

**A Syntactic Analysis of Particle-Based
Exclamatives in Gulf Arabic**

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the syntactic structures and the properties of three particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic: vocative exclamatives which involve two particles *yā* and *?aya*, and non-vocative exclamatives which involve the particle *?amā*. It implements Chomsky (1995)'s Minimalist Program with Rizzi (1997)'s Split CP Hypothesis in the analysis of the data. Previous researches on the structure of exclamatives in Arabic are limited to Modern Standard Arabic rather than its varieties. This limitation results in an insufficient data on exclamatives in Gulf Arabic. For this reason, the purpose of this thesis is to enrich the syntax of Arabic by providing a minimalist account for three types of particle-based exclamative constructions in Gulf Arabic. I propose that particle-based exclamatives, whether vocative or non-vocative, are derived from the underlying verb *?a-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) and the preposition *min* (*about*). These particle-based exclamatives are derived via the ellipsis of the tense phrase which dominates the verb phrase and the preposition. The exclamative particle licenses their ellipsis by blocking the Tense Phrase and the preposition from spelling out to surface. I also propose that exclamative particles are complex by carrying two features: the exclamative feature and the deictic feature. Due to their complexity, exclamative particles are decomposable into two heads: an exclamative head and a deictic head, in accordance to Tsoulas (2015) and (2016)'s approach.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References. I declare that I used part of Chapter 5 in my published paper entitled *The Derivation of Vocative Exclamatives with the Particle ?aya in Gulf Arabic* in the International Journal of Language and Linguistics. I also declare that I used part of Chapter 7 in my published paper entitled *Rethinking Vocative and Vocative Exclamative Particles in Arabic* in the proceedings of the conference of LILA'16: The International Linguistics and Language Studies by DAKAM.

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Date **12/October/2020**

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

An exclamative is a type of a sentence or a clause that expresses surprise or feelings. The structure of exclamatives has not been focused on as much as the structures of interrogatives and declaratives. Researchers, including Rett (2011) divided exclamatives into two main types based on their syntactic structure: *exclamation* and *exclamative*. The term *exclamation* is used to refer to utterances which express surprise in the form of a declaration. *Exclamatives* are the utterances which express surprise in three different forms: DPs, inversion and wh-questions. Certain issues have been raised about the structural, semantic and pragmatic analysis of exclamatives including: how to differentiate between an interrogative and a wh-exclamative, how to account for exclamatives in terms of factivity, what type of force is associated with exclamatives, and how to interpret exclamatives semantically. However, particle-based exclamatives receives less attention in the literature. For this reason, this thesis aims at enriching the linguistic data by accounting for three types

of particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, which have not been tackled before.

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to characterize the structures of three types of particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, an understudied variety of Arabic, and to identify their syntactic properties alongside their derivational process. These types of exclamatives are divided into two main groups: (i) *vocative exclamatives*, and (ii) *non-vocative exclamatives*. Vocative exclamatives which are tackled in this thesis involve two vocative exclamative particles *yā* and *?aya*. The non-vocative exclamatives involve the exclamative particle *?amā*. I will, then, investigate the properties and behaviour of these particles and contribute to a newer approach towards their decomposition.

The analysis focuses on Gulf Arabic which is a colloquial variety of the Arabic language. It is the spoken language of six countries surrounding the Arabian Gulf on the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula. These countries are: the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates, the Northern Province of Oman, and Qatar. Even though each of the six countries have several dialects, they all share the Gulf Arabic dialect with slight variation in vocabulary and pronunciation. The term *Gulf Arabic* is well-known as a dialect among researches, including but not limited to Palfreyman and Khalil (2003), Biadisy et al. (2009), Holes and Haddad (1984), and AlQahtani (2016). Since the core analysis of this thesis is syntactic, the variation between the dialects of the Gulf countries are not of the interest of this thesis. All of the provided data in this thesis exist in Gulf Arabic and are common in the Gulf countries.

