedom to speak of their own topic of interest, when they required, is what made the interview method in this study semi-structured and not completely structured.

All of the speakers were interviewed individually by me. As in the case of the questionnaires, interviews were tape-recorded. The length of each interview depended on how much the speakers wanted to go on speaking. The shortest interview was about 15 minutes and the longest about 2 hours. The data collected through the interview method totals twenty five hours of recorded speech.

These interviews usually took place at the speakers' homes, or work place - on two occasions only - with me (the researcher) and the interviewee present.<sup>39</sup>

The interviews were conducted in Kh. Arabic, and in cases where the speakers switched to Persian they were reminded that it was their Kh. Arabic I was interested in. They would, then immediately shift back to Kh. Arabic, mentioning the point that they were mostly used to speaking in Persian.<sup>40</sup> Shifting to Persian had no manifestation in the interviews with the illiterate speakers who were also the oldest. The longest interviews belong to those informants.

There were some problems during the process of interviews. Since most of the interviews - in fact all but a couple of them - were done at the participants homes some problems were unavoidable. Among the unavoidable disruptions were the informants' children interfering and playing around, and the telephone or the house bell ringing, which at times required the informants to interrupt the interview.

### **4.3 Selection of Speakers**

The subjects who took part in this study were all Kh. Arabic speakers born from both Arab parents. The informants were of different genders, education levels and age. They were

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<sup>39</sup> In some cases we could not avoid the presence of the informants' children who were interested to know what was going on especially with a tape recorder and a microphone in view. This at times caused interruption in the process of interviews.

<sup>40</sup> In both questionnaires and interviews, in quite a few cases, there were attempts on the sides of the speakers to speak in MSA, which they believed to be the correct Arabic rather than Kh. Arabic- many of them except for the uneducated ones thought it to be an incorrect version of Arabic-. In such cases, it was explained to them that there was no such thing as correct or incorrect about languages or dialects and that it was their Kh. Arabic that was of interest to this research and the researcher. Feeling relieved and happy that they would not be blamed or laughed at for their dialect and that their dialect was important enough to be researched on they would continue in Kh. Arabic.

selected randomly, so whoever was ready to participate in the study from relatives, friends and friends of friends was included.

The most important variables that were considered as determining in selecting the informants were, first being a Kh. Arabic speaker born from Kh. Arab parents, and second Kh. Arabic speakers who have been living in Khuzestan most of their life.

The variable of parents has been considered important for the reason that children acquire their language from their parents. A speaker with a non-Arab parent (usually the mother) could be distinctively different in his language from other Kh. Arabic speakers. This could influence the interpretation of the results that are supposed to reflect the language situation of the society rather than particular individuals.

The second variable, i.e. living in the contact situation most of one's life, was included for exactly the same reason as the first variable. Those subjects who had been away from the situation in which their mother tongue is spoken and therefore had had too much exposure to other languages had to be eliminated from this study. This is because the language of such informants would most probably stand out and would therefore the final results of the study. Thus whoever qualified for these two variables were included.

Having discussed the primary variables in selecting the informants, their general characteristics will be addressed in the following section.

### **4.3.1 Speakers' general characteristics**

#### **4.3.1.1 Gender**

Thirty two male and female Kh. Arabic speakers were randomly selected from Ahwaz, the centre of Khuzestan province.

#### **4.3.1.2 Education**

The selected speakers were of different education levels. They ranged from those with high education (university education), to those with, what I would call middle education (high school education and college), to those with primary education, and finally to those with no formal education. Only two of my subjects who were also the oldest were uneducated and two theirs had primary school education. The rest had high school or university education.

#### **4.3.1.3 Profession**

The subjects, as mentioned in § 4.3 were from my relatives, friends or friends of friends who willingly agreed to have a part in the study not only because they wanted to help me in my work, but also because they found the topic interesting.

They were of different professions including: students, housewives, office clerks, teachers, engineers, drivers, etc.

#### **4.3.1.4 Age**

The age group of the informants included as young as 15 to as old as 79. Twelve of them ranged between the ages of 20 to 30. The three oldest of my informants were 73, 76, and 79 years old. The three youngest were of the ages 15 (only one) and 16 (the other two). The age of the remaining informants ranged from 30 to 50.

### **4.4 Data Presentation and Analysis**

As explained before the data collected from my field work consisted of tape-recordings of oral questionnaires and interviews of thirty two Kh. Arabic speakers.

The questionnaires were transcribed and transliterated, i.e. starting with the first section on general information about the speakers and then going on to transcribe the different sections of the second part (grammatical structures that indicated influence from contact).

The phonemic transcription of the two sets of data has been based on a system normally used in Arabic linguistics. The special symbols used in the presentation of the data are listed in the glossary.

All questionnaires were transcribed, but due to the large amount of the second set of the data (about 25 hours of recorded interviews) only selected parts were transcribed and glossed (see Appendix 2 for sample texts).

Sample texts or sub-texts were selected from the whole data and were then transcribed, transliterated and finally used for analysis. In many cases the selection of a sample text was based on the availability of a particular contact phenomenon in that text.

The data analysis presented in the following chapters is based on selected parts of the data collected and transcribed, from both the questionnaires and the interviews.

## **CHAPTER FIVE:     Attributive Constructions**

### **5.0   Introduction**

This chapter will illustrate how the Kh. Arabic attributive construction has adopted properties of the Persian attributive construction.

There are two types of attribution in MSA as well as other dialects of Arabic, nominal attribution - the Construct State (henceforth, CS) - and adjectival attribution (henceforth, AA).

After dealing briefly with definition and properties of the CS and AA in MSA and Persian, the ongoing contact phenomena in these constructions in Kh. Arabic will be discussed in detail.

### **5.1 Properties of the Construct State (CS)**

Attribution (possession) in Arabic can be expressed in different ways, one of which is the CS. Typologically, the Arabic CS has the NG (Head noun+ Genitive) order, what Borer (1999) refers to as ‘strictly right branching’, head first. The following are the properties of the CS in MSA:

- A. It includes two adjacent nouns, the first one denoting the possessed while the second one denotes the possessor.
- B. The first noun is never overtly marked by the definite article or any other determiner, while the second noun can either be marked as definite or indefinite. Although the head noun is not overtly marked as definite, it is nevertheless inherently marked as definite. Borer (1999) describes this marking as the ‘special bound morphology’ on the head of a CS.
- C. Definiteness of the construct is determined by the final member, if it is definite then every other member of the construct is definite, if it is not every member of the construct will necessarily have the same value. This is what has been referred to as the rule of ‘In/Definiteness Spreading’ (Borer, 1999; Mohammad,

1989). Once a definite noun is used the CS is closed; hence no further members are permitted (Borer, 1984).

- D. All modifiers must follow the last right element of the CS. In other words direct modification of the head noun is prohibited. Demonstratives can follow either noun. In fact they are the only elements that can interfere between the head noun and the modifying noun in a CS.
- E. Mohammad (1989) discusses a further property of a CS which is the phonological realization of the feminine marker /t/ in all members of a CS except the last one. He maintains that together with the definiteness effect or spreading this marker is the defining trait of the CS in Arabic and claims that this feature is specific to Arabic and is shared by no other Semitic language.<sup>41</sup>

Below are some examples of the CS in MSA:

- (1) kitāb l-walad  
book DEF-boy  
'The boy's book'
- (2) ibn l-mudīr  
son DEF-chief  
'The chief's son'

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<sup>41</sup> For more information on the CS and its properties see the following: Ritter (1987, 1988), Ouhalla (1988) Benmamoun (1992), Mohammad (1988), Fassi-Fehri (1999), and Shlonsky (2004).

Possession of the first noun by the second is displayed by juxtaposition of the two nouns in a CS, as in above. The first noun in any of the above examples is not marked with the definite article while the second one is overtly marked definite by the definite marker ///. The first noun however as mentioned before is interpreted as definite. In the following examples the issue of modification of the CS is addressed. Remember that any modifier of the CS in MSA has to be positioned at the end of the construct regardless of which noun it is modifying:

MSA

(3) kitāb l-maktab-a l-kabīr  
 book DEF-library-F DEF-big.M  
 ‘The big book of the library’

(4) bustān l-bayt l-jadīd  
 garden DEF-house.M DEF-new.M  
 ‘The garden of the new house’

In example (3) the adjective *kabīr* is obviously modifying the head noun *ktāb* and not the second noun, for the simple reason that in Arabic, modifiers have to agree in definiteness, gender and number with the head noun they modify. The adjective *kabīr* has been gender marked as masculine which is the same for the head noun but not the second noun of the construct (*maktaba* is gender marked as feminine). This issue is not always so straight- forward. In example (4) for instance, there is a semantic ambiguity in the sense that it is not obvious which noun the adjective *jadīd* is modifying, since it agrees in gender

and number with both nouns. Another reading of the CS in (4) is: ‘the new garden of the house.’

The phonological realization of the feminine marker /t/ in all members of the CS except the last one is exemplified in the following example from MSA:

- (5) šajar-at l-ḥadīqa  
tree-CM DEF-garden  
‘The garden tree’

Note that the feminine marker of the second noun is not manifested in the above example because the CS ends with this noun; however if a further noun was to follow the second noun in (5), the /t/ would have to be pronounced as in the following examples from MSA:

- (6) šajar-at ḥadīq-at l-bayt  
tree-CM garden-CM DEF-house  
‘The tree of the garden of the house’

- (7) ḥaqīb-at mu‘allim-at l-madrasa  
bag-CM teacher-CM DEF-school  
‘The bag of the school teacher’

In the above list of the properties of the CS it was mentioned that the definite marker is attached to the last noun of the construct. That is the reason why the noun *ḥadīqa* in (5) was overtly marked with the definite article while in (6) it appears without the definite article.

As to how extended a CS can be, there is no syntactic limit to the number of elements that can be embedded in a CS. However, from a stylistic point of view phrases with more than four elements are considered bad style. That is to say, no constraints or rules are violated except perhaps the rules of good taste if such rules can ever be identified. Hence the following CS in MSA is grammatically well-formed, but stylistically may be considered ill-formed:

- (8) bayt walad ‘am zawj ‘adīq-at uxt-i  
house son uncle husband friend-CM sister-1SG  
‘The house of the cousin of the husband of my sister’s friend’

The issue of multiple CS and its possible stylistic ill-formedness, and also semantic ambiguity of the construction as the result of the position of a modifier of any member of the construct (at the end of the construct) could be considered as triggers to use what Harning (1980) calls ‘Analytic genitive’ (henceforth, AG) rather than the typical Synthetic genitive or the CS.

An AG construction consists of a noun + a particle + a noun modifier. The particle expresses the genitive relation between the noun and the modifier. The particles that occur in the analytic genitive as compared to the standard synthetic genitive constitute a great number. Each particle is restricted to a particular geographical area. Harning (1980) lists a variety of possessive particles that are used in different dialects of Arabic.

In AG the nouns of the construct have to agree in definiteness overtly. Some of the particles and the geographical areas they are used in, are as follows: *māl* (property, possession, belongs to) used in ‘*gelet*’ dialects, lower Iraq and Khuzestan in Iran as displayed in the following examples from Kh. Arabic:

- (9) l-əktāb māl l-maktab-a  
 DEF-book POSS.M DEF- library-F  
 ‘The book of the library’

- (10) š-šəjra māl l-pārk  
 DEF-tree POSS.F DEF-park  
 ‘The tree of the park’

The multiple CS in (8) can be broken off by the particle *māl* in Kh. Arabic:

- (11) l-bīət māl walad ‘am zoj ·adīg-at əxt-i<sup>42</sup>  
 DEF-house POSS.M boy uncle husband friend-CM sister-1SG  
 ‘The house that belongs to the cousin of the husband of my sister’s friend’

Other possessive particles used in other dialects of Arabic are: *taba*‘used in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, and *ħagg* used in Mecca, Yemen, Hadramawt and some other Gulf States. Al-Musa (1976) suggests that MSA (and other dialects of Arabic)<sup>43</sup> is perhaps developing some kind of *Idaafah*/ possessive marker similar to the English ‘of’.

## 5.2 Adjectival Attribution (AA) in MSA

Generally adjectives in AA follow their head nouns and inflect for gender, number and definiteness.

MSA

- (12) bint ħilwa  
 girl pretty.F  
 ‘Pretty girl’

<sup>42</sup> Note that unlike CS the first noun of this AG construction is overtly marked by the definite article.

(13) l-bint l-ḥilwa  
DEF-girl DEF-pretty.F  
'The pretty girl'

(14) l-awlād ṭ-ṭiwāl  
DEF-boys DEF-tall.PL.M  
'The tall boys'

In CS in MSA (as mentioned above) however an attributive adjective of either noun follows the last member of the construct and not the head noun it is modifying:

MSA

(15) uxt s-sāyiq ṣaġīra  
sister DEF-driver DEF-small  
'The driver's little sister'

(16) mu'allimāt l-madāris š-šābbāt  
Teachers.F DEF-schools DEF-young.PL.F  
'The young teachers of the schools'

In both (15) and (16) above the attributive adjectives *ṣaġīra* and *š-šābbāt* modify the head nouns *uxt* and *mu'allimāt* respectively, but following the modification rule of a CS in MSA they are positioned at the end of the construct.

### 5.3 Attribution in Persian

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<sup>43</sup> The researcher's adaptation.

### 5.3.1 The Persian Ezafe

In Persian, an extremely productive way for modifying nouns as well as linking other non-verbal heads and their complements is the Ezafe.

The Ezafe (lit. addition) is used to link a head noun to an adjective (AP), a noun (NP), an adverb (Adv.P), a prepositional phrase (PP) or an infinitive. Adjectives, quantifiers and prepositional heads can also be linked to their complements by the use of an Ezafe marker,

i.e. an unstressed /e/, /ye/ after a vowel that comes between the head of a phrase and the modifying elements which follow it.

Like Arabic, Persian demonstrates the (NA) order in its attribution constructions. Persian does not differentiate in types of attribution and all attributions are marked by Ezafe:<sup>44</sup>

Persian

(17) deraxt-e zeytūn

tree- EZ olive

‘The olive tree’

(18) ketāb-e pesar

book- EZ boy

‘The boy’s book’

(19) xūne-ye sefid

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<sup>44</sup> Examples are from colloquial Persian

house-EZ white

‘The white house’

(20) dīvar-e boland-e xūne

wall- EZ tall-EZ house

‘The high wall of the house’

In the examples (17) and (18) the modifiers are nouns, while in (19) and (20) they are adjectives attributed to their heads by Ezafe, but all constructions have one thing in common and that is that they are all definite. There is no definite marker in Persian, but the presence or absence of the indefinite marker /i/ at the end of the last member of the attribution construction marks the entire construct as indefinite or definite respectively. None of the above constructions have the indefinite marker /i/ suffixed to their last elements; hence they are all interpreted as definite. Consider the following Persian attributive constructions that are marked as indefinite by the indefinite marker /i/, attached to the last noun of the construction:

Persian

(21) deraxt-e zeytūn-i

tree- EZ olive-IDEF

‘An olive tree’

(22) ketāb-e pesar-i

book- EZ boy-IDEF

‘A boy’s book’

Ezafé in Persian can be used to denote a variety of relationships between head nouns and their modifying elements- genitive, attributive, and appositive.

With regard to the position of a modifying adjective in a Persian attribution the adjective comes immediately after the noun it modifies.

Persian

- (23) *pesar-e fuzūl- e hamsāye*  
boy-EZ naughty-EZ neighbour  
'The neighbour's naughty boy'

Thus from the above example it is understood that *fuzūl* modifies *pesar* and not *hamsāye*, because it is following *pesar*. A major difference in meaning occurs when we shift the adjective to the end of the construction.

- (24) *pesar-e hamsāye-ye fuzūl*  
boy-EZ neighbour-EZ naughty  
'The naughty neighbour's boy'

*Fuzūl* is no longer attributed to *pesar*, it rather modifies the noun it follows immediately, *hamsāye*.

Since the rule on the position of adjectives in attributive constructions is straightforward in Persian, no ambiguity occurs with regard to the noun that is being modified.

The use of multiple attributions is a common phenomenon in Persian using Ezafé to link the different elements of the construction to one another:

Persian

- (25) *ketāb-e ketābxūne-ye mahalle-ye masīhiyān-e šahr-e mā*  
book-EZ library-EZ area-EZ Christians- EZ city-EZ we

‘The library book of the district of the Christians of our city’

## 5.4 Attribution in Kh. Arabic

### 5.4.1 The CS

The CS in Kh. Arabic is identical to that of the MSA:

(26) bəstān l-bīət

Garden DEF-house

‘The garden of the house’

(27) əxt d-darēwəl

Sister DEF-driver

‘The driver’s sister’

### 5.4.2 Adjectival Attribution (AA)

As in other dialects of Arabic, attributive adjectives follow their head nouns and inflect for definiteness, gender and number in Kh. Arabic:

Kh. Arabic

(28) l-bīət l-jadīd

DEF-house DEF-new

‘The new house’

(29) bīət jadīd

house new

‘A new house’

(30) l-bət s-səmina

DEF-girl DEF-fat.F

‘The fat girl’

When it comes to the position of an attributive adjective in a CS however, Kh. Arabic follows the same rule as to the order of elements in an AA, i.e. both attributions in a CS and AA are treated in the same way and the adjective immediately follows the noun it modifies:

Kh. Arabic

(31) mu‘alləmət š-šābbāt l-madārəs

Teachers.PL.F DEF-young.PL.F DEF-schools

‘The young teachers of the schools’

(32) walad č-čəbīr l-modīr

boy DEF-big.M DEF-chief

‘The chief’s big son’

In both examples (31) and (32) it is obvious that the head nouns are *mu‘alləmət* and *walad*, since the attributive adjectives *š-šābbāt* and *čəbīr* immediately follow them.

Analysing (31) and (32) one cannot avoid noticing that the structure of these two attributive constructions is identical to that of the attributive constructions in Persian. Examples (33) and (34) are Persian equivalents of (31) and (32):

Persian

(33) mo’allema-ye javūn-e madrese

teachers- EZ young-EZ school

‘The young teachers of the schools’

(34) pesar-e bozorg-e modīr

son-EZ big-EZ chief

‘The chief’s big son’

Below are some more examples from Kh. Arabic, their equivalents in MSA and

Persian:

Kh. Arabic

(35) pardāt<sup>45</sup> l-əmlawwənāt

curtains DEF-colourful.PL.F

‘The colourful curtains’

(36) bīət l-abyaz

house DEF-white

‘The white house’

MSA

(37) as-sitār l-mulawwināt (l-mulawwin-a)

DEF-curtains DEF-colourful.PL.F (DEF- colourful-3SG.F)

(38) al-bayt l-abyaz

DEF-house DEF-white

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<sup>45</sup> Persian loan

Persian

(39) *pardehā-ye rangī*  
curtains-EZ colourful

(40) *xūne-ye sefid*  
house-EZ white

In (35 & 36) from Kh. Arabic definiteness agreement between the head noun and the attributive adjective which is a feature of such constructions in the grammar of Arabic is not maintained, i.e. the indefinite head nouns *pardāt* and *bīṭ* are modified by the definite adjectives, *l-əmlawwənāt* and *l-abyaz* respectively. These two examples too show a similar structure to that of Persian.

Persian is a language with no definite marker. The head nouns *pardehā* and *xūne* are to be interpreted as definite for the reason that their attributive adjectives (the last elements of the construction) do not have the indefinite marker /i/ attached to them.

Kh. Arabic thus seems to be modelling its attributive constructions (CS and AA) on Persian and hence dealing with both types of attribution in the same way, using the definite article as a marker of attribution. The contact-induced phenomenon of the attribution construction in Kh. Arabic will be analyzed in the light of Matras and Sakel's (2006) model on PAT replication of foreign elements and the process of pivot matching, a step before the ultimate replication of the patterns of the model language in the replica language.

### 5.4.3 Marker of attribution in Kh. Arabic

#### 5.4.3.1 The definite article /al/ and Ezafe

As mentioned earlier the Ezafe appears in Persian attributive constructions between the head and the attributive and is phonologically realized as /e/:

Persian

(41) deraxt-e pārk

tree-EZ park

‘The tree of the park’

(42) ketāb-e gātūr-e ketābxūne

book-EZ thick-EZ library

‘The library’s thick book’

Taking a closer look at the Kh. Arabic examples (35 & 36) and the Persian ones (39 & 40) one can see that the definite article appears in the Kh. Arabic constructions in the exact position where the Ezafe marker is used in the Persian constructions. Thus, since there is no definite determiner in Persian to be prefixed to the head nouns, hence appearing as indefinite, all head nouns in the cited examples from Kh. Arabic are also marked as indefinite. The same phenomenon can be spotted in the following example from the Kh. Arabic corpus data and their Persian elicited versions which for the purpose of clarity of the contact-induced change, are presented in tables.

**Table 19. Comparison of AA in Kh. Arabic and Persian**

bəstān	l	xazar	l	ḥəlu
garden	DEF	green	DEF	pretty
bāg	e	sabz	e	gāšang
garden	EZ	green	EZ	pretty
Head	Marker	Modifier	Marker	Modifier

	1	1	2	2
--	---	---	---	---

Compare the above Kh. Arabic example with its MSA equivalent in the following table:

**Table 20. AA in MSA**

al	bustān	al	xazar	al	jamil
DEF	garden	DEF	green	DEF	pretty
Marker	Head	Marker	Modifier	Marker	Modifier
1		2	1	3	2

Table 21 below compares another example of AA in Kh. Arabic with the Persian equivalent. The MSA equivalent of the same example is presented in table 22.

**Table 21. Comparison of AA in Kh. Arabic and Persian**

dāman	l	abyaz	l	g'ayrūn
skirt	DEF	white	DEF	short
dāman	e	sefid	e	kūtāh
skirt	EZ	white	EZ	short
Head	Marker	Modifier	Marker	Modifier
	1	1	2	2

**Table 22. AA in MSA**

al	tannūra	al	bayza	al	qa·ira
DEF	skirt	DEF	white	DEF	short
Marker	Head	Marker	Modifier	Marker	Modifier
1		2	1	3	2

The definite article appears in Kh. Arabic whenever the Ezafe marker is present in the Persian equivalent. The head nouns (in both Arabic and Persian) that are normally positioned at the beginning of the attributive constructions appear without the definite article because their equivalents in Persian have no Ezafe preceding them. The definite article, /a/-, in Kh. Arabic thus appears to be replicating the Persian Ezafe.

An important point to mention is that although constructing attributive phrases based on the Persian rule is widely spread, the Arabic form is also recognized as correct and is still in use. In fact existence of variants of the same construction could possibly mean uncertainty of the speakers as to what form to use, which in turn might be interpreted as an early sign of ongoing change. Further in the process of change if the new form (the one modelled on Persian) finds community acceptance, the native form most probably would be sacrificed for the sake of the new entry.

Following are some of the variations found in the corpus data of the attributive constructions discussed above. Note that the first two of them are in line with MSA:

Kh. Arabic

- (43) mayādīn d-dīra l-əkbār  
squares DEF- city DEF-big  
‘The big squares of the city’

- (44) l-pardāt      l-əmlawwənāt   l-ḥəlwāt  
 DEF-curtains   DEF-colourful   DEF-pretty  
 ‘The colourful, beautiful curtains’

In example (43) the modifying adjective is positioned at the end of the construct which is how modification of any element of a CS is dealt with in other dialects of Arabic. With regard to the head noun of the construct, *mayādīn*, (as in every CS) it does not carry the definite article but the second noun does and so does the adjective modifier. In the second example, (44), which is an AA, the modifying adjectives agree in definiteness with their head noun.

Table 23 below presents two more examples of AA in Kh. Arabic which appear to have a different form than the previously analyzed ones, but with a closer look one can see that they are in line with the whole ongoing phenomenon, the /al-/ replicating the Persian Ezafe.

**Table 23. AA in Kh. Arabic and Persian**

walad	č	čəbīr	l	modīr	
boy	DEF	big	DEF	chief	
pesar	e	bozorg	e	modīr	
boy	EZ	big	EZ	chief	
haykal		čəbīr		ubū	y
figure		big		father	POSS
ša‘ar		nā‘əm		əxt	i
hair		soft		sister	POSS
Head	Marker	Adjective	Marker	Genitive	Possessive

	1	Modifier	2	Modifier	Marker
--	---	----------	---	----------	--------

The linear arrangement of the constructions presented in the above table is consistent but the omission / absence of Marker 2 (due to possessive markers) triggers analogous omission of Marker 1 (otherwise present in Arabic and Persian).

In sum the Arabic definite article /al-/ appears to have been recognized and employed as a marker of attribution replicating the Persian Ezafe.

Before providing any further detailed explanation on the nature of the change occurring in the attributive constructions, a related phenomenon in the same area of attribution will be discussed. The feminine construct marker /t/ has found a new role in attributive constructions in Kh. Arabic which will be addressed in detail in the following section.

#### 5.4.3.2 The feminine construct marker /t/ and Ezafe

The phonological realization of the feminine marker /t/ is considered as one of the two defining traits of the CS (Mohammad, 1989):

MSA

(45) mu'allim-at l-madrasa  
 teacher-F DEF-school  
 'The school teacher'

(46) šajar-at ḥadiq-at l-bayt  
 Tree-F garden-F DEF-house  
 'The tree of the garden of the house'

To expand the CS in example (45) by adding another noun to the construct the second noun of the construct, *l-madrasa*, has to be marked by the construct marker /t/ suffixed to it:

MSA

- (47) mu‘allim-at madras-at l-banāt  
teacher-CM school-CM DEF-girls  
‘The teacher of the girls’ school’

There is no feminine marker attached to feminine nouns in AAs in Arabic in general:

MSA

- (48) aš-šajara l-kabīra  
DEF-tree.F DEF-big.F  
‘The big tree’

- (49) al-mu‘allima l-ḥanīna  
DEF-teacher.F DEF-kind.F  
‘The kind teacher’

In Kh. Arabic /t/ is phonologically realized in both CSs and AAs, i.e. both types of attribution are treated in the same way. The following are examples from Kh. Arabic and their equivalents in MSA and Persian respectively:

Kh. Arabic

- (50) šəjr-at l-pārk

tree-CM DEF-park

‘The park tree’

(51) nə-x-at doktor-at l-bīmārəstān<sup>46</sup>

prescription-CM doctor-CM DEF-hospital

‘The prescription of the hospital doctor’

(52) jazir-at l-xazra

island-CM DEF-green

‘The Green Island’

(53) ʔof-at ‘aly-at l-bīət

wall-CM high-CM DEF-house

‘The high wall of the house’

MSA

(54) šajar-at al-ḥadiqa

Tree-CM DEF-park

(55) wa-f-at daktur-at l-mustašfa

Prescription-CM doctor-CM DEF-hospital

---

<sup>46</sup> Both of the first and the last elements of this construct are Persian loans.

(56) aj-jazīra l-xaḡra  
DEF-island DEF-green

(57) ḥā'it l-bayt l-'ālī  
Wall DEF-house DEF-high

### Persian

(58) deraxt-e pārk  
tree-EZ park

(59) nosxe-ye doktor-e bīmārestān  
prescription-EZ doctor-EZ hospital

(60) jazīre-ye sabz  
Island-Ez green

(61) dīvār-e boland-e xūne  
wall-EZ tall-EZ house

Examples (50) and (51) are CSs in which the construct marker /t/ is pronounced, but although *jazirat* is the head noun of an AA it bears the realization of /t/. Comparing examples (52, 53) of AA in Kh. Arabic with their equivalents in MSA (56, 57), we can see that /t/ appears in Kh. Arabic AA, but there is no /t/ in the same constructions in MSA. Comparing the same examples in Kh. Arabic and their Persian equivalents one can see that /t/ appears in the same position of the Ezafe in the Persian examples; hence it copies the Persian Ezafe. Below are some more examples revealing the use of the construct marker in

the AA, a feature that does not exist in other dialects of Arabic and hence is specific to the

Kh. Arabic:

Kh. Arabic

- (62) darwāz-at<sup>47</sup> čəbīr-at d-dīra  
gate-CM big-CM DEF-city  
'The big gate of the city'

- (63) bət mətīn-at ar-rayyəs  
daughter fat-CM DEF-manager  
'The manager's fat daughter'

MSA

- (64) bawwāb-at d-dīra l-kabīra  
Gate-CM DEF-city DEF-big.F
- (65) bint l-ra'īs l-samīna  
Daughter DEF-manager DEF-fat.F

Persian

- (66) darvāze-ye bozorg-e šahr  
gate-EZ big-EZ city
- (67) doxtar-e čāg-e ra'īs  
girl-EZ fat-EZ manager

In both of the above Kh. Arabic examples the adjectives manifest phonological realization of the construct marker /t/. How can this phenomenon be explained? From all of the examples cited above and comparing them with their equivalents in Persian we can assume that the construct marker /t/, a pivot in Kh. Arabic have been matched with a Persian pivot, Ezafe, and is replicating it in a completely different construction from that of Persian. As in the case of the definite article discussed above, /t/ is also being used as a marker of attribution in Kh. Arabic, a function that is fulfilled by the Ezafe marker in Persian. The definite article /al-/ and the construct marker /t/ are therefore both replicating the Persian Ezafe in attributive constructions in Kh. Arabic, with /al-/ used for masculine nouns and /t/ + /al-/ for feminine nouns. Another important point is that sometimes both /al-/ and /t/ in combination function as markers of attribution. Hence the function of the Ezafe is double marked by prefixing the definite marker /al-/ and suffixing the construct marker /t/ to the same modifier. We therefore see that in exactly those positions where the Ezafe is used in Persian constructions, /t/ + /al-/ is also inserted. Below are a couple of examples to show the use of /al-/ and /t/ in combination as markers of attribution replicating the Persian Ezafe:

Kh. Arabic

- (68) šəjr-at al-‘ajūz-at l-pārġ  
 tree-CM DEF-old-CM DEF-park  
 ‘The old tree of the park’

- (69) darwaz-at č-čəbīr-at d-dīra

---

<sup>47</sup> Persian loan

gate-CM DEF-big-CM DEF-city

‘The big gate of the city’

#### MSA

(70) šajar-at l-ḥadīqa l-kabīra b-is-sin

Tree-CM DEF-park DEF-big in-DEF-age

(71) bawwāb-at d-dīra l-kabīra

Gate-CM DEF-city DEF-big

#### Persian

(72) deraxt-e kohansāl-e pārk

tree-EZ old-EZ park

(73) darvāze-ye bozorg-e šahr

gate-EZ big-EZ city

A noteworthy point at this stage is that the use of the construct marker /t/ is optional, i.e. for all of the above examples some informants produced versions without the /t/.

Cases (in the corpus data) of the use of the possessive particle *māl* also appeared in dealing with different types of attribution:

(74) darwāz-at č-čabīra māl d-dīra

gate-CM DEF-big.F POSS.F DEF-city

‘The big gate of the city’

- (75) *ṭofat l-‘alya mālt l-bīat*  
 Wall-F DEF-high POSS.F DEF-house  
 ‘The high wall of the house’

Both (74 & 75) apply the replication model presented above ( $\emptyset + \{al-\}$  masculine, and  $-t + \{al-\}$  feminine, replicating the Persian Ezafe).

## 5.5 Discussion

The contact phenomenon in the attribution construction of Kh. Arabic can be pictured as a PAT replication. There is no direct borrowing of morphemes of the Persian attributive constructions in Kh. Arabic. It is rather the function, grammatical meaning and the syntactic-arrangements of the Ezafe that is being modelled on.

The Ezafe in Persian appears to have been identified as a pivot in the model language, and then matched with a pivot in Kh. Arabic (replica language), i.e. the definite article */al-/*, and the construct marker */t/*. After this pivot-matching a similar pivotal role to that of Ezafe has been assigned to */al-/* and */t/*. Hence they are replicating the Persian Ezafe.

This pivot-matching according to Matras and Sakel (2006) can at times lead to grammaticalization. As to attribution in Kh. Arabic, the new role of the definite marker */al-/* and the construct marker */t/* can be interpreted as a case of grammaticalization through which these two markers have extended their inherited function (*/al-/* as a marker of definiteness, and */t/* as a marker of construct) and gained the new role of attribution markers. Also there is generalisation of the combination of */al-/* and */t/* to adjectival attribution, hence context extension, which is well in line with the grammaticalization hypothesis.

The final point to be emphasised is that as mentioned before, use of the new form of attribution in Kh. Arabic does not mean that the inherited forms are no longer applied. Rather they are being used alongside the new imported types. In fact, variation in the use of the contact-induced phenomena could probably be interpreted as a preliminary step to finalization of the ongoing change.

The next chapter will deal with another contact-induced phenomenon closely related to the one discussed in this chapter, namely definiteness marking in the attributive constructions and the relative clauses.

## **CHAPTER SIX:       Definiteness Marking**

### **6.0   Introduction**

The nature of the contact-induced change in attributive construction (discussed in chapter 5) was interpreted as the Arabic definite article replicating the Persian Ezafe, hence different types of attribution were treated in the same way, similar to Persian. In this chapter, however although the phenomenon might look similar to that dealt with in the previous chapter, it will be dealt with from a different angle, the main point of discussion being that the definite article /*al-*/ appears to be undergoing erosion in Kh. Arabic. This phenomenon is used here as an argument against the unidirectionality of the grammaticalization process. Evidence from attributive constructions and RC will be presented.

This chapter indeed is the continuation of the previous chapter but will analyze the loss of the Arabic definite article /al-/ from the head noun of an AA and a RC to argue against the notion of unidirectionality of contact-induced grammaticalization proposed by Heine and Kuteva (2005). The contact-induced phenomenon addressed in this chapter is a piece of evidence that shows how far language contact can go in influencing the languages involved.

Grammaticalization, according to Heine and Kuteva is unidirectional. What is meant by unidirectionality of grammaticalization is that the grammaticalization process leads from lexical to grammatical and from grammatical to more grammatical forms and not the other way round. Hence language contact, for example, is not expected, under the grammaticalization theory, to lead to a grammatical form becoming less grammatical. Heine and Kuteva admit that some recent studies have come with examples contradicting the unidirectionality hypothesis, but they see such examples as rare cases which account for less than ten percent of the whole cases of grammatical changes found in those studies.

The contact phenomenon that will be discussed in this chapter is a contradiction to the unidirectionality principle; hence a grammatical form - the definite article /al-/ - is deleted under the influence of contact. This phenomenon, in fact contradicts the whole grammaticalization theory, which does not foresee deletion of structures, but rather expansion of structures.

## **6.1 An overview of the phenomenon**

Arabic is generally a language whose nouns and modifiers have to agree in definiteness, i.e. if a noun is definite, usually marked by the definite marker /al-/, its modifiers have to be definite; if it is indefinite, the modifiers have to be indefinite, too.

The two rules outlined, while common in other dialects of Arabic, do not, however, appear as obligatory in Kh. Arabic.

Kh. Arabic displays asymmetry in definiteness agreement, i.e. a definite adjective modifying a head noun without an overt definite marker:

Kh. Arabic

(1) *xunfəsān al-aswad...*  
cockroaches DEF-black  
'The black cockroaches'

(2) *neswān l-əkḃār*  
Women DEF-big.PL  
'The great women'

The head nouns *xunfəsān* and *neswān* appear with no definite marker while their modifying adjectives *al-aswad* and *l-əkḃār* are overtly marked by the definite article.

In Kh. Arabic the definite article is also deleted from an RC head noun whether it is followed by the relativizer – *allaḏī* or *əllī* - or not. This is not common in other dialects of Arabic and the head noun can appear without the definite article only when it is not followed by the relativizer. Consider the following example from Kh. Arabic:

(3) *mara llī šəf-nā-ha aməs xabar-at*

Woman REL saw-1PL-3SG.F yesterday called-3SG.F

‘The woman that we saw yesterday phoned.’

In example (3) the head is followed by the relativizer *lī* but it is not marked by the definite marker; the definite marker is deleted.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that there is no definite marker in Persian, but there is an indefinite marker *-i*, which when suffixed to a noun or adjective, marks it as indefinite, while its absence could signal definiteness of the element. We also discussed the Persian *Ezafē* which is used to connect non-verbal heads to their complements, e.g., attributive constructions (*deraxt-ē bozorg*, ‘tree-EZ big’).

The following section will present an overview of the typology of RCs in general and then in Arabic and Persian. Next, the issue of definiteness agreement in Arabic will be dealt with. Finally the contact phenomenon (deletion of the definite article) in RCs and attributive constructions will be discussed.

## 6.2 Linguistic typology of Relative Clauses (RCs)

The RC construction consists of two parts: the head noun and the restricting clause.

(4) The man whom we saw was an actor.

In (4), the head noun *the man* denotes the domain of relativization, which is then restricted to the only entity that can satisfy the condition of the restricting clause *whom we saw*.

### 6.2.1 The position of the head noun in the clause

The position of the head noun outside the restricting clause or inside the restricting clause brings about two main types of RCs, external-headed and internal-headed RCs (Keenan 1985, Comrie 1989, Song 2001).

External-headed RCs are those in which the head noun is outside the RC. This kind of RC is a modifier of a head noun which is stated separately. English is an example of the external-headed RCs, because the head noun is placed outside the restricting clause, as illustrated in (4). In internal-headed RCs a head noun occurs within the RC itself. Only SOV languages can have internal-headed RCs (Comrie 1989:146). This type of RC occupies the place of a regular noun phrase argument in the main clause. Imbabura Quechua is an example of an internal-headed RC language<sup>48</sup>. Arabic and Persian exhibit the external-headed RC type:

MSA

- (5) ar-rajul **llađi** māt kān wālid ·adīq-ī  
DEF-man REL died.3SG.M was.3SG.M father friend-1SG  
'The man who died was my friend's father.'

Persian

- (6) zan- ī **ke** dīd-īd injā- st  
woman-DEM REL saw-2PL here-is.3SG  
'The woman that you saw is here.'

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<sup>48</sup> See Keenan and Comrie (1977), Keenan (1985) for a comprehensive discussion on RC.

The head noun *ar-rajul*, ‘the-man’, and *zan-ī*, ‘woman’ in (5 & 6) are positioned outside the restricting clauses, *l-laḏi māta*, ‘that died’, and *ke dīd-īd*, ‘that you saw’.

### 6.2.2 Typology of RCs in Arabic

Arabic RCs consists of two components, the head noun and the embedded or restricting clause. Every RC begins with the relative pronoun, which is inflected for gender and number.

**Table 24. Arabic relative pronoun**

allaḏī	Singular masculine
allatī	Singular feminine
allaḏayn	Dual masculine
allatayn	Dual feminine
allaḏīna	Plural masculine
allatān	Plural feminine

The relative pronoun may be used in a reduced form, in which case it becomes homonymous with the definite article //l/. Killean gives the situation in which the Arabic relative pronoun /illi-/ is reduced to //l/.

“Whenever a noun or a noun-like form immediately follows the relative pronoun, it will become an enclitic which is prefixed and pronounced just as the definite article is” (Killean 1972: 146).

The following examples represent RCs in MSA:

MSA

- (7) **al-mar'a llati** tadrus l-kīmyā  
DEF-woman REL study.3SG.F DEF-chemistry  
'The woman who studies chemistry'

- (8) **ar-rajul llađi** saraqā s-sayyāra  
DEF- man REL stole.3SG.M DEF-car  
'The man who stole the car'

In MSA no relative pronoun appears at the beginning of the restricting clause when the head noun is indefinite.

MSA

- (9) bayt ḥadīqat-u-h kabīra  
house garden- NOM-3SG.M big.F  
'A house whose garden is big'

- (10) l-bayt llađi ḥadīqat-u-h kabīra  
DEF-house REL garden-NOM.3SG.M big.F  
'The house whose garden is big'

### 6.2.3 Typology of RCs in Persian

Typologically, Persian RCs are of the external-headed type, with the head noun positioned outside the restrictive clause. As to the position of the restrictive clause with regard to the head noun Persian has the post-nominal type of RCs.<sup>49</sup> Persian RCs are typically introduced by the invariant relativizer *ke*.

- (11) *zan-ī ke vāred-e otāg šod*  
 woman-DEM REL enter-EZ room became.3SG

‘The woman who entered the room’ (example from Mahootian 1997: 33)

The head noun *zan-ī* ‘woman’ is placed outside the restrictive clause *ke vāred-e otāg šod*, ‘that entered the room’ and the restrictive clause is positioned post-nominally, i.e. after the head noun.

- (12) *mard-ī ke pūl rā be ū dād-am*  
 man-DEM REL money OM to he gave-1SG

‘The man to whom I gave the money’

Persian is a language that distinguishes between restrictive and non-restrictive RCs.

### 6.2.3.1 Restrictive RCs

A restrictive RC is marked by the suffix */-i/*, the */-i/* being what traditional grammarians of Persian call ‘referential’ or ‘demonstrative’ morpheme. It is not, therefore to be mistaken for the homophonous indefinite/ specific */-i/* or the attributive */-i/*. The last two are considered to have different etymological sources (Mahootian 1997: 32-33).

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<sup>49</sup> All examples used in this section are formal or written Persian.

The demonstrative */-i/* is connected to the head noun followed by *ke* and the restrictive clause. The head noun is to be interpreted as definite or rather specific:

- (13) gorbe-ī **ke** dāxel-e xāne šod  
 cat-DEM REL into-EZ house became.3SG  
 ‘The cat that entered into the house’

*ye(k)* preceding the head noun signifies an indefinite NP.

- (14) **ye** mard **ke** rīš dāšt  
 a man REL beard had.3SG  
 ‘A man who had a beard’

#### 6.2.3.2 Non-restrictive RCs

The head noun in the non-restrictive RCs appears without the demonstrative marker */-i/*. To mark a subject head noun as definite, the demonstrative pronouns are used. The head noun can also be made definite via possessiveness. Plural, quantified and proper nouns are expressed as definite.

- (15) **in** ketāb **ke** xeylī gerān ast darbāre-ye tārīx-e eslām ast  
 this book REL very expensive is-3SG about-EZ history-EZ Islam is-3SG  
 ‘This book, which is very expensive, is about the history of Islam.’

- (16) xāhar-**am** **ke** engelīs dars mīxānad yek xāne xarīd-e ast  
 sister-1SG REL England lesson read.3SG a house bought-PART is-3SG  
 ‘My sister, who studies in England, has bought a house.’

When a definite direct object is relativized, the object marker *-rā* and its variants */o-ro/* follow the head noun which is then followed by the *ke*-clause.

(17) ān mard- **rā ke** rūznāme mīxānd peydā kard  
 that man- OM REL newspaper PROG.read.3SG find did.3SG

‘He found the man, who was reading a newspaper.’

(Example from Mahootian 1997: 34)

#### 6.2.4 RCs in Kh. Arabic

Like the RCs in MSA and other dialects of Arabic, the RCs in Kh. Arabic include the head noun and the restricting clause. The relative pronouns *allaḏī* or *allī* or /l-/ (the short form of *allī*) mark a RC. None of the two relativizers inflect for number and gender.

Kh. Arabic

(18) zəlma **llī** t̤t̤ēt-ū l-a ray hnā

Man REL gave-2PL to-3SG.M vote here

‘The man who you voted for is here.’

(19) xāṭera l-arīd asoləf l-əč

Memory REL-want.1SG narrate.1SG to-2SG.F

‘The memory that I want to narrate to you’

(20) mara **llaḏī** walad-ha marīḏ b-ḏič d-dār

Woman REL son-3SG.F ill in-that DEF-room

‘The woman, whose son is ill, is in that room.’

While it is non-existent in other dialects of Arabic, in Kh. Arabic the definite article /al-/ can be deleted from the head noun of a RC that is marked by the relativizer, as the above examples reveal. In fact, unlike other dialects of Arabic, Kh. Arabic does not make the distinction between a RC with an indefinite head noun not followed by the relativizer, and a RC with a definite head noun followed by the relativizer. Hence, a RC is introduced by the relativizer regardless of definiteness or indefiniteness of its head noun.

(21) yard-ūn wāḥəd 1laḏī mā-yi‘tərəḍ

Want-3PL one REL NEG-object.3SG.M

‘They want someone who does not object (to them).’

Having said that, RCs with indefinite head nouns and without the relativizer are also formed in Kh. Arabic, although they are not very common and the version - indefinite head noun with a relativizer - is preferred.

(22) bət hāgad tambal ’āna mā-šāyfa

Girl this much lazy I NEG-saw-PART.1SG.F

‘I have not seen a girl who is so lazy.’

In example (22) the head noun, *bət* is indefinite and the RC *hāgad tambal* is not introduced by the relativizer. It is however possible for the relativizer to start the same RC, with the head noun still interpreted as indefinite.

### 6.3 Definiteness marking in Arabic

In Arabic there are different ways of marking a noun as definite the most prominent one of which is the definite marker /al-/, which is prefixed to the noun or the adjective to mark them as definite.

Head nouns and their modifiers have to agree in definiteness; hence a head noun cannot be marked definite with the definite article, for example, while its modifier is presented as indefinite or the other way round. Note that in a CS although the first noun always appears without the definite article it is interpreted as definite when its modifying noun is overtly marked as definite with /al-/.

MSA

Indefinite construction

Definite construction

walad ʿaḡīr

al-walad ṣaḡīr

boy small

DEF-boy DEF-small

‘A little boy’

‘The little boy’

kitāb walad

kitāb l-walad

Book boy

book DEF-boy

‘A boy’s book’

‘The boy’s book.’

In the above definite AA, the definite article /al-/ of the adjective ʿaḡīr, is assimilated to the adjacent consonant and has, therefore, become /-/.

The definite article can be omitted from the head noun of a definite AA. This phenomenon is a feature of Kh. Arabic and does not occur in other dialects of Arabic.

## 6.4 Erosion of the definite article, ‘A contact- induced phenomenon’?

### 6.4.1 Loss of /al-/ in RCs

In Kh. Arabic the definite article /al-/, as explained in § 6.2.4, can be omitted from the head noun of a RC which is introduced by the relative pronoun, a phenomenon non-existent in other dialects of Arabic, but very common in Kh. Arabic.

Kh. Arabic

(23) rayyāl **li**<sup>50</sup> sā‘ad-na                      hnā

man    REL    helped.3SG.M-1PL    here

‘The man who helped us is here.’

(24) mā-gdar              ktāb **l-lađi** aməs              štarēt-a                      adawr-ann-a

NEG-able.1SG book REL    yesterday bought.1SG-3SG    look for-1SG-3SG

‘I cannot find the book that I bought yesterday.’

In the above examples of RCs in Kh. Arabic the Arabic definite marker /al-/ has been dropped from the beginning of the head nouns *rayyāl*, and *ktāb*, ‘man, book, respectively’. The two head nouns, nevertheless, have retained their definiteness.

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<sup>50</sup> This is another form of the Arabic relative pronoun which does not inflect for gender or number. It is used in spoke Arabic.

In her study on Egyptian, Kuwaiti, Moroccan and Syrian Arabic, Brustad (2000) gives examples from Arabic speakers of the northern Syrian city of Aleppo in which, in addition to *lī*, an abbreviated version, *il*, is used. She, nevertheless, does not consider it to be a variant of the relative pronoun *lī*. The reason she gives for her interpretation is that the syntactic structure of the *lī* relative clause is different from that of the *il* one:

“/il/ in fact nominalizes the relative clause so that the relative pronoun lies in construct with the head noun” (Brustad 2000: 101).

(25) axad-na bēt ktīr kwayyīs manṭī’-at il axad-na fī-[h]a ktīr kwayysē w  
 took-1PL house very nice.M area-CM REL took-1PL in-3SG.F very nice.F  
 and

ktīr ḡanīyyē bēt il axad-n-ā ktīr kwayyīs  
 very rich.F house REL took-1PL-3SG.M very nice

‘We took (bought or rented) a very nice house, the area in which we lived was very nice and very rich and the house we took [was] very nice.’

(Brustad 2000: 101)

To support her argument regarding the difference in structure between the *lī* relative clause and the *il* relative clause she gives two syntactic features which she believes, distinguish the these two constructions: 1. the head noun in the *il* construction lacks the definite article, *manṭī’at* ‘area’ and *bēt* ‘house’, and 2. pronouncing the feminine /t/ in *manṭī’at* (this /t/ is only pronounced when the noun is in construct state with the following noun, pronoun, or a nominal clause.) The interpretation she gives for the absence of the definite article at the beginning of the head noun is that the head noun is in genitive

construction with the relative pronoun which is a case different from the Kh. one. Besides, such examples were rare in her data.