The reason for selecting Gulf Arabic is due to the insufficient linguistic data on this variety of Arabic. Researches on exclamation in Arabic have been concerned with the Modern Standard rather than the spoken varieties. The limitation of the syntactic studies of spoken Arabic dialects lies in the fact that Modern Standard Arabic is firmly connected to religion and culture among the Arab world because of being the dialect of the Holy Quran and the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, even though their dialect is Classical Arabic. Arabists restricted their studies to Modern Standard Arabic in order to maintain the heritage of the Islamic culture. They considered other spoken dialects as deviations from the Standard. Modern Standard Arabic has been given a high status socially but not linguistically. Languages have a long tradition to disregard dialectal variations in order to maintain standardization, such as Classical Greek. The native language of Arabs is the local dialect, whereas they learn Modern Standard Arabic at schools. The local dialect is acquired since birth and is spoken in every sector. It is until recently that researchers have become interested in investigating the syntactic structures of different varieties of Arabic, including but not limited to, Levant, Egyptian, Gulf, and North African Arabic. These spoken varieties are structurally different but illuminating to find out how the language faculty works. Gulf Arabic exhibits significant differences as well as similarities with Modern Standard Arabic. Therefore, this thesis provides a comparative analysis with the relevant data from Modern Standard Arabic and points out how a single language can vary within its own variety.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. The introductory chapter provides an overview of the aim and purpose of this thesis, and describes the adopted framework and the main proposals. Chapter 2 introduces the key concepts of the Arabic syntax in Modern Standard

Arabic and Gulf Arabic. Chapter 3 introduces exclamatives in both Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic. It also identifies the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of exclamatives and vocatives and points out the main properties of particles. Chapter 4 presents the previous studies of exclamatives which are found in the literature. It then provides previous studies on vocatives and ends with the previous analyses on particles.

The analysis of the data from Gulf Arabic falls into three chapters. Chapter 5 analyses vocative exclamatives. It is divided into two sections: the first section analyses vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*, the second section provides an analysis of the second type of vocative exclamatives with the particle *ʔaya*. Chapter 6 analyses non-vocative exclamatives with the particle *ʔaīnā*. Chapter 7 is dedicated to the properties and decomposition of exclamative particles. The last Chapter is dedicated to the conclusion which is followed by a list of references.

1.3 Framework

The framework which this thesis adopts is Chomsky (1995)'s **Minimalist Program** alongside with Rizzi (1997)'s **Split CP Hypothesis** which falls under the umbrella of the Minimalist Program. This program is a development of Generative Grammar which manifests a universal sets of principles valid to all languages. One of the crucial questions with which the Minimalist Program is concerned is why languages have the properties they have. This minimalist question is tackled throughout the thesis to account for the properties of exclamatives and exclamative particles.

The analysis of exclamatives is based on the notion *Merge* of the Minimalist Program.

Merge is an operation which combines two syntactic elements and creates a higher node in the hierarchy. Feature checking is what triggers the *Merge* operation, Chomsky (1995).

Rizzi (1997)'s **Split CP Hypothesis** is implemented in this thesis because the structure of particle-based exclamatives requires the split of the Complementizer Phrase (CP) layer to the functional categories where the existence of the Focus Phrase is crucial.

As for the decomposition of exclamative particles, I adopt Tsoulas (2015) and Tsoulas (2017)'s approach in decomposing Greek particles. He considers particles as complex rather than simple which paves the way to novel insights into the analysis of particles in Arabic.

1.4 Proposal

I propose that particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic have an underlying Tense Phrase (TP) *?a-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) and the preposition *min* (*about*). They are derived through an ellipsis operation of these underlying Tense Phrase and the preposition. The exclamative particles license the ellipsis of the TP which dominates the verb *?a-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) by blocking it from spelling out. The remnants maintain the meaning of the elided elements. The preposition *min* (*about*) is also blocked from spelling out because preposition stranding do not exist in in Gulf Arabic, Leung (2014).