In Brustad's data absence of the definite article occurred only in cases where *il*, the abbreviated version of the relative pronoun *lī* was used and never with the *lī* itself. In case of Kh. Arabic, on the other hand, it was dropped regardless of the version of the relative pronoun, i.e. in clauses with *il* as well as *lī* and *allaḏi*.

In this regard the question that poses itself is 'How can we interpret this change?' Two interpretations may account for this change. A definite noun, pragmatically, has a referent that is identifiable. It typically, but not invariably, represent *given* information, that is information that has already been provided in the discourse or which the speaker assumes present or active in the mind of the interlocutors. Such functions can be fulfilled by the Arabic relative marker, which also marks the head noun as definite. This on the one hand and being in contact with Persian (a language that has no overt marker of definiteness) which treats its RCs the same, i.e. a head noun (with no marker of definiteness) followed by the relative pronoun, could be considered as triggers of this change. In other words these two explanations may cause the definite article */al-/* to look redundant; hence become omitted. The second explanation seems more likely, because the same phenomenon of */al-/* omission has also happened in other constructions, AAs. Moreover, the definite article is reserved when the head noun of a Persian RC is overtly marked definite by demonstratives. Thus, how the head noun appears in Persian determines the omission or retention of the definite article of the head noun in a RC in Kh. Arabic.

As evidence to support my claim I give the following examples from spoken Persian and their Kh. Arabic versions. In the Persian examples the head nouns have been

marked as definite by demonstrative pronouns. In Kh. Arabic, also the head nouns have appeared as definite by either the definite marker or the definite marker and the demonstrative pronouns .

Persian

(26)

- a. **ūn** mard-o **ke** rūznāme mī-xūnd peydā kard  
that man-OM REL newspaper PROG-read.3SG find did.3SG  
'He found the man, who was reading a newspaper.'

(Example from Mahootian, 1997: 34)

(27)

- a. **ūn** ketāb-o **ke** be-m goft-ī xarīd-am  
that book-OM REL to-1SG said-2SG bought-1SG  
'I bought the book which you told me to.'

Kh. Arabic

(28)

- b. **ḏāk** r-rayyāl **č-čān** yəgra rūznāmə ləg-ā  
that DEF-man REL-was.3SG.M read.3SG.M newspaper found.3SG.M-3SG.M

- c. r-rayyāl **č-čān** yəgra rūznāme ləg-ā

(29)

- b.     **ǫāk** l-əktāb     l-gətt-ī           l-ī     štarēt-a  
          that DEF-book REL-said-2SG.F to-1SG bought.1SG-3SG
- c.     l-əktāb **llaǫi** gət-tī l-ī štarēt-a

From the above examples we might, therefore, be able to conclude that whenever the head noun is marked as definite (through demonstratives, for example) in Persian, it also appears as definite in Kh. Arabic, but when it is not directly marked as definite (which makes it look like an indefinite noun) the Arabic definite article which is obligatory in other dialects of Arabic, could be dropped in Kh. Arabic, hence under the influence of Persian Kh. Arabic omits the definite marker and still retains definiteness of the head nouns of its RCs. In sum there seems to be PAT replication of the rules of Persian RCs in Kh. Arabic with regard to definiteness or indefiniteness of the head noun. Thus although the material is inherited, the rule (definiteness marking) which is being modelled on is Persian. In addition to the issue of definiteness marking, Kh. Arabic seems to be replicating the Persian model in treating the RCs. The invariant *ke* is used, unconditionally to introduce the RCs in Persian. In Arabic, as explained earlier, the relative pronouns *allaǫi*, *illi* and its short form *il* introduce a RC with a definite head noun, but not an indefinite noun. Kh. Arabic however does not make such a distinction. Hence, regardless of definiteness or indefiniteness of the head noun the relativizers are used (as in Persian). An important point worth mentioning is that the Persian rule is not the only available option in Kh. Arabic, and the inherited rule for forming RCs is also employed.

Having the inherited form of RCs widely in practice alongside the new rule (RCs in Persian) makes it unlikely or less likely that this dialect gets rid of the definite article in RCs altogether at this stage. Having said that, what is obvious is that change in this area of language is in progress.

#### 6.4.2 Loss of /al-/ in attributive constructions

In addition to the head noun of an RC, loss of the Arabic definite marker /al-/ can also be observed in the head noun of an attributive construction with a definite adjective modifier.

The definite article of the head noun of an AA with a definite adjective modifier is omitted in Kh. Arabic:

Kh. Arabic

(30) mo'alləf l-mašhūr

writer DEF- famous

'The famous writer'

In (30) above, the head noun, *mo'alləf*, does not carry the definite article while its modifying adjective, *l-mašhūr*, does. This phenomenon does not exist in other dialects of Arabic, in which a modifying adjective always agrees in definiteness with its head noun.

More examples displaying the phenomenon of definite article omission follow:

Kh. Arabic

(31) bəstān l-xaḍar

garden DEF-green

'The green garden'

Note that although the definite article is deleted from the head noun, the head noun is still interpreted as definite; hence the definite marker is omitted but the issue of definiteness is retained. The following is another version of example (31) in Kh. Arabic in which the definite marker of the head noun is retained.

- (32) 1-bəstān      1-xaḍar  
           DEF-garden DEF-green  
           ‘The green garden’

Consider the following AAs from Persian. The head noun in the first example is definite, while the second one is indefinite, marked by the indefinite marker /-i/.

Persian

- (33) bāḡ-e      sabz  
                   garden-EZ green  
           ‘The green garden’

- (34) bāḡ-i      sabz  
                   garden-IDEF green  
           ‘A green garden’

Comparing the examples from Kh. Arabic (31 & 32) with those from Persian (33 & 34) one could see that the pattern based on which all AAs - in Kh. Arabic and Persian - were formed looks similar.

Since Persian has no definite determiner, the Arabic determiner /al-/ is lacking before the head noun *bəstān*. We might, thus, assume that the changes that are occurring in the adjectival phrases in Kh. Arabic could be that the Kh. Arabic speakers calque the Persian model, hence, the form is that of the Arabic definite article /al-/, while the function

is of the Persian Ezafe, i.e. PAT replication of a Persian construction with a native material.

The same point is illustrated in table 25, below.

**Table 25. Kh. Arabic and Persian attribution in definite noun phrases**

bāg	e	sabz
bəstān	l	xaḍar
Definite Noun	marker	modifier

As to the present stance of this definite marker in Kh. Arabic, the analysis of my data and the contact situation reveals that the version with Arabic form, but Persian function is widely common among Kh. Arabic speakers.

## 6.5 Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the phenomenon of ‘definite article omission’ from the head nouns of the RCs and those of the definite AA in Kh. Arabic. The omission of the definite article has been attributed to influence from the Persian patterns for those structures. In other words, the definite article in the analyzed structures - AA and RCs - is omitted to comply with slot allocation/ pattern of morphemes of the Persian model.

Reduction of a language morpheme is not accounted for by the grammaticalization theory which had only predicted extension of a language item, but not its reduction. This phenomenon - loss of the definite article in RCs and AAs in Kh. Arabic under the influence of Persian - can be used as evidence against Heine and Kuteva’s (2005) principle of unidirectionality of grammaticalization. Language contact, according to Heine and Kuteva can lead to an extension in meaning or function of a language element in the replica

language, but it cannot lead to loss of an element. In other words an element - lexical or grammatical - is expected to become more grammatical under the influence of contact but not the other way round. The evidence provided in this chapter, however, can be used to show how far language contact can go in influencing languages.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: MAT/ PAT replication of Persian**

### **Discourse Elements**

#### **7.0 Introduction**

The categories of discourse markers (henceforth, DMs), connectors, and focus particles are other structural components of Kh. Arabic that have undergone contact-induced change. A table overview of these categories in Kh. Arabic (table 24) reveals the following areas as

contact-induced phenomena: MAT replication of the complementizer/ relativizer *ke* in factual complement clauses, as well as the contrastive subordinators *agarče*, *bā inke*, ‘although’; the inclusive focus particles *ham...ham*, ‘both ...and’, *na tanhā...balke*, ‘not only...but also’, the similarity focus particle *ham*, ‘too’; and the fillers *xōb/xō/ xōš*, ‘OK, alright, well’, *ham* as a filler, *hič*, ‘lit. nothing’, and *albate*, ‘of course’. There is MAT replication of the listed discourse elements (henceforth, DEs), i.e. forms are used with the same semantic, syntactic-arrangements, distribution, and function they have in the model language.

Matras (2000: 506) uses the term ‘fusion’ to refer to this kind of change in the category of DEs. When fusion occurs the two systems available to the speaker, according to Matras become nonseparable. Hence the speaker makes his choice of DEs from one system. The cause for fusion according to Matras is the cognitive pressure on the bilingual speaker to choose from among the two systems. The language, from which the category is usually selected - the ‘pragmatically dominant language’ - is the model language. This is what seems to have happened in the case of Kh. Arabic, a topic that this chapter will be dealing with in detail.

The following sections will include an introduction on DEs - their definition and features - and the different models of motivation for using them in bilingual situations. Then, a descriptive account of the contact influenced DEs in Persian will be presented. The last section of the chapter will deal with an analysis of the nature of the contact-induced change in DEs.

## **7.1 Discourse Elements (DEs)**

### **7.1.1 Definition and features**

DEs have been labeled differently. Some of the labels used to refer to them are: discourse connectives (Blakemore 1987, 1992), discourse operators (Rederek 1990, 1991), discourse particles (Schorup 1985), pragmatic connectives (van Dijk 1979, Stubbs 1983), pragmatic markers (Fraser 1988, 1990, Schiffrin 1987), sentence connectives (Halliday and Hasan 1976) and utterance modifiers (Matras 1998).

One of the most detailed studies on DEs is that of Schiffrin (1987). She attributes the following properties to the category of DEs which she specifically refers to as DMs: 1. They are not syntactically related to the sentence; 2. They provide contextual coordinates for an utterance; 3. They are commonly used at the beginning of an utterance; 4. They have a range of intonation contours and a rather vague meaning; and, 5. They operate on different planes of talk (Exchange Structure, Action Structure, Ideational Structure, Participation Framework and Information State). In her detailed analysis of English DEs, she includes *and*, *because*, *but*, *I mean*, *now*, *oh*, *or*, *so*, *well*, and *y'know* as they are employed in unstructured interview conversations.

Fraser (1987) has defined DEs or what he used to call 'pragmatic formatives' ( called 'pragmatic markers' [1996a], and later called 'discourse markers' [1999]) as lexical expressions drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases that do not contribute to the propositional content of the utterance but show different types of messages. He, thus, considers a DE as a linguistic expression with a core meaning which can be enriched by the context. The context in which a DE is used signals the relationship the speaker intends to show between the utterance that a DE introduces and the forgoing utterance. Fraser (1999: 938), further, asserts that regardless of

what they are called these expressions have one property in common which is the relationship they impose between two aspects of the discourse segment.

“... they impose a relationship between some aspect of the discourse segment they are a part of, call it S2, and some aspect of a prior discourse segment, call it S1. In other words, they function like a two-place relation, one argument lying in the segment they introduce, the other lying in the prior discourse”.

He excludes fillers, tags and interjections from this category since they do not show a two-way relationship between the adjacent discourse segments, but rather they convey a separate message in addition to the main message of the discourse.

Matras (1998) suggests that these items provide interactional coordinates for the sentences and therefore, contribute to the bracketing and framing property of the discourse and that they have a ‘core meaning’ not a content meaning.

Vincent (1993) and Vincent and Sankoff (1992) have defined DEs as ‘lexical items that relate to discourse rather than to syntax or semantics’. They divide DEs into three groups: discourse coordinators, interaction markers and punctors. They consider them to have the following characteristics: having no syntactic relation to other elements of the sentence, (this characteristic had also been attributed to DEs by Schiffrin [1987]), their presence or absence does not affect the propositional meaning of the sentence (also proposed by Schiffrin), being subject to desemanticization or semantic bleaching as compared to their original forms. Undergoing a greater phonological reduction as compared to their source forms is another property of DEs proposed by Vincent and Sankoff. And lastly, they are articulated as part of the smooth flow of speech production

and, therefore, the hesitation markers such as ‘uh’ in English are excluded from this category in Vincent and Sankoff’s definition.

The properties proposed by the above mentioned studies, most of which are common among the different studies, can be applied to the DEs that are under investigation in this study. Throughout the chapter I will use the term ‘Discourse Elements’ abbreviated as ‘DEs’ as the cover term for DMs, connectors, and particles.

## **7.2 Models on motivation for using DEs by bilinguals**

Different models have been proposed to interpret the motivation behind the shift in DEs among bilinguals.

In her study of English-Puerto Rican Spanish bilinguals with different degrees of bilingual competence, in New York, Poplack (1980) found out that the process of code-switching, i.e. the alternation of two languages in a discourse, sentence or constituent, happened among both fluent and non-fluent bilinguals. Her findings reveal that fluent bilinguals favoured intra-sentential switches, the type of switches that, in the study, were hypothesized as requiring most skill; while non-fluent bilinguals were able to code switch frequently inter-sententially, i.e. favouring tag-switching as in tags, interjections, idiomatic expressions and even individual noun switches. She interprets such use of the process of code-switching, i.e. ‘Emblematic’, as a support for previous work by Gumperz (1971, 1976), Valdes Fallis (1978), Poplack (1978) that have shown that code-switching could be used as a discourse strategy for achieving certain interactional effects at specific points

during a conversation. In the light of her findings, she suggests that code-switching behavior could be used as a measure of the language ability of the bilinguals:

“Code-switching, then, rather than representing deviant behavior, is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence” (Poplack 1978: 616).

Poplack’s notion of ‘emblematic switches’ is not different from Stolz and Stolz’s (1996) idea of stylistic motivation. Stolz and Stolz interpret the insertion of Spanish markers in Mesoamerican languages as a signal of prestige. This kind of insertion allows the speakers to create a prestigious register.

Maschler (1994) looks at the use of DEs in bilingual conversation as a discourse strategy of language alternation that marks boundaries of continuous discourse, and which meta-language - use of language to communicate information about languaging - the frame of discourse. Thus, she explains the use of Hebrew DEs in English conversation by Israeli-English bilinguals as a strategy to metalanguage. Metalanguaging profits from the contrast of the two parallel systems available to the bilinguals and, according to her, is often accompanied by the strategy of language alternation.

“Discourse markers are often highlighted by a language switch: the discourse they frame takes place mostly in one language, while the framing itself take place mostly in another. Furthermore, the frame often consists of clusters of switched discourse markers at these boundaries” (Maschler 1994: 329).

In other words, she considers language alternation (switch) in the area of DEs as a strategy employed by speakers to signal, reflect and create what they take as language boundaries.

The use of DEs by bilingual speakers in a contact situation also attracted the attention of Sankoff et al. (1997). They studied the use of DEs by speakers of Anglophone Montreal French, the result of which showed great variation in individual repertoires and frequency of use of DEs. Their conclusion revealed that the frequency of use of DEs correlated only with the speakers' knowledge of French grammar. The results have also supported their hypothesis that the use of DEs in a second language is associated with the speakers' fluency in that second language and, therefore, concluded that "...a higher frequency of discourse marker use is the hallmark of the fluent speaker" (1997: 191).

In other words, the overall results showed that the least fluent, least competent L2 speakers made very low or no use of DEs and that:

"...the more successful L2 speakers were those who could control native like discourse markers in a native like fashion" (Sankoff et al: 213).

Clyne (2003: 232) speaks of 'cultural integration' as a trigger for frequent switch to the model language DEs. He considers the role of cultural core values in continuity or change more important than the part linguistic typology plays. This, he analyzes as due to the close relation between pragmatics and cultural values.

Matras's (1998) idea of 'Cognitive Pressure' is the last model of motivation behind the use of DEs in an L2 situation to be discussed in this section. Matras does not consider flagging or 'emblematic use', 'metalanguaging' (highlighting the contrast between two systems), 'cultural integration' or prestige to be the trigger for the use of DEs in L2, rather, he attributes the change that occurs in the speech of bilinguals (specifically around DEs) to the cognitive pressure exerted on them to avoid having to select among competing sets. The

choice is, then, from what he calls ‘the pragmatically dominant language’, to regulate the flow of discourse. If such synchronic variations, according to him, gain permanent license from speakers, they would lead to diachronic changes. He, further, defines this kind of switching or change as:

“... nonseparation of the systems of discourse marking in the two languages in contact, or ‘fusion’”(Matras, 2000: 506).

**Table 26. Overview of Kh. Arabic DEs by Category**

Connectors	Coordinators	Contrastive	Amma(n) / bas	but
		Additive	w	and
		Disjunctive	lo/ yo	or
	Subordinators	Relativizer	lli/ allaði	that
		Complementizer		
		Factual	ke	that
		Non-factual	lli/ allaði	that
		Concessive	Agarče...amma(n)	although
			bāinke...amma(n)	
	·ədəg...amma (n)			
				la...w la

Particles	Focus	Disjunctive			
			lo/yo...lo/yo	either...or	
		Inclusive		mu bas...balke	Not only... but also
				ham...ham	both...and
		Similarity		ham	too
Exception		bas	only		
DMs	Speaker initiation		xō/xōb/xōš	well, alright	
	Fillers		hīč	lit. nothing	
			ham	lit. too	
			xōlāse	lit. in sum	
			Albate	of course	
		l-ḥā-əl	lit. conclusion		

### 7.3 Use of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic

A series of Persian DEs are used in Kh. Arabic. Some of them are so integrated in the dialect that they are not easily recognizable as foreign. A complete inventory of the Kh. Arabic DEs is displayed in Table 24.

From among the markers listed in the above table the following were borrowed from Persian: *ham*, ‘too, also’, *ham...ham*, ‘both... and’, *xō/xōb/xōš*, ‘well, alright, ok’, *hič*, ‘nothing’, *xōlāse*, ‘in sum’, *albate*, ‘of course, in fact’, *bāinke*, ‘although’, *agarče*, ‘although’, and the complementizer *ke*, ‘that’.

One point worth mentioning is that the third version of *xo* ‘well, alright, ok’, i.e. *xōš* does not exist in Persian as a DM, but it does in Kh. Arabic. Only the other two versions of this marker are used as DMs in Persian as well as Kh. Arabic. *Xōš* - the new form of the Persian DMs *xō/xōb* - plays the same role in Kh. Arabic as the other two versions.

The borrowed DEs all have one thing in common; they are MAT replications, i.e. they have reserved their Persian form and function in Kh. Arabic. This however excludes the DM *xōš*.

### 7.3.1 Discourse Markers (DMs)

#### 7.3.1.1 Markers of speaker initiation

*Xō/xōb* are Persian DMs that mark a speaker’s initiation of his speech. They may be considered as mainly semantic alternatives to the English DM ‘well’. By that I mean although they are similar in meaning to ‘well’ the role they play seems different. According to Schiffrin (1987) ‘well’ is always used in the initial position of a piece of discourse, to signal that the response that will be coming is not in compliance with the response that the question initiator expects. In other words it is used to correct a misconception or suggest an alternative response. Although in some cases these DMs convey the conception suggested by Schiffrin, their main function is to initiate a piece of discourse or an utterance with no

pre-conception. *Xōš* is another form of *xō/xōb* which is used in Kh. Arabic, and plays the same role as these two do.

Only the first two versions are shared in the two languages, the model and the replica. The third form, *xōš*, with the same function as the other two is specific to Kh. Arabic and does not appear as a DM in Persian. It nevertheless exists in Persian as a predicative adjective to mean ‘happy, joyful’ as in *xoš bāš*, ‘be happy’. It can, also be used to produce compound adjectives as in *xoš-xorāk*, ‘well-eater’.<sup>51</sup> In Kh. Arabic *xoš* is also an attributive adjective meaning ‘good’ as in, *xōš bət*, ‘a good girl’. *xōš* as an attributive adjective in Kh. Arabic and predicate adjective in Persian has been desemanticized in Kh. Arabic to function as a DM with a meaning similar to the English DM ‘alright, ok’. This is the same as the property Vincent and Sankoff (1992) propose as one of the characteristics of DMs, i.e. proneness of DMs to semantic bleaching or desemanticization as compared to their inherited forms.

Consider the following examples from Kh. Arabic:

- (1) *xōb w hāy sabab ham l-laði gabal čan, maθal-an jāhaliyyat wāyəd*  
 DE and this reason DE REL past was.3SG.F for example ignorance very  
*čān qalīl, kaθīr mašākəl zāyəd ham čān-at w ’āna ham čənət*  
 was.3SG little much problems much DE was-3SG.F and I DE was.1SG  
*čəbīra*  
 big.F  
 ‘Well and the reason for this is that ignorance (narrow-mindedness) was not  
 much ...widespread (a lot) and there were many problems and also I was big.’

<sup>51</sup> The vowel in *xoš*, as a DM in both languages and as an attributive adjective in Kh. Arabic is /ō/, while, in *xoš* as a predicative adjective in Persian, it is /o/.

- (2) xō b-ðak l-wakət mən-nā t-ta‘a-ob w mən-nā ’āna ham  
 DE in-that DEF-time from-here DEF-prejudice and from-here I DE  
 čān-aw šāyf-īn yāy l-ī xaṭṭāb w ba‘ad ḥass-aw hā čā  
 were-3PL saw-3PL came-PART.SG.M for-1SG suitor and PTCL felt-3PL INTJ PTCL  
 hāy wə-l-at a-s-sən l- əzdəwāj  
 this.F arrive-3SG.F to-DEF-age DEF-marriage  
 ‘Well at that time there was prejudice on one hand and on the other hand they had  
 seen that I had a suitor so they felt... So ‘she has reached the age of marriage.’

The Persian DM *xōb* normally appears at the beginning of the sentence/ discourse in both languages.

In both examples above *xō* can be replaced by *xōb* with no change in meaning. *Xōš*, however, is mainly used in response to something or to ask someone for further clarification or information. It is not normally used as a starting point of a piece of discourse or a sentence without previous preparation and in such contexts it does not correspond to the English ‘well’; it rather is similar in function and meaning to ‘al/right or ok’. In example (2) for instance, *xōš* cannot replace *xō*, but if one wanted the speaker to continue and clarify the point of discussion more, one could say:

Xoš/xo/xob nnob š-sawwe-tī?

DM then what-do-2SG.F

‘Right/ ok what did you do, then?’

To sum, when starting a discussion, sentence or a piece of discourse from the beginning, it would not sound or look right to start with *xōš*, but it is perfectly alright to do so with *xō/xōb*.

In both of the above cited excerpts from Kh. Arabic the DM, *xōb* matches perfectly in form and function with that of Persian. In both cited examples it has been used as a starting point, to present new pieces of information or start a discussion on a subject. This Persian marker is, in fact, the only alternative to serve this purpose in both the model language (Persian) and the replica language (Kh. Arabic). The MSA equivalent to *xō* is *ṭayyib*, ‘well, ok,’ and is used in MSA and other dialects of Arabic to mean and function the same as *xō*. The DM *ṭayyib* is not common in Kh. Arabic.

### 7.3.1.2 Fillers

A number of Persian fillers are used in Kh. Arabic, and *hič* ‘lit.no or nothing’ is one of them. Diachronically, it is a Persian indefinite marker. When it means ‘no’ *hič* is considered as one of the most non-numerical Persian quantifiers which can be used to produce quantifier compounds as in *hičkodūm*, ‘neither, none’, *hiškī (hič kas)*, ‘no one’. *Hič* is used in Kh. Arabic as a quantifier which means ‘nothing’ and as a DM.

*Hič* is a semantically vague Persian modifier that can precede a sentence to signal the end or summing up of a piece of discourse. In other words, it is used to wrap up the information that has been provided by the speaker. By using this DM the speaker is, in fact, signaling the end of a series of thoughts, propositions, events, story that he has been talking about. He is therefore, telling the hearer to get ready for the gist or conclusion of what he has been listening to.

Persian

- (3) va in čīz-e vājeb yā lāzem-ī nis ke hatman  
 and this thing-EZ obligatory or necessary-IND NEG.is.3SG COMP certainly  
 bēre madrese. xolāsē, hīč na-raft-īm madrese... na-raft-īm  
 go-SUBJ.3SG school DE DE NEG-go-1PL school NEG-go-1PL  
 madrese o in xāstgār o ham xōb be-š na-dād-an o  
 school. and this suitor OM DE DE to-3SG NEG-give-3PL and  
 na-šod dige hīč, raft  
 NEG-became.3SG then DE went.3SG

‘... and this is not something obligatory or necessary for her to go to school. [lit. ‘in sum’] [lit. ‘nothing’] we didn’t go to school. We didn’t go to school and as to this man (suitor) they didn’t accept him either and it didn’t happen. [lit. ‘nothing’] he went.’

*Hīč* is the main marker of end of a piece of discourse in Kh. Arabic, which can stand alone or with *xolāse* – another borrowed Persian DM - to convey this function. Consider the following excerpts from my corpus data in Kh. Arabic:

- (4) w hāy mā- hu fard šī wājeb yo lāzəm ḥatman trūḥ  
 and this.F NEG-3SG one thing obligatory or necessary certainly go.3SG.F  
 l-əl-madrəsa xolāse hīč mā-rəḥ-na madrasa. hāḏa l-xaṭṭāb ham xōb  
 to-DEF-school DE DE NEG- went-1PL school this.M DEF-suitor DE DE  
 mā-ṇ-ə w mā-ār-at ba‘ad. hīč rāḥ  
 NEG-give.3PL-3SG.M and NEG-became-3SG.F then DE went.3SG.M

‘... and this is not something obligatory or necessary for her to go to school. [lit. ‘in sum’] [lit. ‘nothing’] we didn’t go to school. We didn’t go to school and as

to this man (suitor) they didn't accept him either and it didn't happen. [lit. 'nothing']  
he went.'

In the above excerpt, the speaker, a young woman who has been telling the interviewer about the reasons she could not continue her studies and how her parents stopped her from going to school, comes to a point to sum up her arguments and uses *hič* to tell the conclusion which is 'we (I) didn't go to school.'. She then goes on to tell us about another related topic to her not going to school which she had already mentioned (getting a marriage proposal). Now she wanted to explain what had happened to the man who proposed, finally, and uses *hič* once more to sum up all the related discussion and concludes, *hič rāh*, '[lit. 'nothing'] he went'. In fact she summed up a whole discussion about the reasons for not going to school, one of which was getting a marriage proposal, by using the DM *hič* in the first part to conclude that she not only didn't go to school, but also didn't get married, then. This DM has the same function in Persian. Thus, it has been borrowed in both form and function (MAT replication).

In the next excerpt *hič* also functions as a signal of the end or a summary of a discussion / part of a discussion or a story. The speaker is talking about her life during a war that had happened in the past. Part of her story is about her brother who had been killed in the war. She is telling the interviewer about the last time she saw him and what he had told her about the situation in a particular city. She ends that part of the story about her brother's last visit and the situation the troops were in at that time by using the DM *hič*. She sums up this section of her story and starts another part of her life.

(5)    ɣatta    zād    mā-yo-al        ən-na...    ba'ad    kəlləš        ɖāll-in        bilā  
           even    food    NEG-reach.3SG    for-1PL    then    completely    stayed-PART.3PL.M    without

taklīf aftəkər d-dīra təsq-aṭ xolāse hīč, rāḥ ‘ali ba‘ad

work think-1SG DEF-city fall-3SG.F DE DE went.3SG.M Ali then

’āna mā-šəft-a

I NEG-saw.1SG-3SG.M

‘We didn’t even get food. We didn’t know what to do/were completely bewildered.

I think the city will be seized. [lit. ‘in sum’] [lit. ‘nothing’], Ali went. I didn’t see him again.’

Like example (4) the speaker has also used the DM *xolāse* before the DM *hīč* in (5) which supports our interpretation of the use of *hīč* as a signal of the end or conclusion of a piece of discourse. In fact, the speakers in both examples (4 and 5) have double marked their discourse with elements of conclusion. In both of Kh. Arabic and Persian versions of the above examples, any one of the two, *hīč* or *xolāse*, can be used alone to convey the same interpretation as the use of both combined.

*Albate* ‘of course, in fact’, is another Persian DM that has been borrowed in Kh. Arabic. This DM normally initiates an utterance and is used either in the context of ‘but’, or to display contrast to some exception. It has been considered as an adjunct.<sup>52</sup> The use of *albate* is displayed in the following excerpt from my Kh. Arabic interviews:

- (6) arīd agra mā-y-īr a·lan mā-b-ī laḏḏ-at ḏāk  
 want.1SG read.1SG NEG-become.3SG at all NEG-in- 3SG joy-CM that  
 ad-dorān, ḏāk az-zamān. hassa ’āna m.. šgad mā arīd walaw  
 DEF-time that DEF-time now I how much want.1SG although  
*albate* mā-hu blayya ta’θīr

<sup>52</sup> See Traugott (1995).

DE NEG-3SG without effect

‘I want to study. It is not possible; it doesn’t have the fun it would have had at that time, the fun of that time. Now, I ..as much as I try, although it is not without its effect (either).’

The function of *albate* is to introduce something classified as true which might be denied as in the above example. The speaker uses it in the middle of her discourse on the difference of joy and pleasure in continuing her study at the time of the interview or at its proper time - in the past - when she was not allowed to do it. Saying that the pleasure she could get out of studying is not like the joy she would have got in the past, she recognizes that what she was saying could send the message that studying at the present time (time of the interview) was pointless. So, she uses *albate* to state that she would not deny the effect studying could bring about in her life at the time, although, not exactly the same effect it could have had in the past. The point about the Kh. Arabic example above is that the speaker has used both the Arabic *walaw*, ‘although’, and the Persian *albate*. Any one of the two would have served the purpose. This cannot happen in Persian, i.e. one can either use *agarče* ‘although’ (this is another borrowed Persian conjunction in Kh. Arabic which will be discussed in the coming parts.), or *albate*, ‘of course’. *Albate* in example (6) and similar contexts in Persian can also imply the meaning ‘although’. In this case *walaw* is a perfect alternative to *albate*. *tab’an* is an Arabic equivalent to *albate* when it means ‘of course’. This speaker has, in fact, used a double structure to mark or highlight the information which could have, otherwise been ignored by using both the Persian *albate*, ‘of course/ although’ and the Arabic *walaw*, ‘although’. It is worth mentioning that *walaw* is not

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commonly used in Kh. Arabic and sounds formal. In the next example from Kh. Arabic, too, the issue of contrast is implicit.

- (7) mā čān ‘əd-hum ə‘teqād bə’an ḥatm-an kūn l-bət trūḥ  
 NEG was.3SG have-3PL belief that necessarily should DEF-girl go.3SG.F  
 madrəsa albate čān-an ham b-ḏič z-zamān banāt č-čān-an yarḥ-an  
 school DE were-3PL.F DE in-that.F DEF-time girls REL-were-3PL.F go-3PL.F  
 ‘They didn’t believe that a girl necessarily had to go to school, of course there were girls, too, who were going to school.’

*Albate* in (7) can mean both, ‘of course and although’ and could, therefore, be replaced by *walaw* or *tab’an*. In this situation a Kh. Arabic speaker might also use the Persian *agarče* instead of the Persian *albate*. A further example of the use of *albate* in Kh. Arabic follows:

- (8) xō awwal ḥatm-an kəl wāḥəd ixāf, fard šī maḥalan  
 DE first definitely all one.M fears.3SG.M one thing for example  
*har kār-ī ke avval-eš ūn ham moškel be in šekl*<sup>53</sup> ·a‘ūb  
 every job-Ind REL beginning-3SG that DE hard to this form hard  
 w t-xāfīn bas al.. albate al-farax al-awwalī šway ham čān  
 and fear-2SG.F only.. DE DEF- child DEF-first a little DE was.3SG.M  
 mā-hu ya‘nī ṭabī‘ī  
 NEG-3SG.M means normal  
 ‘Well, everyone would have fears at the beginning, like he fears something, for example every job with a beginning this hard, you are scared, I mean it is difficult, but ..Of course, the first child was a little, I mean not normal...’

The informant, being a new student of midwifery, was talking about her courses, the difficulty of delivering babies and the number of deliveries each student had to make before they graduated. In the above excerpt, when she was asked about the first baby she delivered, she explained how hard it had been and, then, there comes *albate*, ‘of course’ to, maybe, prevent the hearer from misjudging or misunderstanding her, in the sense that one could think that she was complaining of the difficulty of the nature of the job, or unintentionally, showing her inability to deal with it properly. Using *albate*, she gives one new piece of information, which implicitly contrasts what she had said before and which she thought had been one of the main reasons of the difficulty of the job, not related to the nature of the job or her ability. In the rest of the excerpt she categorized the abnormalities of the baby as, very much under-weight, and abnormal lips etc. using *ham* after every subject of a new predicate (one of the functions of *ham*, which will be discussed in the next section). Returning to our discussion on *albate*, it can be claimed safely that this DM is playing the same role in Kh. Arabic as it does in Persian, i.e. introducing or highlighting a piece of information which might have, otherwise, been overlooked; hence showing contrast between different propositions of a piece of discourse.

### 7.3.2 Particles

The focus particle *ham* is another element of Persian DEs that is replicated in Kh. Arabic. This particle is displayed in examples (1 & 2 above). This word has a variety of functions

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<sup>53</sup> Persian code-switching

which go beyond the narrow meaning it is usually glossed with, ‘also’. It manifests different types of coordination. It has been considered as an inclusive focus particle meaning ‘also’ with affirmative constituents and ‘(n) either’ with negative ones. It is post-posed and the scope of its meaning extends backwards to the element which it follows. Stilo (2004: 323) refers to this word as a grammatical enclitic which he believes is enclitized to the constituent it follows and therefore, in his examples, he shows it as a part of the word preceding it and separates it only with a hyphen.<sup>54</sup>

#### Persian

(9) man sīb (h)am xord-am

I apple DE ate-1SG

‘I ate an apple, too.’

(10) man sīb (h)am na-xord-am

I apple DE NEG-ate-1SG

‘I did not eat apple, either.’

In spoken Persian this particle sounds as a part of the preceding word, i.e. *sīb*.

*Ham* in Persian can play the role of an adversative coordinator, ‘but’:

(11) fağat mīxāst ke pedar-ēš bargard-e. pedarē ham fekr-e

Only wanted.3SG COMP father-3SG return-SUBJ.3SG father DE thought-EZ

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<sup>54</sup> I prefer to treat *ham* as a separate word and believe that Stilo got his idea of considering this word as an enclitic from the way it is pronounced in spoken Persian. The /h/ is usually dropped which makes it sound like and enclitic, hence attached to the word to be included. I would use the abbreviation DE (discourse element) in glossing it with its many different functions. However the difference in meaning and function of this connector will appear in the translation of the examples.

bargašt-an na-dāšt

return-INF NEG-had.3SG

‘He only wanted his father to return. But the father had no thought of returning.’

(Example from Stilo, 2004: 324)

Lazard (1989: 281 in Stilo 2004: 324) interprets the use of *ham* in example (11) as a way of marking a new theme. When doubled, (*ham...(o) ham*), this particle gives the meaning of ‘both...and’. The examples are from my questionnaire.

Persian

(12) ham man (o) ham ’alī bē pārk raft-īm

DE I and DE Ali to park went-2PL

‘Both Ali and I went to the park.’

(13) mādar-am ham zarfā ro šost ham xūna ro tamīz kard

mother-1SG DE dishes OM washed.3SG DE house OM clean did.3SG

‘My mother both washed the dishes and cleaned the house.’

The *ham...(o) ham* conjunction can be used with full pronominal subject noun phrases, object noun phrases, verb phrases, predicate adjectives and adverbs.

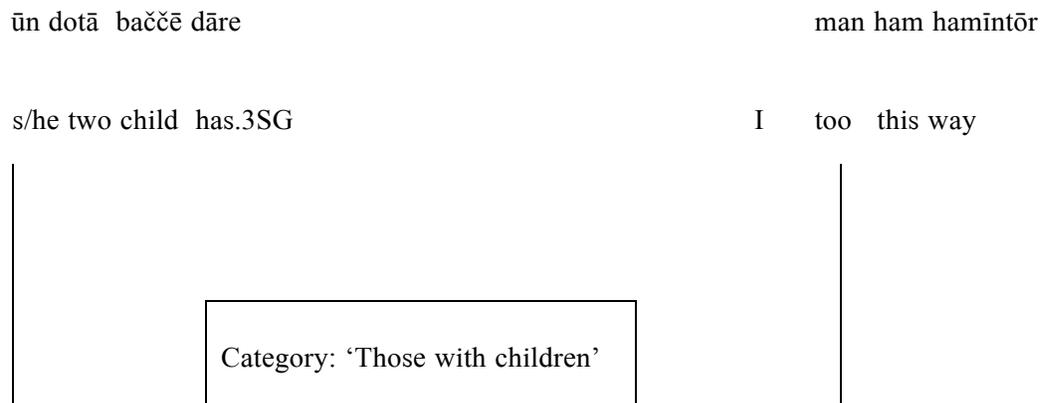
In addition to all of the above discussed functions of *ham*, this particle can also play the role of a filler or - related to its main function - a contextualized coordinator where the word

itself has no particular meaning; rather it is the context in which this particle is used that assumes the concept of coordination.

*Ham* with its various functions in Persian (discussed above) is replicated in Kh. Arabic with the exception of *ham* with adversative function for which the researcher could not find any example in the corpus data.

In excerpt (1) above *ham* is simply used as a contextualizing coordinator, i.e. categorizing the reasons for the speaker's not being able to continue her studies in a hierarchical order, every time using this particle after the new subject of the new predicate indicating that it is a new category which, however is to be seen in the context of some overall category which is at a higher level.

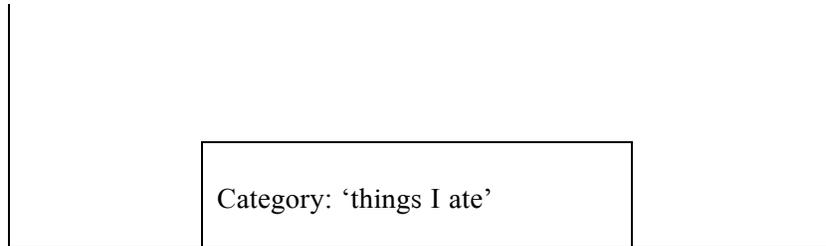
Pragmatically, *ham* draws attention to the fact that the element that immediately precedes it should be taken into account as an integral part of the propositional category opened in discourse context:



Sīb ham xord-am

contextual knowledge

Apple too ate-1SG



While this is explicit in *ham...ham*, *ham* alone relies on the listeners to infer the information by 'putting the parts together'.

*Ham* in the second excerpt can be interpreted as having the same function as in (1). *Ham*, as discussed above in different contexts, represents a continuum of conveying degrees of emphasis of addition. Some more elicited examples of the use of *ham* in Kh. Arabic will follow. They are from my questionnaires:

Kh. Arabic

- (14) ham 'āna w ham 'alī rəḥ-na l-əl-pārk  
DE I and DE Ali went-1PL to-DEF-park  
'Both Ali and I went to the Park.'

- (15) umm-ī ham ġəsl-at lə-mmā'in ham naḍḍəf-at  
mum-1SG DE washed-3SG.F DEF-dishes DE cleaned-3SG.F  
l-bīət  
DEF-house  
'My mother both washed the dishes and cleaned the house.'

(16) ḏīč ‘əd-ha θnīən frūx ’āna ham ‘ənd-ī θnīən

that.F has-F two kids I DE have-1SG two

‘She has two children and I have two children, too.’

The particle *ham*, in the above examples, has been used to connect two noun phrases, verb phrases and two separate sentences, respectively.

What Kh. Arabic has borrowed from Persian is not the element only (*ham*); rather it is the entire taxonomy of different degrees of addition in a wholesale scale that is replicated. In other words, every time *ham* is used in different situations and constructions it is used in the same form, but with different functions. In fact, the mechanisms of adding are similar in both languages.

Indeed, it seems that *ham* is the only element that can serve the purpose in contexts like the ones presented in the above examples. The use of this particle is so widespread that it has crossed the boundaries of Khuzestan in Iran and reached other neighboring countries.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> *Ham* is also used by both Iraqi and Kuwaiti Arabic speakers to mean ‘too, both...and’. *Hammina* is another version of *ham* which is specific to the Iraqi dialect only and has the same meaning as *ham*, ‘too’. The borrowing of this Persian coordinator in Iraqi and Kuwaiti dialects could have resulted from the long-term contact of the Persians with the speakers of these dialects in Iraq and Kuwait. Iranian merchants and businessmen have been doing business in Kuwait for such a long time. You could also find a large number of Iranians living and working in Kuwait. In fact, to the Iranians Kuwait has been an attraction as a rich country which makes it a suitable place to work in. With regard to Iraq, being Shiite Muslims, the Iranians have always been in close relationship with the Shiite Iraqis. Some of the Iraqi cities are in fact, places of regular pilgrimage for the Shiites. For this main reason those Iranians who had been interested in pursuing their religious studies in the holy cities of the Shiites where a number of their Imams, religious leaders and direct descendents of Prophet Muhammad, are buried, had immigrated to Iraq and had been living there for decades or even longer. This mutual interest of the Iranians and the Shiite Iraqis has brought about the contact between Persian and Iraqi Arabic that can be interpreted as one trigger for borrowing this particle and some more elements from Persian. Having said all this, there can be another interpretation

In line with the particle *ham* is what Stilo (2004: 319) calls the ‘Conjunctive bisyndetic coordinator’ *na tanhā ... balke...ham* ‘not only...but also’:

- (17) mādar-am na tanha zarfā ro šost balke xūna ro ham tamīz kard  
 mother-1SG not only dishes OM washed.3SG but also house OM DE clean did.3SG  
 ‘My mother not only washed the dishes but also cleaned the house.’

This coordinator is not very common in Persian. Only the second and, of course the third part of this compound conjunction are used in Kh. Arabic. This Persian coordinating conjunction extends a notion by giving extra information using the conjoined sentences.

Persian

(18)

- a. (ūn) na tanhā bāhūš-e balke šodjā ham hast  
 (he) not only clever-is.3SG but also brave DE is.3SG  
 ‘He is not only clever but also brave.’

(19)

- a. mādar-am na tanhā zarfā ro šost balke xūna ro ham  
 mum-1SG not only dishes OM washed.3SG but also house OM DE  
 tamīz kard  
 clean did.3SG  
 ‘My mother not only washed the dishes but also cleaned the house.’

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behind the use of this particle in the neighbouring Arab countries. The source of influence might be the possible input of Kurdish, which also has *ham*, on the spoken Arabic dialects.

As stated above with the exception of the first part, the rest of this compound conjunction is used in Kh. Arabic. The elicited versions of the above Persian sentences from my questionnaires are:

Kh. Arabic

(18)

- b. huwwa mū bas bāhūš balke šujā‘ ham  
 he not only clever but also brave DE

(19)

- b. umm-ī mū bas ġəsl-at lə-mmā‘in balke {l-bīət ham  
 mum-1SG not only washed-3SG.F DEF-dishes but also DEF-house DE  
 naḍḍəf-at-a}/ naḍḍəf-at l-bīət ham  
 cleaned-3SG.F-3SG cleaned-3SG.F DEF-house DE

This point has to be emphasized that the use of *na tanā... balke* (as in Persian) is not a common phenomenon. The other Kh. Arabic versions without this conjunction are as follows:

Kh. Arabic

(18)

- c. huwwa mū bas bāhūš {ḥatta ham šudjā}/ šudja‘ ham  
 he not only clever even DE brave / brave DE

(19)

- c. umm-ī mū bas ġəsl-at lə-mmā‘in {ḥatta} naḍḍəf-at

mum-SG not only washed-3SG.F DEF-dishes {even} cleaned-3SG.F  
 l-bīət ham  
 DEF-house DE

*Ham* in examples (18.c, 19.c) has been used as a focus particle, ‘too’ in combination with *hatta*, ‘even’. The version without *hatta* is the most common.

Having a closer look at the above Kh. Arabic sentences with the Persian coordinators, one could see that some of them comply with the Persian form, function and sentence position. This is, however not true about some other versions. The particle *ham*, for example, is occupying sentence positions in Kh. Arabic that are non-existent in Persian as in examples (18.b, c; 19.b, c), in which *ham* has been located sentence-finally.

The Kh. Arabic sentence (18.b) is obviously, structurally different from sentence (19.b) in the sense that (18.b) is a nominal sentence with no apparent verb, and as its name suggests it begins with a noun or in our case a pronoun. The Persian sentence (18.a) is also different from (19.a). It is a copular sentence with *hast* ‘is’, the present third person singular form of the copula *būdan*, ‘to be’. Still, *ham* appears pre-verbally in the Persian example. The similarity between the Kh. and the Persian versions, though, is that *ham* in both languages follows the predicate adjective or in the following example, the nouns, and so word order is actually identical in this respect. In both languages, it is the functional scope of *ham* that determines its position in a sentence.

(20)

Persian

a. ūn na tanhā dānešjū-e balke mo’allem (h) am hast.

S/he not alone student-is.3SG but also teacher DE is.3SG  
 ‘S/he is not only a student but also a teacher.’

Kh. Arabic

b. hīyya mū bas dānešjūwa (balke) mu‘alləm-a ham  
 she not only student.3SG.F but also teacher.3SG.F DE

In addition to the above stated versions of the use of *na tanhā...balke... (h)am* in Kh. Arabic, there is still another version in which the *ham* part of this Persian conjunction, immediately follows the *balke* with no intervening element.

Kh. Arabic

(21) huwwa mū bas bāhūš balke ham šujā‘  
 He not only clever but also DE brave  
 ‘He is not only clever but also brave.’

*Ham* does not appear in such a position in Persian to function as part of the compound conjunction. However, it does appear in such constructions in a different and informal structure and has the meaning of possibility (maybe).

Persian

(22)

a. A. fardā mīr-ī mehmūnī?  
 tomorrow go-2SG party  
 B. fek ne-mīkon-am.. balke ham raft-am  
 think NEG-do-1SG... not only DE went-1SG  
 ‘A. Are going to the party tomorrow?’

‘B. I don’t think so... Maybe I would go.’

In example (22.a), speaker B’s answer is negative, but then with a couple of seconds pause (showing hesitation), the speaker changes her mind and uses *balke ham* to signal the possibility of her going to the party.

The difference between this elicited example and the above one from Kh. Arabic is that the concept of possibility is not implied in the Kh. Arabic example and the implied meaning is the same as any other version of the use of *balke...ham* in Kh. Arabic. Having said that, *balke ham* with the meaning ‘maybe’ is, also, employed in Kh. Arabic as shown in the following elicited version of (22).

Kh. Arabic

(22)

- b.     A. tarḥ-īn     l-əl-‘azīma   bāčər?  
          go-2SG.F   to-DEF-party   tomorrow
- B. māftəkər..     balkat ham rəḥət  
          NEG-think.1SG   not only DE   went.1SG

Note that there is a slight change of form in the first part of the construction, i.e. *balkat* instead of *balke*. Both forms are acceptable. The use of this combination to function as part of a compound conjunction by the Kh. Arabic speakers might be explained by the presence of such a construction in Persian, yet with a different function. The Kh. Arabic speakers might have taken it, originally, to mean ‘maybe’ as it does in Persian and then because of the similarity between the elements of this construction and their sentence position, *ham* following *balke*, in both constructions, overgeneralized it to the new context,

i.e. compound conjunction. In other words, the Kh. Arabic speakers seem to have calqued the Persian form *balke ham* and used it with the same form and function as Persian - example (22.b) - and also in another context, same form but different function , example (21).

The interesting point regarding the use of *na tanhā... balke...ham* in Kh. Arabic is that the first part, *na tanhā*, never appeared in any sentence of my elicited data and only the second and the third parts, *balke...ham*, were found. In fact, the speakers have used a double structure in forming conjoined sentences, i.e. the first part taken from the Arabic structure, *mū bas*, and the second part from Persian, *balke...ham*. Why did the speakers borrow the second part but not the first?

The first part of the conjunction has the exact equivalent, *mū bas*, in Kh. Arabic. The rest, *balke...ham*, has no straight forward equivalent in Kh. Arabic, but it can be expressed by *hattā*, ‘even’ or, *lākin*, ‘but’, or simply nothing. The interpretation one can give of this phenomenon - borrowing the *balke...ham* part of the conjunction - is the vulnerability of this particular function due, presumably, to its contrastive meaning. Analyzing the coordinating conjunctions, which are borrowed directly from Arabic or from secondary sources in a number of Islamic-sphere languages, Matras (1998) presents, as an overall tendency of these conjunctions, the following implication: {‘and’ < ‘or’ < ‘but’}. The adversative conjunctions are on top of the scale of vulnerability to borrowing, followed by the disjunctives, which in turn are followed by the additives. Because of carrying the meaning of contrast, *balke...ham* can be expected to be susceptible to borrowing. This is

what seems to have happened in the case of *balke...ham* which was borrowed in Kh. Arabic, but *na tanhā* was not.