Exclamative particles are clause-initial discourse particles which are generated in the CP-domain based on Rizzi (1997)'s SPLIT CP HYPOTHESIS. Exclamative particles are functional heads located at the highest projection at the left periphery as a subcase of force phrase (ForceP). In line with Jónsson (2017), the vocative exclamative and exclamative particles select only a focus phrase (FocP) as their complement. I suggest that particle-

based exclamationatives are gradable, and that a Degree Phrase hosts the exclamationative nominals.

I also propose that exclamationative particles as well as vocative particles are complex by carrying two features, which leads to the compatibility of decomposing them into two heads.

Chapter 2

Background Notions on Arabic

Syntax

2.1 Introduction

Arabic language belongs to the Semitic language group. It can be divided into main groups: standard and vernaculars. Gulf Arabic, which is the dialect of the data tackled in this thesis, is one of the vernaculars of Arabic. In order to investigate the structures of exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, this chapter briefly provides background notions on the Arabic syntax. Researches found in the literature focus on the grammar of Modern Standard Arabic rather than its spoken vernaculars. It is until recently that researchers become interested in investigating the syntax of different varieties of Arabic, including but not limited to, Aoun et al. (2009), Benmamoun (2000), and Kenstowicz (1989).

Modern Standard Arabic was known as Classical Arabic in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic era, Ryding (2014, 7). Classical Arabic has developed into Standard Arabic,

and then to Modern Standard Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic is the formal language used in writing, education, media, speeches and government. Arabic vernaculars are the native language of 480 million speakers all over the world and the official language in the Middle East, North Africa, and East Africa. The Arabic grammatical tradition started in the seventh century when Sibawayh wrote a descriptive grammar of Classical Arabic. Sibawayh (1977)'s book *Al-Kitaab (The Book)* has set the fundamental rules of the written form of Classical Arabic. The rules of Modern Standard Arabic, then, are also based on Sibawayh's grammar, Ryding (2014).

Nowadays, Modern Standard Arabic is no longer used as a spoken language in daily life conversations. It is spoken only in official contexts, such as TV news and some programmes, court, and teaching classes. The colloquial Arabic is the spoken language in wider sectors, including but not limited to, daily life conversations. This colloquial Arabic varies between the Arab countries according to their geographical regions, Ryding (2014). Arabic dialects are diverse, such as Gulf, Moroccan, Iraqi, Egyptian, Yemen, Levant, Najdi and Hejazi Arabic. These dialects are considered as the native language of speakers rather than the Modern Standard Arabic. Researches involving Arabic dialects focused on dialectology, sociolinguistics, code-switching and formal syntax, Ryding (2014, 1). Because of the wide range of Arabic dialects, there is no sufficient syntactic data as it is the case with Modern Standard Arabic. Moreover, The grammatical rules of the spoken dialects are continuously changing and developing over time. Therefore, the rules of the grammar are not comprehensively documented, Brustad (2000).

The differences between the standard and the spoken varieties of a language create an interesting area for research. However, Modern Standard Arabic is dealt with in this thesis

as a reference when needed. This research focuses on Gulf Arabic which is the dialect spoken in the east coast of the Arab Peninsula. It is the dialect of six countries which surround the Arabian Gulf Sea: The Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates and the Northern Province of Oman. These countries are called the Gulf countries, and their spoken language is called Gulf Arabic. Even though each country has distinct dialects, they have lots in common. In this research, the data of exclamatives are commonly used among the six countries and particularly between the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabic and Kuwait.

This chapter introduces the basic properties of Modern Standard Arabic as a reference point and provides an overview of Gulf Arabic. It also describes the syntax of determiner phrases (DPs), construct states and adjectives as a background on which the data of exclamatives are built on.