The important and significant point from a language contact studies viewpoint is that although, the conjunction *na tanhā...balke...ham* is not very common in Kh. Arabic, the mere use of this conjunction can imply that it is now infiltrating the language.

### 7.3.3 Subordinators

In the category of subordinators two Persian concessive adverbial conjunctions, *agarče*, *bā inke*, ‘although’ in addition to the Persian complementizer/ relativizer *ke* are used in Kh. Arabic.

#### 7.3.3.1 Adverbial subordinators

*Agarče...amma/ vali*, and *bā inke...amma/ vali*, ‘although’ are two Persian concessive adverbial conjunctions which are used to form subordinating clauses by joining clauses. These two conjunctions can be used interchangeably. The first parts of both conjunctions are Persian in origin, while the second parts are etymologically Arabic. They both initiate the subordinating clause which could either precede or follow the main clause:

Persian

- (23) *agarče mādar-eš b-eš goft tanhā be pārk na-rē*  
although mother-3SG to-3SG said.3SG alone to park NEG-go.SUBJ.3SG  
*amma/ vali ūn raft*  
but s/he went.3SG

‘Although his mother told him not to go to the park alone, he went.’

(24)

- a.     **bā inke xeyli xast-am amma/vali bāyad kār-o tamūm kon-am**  
Although very tired-am but must work-OM finish do.SUBJ-1SG  
‘Although I am very tired, I have to finish the work.’

When the main clause precedes the subordinating clause the correlative is dropped:

- b.     **bāyad kār-o tamūm kon-am bā inke xeyli xast-am**  
must work-OM finish do.SUBJ-1SG although very tired-am  
‘I have to finish the work, although I am very tired.’

These two conjunctions are used in Kh. Arabic with the same form and function they have in Persian.

Consider the following examples of the use of *agarče* and *bā inke* in Kh. Arabic. The first two are elicited sentences from my questionnaires, but the next two excerpts are from my recorded interviews:

Kh. Arabic

(25)

- a.     **bā inke wāyəd ‘ayzān ammā lāzəm axallas š-šugul.**  
although very tired but necessary finish.1SG DEF-job  
‘Although I am very tired, I have to finish the work.’

(26)

- a.     **huwwa rāḥ lwaḥda l-əl- pārk agarče umm-a**  
he went.3SG.M alone to-DEF-park although mum-3SG.M

gall-at      l- a      lā-yrūh  
said-3SG.F to-3SG.M NEG-go.3SG.M

‘He went to the park alone, although his mum had told him not to go.’

In example (25.a) *bā inke*, is used with the same form and function it has in Persian. Even the same adversative conjunction *ammā*, ‘but’, which is the one used in Persian has been employed to co-ordinate the two sentences. Generally in Arabic the conjunction *ammā* does not mean ‘but’, however it conveys this meaning in both Persian and Kh. Arabic.

*Ammā* is a particle of contrastive focus and has been translated as ‘whereas’ or ‘as for’. What seems to be the case in the above Kh. Arabic example is that the first Persian conjunction *bā inke* appeared with its function and form (MAT replication). As for the second conjunction, *i.e. ammā*, (etymologically Arabic), it is used to fulfill the function it has in Persian (as an adversative conjunction meaning ‘but’) rather than its Arabic function (contrastive focus particle meaning ‘whereas’). In other words, *ammā* in the above mentioned examples is Arabic in form but not in function. In fact, the Arabic *ammā* seems to have been borrowed in Persian at some point and got integrated in the language not only as a simple adversative conjunction meaning ‘but’, but also as a part of some of the correlative conjunctions, *bā inke... (ammā)* and *agarče... (ammā)*. The two conjunctions then seem to have been borrowed in Kh. Arabic with the same form and function as Persian. We may, therefore claim that the whole conjunctions (including the two parts) are replicated in Kh. Arabic and not just the first part. The contrastive focus particle *ammā* has, thus extended its function when borrowed from Persian, and hence became more grammaticalized.

Note that in both the model and the replica language the use of *ammā* is optional (although the version without *ammā* is much less common than the one with). The Arabic alternative to this conjunction in the stated context (the above examples) is *lākin*, ‘but’ which is in Rudolph’s (1995) terminology the main adversative connective in Arabic. In Kh. Arabic *lākin*, *bas*, ‘but, only’, or *ammā* are used as the second part of *agarče* and *bā inke*. *Bas* is a common conjunction in Kh. Arabic as well as some other dialects of Arabic like Palestinian Arabic and colloquial Syrian in which it serves as the main adversative.

*Bā inke* has no one to one or exact alternative in Kh. Arabic. In MSA *ragam ’an/walaw* can be used to mean ‘although’. These conjunctions are not common in Kh. Arabic and if used at all they will sound very formal. A common version of (25.a) in Kh. Arabic without Persian borrowings is the use of (*ʿədəg*)...*bas/ lākən*, ‘(it is true that)...but’ which gives us (25.b) below:

Kh. Arabic

(25)

- b. (sədəg) ’āna ‘yazān-a bas/lākən kūn axallas š-šūgul  
 true I tired-1SG.F but should finish.1SG DEF-work  
 ‘It is true that I am tired but I have to finish the job/work.’

This point has to be noted that unlike *ammā* as the second part of the borrowed Persian correlative conjunctions, *agarče...ammā*, and *bā inke...ammā*, the use of *bas* or *lākən* in constructions like (25.b) is obligatory. The first part of the Kh. Arabic conjunction, i.e. *sədəg* is, however, optional.

*Agarče*, in example (26.a) above plays the same role as *bā inke* in (25.a). The difference is that in (25.a) the main clause follows the subordinate clause in which case the use of *ammā* is optional, whereas, in (26.a) the main clause precedes the subordinate clause and, therefore, *ammā* can not be used. The same rule applies to such sentences in Kh. Arabic. The following example is the other possible version of example (26.a):

Kh. Arabic

(26)

b. agarče umm-a gall-at l-a lā-yrūḥ lwaḥda l-əl-pārk  
 although mother-3SG.M said-3SG.F to-3SG.M NEG-go.3SG.M alone to-DEF-park  
 ammā huwwa rāḥ  
 but he went.3SG.M

‘Although his mother told him not to go to the park alone, he went.’

Below are excerpts from my recorded interviews in which the Persian conjunction *bā inke* appears in the same contexts as the ones discussed above. The point needs emphasizing that the use of the second part of the Persian conjunction, *ammā*, is optional. In the following piece of discourse the speaker, a 30-year old housewife with high school education who has been speaking about her marriage life, how it started and how it has been going on, has used the first part but not the second.

Kh. Arabic

(27) bas rayyāl-na wāqə‘an ‘ala golt əxt-ī č-čəbīra dorān-e  
 but man-1PL really on saying sister-1SG DEF-big.F times-EZ  
 kūdakī ro bāham gozarūn-dīd<sup>56</sup> heč dāyman dgil l-ī.  
 childhood OM together spent-2PL like this always tell.3SG.F to-1SG

<sup>56</sup> The italicized parts are Persian code-switching.

bā inke ya'nī ma'aš-a ḏāk al-wakit čān xamsa w ṠalāṠin  
 although means wage-3SG.M that DEF-time was.3SG.M five and thirty  
 aləf, čān yəṭṭ-i l-ahl-a xams-ta'aš  
 thousand was.3SG.M give-3SG.M to-family-3SG.M fifteen

'But our man (my husband) really, as my eldest sister used to always tell me 'you spent your childhood together', although, I mean, his wages at that time were thirty five thousand (rials), he used to give fifteen to his family (parents).'

Note that the *bas* with which the excerpt starts is different from the one we have been discussing. Note also that using *ammā*, *lākin*, or *bas* (which did not appear) at the beginning of the last predicate (main clause) of the discourse, i.e. *čān yəṭṭ-i l-ahl-a xams ta'aš*, would convey the same meaning or message as the one above (without *ammā*, *lākin*, or *bas*). The same speaker used *bā inke* in another part of her story.

Kh. Arabic

(28) awwal-īn nafar l-xuṭb- o- ha ... rayyāl-na bə-l-yom xəṭab  
 first person REL-proposed-3PL.M-3SG.F man-1PL in-DEF-day proposed.3SG.M  
 bā inke ṠaləṠta'aš sana 'umr-i, sawwūm rāhnamāi, ubū-y  
 although thirteen year age-1SG third secondary school, father-1SG  
 qəbal b-ī  
 accepted.3SG.M with-3SG.M

'The first one to have marriage proposal...when my husband proposed, although I was thirteen years old, my father accepted him.'

Although, *bā inke...ammā* and *agarče...ammā* are not very common in Kh. Arabic

(they are not common in Persian, too), there is no doubt that they have entered Kh. Arabic in the same form and function they have in Persian

### 7.3.3.2 The complementizer/ relativizer *ke*

*Ke* as a pronoun or particle has been described in grammar books as a conjunction, a relativizer, a particle following verbs of saying, thinking, etc, and a marker of emphasis (Lambton 1953, Windfuhr 1979, Lazard 1992, Mahootian 1997).

It is generally known that *ke* ‘that’, is one of the main markers of subordination in Persian. It is a marker of relative clauses (RCs) as well as complement clauses. In the following example from Persian it has been used to introduce a nominal (complement) clause:

Persian

- (33) fekr mikon-am **ke** emšab bārūn bī-yād  
think do-1SG COMP tonight rain come-SUBJ.3SG  
‘I think it is going to rain tonight.’

When the *ke* clause is complement or object, the complementizer *ke* is optional as in the above example. *Ke* also introduces a relative clause (RC):

Persian

- (34) zan-ī **ke** dīrūz dīd-īn tamās gereft  
woman-DEM REL yesterday saw-2PL contact held.3SG  
‘The woman whom you saw yesterday phoned.’

In relative clauses *ke* is obligatory. This Persian complementizer/relativizer has been borrowed into Kh. Arabic. It is used in Arabic complement clauses and indirect commands/speech.

(35)

Kh. Arabic

- a.     tədr-īn     **ke**     rayl-əč     ‘ala kəl-ši     čəððab  
           know-2SG.F COMP husband-3SG on    everything lied.3SG.M  
           ‘You know that your husband lied about everything.’

Persian

- b.     mīdūn-ī     **ke**     šohar-et     dar mored-e   hame-či   durūg goft  
           know-2SG COMP husband-2SG in case- EZ   everything lie     said.3SG  
           ‘You know that your husband lied about everything.’

As in Persian complement clauses the complementizer *ke* is optional in Kh. Arabic. The equivalent of *ke* is *əlli* and *al-laðī* ‘that’, which are commonly used in Kh. Arabic as well as other dialects of Arabic. Note that *al-laðī* has a singular masculine marking in MSA, but in Kh. Arabic it is used for feminine /masculine, and singular/plural nouns.

(36)

Kh. Arabic

- a.     zəlma **l-laðī** sā‘ad-na             ‘arafn-ā  
           man REL helped.3SG.M-1PL knew.1PL-3SG.M  
           ‘We recognized the man who helped us.’

Persian

- b. mard-i o **ke** be-mūn komak kard šenāxt-īm  
 man-DEM OM REL to-1PL help did.3SG knew-1PL  
 ‘We recognized the man who helped us.’

The following Kh. Arabic example is from my questionnaires, which shows the use of the Persian complementizer *ke* in Kh. Arabic complement clauses. The Persian elicited version follows:

(33)

Kh. Arabic

- a. gəl-ət **ke** əḥna nə-ḡlab  
 said-1SG COMP we win-1PL  
 ‘I said that we would win.’

Persian

- b. goft-am **ke** mā mībar-īm  
 said-1SG COMP we win-1PL

*Ke* is optional in both of the above examples from Kh. Arabic and Persian. The following are some more examples which show the use of the Arabic pronouns *əlli* and *al-lōī*.

(34)

Kh. Arabic

- a. šəfət **əlli** uxū-č ḏab l- əḥyāra  
 saw.1SG COMP brother-2SG.F threw-3SG.M DEF.stone  
 ‘I saw that your brother threw the stone.’

Persian

- b.     dīd-am     **ke**     barādar-e-t     sang-o     andāxt  
saw-1SG COMP brother-EZ-2SG stone-OM threw.3SG  
‘I saw that your brother threw the stone.’

(35)

Kh. Arabic

- a.     jəbr-o                     **l-lađī**     iḥassən     rās-a  
forced.3PL.M-3SG.M COMP shave.3SG head-3SG.M  
‘They forced him to shave his head.’

Persian

- b.     vādār-eš             kard-an **ke**     eslāh     kone  
forced.3PL-3SG did-3PL COMP shave do.SUBJ.3SG  
‘They forced him to shave his head.’

Looking at the examples, an important point comes to one’s attention, which is, the first set of the examples (34.a & 34.b) display factual (indicative) complements while the second set (35.a & 35.b) shows non-factual, manipulative complements. Persian doesn’t show a split between factual and non-factual clauses in complement clauses. Hence, the complementizer *ke* is used in both factual and non-factual clauses with the same form and function.

In his book ‘Romani- a Linguistic Introduction’ Matras (2002) deals with the factual and non-factual clauses in complement clauses of Romani. Unlike Persian, Romani and other languages of the Balkans distinguish between factual and non-factual complement clauses and the connectors or complementizers employed in each clause type. Matras then proposes a continuum of factuality and the vulnerability of connectors in the complement clauses to grammatical borrowing.

The results reveal that almost all of the Romani dialects make a distinction between factual and non-factual clauses. Nearly half of them either borrowed the factual complementizer but not the non-factual one/s, or are in the process of borrowing it. He, further, suggests that there is a correlation between factuality and liability to borrowing, i.e. factual complementizers are prone to borrowing more than non-factual ones.

The Kh. Arabic examples above display borrowing of the complementizer *ke* in factual complement clauses. In other words it seems that the Arabic relativizer/complementizer *ʔilli* is replicating *ke* in factual complement clauses but not in the non-factuals. Hence, based on Matras and Sakel’s (2006) mechanism for grammatical change- a MAT replication - both form and function are borrowed – of the Persian *ke* has occurred in Kh. Arabic. This case can be considered as another supporting example for the correlation between factuality and proneness to borrowing proposed by Matras (2002).

Looking carefully at example (34.a & 35.a) in which the relativizers *ʔilli* and *l-laḏī* have been used to mark complement clauses (non-existent in other dialects of Arabic) one can see the influence of Persian in those constructions too. In this case it is not the *ke* in form that has been borrowed; it is rather the function of this complementizer that is being

replicated. That is to say the Arabic relativizers *əlli* and *l-laḏī* seem to replicate the Persian *ke* in a Kh. Arabic construction.

*Ke*, as a marker of the Persian RCs, has also been found in a few cases of RCs in Kh. Arabic in my corpus data. In those few cases *ke* has replaced the Arabic relative pronouns *l-laḏī/ əlli*. The following is an example of the use of the relative pronoun *ke* in a Kh. Arabic RC produced by a forty-year old man with postgraduate education whose main language of communication is Arabic.

Kh. Arabic

- (36) əbən uxū    ḡāzī **ke**    huwwa w    mart-a    hnā  
 son    brother Qazi    REL    he    and    woman-3SG    here  
 ‘Qazi’s nephew who is here with his wife...’

Not many cases of the use of *ke* as a relative pronoun have been found in my Kh. Arabic data, rather in most of the cases found in my corpus it has been borrowed as a complementizer to introduce factual complement clauses.

Below are some more examples of the replication of the Persian complementizer *ke* in Kh. Arabic from both my questionnaires and interviews, respectively:

Kh. Arabic

- (37) kəl-hum    šāf-aw    **ke**    š-saww-aw    w-yāč  
 All-3PL.M    saw-3PL.M    COMP    what-did-3PL.M    with-2SG.F  
 ‘All of them saw what they did to you.’

*Ke* is optional in the above example. In such cases, of course, the Arabic relative pronouns *l-laḏī / əlli* were found to be much more common than the Persian alternative.

Another possible version is the absence of the relativizers all together. The meaning remains the same, though.

Kh. Arabic

- (38) b-ət- torāt yāy ke yo hāḏ īyy-a l-bāb yəftak  
in-DEF-Torah came.PART.3SG COMP if this.M came-3SG.M DEF-door opens.3SG  
'It has appeared (come) in the Torah that if this (person) came the door would open.'

The above statement is part of a discourse by a forty one-year old man with higher education and who speaks Arabic as his main language of communication, i.e. at home, with some of his friends and relatives.

Those subjects, who used the *ke* complementizer, did not use it to make Kh. Arabic complement clauses in all the required cases. Even the female subject, aged 32 with higher education who used this complementizer more than other subjects, i.e. seven times, did not make all of the complement clauses she was asked to with *ke*. In fact, she used it in seven out of fifteen similar cases. In other words, she sometimes used it some other times not. Instead she either used the Arabic pronouns or no pronoun at all. Employing the Persian complementizer alongside the inherited ones in Kh. Arabic could possibly mean this dialect is still in the process of borrowing *ke*.

#### 7.4 Conclusion

DEs, including connectives, phrasal adverbs, DMs, and focus particles are generally considered the most vulnerable elements to contact-induced change.

Part of a series of contact-induced changes in Kh. Arabic, which have been discussed in the previous chapters, is the MAT replication of Persian DEs, i.e. a number of Persian DEs are now used in Kh. Arabic and can be considered as distinguishing features of this dialect in comparison to other dialects of Arabic. The nature of the change that has occurred in this category is different from other contact-induced phenomena in Kh. Arabic. In the case of DEs we are dealing with both form and function - MAT - replication. Hence the two systems of DEs available to Kh. Arabic speakers – at least with regard to a number of DEs - are non-separable and the speakers make use of one system of functional category only, which is Persian. Matras (2000: 577) refers to this process as ‘fusion’ and defines it as ‘the wholesale non-separation of languages for both forms and functions of a given class of grammatical items’. Fusion normally happens in highly automatized discourse operations which could result in high conversational tension for the speaker. The use of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic can be interpreted as a case of fusion, as the result of which Kh. Arabic speakers use various items from the Persian category of DEs with their native forms and functions.

Matras, as defined above, considers a ‘wholesale’ borrowing of a category of grammatical items as one of the main features of fusion. This feature however has not been fulfilled in the case of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic. Yet the use of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic can still be considered as a case of fusion. Fusion, according to Matras is a gradual process, as it will extend to cover a whole set of items in a category as the result of long-term and intense contact. We can, thus argue that although the whole items of the Persian DEs are not borrowed yet, it is part of the nature of fusion - happening gradually - to start with limited numbers of items and then extend to encompass the whole class. Fusion of Persian

and Kh. Arabic DEs is at an early stage of the process - not covering the whole class of Persian DEs - but the intense and long-term contact of Kh. Arabic and Persian could, according to the scenario of fusion, ultimately lead to a wholesale borrowing of Persian DEs in Kh. Arabic, i.e. fusion.

An interesting point is that some of the Persian DEs have been replicated in Kh. Arabic with modification in their form and/or meaning. *Xōš* and *balkat ham* are among the borrowed elements that have undergone replication with modification.

*Xōš* - a predicative adjective in Persian – has been replicated in Kh. Arabic, but has acquired a new function - as a DM - which is non-existent in Persian. Replication with modification of meaning is what has occurred in the case of *xōš*.

A similar interpretation can be provided in the case of *balkat ham/ balke ham*. The Persian *balke ham* ‘maybe’, which has nothing to do with the conjunctive coordinator *na tanhā... balke ...ham*, ‘not only...but also’ has been replicated in Kh. Arabic not as an element that signals possibility but as another version of the second part of *na tanhā... balke ...ham*. Hence, the meaning of *balke ham* has been modified in Kh. Arabic. Interestingly, *balkat ham* - a modified form of the same element - is used to denote the concept of possibility in Kh. Arabic. Here we are dealing with the same meaning, but with a slight modification in form.

There has been replication of the complementizer/relativizer *ke* mainly in factual clauses, while the inherited pronouns, *allađī* and *əlli*, are now used, mainly in non-factual complement clauses. Hence, there has been reduction in the scope of *allađī* and *əlli* as an indirect result of the borrowing of *ke*.

Variation in the use of the borrowed DEs, i.e. the use of the borrowed elements as well as the inherited forms, suggests that change in this area of language is not complete yet and that it is ongoing.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: Variation in Word Order**

### **8.0 Introduction**

To the early grammarians of Arabic, word order seemed to be of a straightforward typology and therefore, constituted no problem. The sentence structure could either be verbal which was simply defined as a clause that initiates with a verb, or nominal in which

a noun initiates the clause. The Arabic language has been considered a verb-initial language.

The question of whether modern dialects of Arabic are of SV or VS order and the alternation between these orders has been the focus of many investigations (Ingham 1994, Holes 1990, Brustad 2000, and others).

To determine the basic word order of any particular language or dialect, the term basic and some related concepts like, markedness, and dominance need clarification.

This chapter will address the issue of word order variation, in Kh. Arabic. Different word order types in this dialect will be discussed, with a focus on SOV which I attribute to influence from the contact language, Persian; hence, a contact-induced change. I will support my claim through evidence from my corpus data. For further support of my claim I will compare Kh. Arabic with other dialects of Arabic none of which display the SOV word order. But before starting the main discussion some of the word order attributes will be explained.

### **8.1 Basic, unmarked and dominant word order**

In her book 'Word order rules', Siewierska (1988) deals in detail with the typology of word order. She addresses attributes of word order, such as basic, dominant and marked or unmarked.

In the basic word order, according to Siewierska, the indicative clauses are stylistically neutral, independent, and with full noun phrase participants. In such an order (basic), the subject is definite, agentive and human, the object has to be definite and semantically patient and the verb should be of action rather than state or event.

An unmarked order is the one which is regarded as a norm or standard, natural state of affairs. Several criteria have been listed by Versteegh (1997) that determine the unmarkedness of word order types which will be explained in the following section.

### **8.1.1 Criteria for the unmarkedness of word order types**

Frequency of occurrence of a particular word order type in a language has been considered as one criterion which may determine whether a word order type is marked or unmarked. That is, the higher the frequency of that order, the less marked it is. Frequency of occurrence though should not be taken as the sole criterion in determining the markedness of a word order type.

Another criterion which could be used to help determine the markedness of a word order is the relative morphological complexity of the order type. In VSO word order type in CA and MSA the verb does not inflect for number and the form 3.SG is used to refer to singular as well as dual and plural (*jā'a r-rijāl-u*, 'came-3SG.M DEF-men-NOM). In SVO order the verb has to agree in number (*ar-rijāl-u jā'-u*, 'DEF-men-NOM came-3PL.M), hence the latter order is considered morphologically more complex and therefore more marked- due to the presence of the subject agreement which is absent in VS order- than the former one. Thus, the presence or absence of segmental features in a sentence structure makes that form more or less marked.

Distribution restriction has also been listed by Versteegh as a criterion of markedness or unmarkedness of a word order type. The more restrictions a particular word order type has on the distribution of its constituents the more marked it is and the other way round.

In addition to the above mentioned factors which were mainly of syntactic nature, non-syntactic and statistical considerations like, the information structure of the utterance and the nature of the text are other criteria that could determine the degree of markedness of a word order type.

### **8.1.2 Basic and unmarked word order in spoken Arabic**

In the light of the criteria of markedness (that were presented above), for example, the relative morphological complexity of the type, the VSO word order is to be considered as the unmarked and the SVO as the marked structure. This is because of the presence of two subject markings in the SVO type, a subject marker on the verb, and the overt subject noun or pronoun that precedes the verb.

With regard to the factor of frequency, Brustad (2000: 320) argues that in Arabic main clauses it is not easy to determine the frequency of VSO and SVO word order types, simply because they change from text to text and from context to context,

“If patterns can be established correlating the frequency of a given word order with a particular type of text, it may be that Arabic has more than one basic word order, one of each type of discourse”.

VSO word order has been shown to be the prominent form in Arabic and remains a basic word order of the language in spoken Arabic narratives according to Brustad's findings from her samples from Egyptian, Kuwaiti, Syrian and Moroccan Arabic dialects. Her findings regarding the unmarkedness of the VSO word order type contradicts the results of some other studies on Arabic dialects (Ingham 1994). Ingham's data from Najdi

Arabic also contradict the claim that SVO is the most common order in modern dialects. In his study of Najdi Arabic in the allied dialects of Southern Iraq and Qatar (his own words) neither SVO nor VSO were particularly found to be prominent. Both forms are used in Kh. Arabic, with the former one mostly used in descriptive and explanatory contexts and the latter mainly in narrative forms.

In sum, both VSO and SVO are common in all varieties of Arabic as to be considered 'basic' according to Brustad (2000) and many others like Ingham (1994), Holes (1990), Mohammad (2000), Dahlgren (1998), Versteegh (1997), and others.

## **8.2 Word order in spoken Arabic**

A number of interrelated factors can affect the order of constituents in a language which have to be taken into consideration when dealing with word order variation. Siewierska (1998) suggests three factors that should be considered in analysing word order variation namely, the nature of the clause-types, the categorial features and identity of the constituents, and the morphological and phonological features of the constituents. With regard to clause-type, she suggests the use of data in main clauses rather than subordinate clauses, and declarative clauses rather than interrogative or imperative clauses and positive clauses rather than negative clauses. The reason she gives for this choice is that in some languages word order patterns in imperative, interrogative, or negative clauses are different from those of the indicative clauses. The use of main, positive declarative clauses in analysing word order variation is also beneficial, according to Siewierska, because they

reduce the number of structural elements that have to be, otherwise taken in consideration such as the interrogative particles, negative markers, complementizers etc.

Siewierska's suggested constraints will be applied in analysing word order variation in Kh. Arabic. The possible order of the subject relative to the verb and the object relative to the verb will also be considered in describing the phenomenon of word order variation in Kh. Arabic.

Variations in Arabic word order were often interpreted with the term emphasis. It was generally assumed that the difference between, *zayd-un māta*, 'Zayd died', and *māta zayd-un*, 'died Zayd' comes from 'emphasis' on the verb in the second example and a contrast between Zayd and another person in the first one. The difference between SV and VS is not necessarily an issue of contrast or emphasis on the verb and both forms can be used neutrally to mean the same thing with no emphasis on either constituent in modern dialects of Arabic.

Brustad (2000) looks at the existence of variation in word order types from a different angle and analyzes the sentence structure in spoken Arabic as two distinct, equally basic types: topic-prominent and subject-prominent, with each type having its own discourse function. She considers spoken Arabic to be mainly topic-prominent.

Variation in spoken Arabic word order, in general and Kh. Arabic, in particular, goes beyond the choice of SVO and VSO orders and adds another option of constituent order type, for example, object-initial sentences which are common in almost all modern dialects of Arabic. Another sentence option is the verb-final or SOV present in Kh. Arabic. This word order type is also used in Uzbekistani Arabic as the result of contact with Tajik (an Iranian language) and Uzbek (a Turkic language).

### 8.3 Sentence typology

Despite the arrangements of the sentence constituents, Verb (V), subject (S), and object (O) into taxonomies of SVO, VSO, and others in language typology, typologists like Comrie (1981) disagree with such classification and warn that it cannot be applied to all languages. Some Arabists, however, have adopted these taxonomy - SVO and VSO - as a construct within which Arabic may be situated. Both SVO and VSO word order types are found in Arabic dialects (Holes 1990, Ingham 1994, Brustad 2000, Versteegh 1997, Mohammad 2000, Dahlgren 1998, and others). Below are some examples of both subject-initial or topic-prominent, and verb-initial or subject-prominent sentences from different dialects of Arabic:

#### Verb-initial sentences

(1) šāf-at      bint      il-'amīr    l-ha      barg      šimāl

Saw-3SG.F daughter DEF-Amir for-3SG.F lightning north

'The Amir's daughter saw lightning to the north.'

(Najdi Arabic, Ingham 1994: 39)

(2) yig'id      il-walad, tidiš      li-bnayya

Sit.3SG.M DEF-boy, enter.3SG.F DEF-girl

'The boy sits, the girl enters.'

(Kuwaiti, Brustad 2000: 316)

(3) xaḏ-o-ni      ubū smā'in w      ubū 'abbas l-golestān

took-3PL.M-1SG father Ismaail and father Abbas to-Golestan

‘Ismail’s father and Abbas’s father took me to Golestan Hospital.’

(From Kh. Arabic recorded-interviews)

(4) sā‘a w iyya Gāzir mn-əs-sūg

hour and came.3SG.M Gazir from-DEF- market

‘After an hour Gazir came back from shopping.’

(From Kh. Arabic recorded interview)

All of the above examples from different dialects of Arabic display the use of the verb in the initial position, VS order. The following are examples of the use of the subject in the initial position, SV order type.

Subject-initial sentences

(5) ij-jār mā-bya‘rif ši ‘an jār-u ’abadan

DEF- neighbour NEG-know.3SG.M thing about neighbour-3SG.M at all

‘A neighbour does not know anything about his neighbour at all.’

(Syrian, Brustad 2000:317)

(6) kəl umm tḥəb farax-ha

all mother like.3SG.F child-3SG.F

‘Every mother likes her children.’

(From Kh. Arabic recorded interviews)

- (7) l-əbnayya naḏḏəf-at d-dār  
 DEF-girl cleaned-3SG.F DEF-room  
 ‘The little girl cleaned the room.’  
 (From Kh. Arabic data)

### 8.3.1 Subject position in a sentence structure

#### 8.3.1.1 Position of independent subjects and subject pronouns

There is often no independent subject in verb-initial sentences. The subject is marked as inflection on the verb. The following examples are from my data. They have no independent subjects; the subjects are rather marked on the verbs.

Kh. Arabic

- (8) ḏallēt b-əl-bīət  
 Stayed.SG in- DEF-house  
 ‘I stayed at home.’

- (9) lamm-at l-xonfəsān kəll-a b-əṣaṭul w hāy, ḏabb-att-a barra  
 Gathered-3SG.F DEF-cockroaches all-3SG in-DEF-bucket and this.F, threw-3SG.F-3SG out  
 ‘She gathered all the cockroaches in the bucket and this (things like this) and threw them out.’

There are, nevertheless, many examples of verb-initial sentences with overt subject pronouns in my data both from the questionnaires and the interviews, in which the subject

pronoun either immediately follows the verb or appears, sentence-finally as in the following example:

Kh. Arabic

- (10) lā 'aḥmad w lā minā w lā mahā mā-ftəkir ḥa·əb-aw,  
NEG Ahmad and NEG Mina and NEG Maha NEG-think.1SG got measles-3PL  
mā-šəfət ḥa·əb-aw 'āna  
NEG-saw.1SG got measles-3PL I  
'I don't think that Ahmad or Mina or Maha got measles, I didn't see them  
get measles.'

In the above example the overt subject pronoun has been situated sentence-finally or post-verbally.

In cases where the subject pronoun is overt, it can either precede or follow the verb depending on the pragmatic role the speaker intends for it to play or in the case of Kh. Arabic it could either be style-related or pragmatically based. Giving examples from her corpus data from Kuwaiti, Syrian, Moroccan, and Egyptian Arabic, Brustad (2000) suggests that, when the subject pronoun appears pre-verbally it expresses the role of topic, then the SV sentence becomes topic-prominent. If, however, the subject pronoun follows the verb, it plays a different pragmatic role than the pre-verbal subject. In this case it usually fulfils a contrastive function. By contrastive it is meant that the stated pronoun is being pragmatically highlighted in comparison with other possible options. Example (10) from my data above is a counter example to Brustad's last suggestion that post-verbal subject pronouns have a contrastive function.

Note the independent subject pronoun in the following examples which has been used pre-verbally.

Kh. Arabic

- (11) 'āna ḡallēt b-əl-bīət  
I stayed.1SG in-DEF-house  
'I stayed in the house.'

- (12) 'āna ḡāčīət farəd rawānšēnās<sup>57</sup>  
I spoke.1SG one psychologist  
'I spoke to a psychologist.'

The overt subject pronoun 'āna, 'I' in examples (12) and (13) fulfils the role of subject as well as topic of the sentence. Contrary to Brustad's claim that pre-verbal subject pronouns cannot have a contrastive function, in Kh. Arabic use of a pre-verbal subject pronoun can denote the issue of contrast as in the following example from my questionnaires:

Kh. Arabic

- (13) əḡna ntaxab-na n-namāyande<sup>58</sup>  
we chose-1PL DEF- representative  
'We elected (voted to) the member of the parliament/ candidate.' (Implication: 'how about you?' or 'but they did not.')

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<sup>57</sup> A Persian loan

<sup>58</sup> Persian loan

Consider the following example:

Kh. Arabic

- (14) fəkk-in-na                      l-bāb,    i·arrax,    ubū-k    iyya,  
open-IMP.2SG-for-1PL DEF-door, cry.3SG.M    dad-3SG.M    came.3SG.M  
'āna    š-gad                      rətt-a                      yfək                      l-bāb                      mā-  
I            how much    want.1SG-3SG.M    open.3SG.M    DEF-door    NEG-  
fakk-a  
open.3SG.M-3SG.M

‘‘Open the door for us’, he was screaming, ‘your father has come’, I wanted him (asked him) so many times to open the door, he didn’t open it.’

The subject pronoun *'āna*, has a contrastive function, contrast between the people around who asked him to open the door and the mother, who also kept asking him to open the door thinking that maybe he would listen to HER rather than them.

In the example below the pre-verbal subject pronoun *'āna*, plays the role of the sentence topic:

Kh. Arabic

- (15) 'āna waz'·i                      xarb-at  
I            situation-1SG    worsened-3SG.F

‘My situation got worse.’

The subject of the sentence is *waz'·i*, ‘my situation’. The verb of the sentence, however, does not agree with either of the subject or the topic. This seems to be a slip of the tongue on the part of the speaker, though. The subject *waz'·i* is grammatically gender

marked as masculine, while the speaker has marked the verb with the feminine marker /at/. The same speaker used the same subject in another sentence, but there, she marked it as masculine.

Brustad (2000) suggests that the use of post-verbal or sentence-final independent subject pronouns is pragmatically motivated and gives the pronoun a contrastive function. Although I do not disagree with her point completely I think it should not be taken as a general rule. In my data only a few of the sentence-final independent subjects have contrastive function, not all. In example (10) above in which the overt subject pronoun 'āna, has been used sentence-finally, for instance, the mother definitely did not mean to say that she, the mother of the children, did not see or notice her children get measles, or that maybe someone else did.

No independent subject pronoun is used in cases where the discourse topic remains the same, as in the following example in which the subject *Layla* is introduced first, but in the next few sentences it has been expressed through enclitics suffixed to the verb. This is because there has been no change in the discourse topic.

Kh. Arabic

(16) šgad mā tarajj-aw mən-hum, maθal-an layla ta'aðð-at,

how much begged-3PL.M from-3PL.M, for example, Layla annoyed-3SG.F

wāyəd ta'aðð-at, gall-at l-hum kūn trūḥ

very annoyed-3SG.F said-3SG.F to-3PL.M should go.3SG.F

'They begged them a lot, for example, Layla got annoyed, got very annoyed, she told them that she ( refers to another person not the subject) should go.'

### 8.3.1.2 Indefinite subjects and sentence-initial position

As a general rule, an indefinite subject, i.e. a subject NP whose referent is judged by the speaker not to be identifiable by the hearer, cannot occupy the initial position of a sentence in MSA as well as other dialects of Arabic (Mohammad 2000, Holes 1990, Brustad 2000, Dahlgren 1998). Consider the following examples cited by Mohammad (2000: 9) from MSA and Palestinian Arabic respectively.

(17)

- a.     jā'a             walad-un  
          came.3SG.M   boy-NOM  
          'A boy came.'

- b.\*     walad-un jā'a

(18)

- a.     'aja walad  
b.\*     walad 'aja

Versions (17.b) and (18.b) are ungrammatical because an indefinite subject cannot occur in sentence-initial position. Sentence-initial position is reserved for known, established topical entities.

However, note the following example from Kh. Arabic in which an indefinite subject occurs sentence-initially.

Kh. Arabic

(19)

a.     *iyya*            *walad*

          came.3SG.M boy

          ‘A boy came.’

b.     *walad iyya*

          ‘A BOY came.’ {Implication, ‘not a girl’}

Both variants are acceptable in Kh. Arabic. However, (19.b) in which an indefinite subject has initiated the sentence is pragmatically different from (19.a). An indefinite noun when used sentence initially, bears a contrastive function. In (19.b), thus, the subject *walad*, ‘boy’, has been used in contrast with, for example, a girl. A very important point to mention here is that the use of an indefinite subject at the beginning of a sentence in Persian without the indefinite marker /i/, expresses exactly the same function as that of the Kh. Arabic, which makes one think that maybe it is the Persian rule that is calqued by the speakers of Kh. Arabic, it is a contact-induced phenomenon.

Persian

(20)

a.     *pesar ūmad*

          boy    came.3SG

          ‘A boy came. {Implication, ‘not a girl.’}

b.     *pesar-i ūmad*

          boy-IDEF came.3SG

‘A boy came.’ (No contrastive function)

From the point of view of the order of sentence constituents, Kh. Arabic is not different from those of other dialects of Arabic in the above examples, i.e. SV order, it is rather the distribution restriction of a particular constituent, in our case, unacceptability of an indefinite, non-specific NP in a sentence- initial subject position, which is different compared to other dialects of Arabic. Kh. Arabic is not applying this distribution restriction to its sentence- initial subjects.

No other dialect of Arabic expresses a subject in this form. An indefinite noun can only be used sentence-initially if it is made specific or modified by an adjective, nominal or by being a member of a Construct State, as in the following Palestinian Arabic from Mohammad (2000: 11):

- (21) walad ṭawīl ’aja  
boy tall came.3SG.M  
‘A tall boy came.’

As far as different studies on word order in Arabic (Modern dialects of Arabic) concerns in cases where the subject is an indefinite, non-specific NP only VSO and VOS orders are allowed (Mohammad 2000, Brustad 2000, Holes 1990, Dahlgren 1998, and others); This restriction is not applied in Kh. Arabic.

### 8.3.2 Object-initial sentences

In addition to the types of sentence structures discussed above, there are sentences in spoken Arabic that begin with their objects. Brustad (2000) divides object-initial sentences into two types namely, topic-prominent and subject-prominent.

### 8.3.2.1 Topic- prominent sentences

A topic-prominent sentence contains a resumptive pronoun which marks the original post-verbal position of the object.

- (22) s-sayyāra štarā-ha                      ’aḥmad bi-blāš  
 DEF-car bought.3SG.M-3SG Ahmad with-free  
 ‘Ahmad bought the car for nothing.’ (not the boat) (Holes, 1990: 100)

Note that the resumptive pronoun /ha/ ‘it’, is occupying the original post-verbal position of the object, *sayyāra*, ‘car’. Holes has analyzed the sentence-initial object in his example as having a contrastive function, while Brustad looks at such sentences as topic-prominent with no contrastive function.

Kh. Arabic

- (23)  
 a. **bāb l-āšpaxxāne** əḥna ham gāfl-īn-a  
 door DEF-kitchen we DM locked-PART.1PL-3SG  
 ‘We had locked the kitchen door, too.’

In example (24.a) from my interviews, the object *bāb l-āšpaxxāne*, ‘kitchen door’, (*āshpaxxāne* is a Persian loan) has been placed sentence-initially and the resumptive pronoun /a/, ‘it’, is suffixed to the verb *gāflīn* ‘locked’. Compared to the following possible variant of the above example, in which the object follows the verb, both sound neutral in

meaning. The speaker could have used the object post-verbally with no change in meaning or function.

Kh. Arabic

(23)

- b.     əḥna ham gāfl-īn                      **bāb l-āšpazzāne**  
we    DM    locked-PART.PL-3SG    door DEF-kitchen

Example (23.b) is, therefore, simply another variant of (23.a). The following example from my data, nevertheless, complies with the topic-prominent sentence rule as described by Brustad.

Kh. Arabic

(24)

- a.     aḥəssan b-ōāk l-wakət, **farəd ši**     **wāzəḥ** 'āna mʒayyə't-a  
feel.1SG in-that DEF-time one    thing clear     I     lost.PART.1SG.F-3SG  
'At that time I felt that I had lost something obvious.'

*Farəd ši wāzəḥ*, 'something obvious', in the above example is the object of the verb *mʒayyə't-a*, 'lost it', which has been used pre-verbally, followed by the subject 'āna. The resumptive pronoun /a/, 'it', has been cliticized to the verb. Unlike example (23), the object in this example has been situated sentence-initially to highlight its role. The neutral version of (24.a) is (24.b) below:

Kh. Arabic

(24)

- b. 'āna mʒay'a farəd ši wāzəḥ  
I lost.PART.1SG one thing obvious

The following example from my interviews displays the same function as (24) for its object *l-marātib*, 'the stages', that has been used pre-verbally. The object has been placed pre-verbally to function as the topic of the sentence.

Kh. Arabic

- (25) ya'ni lo čən-ət məθl-hən w hēči, čən-ət l-marātəb 'āna  
I mean if was-1SG like-3PL.F and like this, was-1SG DEF-stages I  
m'adyat-ha  
passed.1SG-3SG.F

'I mean, if I were like them and things like this, (if) I had passed the stages.'

### 8.3.2.2 Subject-prominent sentences

The second type of object-initial sentences are subject-prominent OV which according to Brustad (2000) have a contrastive function. They are marked by the absence of a resumptive pronoun.

- (26) ha-l-iyyām hāḏi killa yab-ūn il-bīz, mā-yab-ūn  
this-DEF-days these all want-3PL.M DEF-white.PL NEG-want-3PL.M  
is-sumur is-sumur ḥēl mā-yab-ūn  
DEF-dark.PL DEF-dark.PL very NEG-want-3PL.M

'These days, they always want light-skinned (girls), they don't want dark-skinned ones. Very dark-skinned they don't want.' (Kuwaiti Arabic, Brustad 2000: 351)

The object of the sentence *is-sumur* ‘the dark-skinned’, has been used sentence initially to single out dark complexioned girls and contrast them with those who have light complexion. There is no resumptive pronoun affixed to the verb. The following is an example from my corpus data:

Kh. Arabic

(27) w n-nām b- əl-ħoř , **killa** kūn ham nħaṭ

and sleep-1PL in-DEF-house, canopy should DM put.1PL

‘And we sleep (used to sleep) in the yard, and we had to put a canopy.’

Normally one would not need a canopy at that time of the year the speaker was talking about, and also at the time of the recording the speaker knew that a canopy was no longer in use, so to single the object out, the speaker fronted it.

My corpus data includes a large number of topic-prominent, pre-verbal objects which, in most cases were preceded by subjects or overt subject pronouns with resumptive pronouns cliticized to their verbs, portraying an SOV sentence structure. This sentence structure is not a common structure in any other dialect of Arabic except the Uzbekistani Arabic which has been studied by Versteegh (1997). He introduces the SOV as the basic word order in this dialect. He, further, goes on to discuss the reason for the dominance of the SOV word order in Uzbekistani Arabic and considers the reason to be an influence from Uzbek (a verb-final Turkic language) and Tajik (a verb-final Iranian language), two adstratal or substratal languages spoken in Uzbekistan. Most speakers according to Versteegh are bilingual in Arabic and Persian (Tajik), an SOV language. The following is an example from Uzbekistani Arabic taken from Versteegh (1997: 217).

(28) fat ādami baqarīn kom-misūq-nāyim

A man cows [past]-he tends-[continuous]

‘A man was tending cows.’

#### 8.4 SOV word order, a convergence phenomenon in Kh. Arabic

As mentioned above Kh. Arabic also exhibits the SOV word order (non-existent in other dialects of Arabic) in addition to VSO and SVO, which are common in all varieties of Arabic. Consider the following SOV sentences from Kh. Arabic:

(29)

a. lə-bnayya **d-dār** naḍḍaf-at-ha

DEF-little girl DEF-room cleaned-3SG.F-3SG.F

‘The little girl cleaned the room.’

(30)

a. ’āna **šay** ’adri, humma mā-yədr-ūn

I thing know.1SG they NEG-know-3PL.M

‘I know something they don’t know.’

(31)

a. haḍan xālāi-i **līsāns-hən** kaẓẓ-ann-a

these.F aunts-1SG BA degree-3PL.F took-3PL.F-3SG

‘My aunts got their first degrees.’

All of the above Kh. Arabic examples have the SOV word order with a resumptive pronoun cliticized to the verb except for (30a). In addition the sentence structure which the three of them share (SOV), they have another characteristic in common. Considering the contexts they have occurred in, they are all pragmatically neutral like the SVO word order. That is to say, both sentence structures (SOV and SVO) could be used interchangeably in the same context. Below are some more Kh. Arabic examples with SOV word order:

- (32) maθalan čān-aw iżāḥm-ūn l-banāt, w **huwwa** ham **čam morəd čān**  
 for example was-3PL.M bother-3PL.M DEF-girls and he DM few case was-3SG.M  
**šāyəf**  
 saw-PART.3SG.M  
 ‘For example they would bother the girls, and he had seen few cases, too.’

- (33) ‘āna l-yōm mən l-’ədāra arūḥan **parvanat-əč w hāy** ham **ayīb-ha**  
 I today from DEF-office go.1SG file-2SG.F and this.F DM bring.1SG-3SG.F  
 ‘I will go from the office today and bring your file and this (things like this).’

In examples (32 & 33) the objects, *čam morəd* and *parvanat-əč* have preceded their verbs, *čān šāyəf* and *ayīb-ha*. The subject of (32), *huwwa* is put sentence-initially, while the subject of (33) is implied in the verb.

But where did this word order form come from and why is Kh. Arabic using it unlike all other neighboring and non-neighboring dialects? Different studies on the various dialects of Arabic reveal that this form is not a common form in the Arabic dialects (Ingham 1994, Holes 1990, Brustad 2000, Mohammad 2000, and others). The logical explanation that comes to mind is, therefore, that it could be due to the influence of Persian

(an SOV language) which is the superstrata language and with which the Arabic in Khuzestan has been in intense contact for a long time. The following are the equivalent sentences of the above examples in Persian:

(29)

- b. doxtar-ak otāg ( r )o tamīz kard  
girl- little room OM clean did.3SG

(30)

- b. man čīzī mīdūn-am, ūnā ne-mīdūn-an  
I something know-1SG they NEG-know.3PL

(31)

- b. xālehā līsāns-e-šūn ( r )o gereft-an  
aunts BA degree-Ezafē -3PL OM took-3PL

(32)

- b. masalan mozāhem-e doxtarā mišod-an, wa ūn ham čan morēd dīde būd  
For example bother-EZ girls become-3PL. and he DM few case saw-PART  
was.3SG

(33)

- b. man emrūz az ēdāre mir-am parvandat-o in čīzā ro ham miyār-am  
I today from office go-1SG file.2SG- and this things OM DM bring-1SG

Apparently, Kh. Arabic is using the SOV word order type under the influence of the contact language Persian.

As it was mentioned earlier on this chapter, sentences with a pre-verbal object with a resumptive pronoun are far more frequent than those without one. In fact there were only few sentences with a pre-verbal object without a resumptive pronoun in my data. What could be the logic behind the choice of the pre-verbal object with a resumptive pronoun over the one without this pronoun?

A resumptive pronoun suffixed to the verb, marks the original position of the object in Arabic sentence structure. Fronting of the object in SOV structure which makes the use of a resumptive pronoun obligatory seems to be a compromise, on the side of the Arabic speakers, between their own structure which marks the object post-verbally and the target structure of fronting the object. A resumptive pronoun is therefore, used to mark the post-verbal position of the object. This compromise could then be interpreted as a step towards compatibility of the native structure with that of the model one.

It seems to me that the use of SOV with a resumptive pronoun - a marked option in Kh. Arabic which also contains features of the model language - more frequently than the SOV without a resumptive pronoun could be a stage leading to this marked option becoming less marked and, then probably unmarked, to replace the default inherited structure, SVO/VSO. This is where one could expect structural change or convergence.

Consider the following example from my data in which the speaker attempts to use the Persian structure, then in the middle of the sentence returns to the native structure and, therefore makes compromise between the native and the model structure.

Kh. Arabic

(34) *huwwa xu-ū-īyyāt axlāqi w kəl sefāt ðāk aš-šaxa· huwwa*

he characteristics moral and all qualities that.M DEF-person he

*ykəz-hən*

take.3SG.M-3PL

‘He would take (inherit) all of the moral qualities and characteristics of that person.’