2.2 Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic is characterized by VSO word-order, templatic patterns of verbs, null pronouns, construct states, nominal sentences and overt case-marking system which are briefly discussed in this section. The structures of determiner phrases (DPs) and construct states are to be discussed in more details since these structures are involved in vocative exclamatives.

As for the VSO word-order, it is the most common type of order in Arabic though it is not the only one. It can also have SVO word-order. The following is an example of each word-order:

- (1) V S O
ya-ʔkulu Aḥmad-u al-tuffaḥat-a.
3-eat Ahmad-NOM the-apple-ACC

Ahmad is eating the apple.

- (2) S V O
Aḥmad-u ya-ʔkulu al-tuffaḥat-a.
Ahmad-NOM 3-eat the-apple-ACC

Ahmad is eating the apple.

Both (1) and (2) are grammatical and acceptable in the language, yet (1) sounds more natural. Arabic is also characterized by its morphological templates and patterns on which most of its word-formation processes are based. This templatic morphology can be defined as *"a form of word structure represented by a template in which roots are accompanied by a sequence of slots in fixed positions, filled by mutually exclusive systems of contrasting affixes"* (Matthews, 2007, p. 403). The specific model root of Arabic is {f-ʕ-l}, meaning (do).

The roots of the Arabic verb consist of either three consonants (triliteral roots) as {k-t-b} (write), or four consonants (quadriliteral roots) as {t-r-j-m} (translate). The following Table 2.1 represents the templatic patterns of the triliteral verb (V) {k-t-b} (write):

root	past tense 3sg	present tense 3sg	present tense 1sg	imperative
{f-ʕ-l}	faʕala	ya-fflu	ʔa-ffalu	ʔi-ffal
do	did	3-does	1-do	2-do
{k-t-b}	kataba	ya-ktubu	ʔa-ktubu	ʔi-ktub
write	wrote	3-write	1-write	2-write

Table 2.1: Templatic Patterns of the Root {k-t-b} *write*

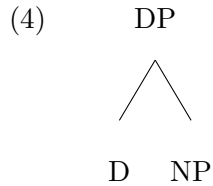
Null pronouns are common in Arabic. Example (3-a) sounds more natural than (3-b) even though both are grammatical.

- (3) a. ʔaʕaða al-kitāb-a!
 take.PV the-book-ACC
 He took the book.
- b. ʔaʕaða huwa al-kitāb-a!
 take.PV he the-book-ACC
 He took the book.

2.2.1 Determiner Phrase

A determiner is a pronominal item which belongs to any of these classes: demonstratives, articles, possessives, cardinal numerals or quantifiers, Longobardi (2001). A determiner phrase is a phrase which consists of a determiner and its complement noun phrase. For consistency and clarity purposes, I have adapted Longobardi (2001) in which determinerless nominal phrases are projected as DPs with an empty D head. The following representation

illustrates the structure of DPs adopted in this thesis:



In order to present the analysis of particle-based exclamatives against a motivated background, this subsection provides the basic structures of a determiner phrase in terms of definiteness, agreement with an adjectival phrase (henceforth AP), and containing a possessor. These structures of DPs will appear frequently in the analysis of particle-based exclamatives in this thesis.

According to Holes (1995) and (Ryding, 2005, 156), noun phrases in Arabic inherit definiteness from three different ways:

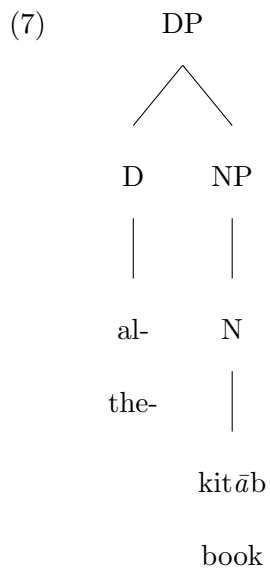
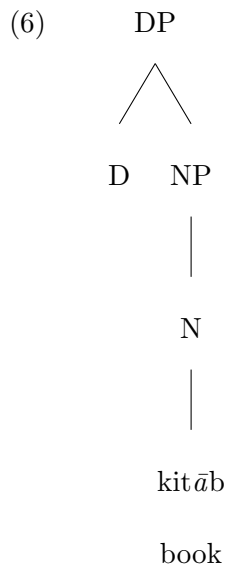
1. by prefixing the definite article *al-* (*the*) to the noun,
2. by adding a possessive pronoun as a postnominal suffix, or
3. the construct state (*iDaffa*)