Note that the overt subject pronoun *huwwa*, ‘he’, has been used twice, sentence-initially and just before the verb *ykəz-hən*, ‘take them’. This double use of the subject pronoun to refer to the same person could be interpreted as a compromise between the model structure in which the subject normally appears sentence-initially, and the default inherited structure where the subject immediately precedes the verb. The sentence begins with a subject pronoun *huwwa*, and then an object, which is how sentence constituents are arranged in the model structure. So one would expect the verb to follow, but a subject pronoun *huwwa*, is inserted before the verb. This sentence is, therefore, neither the complete form of the model structure, nor that of the inherited structure. In other words, the first part of the sentence, subject + object has been taken from Persian, but to compromise with the native structure a subject pronoun is placed just before the sentence ends with its verb. Thus, the sentence has the structure S + O + [S] + V.

In sum, OV order is not used in other dialects of Arabic except for the Uzbekistani Arabic which has been under the influence of two verb-final languages - Tajik and Uzbek - and Kh. Arabic which has also been in a long-term and intense contact with Persian, an SOV language. The results of a study by Dahlgren (1998) on various dialects of Arabic, like those of Mesopotamia, Bedouin, Anatolia, Egyptian and Classic or Early Arabic reveal that OV was very rare and that the named dialects are rigidly VO variants, at least

when the three main constituents of the sentence, Subject, Object and Verb appear in one single sentence.

## **8.5 Summary of the related studies**

### **8.5.1 VSO or SVO Prominence?**

Typologically, Arabic is considered a VSO language. The SVO type has, however, developed over time in the modern dialects of Arabic and is used alongside the VSO type. Different studies on dialects of Arabic (Ingham 1994, Holes 1990, Brustad 2000, Mohammad 2000, Dahlgren 1998, Versteegh 1997, and others) have each revealed or attempted to reveal the basic word order type in the dialects under study. Ingham's findings from the Najdi Arabic and some other Mesopotmian dialects, do not point at the prominence of any of the two main word order types, VSO and SVO, and concludes that both are commonly used. Holes considers the SVO type as the basic order in the Gulf Arabic, but maintains that VSO is, definitely, alive and in use. In her study on Egyptian, Moroccan, Kuwaiti and Syrian dialects, Brustad states that both VSO and SVO are so common in all varieties of Arabic as to be considered 'basic'. The results of Dahlgren's study on different dialects of Arabic like those of Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Egypt, the Bedouins and some others reveal a difference in prominence of word order types in these dialects. For example, the VS order was found to be, distinctively dominant in Mesopotamia, and the Bedouin. In Anatolia SV was dominant, whereas, in Egypt the results were not decisive. Mohammad's findings from MSA and Palestinian Arabic point out to the prominence of SVO in Palestinian Arabic and reveal VSO to be the discourse neutral word order. Versteegh finds a unique word order type, SOV, which is used in

Uzbekistani Arabic and considers SVO to be the common word order in all other dialects of Arabic. The other word order type, OV, can be found in almost all dialects of Arabic, at least in those which have been studied, and there is a general agreement that such constructions are pragmatically based and are used only for the purpose of topicalization, fronting or extraposition. It should be emphasized that when the three elements, i.e. Subject and Object and Verb, appear in one single sentence, the Arabic order is rigidly VO.

### **8.6 Word order variation in Kh. Arabic**

Kh. Arabic has been in a very long-term and intense contact with Persian. This contact brought about a series of syntactic changes in this dialect. One of the contact-induced changes has occurred the area of word order. There is a variety of word order types in Kh. Arabic.

Like all other dialects of Arabic, Kh. Arabic demonstrates the VSO and SVO word order forms. My data, however, reveal that when the three main constituents of the sentence are present, the SVO type is the most common. Although, like other dialects of Arabic Kh. Arabic uses the two basic word order types, VSO and SVO, there are some differences between the word order and/or the distribution of sentence elements in this dialect and the others.

In SVO order type the sentence-initial subject has to be definite, and non-specific, indefinite subjects are not allowed to slot in sentence-initially. This general rule - distribution restriction of sentence-initial subjects - exists in MSA as well spoken dialects of Arabic, but not in Kh. Arabic. Hence an indefinite subject can be placed sentence-initially to show the contrastive function of the subject. In Persian, also an

indefinite subject without the indefinite marker /i/ can be used sentence initially with a contrastive function. Since no other dialect of Arabic displays this function - contrastive function of a sentence-initial indefinite noun - and since Persian - the contact language - uses indefinite nouns sentence-initially to show contrast, we can assume that Kh. Arabic calques such constructions from Persian.

Kh. Arabic demonstrates another word order variety - SOV - which is the default word order type in Persian and does not comprise a word order variety in any dialect of Arabic except that of Uzbekistani (acquired under the influence of two verb-final languages, Uzbek and Tajik, which this dialect has been in contact with). One might argue that the use of pre-verbal objects or subjects could be pragmatically based and therefore is not to be interpreted as an influence from Persian. The use of pre-verbal object is, indeed pragmatically based in spoken dialects of Arabic, though not in every case of OV in Kh. Arabic.

SOV word order is used with a resumptive pronoun affixed to the verb to mark the original post-verbal position of the object in Arabic. This order type is the marked option in Kh. Arabic - compared to the SVO, the default or unmarked option - and contains features of the model language. There is nevertheless an increase in frequency of this word order type which makes it a possibility for this marked order to be less marked or unmarked. This option, as it has been discussed earlier, is much more common than the one without a resumptive pronoun. Mere existence of Persian sentence structure in Kh. Arabic is a sign of contact-induced change. Constituent order - SOV and use of an indefinite noun sentence-initially - in Kh. Arabic seems to have been replicated from the Persian structure. Hence the material is inherited, while the pattern is that of the model language.

## CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

The current research approached the phenomena of contact-induced grammatical change from the prism of a series of Persian-modelled constructions which are used in Kh. Arabic. Use of these grammatical constructions is a distinctive feature of Kh. Arabic which is the result of a wide range, intense and long-term contact of this Arabic dialect with Persian.

Contact with Persian has led to lexical as well morphosyntactic changes in Kh. Arabic. The lexical changes have been addressed in a previous study by the author. The current work however has dealt with the contact-induced grammatical changes that have occurred or are still in progress.

The main structural elements that display contact phenomena are the attributive constructions, markers of definiteness, DEs (discourse elements), and word order.

The contact phenomenon in attributive constructions has been discussed with numerous exemplifications in chapter five.

Attribution is treated differently in the two distinct forms of attributive constructions in Arabic, namely nominal (the Construct State) and adjectival. In Persian however both forms are treated the same (use of the Ezafe marker to join the members of the construction). Modelling Persian the definite article in Kh. Arabic replicates the Ezafe marker in both types of attribution.

In Kh. Arabic adjectival attribution a definite adjective modifies a head noun – generally expected to be overtly marked by /al-/ - without the definite article as in a construct state in which the head noun always appears without /al/.

In this contact phenomenon there is pivot-matching of the morpheme /al-/ - alone in masculine nouns and together with /t/ in feminine nouns – and the Ezafe marker in Persian, a case which has led to replication of the Persian pivot by the definite article in an Arabic construction. This is a case of convergence whereby Kh. Arabic attributive constructions become Persian in pattern but Arabic in matter. Convergence of attributive constructions reveals an interesting pattern starting with inherited similarities between Persian and Arabic in nominal attributions, which are then used to cover adjectival attribution.

As to the case of the reanalysis or partial reanalysis of the functions of an Arabic morpheme, /al-/, two extraordinary processes can be observed: a) the fact that a combination of the construct marker /t/ with the definite article is reanalyzed as a single functional element, i.e. the Ezafe marker /-e/. This phenomenon does not contradict the unidirectionality principle of grammaticalization but is considered unusual; and b) the generalisation of this combination to adjectival attributions, which is a case of context extension. This is well in line with the grammaticalization theory.

In attributive constructions the order of elements also displays a contact phenomenon. An adjective modifying any member of a construct state is positioned at the end of the construct in MSA and other dialects of Arabic while in Kh. Arabic it follows the noun it modifies. In fact the elements in attributive constructions have been ordered based on the Persian pattern.

Nothing in the grammaticalization theory can accommodate changes in the word order, since the new word order was not a possible word order type in Arabic. Besides, in this case (order of constituents) the word order is adjusted to accommodate the reanalysis of morphemes and so that morphology plays a primary role compared to syntax.

Closely related to the discussion of chapter five is the issue of overt definiteness marking of the members of attributive constructions and the head noun of a relative clause when introduced by a relative pronoun. In both constructions there is evidence of omission of the definite article, i.e. morpheme deletion. /*al-*/ deletion from the head noun of an adjectival attribution, the adjective modifier of the head noun of a construct state and the head noun of a relative clause introduced by a relativizer are all cases that show to what extent contact can influence languages. Morpheme deletion is not accounted for in grammaticalization theory, the principles of which, Heine and Kuteva (2005) claim, applies to contact situations. This contact phenomenon can be interpreted as contradictory evidence to the unidirectionality of contact-induced grammaticalization. Chapter six deals with this issue in detail.

The category of DEs - utterance modifiers as Matras (1998) refers to them - including connectives, phrasal adverbs, discourse particles, and focus particles have been put further left on the hierarchy of susceptibility to change, which means they are easy to be influenced by contact. So this case provides further support to the prediction that discourse markers, contrastive markers and subordinators are high on the borrowability scale (Matras 1998).

The contact phenomenon in this category can be interpreted in two ways. The phenomenon can be explained as direct borrowing of grammatical morphemes - Matras and Sakel's (2006) MAT replication - which, as many studies predicted is limited to DEs (cf. Matras 1998) mainly those used for regulating interaction and those that express contrast. As an example there is the case of the discourse regulators, *xō/xōb*, 'right, ok', and the subordinator *agarče*, 'although' and some others exemplified in chapter seven.

Heine and Kuteva's (2005) contact-induced grammaticalization model does not account for direct transfer of morphemes.

In the category of the borrowed DEs there are cases of morpheme replication with adjustment or modification of form or meaning, as in the case of *xōš*, 'right. Ok' which displays modification in meaning and form. There is also a case of morpheme reduction where the relativizers *əlli* and *allađi* have become restricted to - mainly - non-factual complement clauses because the borrowed relativizer *ke* has taken over - mainly - factual complement clauses. This arguably contradicts the principle of unidirectionality in grammaticalization theory (Heine and Kuteva 2005) since distribution of the Arabic relativizers has been narrowed down, hence a case of narrowing rather than extension.

Heine and Kuteva (2005) claim that narrowing is a frequent outcome of grammaticalization in the sense that out of a number of lexical or grammatical items only one is expected to be grammaticalized. However, the model of contact-induced grammaticalization cannot explain the kind of narrowing that has happened in the case of the relativizer in Kh. Arabic. In fact based on Heine and Kuteva's model *ke* construction is expected to take over the function of the Arabic relativizer in both factual and non-factual even when the inherited item is still in use in the same constructions, hence coexistence of the inherited and the borrowed construction.

Foreseeing some exceptions to their model Heine and Kuteva further suggest that narrowing is not necessarily the outcome of grammaticalization, and that it can be a simple case of restructuring, which they define as a kind of change:

'...whereby a pattern associated with a range of different optional uses comes to be restricted to one particular use because that use corresponds immediately to an

equivalent use pattern in the model language, which does not offer such options' (2005: 61).

Their definition of narrowing also does not cover the case of narrowing in distribution of the Arabic relativizer because *ke* is used to function in both factual and non-factual complements in Persian, but is restricted to factual complement clauses in Kh. Arabic, which also indirectly resulted in restriction of distribution of *allađī/ əlli* to non-factual. This is not, therefore based on the model language, it is rather a convergence process that none of the suggested models above - Heine and Kuteva's contact-induced grammaticalization and restructuring - can account for. This change is however well in line with the factuality continuum and the vulnerability to grammatical borrowing proposed by Matras (2002) in which factual complements are predicted to be more prone to borrowing than non-factual ones.

The second interpretation of the contact-induced change in the category of discourse markers is that this category is undergoing a kind of contact-induced change that Matras (1998) calls 'fusion'. In fusion only one system of the available systems to the speakers is used to carry out certain linguistic-mental task whereby the resources of one particular system for the whole functional category are used. One of the main features of fusion according to Matras (2000) is that fusion covers the category of discourse markers wholesale. Persian discourse markers have not been borrowed wholesale, though. But to resolve this matter one can argue that as fusion is a gradual process, the whole category is not expected to be borrowed at once. Kh. Arabic may therefore be on its way to wholesale borrowing of this category. Hence fusion of Persian and Kh. Arabic discourse markers is not finalised yet.

Word order also has been under the influence of Persian. Arabic is typologically a VSO language, but both SVO and VSO word order types exist in Arabic dialects (Holes 1990, Ingham 1994, Brustad 2000, Siewierska 1988, Mohammad 2000, Dahlgren 1998, and others).

In addition to VSO and SVO, object-initial sentences are also found in Kh. Arabic as well as other dialects of Arabic. Unlike other dialects of Arabic, however Kh. Arabic displays a fourth word order type, i.e. SOV.<sup>59</sup>

SOV is now one of the various word order types in Kh. Arabic. Evidence of word order change in attributive constructions (chapter five) and predications (chapter eight) reveal that these constructions are being modelled on Persian word order in similar constructions. OV order type is manifested in other dialects of Arabic, but it is pragmatically based (cf. Busted 2000). Hence for the purpose of implying contrast, topicalisation, or focus it is possible for an object to precede a verb. The case is however different in Kh. Arabic. Although there are cases of OV which are pragmatically based, this does not apply to every case in which a verb is preceded by its object. In fact numerous examples from the corpus data support the claim that OV is used in pragmatically neutral contexts. Besides, studies on various dialects of Arabic reveal that OV is very rare and that when the three main constituents of the sentence are present the word order of almost all Arabic dialects is rigidly VO (cf. Dahlgren 1998).

The word order change in Kh. Arabic can be considered as a case of PAT replication, whereby sentences are formed based on a Persian model but with inherited material.

As a general overview, we can see that the most recent model on contact-induced change, i.e. Heine and Kuteva's (2005) contact-induced grammaticalization model cannot explain the variety of contact-induced changes occurred in Kh. Arabic, which are all clear cut cases of convergence. The changes either contradict the model or are not covered by it. This whole scenario then raises the question of the relevance of this model for covering contact phenomena.

The variety of contact-induced changes analyzed in the current research show how contact can have an overall effect on the typology of a language, in that it forces the replica language into a re-categorization of some of its structures, e.g. distinct functions in Arabic - nominal attribution and adjectival attribution - are grouped together under the aspect 'attribution to head noun'; how a highly marked or in fact a non-existent structure comes to be an unmarked structure in a language, e.g. SOV order; and how a focal element of a language becomes redundant, e.g. the definite article, and the list of 'hows' can go on.

Being the first documented study ever that analyzes Kh. Arabic from a contact linguistics point of view, and also the first to present a descriptive grammar of this dialect, a need remains for further research on every linguistic and sociolinguistic aspect of this Arabic dialect.

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<sup>59</sup> OV order is also exceptionally used in Uzbekistani Arabic which has been under the influence of two verb-final languages, namely Uzbek (a Turkic language) and Tajik (an Iranian language).

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## APPENDIX: ONE

### Questionnaire

#### 1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

1. vādāreš kard-an ke eslāh kone

Force-3SG did-3PL REL shave do.SUBJ.3SG

‘They made (forced) him (to) shave.’

2. be-š ējāzē dād-an ke be xūne bēre.

To-3SG permission gave-3PL REL to house go.SUBJ.3SG

‘They let (allowed) him (to) go home.’

3. zan-eš ’amdan bā’ēs šod ke kār-eš-o

Wife-3SG intentionally cause became.3SG REL work-3SG-OM

tark kone.

leave do.SUBJ.3SG

‘His wife intentionally caused him to leave his job.’

4. zan-eš sahvan bā’ēs šod ke kar-eš-o

Wife-3SG unintentionally cause became.3SG REL work-3SG-OM

tark kone.

leave do.SUBJ.3SG

‘His wife unintentionally caused him to leave his job.’

5. az-aš xāst-am ke bēre.

From-3SG wanted-1SG REL go.SUBJ.3SG

‘I asked him to go.’

6. az-at mix-ām ke be-m pūl bēd-i

From-2SG want-1SG REL to-1SG money give.SUBJ.3SG-2SG

‘I want you to give me some money.’

7. az-am xāst ke barā-š nūn bexar-am  
From-1SG wanted-3SG REL for-3SG bread buy.SUBJ.1SG

‘He wanted me to buy some bread for him.’

8. be-š goft-am ke bēre  
To-3SG said-1SG REL go.SUBJ.3SG

‘I told him to go.’

9. az-aš xāst ke nūn bexare  
From-3SG want.3SG REL bread buy.SUBJ.3SG

‘He asked him to buy some bread.’

10. ra’is pišnahād kard ke ’ali bāyad ūn-jā ro tark kone  
Boss suggestion did.3SG REL Ali should that-place OM leave did.SUBJ.3SG

‘The boss suggested that Ali should leave there.’

11. Mehri esrār kard ke ūn bāyad dars bexūne  
Mehri insist did.3SG REL s/he should lesson read.SUBJ.3SG

‘Mehri insisted that s/he should study.’

12. be-š goft ke zarfā ro bešūre.  
To-3SG said.3SG REL dishes OM wash.SUBJ.3SG

‘He told her to wash the dishes.’

13. man ke be-š goft-am nayād  
I REL to-3SG told-1SG NEG.come.SUBJ.3SG

‘I have already told him not to come.’

14. goft-am ke nayād  
Said-1SG REL NEG.come.SUBJ.3SG

‘I said that he should not come.’

15. ūn goft ke axbār-o ne-midūnest  
s/he said.3SG REL news-OM NEG-knew.3SG

‘He said that he didn’t know the news.’

16. doxtar-bače goft ke dūst-eš bargašt  
Girl-child said.3SG REL friend-3SG returned.3SG

‘The little girl said that her friend returned.’

17. goft-am ke nemiy-ām

Said-1SG REL NEG.come.1SG

‘I said that I am not coming.’

18. ūn goft ke īn ketāb xūb-e

s/he said.3SG REL this book good-be.3SG

‘She said that this book is good.’

19. goft-am ke mā mībar-īm

Said.1SG REL we win-1PL

‘I said that we would win.’

20. polis goft ke dozd nāpadīd šode būd

police said.3SG REL thief disappear become.PART was

‘The police said that the thief had disappeared.’

21. ūn mīdūnest ke mādar-eš raft

s/he knew-3SG REL mother-3SG went.3SG

‘She knew that her mother left.’

22. mībīn-ī ke hamamūn ġazā xordan-o tamūm kard-īm.  
See-2SG REL all of us food eat-INF-OM finish did-2PL

‘You see that all of us finished eating.’

23. man dīd-am ke barādar-et sang part kard.  
I saw-1SG REL brother-2SG stone throw did.3SG

‘I saw that your brother threw stones.’

24. mībīn-ī ke šohar-et darbāre-ye hame čiz durūġ goft  
See.2SG REL husband-2SG about-EZ all thing lie said.3SG

‘You see that your husband lied about everything.’

25. hame dīd-an ke ūnā bā-t če- kār kard-an  
all saw-3PL REL they with-2SG what-work did-3PL

‘Everybody saw what they did to you.’

26. say kard ke ye xūne besāze  
try did.3SG REL one house build.SUBJ.3SG

‘He tried to build a house.’

27. mītūnest ke ye xūne besāze  
was able-3SG REL one house build.SUBJ.3SG

‘He was able to build a house.’

28. tasmīm gereft-an ke kār-o tamūm kon-an  
decision took-3PL REL job-OM finish do-3PL

‘They decided to finish the job.’

29. bexāter ovord ke četori dar-o gofl kone  
Remember brought-3SG REL how door-OM lock do-3SG

‘He remembered how to lock the door.’

30. bexāter ovord ke dar-o gofl kone  
remember brought.3SG REL door-OM lock do.3SG

‘He remembered to lock the door.’

31. ārezū kard-am ke be-mōge resīde bāše  
 wish did-1SG REL to-time arrived.PART be-3SG

‘I wished that he had arrived on time.’

32. ġōl mid-am ke xūb dars bexūn-am  
 Promise give-1SG REL good lesson read.SUBJ-1SG

‘I promise to study well.’

## 2. RELATIVE CLAUSES

33. nemītūn-am ketāb-i ro ke dīrūz xarīd-am peydā kon-am  
 NEG.can-1SG book-DEM OM REL yesterday bought-1SG find do.SUBJ-1SG

‘I cannot find the book which I bought yesterday.’

34. īn hamūn doxtar-i-ye ke molāġat-eš kard-īm  
 this that girl-DEM-EZ REL meeting.PRE.PART-3SG did-1PL

‘This is the girl whom we met.’

35. zan-ī ke dīrūz dīd-in telefon kard  
Woman-DEM REL yesterday saw-2PL telephone did.3SG

‘The woman whom you saw yesterday called.’

36. mard-ī ke be-m komak kard īnjā-s  
Man-DEM REL to-1SG help did.3SG here-is

‘The man who helped me is here.’

37. man mard-i-o ke be-m komak kard šenāxt-am  
I man-DEM-OM REL to-1SG help did.3SG recognized-1SG

‘I recognized the man who helped me.’

38. mard-ī nīst ke ūnjā berē vo sālem bargarde  
Man-DEM NEG-is REL there go.SUBJ.3SG and safe return.SUBJ.3SG

‘There is no man who goes there and comes back safe.’

39. kasī nīst ke ūn šoġl-o begīre bedūne īnke sadamē bebīne  
Someone NEG-is REL that job-OM take.SUBJ.3SG without hurt see.SUBJ.3SG

‘There is no one who takes that job without getting hurt.’

40. zan-ī ke māšīn-eš dozdīde šod hamsāya-mūn-e  
Woman-DEM REL car-3SG stolen-PART became.3SG neighbour-1SG-is

‘The woman whose car was stolen is our neighbour.’

41. xānom-ī ke pesar-eš marīz-e tū otāg-e baḡalī-ye  
Lady-DEM REL son-3SG ill- is in room-EZ next- is

‘The lady whose son is ill is in the next room.’

42. man xūne-ī ke panjērēh-āš bozorg būd entēxāb kard-am  
I house-DEM REL windows-3SG big was choice did-1SG

‘I chose the house whose windows were big.’

43. jā-yī ke donbāl-eš migašt-am peydā kard-am  
Place-DEM REL follow-3SG PROG.looked-1SG find did-1SG

‘I found the place which I was looking for.’

44. man hargez kār-ī ke be-š ’alāḡē nadār-am ro ḡabūl nemikon-am  
I never job-DEM REL to-3SG interest NEG.have-1SG OM accept NEG.do-1SG

‘I never accept a job which I am not interested in.’

45. mard-ī ke be-š ray dād-īn javūn-e.

Man-DEM REL to-3SG vote gave-2PL young-is

‘The man that you voted for is young.’

46. īn hamūn mo’alem-ī-yē ke az-aš bozorgtar-am

this that teacher-DEM-is REL from-3SG bigger-1SG

‘This is the teacher that I am older than him.’

47. davande-ī ke rezā az-aš bolantar būd mosābegē ro bord

Runner-DEM REL Reza from- 3SG taller was competition OM took.3SG

‘The runner that Reza was taller than him won the competition.’

### 3. ATTRIBUTIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

48. zanān-e bozorg-e īrān

Women-EZ big-EZ Iran

‘The great women of Iran’

49. ketāb-e ġatūr-e ketābxūne

Book-EZ thick-EZ library

‘The thick book of the library’

50. darvāze-ye bozorg-e šahr

Gate-EZ big-EZ city

‘The big gate of the city’

51. dīvār-e boland-e xūne

Wall-EZ tall-EZ house

‘The high wall of the house’

52. tabaġe-ye dovvom-e bīmārestān

Floor-EZ second-EZ hospital

‘The second floor of the hospital’

53. haram-e motahhare emām rēzā

Shrine-EZ holy-EZ Imam Reza

‘The holy shrine of Imam Reza’

54. deraxt-e pī r-e pārk  
Tree-EZ old-EZ park

‘The old tree of the park’

55. pesar-e bozorg-e modīr  
Son-EZ big-EZ principal

‘The principal’s old son’

56. doxtar-e čāg-e rayīs  
Daughter-EZ fat-EZ boss

‘The boss’s fat daughter’

57. xāhar-e kūčik-e rānande  
Sister-EZ small-EZ driver

‘The driver’s little sister’

58. mādar-e javūn-e pesar-e dānešjū

Mother-EZ young-EZ boy-EZ student

‘The young mother of the university student (male)’

59. mo’llemā-ye javūn-e madrese (zan)

Teachers-EZ young-EZ school (female)

‘The young (female) teachers of the school’

60. češmā-ye doxtar-e zībā

Eyes-EZ girl-EZ beautiful

‘The beautiful girl’s eyes’

61. meydūnā-ye šahrā-ye bozorg

Squares-EZ cities-EZ big

‘The squares of the big cities’

62. ketāb-e nevīsande-ye ma’rūf

Book-EZ writer-EZ famous

‘The famous writer’s book’

63. bāg-e xūne-ye jadid

Garden-EZ house-EZ new

‘The garden of the new house’

64. xūne-ye sefid-e bozorg

House-EZ white-EZ big

‘The big white house’

65. pardehā-ye rangī-e gāšang

Curtains-EZ coloured-EZ beautiful

‘The beautiful colored curtains’

66. bāg-e sabz-e gāšang

Garden-EZ green-EZ beautiful

‘The beautiful green garden’

67. dāman-e sefid-e kūtah

Skirt-EZ white-EZ short

‘The white short skirt’

68. doxtarbače-ye topol-e ġařang

Little girl-EZ chubby-EZ beautiful

‘The beautiful chubby little girl’

69. xāhar-e bozorg-e mehrabūn

Sister-EZ big-EZ kind

‘The kind old sister’

70. mādarbozorg-e pīr-e xoř-ġalb

grand mother-EZ old-EZ kind-hearted

‘The kind-hearted, old grandmother’

71. zanān- e javūn-e portalař

Women-EZ young-EZ hardworking

‘The hardworking young women’

72. kolāh-e ābī-e pesar-am

Hat-EZ blue-EZ son-1SG

‘My son’s blue hat’

73. heykal-e dorošt-e pedar-am

Figure-EZ big-EZ father-1SG

‘My father’s big body’

74. mūhā-ye narm-e xāhar-am

Hair-EZ soft-EZ sister-1SG

‘My sister’s soft hair’

75. bače-ye bānamak-e man

Child-EZ sweet-EZ I

‘My sweet child’

76. nosxe-ye pezešk-e bimārestān

Prescription-EZ doctor-EZ hospital

‘The prescription of the hospital doctor’

77. bošgāb-e bērenj-e restūrān

Plate-EZ rice-EZ restaurant

‘The plate of rice of the restaurant’

78. zēndēgi-ye siyāsatmadārān-e donyā  
Life-EZ politicians-EZ world

‘The life of the world politicians’

79. dāvar-e mosābegāt-e fūtbāl  
Referee-EZ matches-EZ football

‘The referee of the football matches’

80. ketāb-e xāhar-e modīr (zan)  
Book-EZ sister-EZ chief (female)

‘The chief’s sister’s book’

81. pīrāhan-e doxtar-e ra’yīs (zan)  
Dress-EZ daughter-EZ boss (female)

‘The dress of the boss’s daughter’

82. rūsarī-ye xāhar-e mo’allem (zan)  
Scarf-EZ sister-EZ teacher (female)

‘The scarf of the teacher’s sister’

83. kīf-e doxtar-e ostād (zan)  
Bag-EZ daughter-EZ teacher (female)

‘The bag of the university teacher’s daughter’

#### 4. ADVERBS

84. ūn sarī’ rāh mire  
s/he swift way go.3SG

‘He walks swiftly.’

85. ’lī tond harf mizane  
Ali quick speak hit.3SG

‘Ali speaks quickly.’

86. man bozorg minvīs-am  
I big write-1SG

‘I write in big letters.’

87. ūn tamīz kār mikone  
s/he clean work do.3SG

‘She works neatly.’

88. rēzā ārūm harf mizane  
Reza quite speak hit.3SG

‘Reza speaks quietly.’

89. mādar-am yavāš gazā mixore  
Mother-1SG slow food eat.3SG

‘My mother eats slowly.’

90. ūn doxtar kasīf minvīse  
that girl dirty write.3SG

‘That girl writes untidily.’

91. ūn monazzam minvīse  
s/he disciplined.PART write.3SG

‘He writes tidily.’

## 5. VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

92. āyā namāyandatūn-o entexāb kard-īn?

QW MP-2PL-OM choose did-2PL

‘Did you vote for your MP?’

93. ’alī be mīnā eltēmās kard

Ali to Mina beg did.3SG

‘Ali begged Mina.’

94. az īn dāstān ĉe natīje migīr-īn?

from this story what conclusion take-2PL

‘What do you conclude from this story?’

95. ’ajale nakon

hurry NEG.do.2SG

‘Don’t rush.’

96. ūn mīla ro kaj kard  
s/he rod OM bent did.3SG

‘He bent the rod.’

97. āftāb sabzīyā ro zard kard  
sun vegetables OM yellow did.3SG

‘The sun turned the vegetables into yellow.’

98. ūn az xejālat ġermēz šod  
s/he from shyness red became.3SG

‘She blushed out of shyness.’

99. deraxt-e kūčīk kam kam bozorg miše  
Tree-EZ small little little big become.3SG

‘The small tree will grow little by little.’

100. mā aġlab tū ketābxūne dars mixūn-īm  
we often in library lesson read-1PL

‘We often study at the library.’

101. īn ketāb pārsāl tarjome šod  
this book last year translation became.3SG

‘This book was translated last year.’

102. ūna dar hāle motālē’-an  
they in state study- are

‘They are studying.’

103. sarbāza dar moġābel-ē došman moġāvemat kard-an  
soldiers in front-EZ enemy resistance did-3PL

‘The soldiers stood up to the enemy.’

104. arteš hamē-ye mardom-o mosallah kard  
army all-EZ people- OM armed did.3SG

‘The army armed all the people.’

105. vaġti sē sālē būd yatīm šod  
when three year was orphan became.3SG

‘She became an orphan when she was three.’

106. doxtarak otāg ro morattab kard  
Girl little room OM tidy did.3SG

‘The little girl tidied up the room.’

107. ūn bā raftār-eš pedar-o mādar-eš-o nāomīd kard  
s/he with behaviour-3SG father- and mother-3SG-OM disappointed did.3SG

‘He disappointed his parents with his behaviour.’

108. mā tū pārk xeymē zad-īm  
we in park tent hit-1PL

‘We pitched our tents in the park.’

109. mardom hame mosallah šod-an  
people all armed became-3PL

‘All people became armed.’

110. otāg morattab šode būd  
room tidy become.PART was

‘The room was tidied up.’

## 6. CONJUNCTIONS

111. ūn do bače dāre man ham do bače dār-am  
s/he two child have.3SG I too two child have-1SG

‘He has two children; I have two children, too.’

112. ’alī be madresē raft. man ham raft-am  
Ali to school went.3SG I too went-1SG

‘Ali went to school; I went, too.’

113. ham ’alī o ham man be pārk raft-īm  
too Ali and too I to park went-1PL

‘Both Ali and I went to the park.’

114. agarče saxt talāš kard valī barande našod  
although hard try did.3SG but winner NEG.became.3SG

‘Although he tried hard, he didn’t win.’

116. ūn tanhā be pārk raft agarče mādar-eš goft ke nare

he/she alone to park went.3SG although mother-3SG said.3SG REL NEG.go. SUBJ.3SG

‘He went to the park alone, although his mother had told him not to.’

117. agarče xast-am valī bāyad kār-o tamūm kon-am  
although tired-1SG but should work-OM finish do-1SG

‘Although I am tired, I have to finish the job.’

119. ūn na tanhā bāhūš-e balke šojā’ ham hast  
s/he not only clever-is but brave too is

‘He is not only clever, but also brave.’

120. mādar-am na tanhā zarfā ro šost balke xūna ro ham tamīz kard  
Mother-1SG not only dishes OM washed.3SG but house OM too clean did.3SG

‘My mother not only washed the dishes, but also cleaned the house.’

121. na tanhā mādar-am balke pedar-am tū īran-an  
not only mother-1SG but father-1SG in Iran- are

‘Not only my mother, but also my father is in Iran.’

122. īn sā’at gerūn valī xūb-e

this watch expensive but good- is

‘This watch is expensive but good.’

123. ūn čāg-e valī xeilī sarī’-e

s/he fat-is but very quick-is

‘She is fat but very quick.’

124. ūn zūd be xūne bargāšt valī šohar-eš dīr ūmad

she soon to house returned.3SG but husband-3SG late came.3SG

‘She returned home early, but her husband came late.’

125. ’ahmad taklīf-eš ro tamūm kard valī dūst-eš

Ahmad homework-3SG OM finish did.3SG but friend-3SG

tamūm nakard

finish NEG.did.3SG

‘Ahmad finished his homework, but his friend did not.’

## APPENDIX: TWO

### TEXT 1

<sup>60</sup>*xō*, xāṭera l-arīd asoləf l-əč l-laði aḥḥəssan hiyya hāy ġayyirat masīr ‘iṣ-ti w aḥəssan  
'āna maθalan mā-ni mərtāḥa mən ‘ədha w hāy aṣārat sabab maθalan 'āna aḍallan liə warā,  
lo mā-ni mərtāḥa lo hassa l-laði a-lan kəlši *n-nākāmīyāt*, haḍan l-aḍīyya, l-mašākəl a-lan dūn  
šay 'āna ašūfan-na , 'āna ašūfan-na kəlla yərja' sabab-ha l-huwa l-hāy l-mas'ala,  
taḥ-il-i. 'āna aḥəssan hāy l-laði mā ġidarət əf-farəd šəkəl 'āddi məθəl bāgi *ham-sennat-i*,  
bāgi adīgat-i yo məθəl xawāt-i, yo haḍan l-banāt č-čān-an əb-sənn-i yo... ya'nī lo čənət  
məθəl-hen w heči čənət l-marātəb 'āna m'adyat-ha... *xōb!* w hāy sabab ham l-laði gabol

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<sup>60</sup> All italicized words in the texts are Persian loans.

čān maθalan jāheliyyat wāyəd čān qalil, mašākəl zāyda ham čānat w 'āna *ham* čənət  
 čəbira..... j-jāheliyya čān zāyəd, j-jāheliyya čān wāyəd zāyəd. mā čān 'əd-hom maθalan  
 məθəl hasa, fəkər-hom mā čān *āzād*. mā čān-aw 'əd-hom *pīšraft fəkri* yo tarǧǧi hāða  
 t-tamaddon l-hassa nḥəṭ esma. mā čān 'əd-hom e'tegād bə-'an ḥatman kūn l-bət trūḥ  
 madrəsa. *albate* čān-an *ham* b-ḏič z-zamān banāt č-čān-an yarḥan, ḥatta *dānešgāh ham*  
 čān-an yarḥan, bas *xō* ba'až-hom čān 'əd-hom šway ta'a·ob w čān *ham* farəd wakət  
 l-laḏi 'āna čənət f-farəd *dorān* farəd nob šabbēt w wāyəd kəbarət w b-ḏič l-laḥða ham  
 l-...'āna *dorān* ebtedā'i-ti xallə·at. Ya'nī aḏkur awwal yom l-'āna rəḥət akaḏḏan *kārnāmat*  
*panjom ebtedā'i* bə-rraj'a, l-yom rəja'ət 'āna šəfət awwal xaṭṭāb čān yāy. *xōb* w aḥəssan  
 hāy l-laḏi maθalan sārət māne'. ba'ad, mən ba'ad hāy j-jaryān kaḏḏ-aw jalasa bə-'an  
 isaww-ūn w hāy ba'ad mā-yriḏ trūḥ tsawwi *sabt-e nām*, mā lāzəm trūḥ *rāhnamā'i*. šǧad mā  
 tarajj-aw mən-hom, maθalaan layla ta'aḏḏat, wāyəd ta'aḏḏat gallat-l-hom kūn trūḥ.  
 l-marḥūm jawād ham allā yrəḥma čān šway mətəḏḏi čio čānat madrəsa l-kūn asawwi  
 wyā-ha *sabt-e nām* kəlləš mjābla madrəsət l-olād, θniən madrəsət olād, *rāhnamā'i* w  
*dabīrēstān* w ḥaǧiǧa wāǧe'an ham lo čān iǧūl ham ədəǧ. čān-aw yəxtalṭ-ūn l-banāt w l-olād  
 čān-aw yəxtalṭ-ūn. w wāyəd čān i·ir, maθalan čān-aw izāḥm-ūn l-banāt w huwwa *ham* čam  
*mored ham* čān šāyəf. *xōb* b-ḏḏāk l-wakət mənna ta'a·ob w mənna 'āna *ham* čān-aw  
 šāyf-īn yāy li xaṭṭāb w ba'ad ḥass-aw hā čā hāy wə·lat es-sən l-əzdəwāj w hāy mā hū farəd  
 šī wājəb yo lāzəm ḥatman trūḥ l-əl-madrəsa. xolāse *hič* mā rəḥ-na madrəsa, mā rəḥ-na  
 l-əl-madrəsa w hāða l-xaṭṭāb ham *xōb* mā-nṭo w mā ·arat ba'ad , *hič* rāḥ.

Well! the memory I want to tell you, that I feel changed the path of my life, the one that I don't feel comfortable with and the one that caused me to stay behind, regress, or not to be happy, or now that...in fact everything, the misfortunes, these troubles, problems, in fact the smallest thing I face (see) I see it all as the result of this issue, my education. I feel because I could not pass the steps in a normal way like the rest of my age mates, the rest of my friends or like my sisters, or these girls that were the same age as me or... if I were like them or passed the grades like this... well! And this also happened because there was ignorance in the past, for example the ignorance was very little. There were a lot of problems, too and I was big (grown up)... the ignorance was high- the ignorance was high. They did not have an open mind like now. They did not have development of thoughts or progression, this civilization, what we call it today. They did not believe that a girl must necessarily go to school. Of course, there were girls at that time that were going. They were even going to the university, well, but some of them (parents) were a bit strict and it was the time, I was at a stage of time that I grew up quickly. And at that moment that I finished my primary school education, I mean I remember the first day I went to get the certificate of my fifth grade in primary school, in the way back home, when I returned I saw my first suitor had come. Well, so I feel this was the reason that stopped me/ closed the way, for example. Then, after this issue, they had a meeting that they do things, she is not to go for registration, and she does not need to go to the secondary school. They were begged (some relatives begged them), for example Leila was annoyed, very annoyed. She said to them that she must go. Jawad, May God bless his soul, was very annoyed, because the school that I was to register in was directly opposite the boys' school, two boys' schools, secondary and high school. And, honestly, if he was saying that, it was true. They got

mixed with the girls and the boys got mixed with the girls and it was like, they were troubling (harassing) the girls and he himself had witnessed a few cases. Well, at that time, strictness from one side and they had seen that I had been proposed to, so they felt well! She has reached her marriage age/time and that it was not obligatory or necessary for her to go to school. In sum, we didn't go to school. We didn't go to school and the suitor was also refused and it didn't happen. He left.

## TEXT 2

*āšpazzāne əḥna ham gāfl-īn-a, məθəl mənna əḥna gāfl-īn-a ba'ad l-panjara š-bī f āyda , l-bāb magfūl. kə-r-aw l-bāb, kə-r-aw l-bāb w fakk-ō-li l-bāb, yābō-li 'alī daššiət, daššiət l-yārāt daxxəl-an rā-dan nnām w-yāč. wəḥda hīyya w šərīcat-ha, gālat bət rayl-ī tnām w-yčā. lā bāba 'āna mā xāfan folān w bahmān, amman 'āna mərta'b-a ba'ad ya'nī kəlləš borīde būd-am. daššiət ša'alt l-fān-ū amman mā 'endi ḥāl. haḏōl θnīən-hom mā-y'arf-ūn*

yəḥč-ūn, wyā-man aḥč-i wyā-man agdar, w č- čaləb yənbah wī rəd liə-warā, mū wādəm trḥū w tiyyī ləgrāyāt, nə·-l-ləil *dasejāt* yənbah č- čaləb hassa mā dri yənbah ‘ala wādəm, ḥarāmī yrīd iyyī-n-na, mā adri xanzir mā adri šənhi, w l-*panjara* kəl wəḥda škəbər-ha blayya ḥefāz, w ’āna ḍālla, ḍālla, memtaḥna mjābla hēc l-*panjara* w gā‘da, balla yamta aḥḥad ifək l-bāb w idəš ‘alay. mən ‘əšyāt lə·- ·ubuh haḍōl θnīən l-əfrūx nāym-in w ’āna gā‘da hēc, ḥaṭṭa yd-i hēc wa ‘āyən l-əl-*panjara*. kəl mā yənbah č-čaləb ba‘ad ’āna galb-i yənsələ‘ w iṭih . lamman mā ·ār ·- ·ubuh ba‘ad ’āna mayta. yom θ-θānī ·ərət majbūr-a, yəbət bət irān-na. ḍallē-na ‘abāra santīən. mən ba‘ad santīən iyyē-na rəja‘-na l-šīrāz, šīrāz.... iyyē-na ḥaṭṭē-na b-ḥōš farəd wāḥəd igəll-ū-l-a sālemi. mən ba‘ad mudda nnob xo rəḥ-na bəl ābādī l-laḍi ənti yyē-ti, yəbnāč gādī. mən l-ābādī nnob kaḍḍē-na ḥōš šerkat naṭi, b-əl-manāzəl. sanat zəmān xalla· *garār-dād*-na nnob ənti ba‘ad rəḥ-ti, sanat zəmān w rəḥ-ti, klā· rābə‘čən-ti. ənti rəja‘-ti əḥna rdūd ḥawwal-na məkān, *ham* kaḍḍē-na ḥōš, *ham* sana, ḥudūdan θalθ snīn nnob ḍallē-na b-šīrāz. ‘ali w ayman *ham* čān ubū-hum b-hāḍ l-ḥōš l-laḍi ba‘ad mā ku aḥḥad, *ham* ubu-hum iyya l-el-hawāz w θnīən-hum iḥa·b-ūn w l-iḥa·ub *ham* šadīd itəmarrad mū məθəl hassa, hassa wāksan iṭəgg-ū-ll-a hassa l-ḥamd-əlla lā aḥmad w lā minā w lā mahā mā ftəkər ḥa·əb-aw mā šəfət ḥa·əb-aw ’āna.

Kitchen, we had locked it, too. For example we had locked it from here, what use could the window have? The door was locked. They smashed the door and opened the door for me. They brought Ali for me, I went in, and I went in. The neighbours insisted that they would sleep over with me. One of them with her *šərīča* (the husband’s second wife), she said that her husband’s daughter would stay with me. ‘No I am not scared’ and things like that. But I was terrified, I mean I had completely lost it (I had no energy). I went in. I turned the

lantern on, but I was not feeling well. Both of these two (kids) could not talk. Who should I speak to? With who could I ...

And the dog kept barking, because people were going and coming to the ceremony, at midnight there were groups of mourners. The dog was barking. I don't know whether it was barking at the people, a thief was coming to us? I don't know. I don't know what, and the window, each one was so big without any fence and I was there, was there, confused, facing the window like this (she demonstrates) and was sitting, waiting to see when someone is going to open the door and enter. From the evening until the morning these two kids were asleep and I was sitting like this (she demonstrates). I was putting my hand like this (she demonstrates) and was looking at the window. Every time the dog barks my heart stops (lit. it is pulled out and falls). Until the morning I was nearly dead. The second day I had to bring the daughter of our neighbours. We stayed there for about two years. After two years we went back to Shiraz, Shiraz. We came and resided in the house of someone called Salemi. After a while we went to the Abadi (a district) that you came to. We brought you there. From the Abadi we rented a house from the oil company, from the housing. Our contract ended in year. You went, then. One year and you went. You were in year four. You went back. We changed place again. We rented a house also for a year. For about three years we stayed in Shiraz. Ali and also Ayman, their father was in this house, that there was no one, and their father came to Ahwaz and both of them got measles, and when someone gets measles he gets badly ill. It was not like now. Nowadays they get injections. Now, thank God, none of Ahmed, Mina and Maha, I don't think they got measles. I did not see them get measles.

### TEXT 3

Šāf θ-θənīən rab‘a l-yəštaġl-ūn wy-ā w əbn **ṣultān**. dag ‘ala rās-a gāzər,leṭam, l-mara xtəršat ..āyər, hassa šī fək-na əbn **ṣultān**. xolāse yāb-aw māy. fakk-aw l-bāb, yāb-aw māy, čabb-aw ‘alīə-hum māy hāy, nədho-hum, šənhū s-sālfā ? soləf-o-l-hum. gal-hum čā lā əntom jjawb-ūn-na, lā l-mara b-əl-bīət, čā hāḏa j-jawāb j-jāwab-na šənhū? gal-hum hāḏ

l-biət w dawr-ū, alā ləgiət-u ši bī šmā t-tard-ūn saww-aw. fakk-aw l-biət ləg-aw *hič* xāli l-biət mā-bī ši, *hič* mā ku. waxxar-aw wəḥda lll... l-*pardāt* w hāy bas šāf-aw xonfəsān. hassa bəl fārsī mādri ši gəll-ū-ll-a xonfəsān. əḥna ygəll-ū-ll-a *botol*, 'i *sūsk* ḏāk amman hāḏ iḡəll-ū-ll-a *botol*, hāḏ xonfəsān l-aswad. ləg-aw xonfəsān. hāy l-mart, mart lə-ḡlām, ḡəzər gallat-l-a yuba ta'āl ḡēr l, hāḏ l-xonfəsān š-təlga 'əd-na ḥatta yəḡdar hēc ijāwb-ak, hāḏ l-ḥəs l-etgūl 'alīə hāḏa ḥatta l-'ədhum bət umm θamənta'aš sana w sabə'ta'aš sana mā 'əd-ha hāḏ l-ḥəs, əntom šlōn hēc gət-tu. gal-ha 'āna štəbəh θ-θāni yəštəbəh, θalāθat-na hāḏ l-ḥəs səm'ē-na. hāy č-čəḏba mən 'əd-kum. 'ədkum bət w ḏāmm-in-ha. 'i xolāse dawwar-aw mənā mənā gallat-la 'āna hassa āxəḏ hāḏ l-xonfəsān kəll-a aḏəbb-a barra wa rawḥann-ak, arawḥan-kum. lammat l-xonfəsān kəll-a bə-ṣaṭul w hāy ḏəbbatt-a barra. ḏallat xonfəsāna čəbīr-a. ḏallat xonfəsāna čəbīr-a, əbn *ṣultān*, čīə ubu *sultān* w fāhəm w šāyəf w tajrəba w fāhəm 'əd-hum w kamāl 'əd-hum, ḡāl š ... s-sālfā 'əd həyya hāy l-xonfəsāna č-čəbīr-a l-ḥəḏat nafəs-ha w tkattarat, mā nḏabbat barra.

He saw his two friends that work with him and the Sultan's son. Gazer hit himself on the head, hit himself. The woman got terrified, 'what has happened?' 'Now what will protect us from the Sultan's son?' Any way (in sum) they brought some water. They opened the door. They brought water and splashed some on them. They woke them up. 'What is the story?' They told them. He said to them 'you neither reply to us nor is the woman in the house. So what is this reply that we got?' He said to them 'here is the house search it. If you find anything in it you can do whatever you want.' They opened the house (door), they saw nothing; the house was empty. There was nothing. They pulled one of the curtains and like this away. They only saw cockroaches. Now I don't know what they call it in Persian.

We, they call it *botol*. Yes that is *susk*, but this is called *botol*, these black cockroaches. They found cockroaches. This woman, the wife of the servant said to him ‘come what can you find with us other than these cockroaches that (you say) could reply to in that way? This voice that you are talking about, even those who have eighteen and seventeen-year-old girls, a girl of this age does not have this voice. How did you say such a thing?’ He said to her I (maybe) am mistaken, the second one (maybe) is mistaken, the three of us heard the voice. This is a lie from you (you are lying). You have a daughter and have hidden her. Any way (in sum) they searched here and there. She said to him ‘I am going to take all these cockroaches and threw them away to make you feel better, make you (plural) feel better. She gathered all the cockroaches in a bucket and this and threw them out. There remained a big cockroach. There remained a big cockroach. The Sultan’s son, because his father was a Sultan and knowledgeable and had seen things and they had understanding and experience and they had knowledge, he said ‘the story lies in this big cockroach that saved herself and pulled herself away and was not thrown out.’