When the the definite article *al-* (*the*) is prefixed to a noun, the noun phrase is marked definite, and the article occupies the D head position, Hoyt (2008). The following are two examples where (a) is a bare nominal and (b) is a definite nominal:

- (5)
- a. kitāb
book
 - b. al-kitāb
the-book

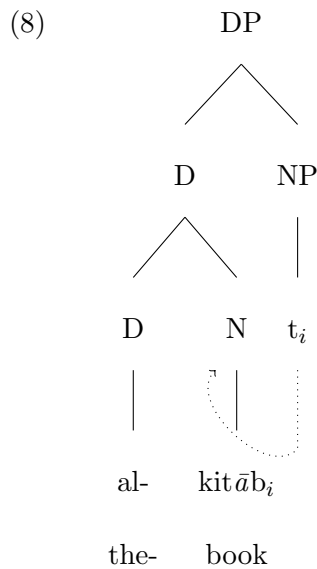
the book

Based on the representation in (4), the representations of (5-a) and (5-b) would be projected below respectively:



The representation (6) shows a determiner phrase where the D head is null. The D head is involved in the structure to satisfy the definite feature. The D has an uninterpretable N feature which needs to be checked. The tree in (7) represents a definite determiner phrase with an overt D head.

According to Hoyt (2008), the nominal head in Arabic raises to the D head position in an N-to-D movement. If the D head is an empty category, the N head raises to occupy the D head position. If the D head is occupied with the article *al-* (*the*), the N also raises and merged with the D head, and thus, resulted in an NP prefixed with a definite article. The following represents the N-to-D movement of (7):



2.2.1.1 DP Containing an Attributive Adjective

Attributive Adjectives in Arabic can be prefixed with the definite article *al-* (*the*), Holes (1995) and Ryding (2005). These are adjectives which modify a preceding noun and agree with it in terms of definiteness, gender, number and case. The following are two examples

which illustrate the the agree relationship between the noun and its modifying attributive adjective:

(9) al-kitāb-u al-ḡadīd-u
 the-book-NOM the-new-NOM
 the new book

(10) kitāb-un ḡadīd-un
 book-NOM new-NOM
 a new book

Example (9) involves the noun *al-kitāb* (*the-book*) which is definite, masculine, singular noun and is assigned by default a nominative case. It also involves the attributive adjective *al-ḡadīd* (*the-new*) which agrees with its preceding noun. It is definite, masculine, singular and is assigned a nominative case. Example (10), on the contrary, involves an indefinite noun which is assigned an indefinite nominative case known as *nunation*. The term *nunation* refers to the indefinite marker which is the /-n/ suffixed to the overt case marker as a variation of the case marker to mark indefiniteness, (Ryding, 2005, p. 161). Examples of nunation is provided in Table 2.2. The attributive adjective in example (10) also agrees with the noun, and thus, it is indefinite, singular, masculine and is assigned a nominative case.

(12) kitāb-u-ha
 book-NOM-her
 her book

(13) *al-kitāb-u-ha
 the-book-NOM-her
 *her the book

The definite DP in (12) inherits its definiteness from the possessive pronoun *-ha* (*-her*) which is suffixed with the head noun. This suffixed possessive pronoun does not permit the occurrence of the definite article (*al-*) with its preceding head noun. This restriction accounts for the ungrammaticality of example (13). Moreover, the head noun and the suffixed possessive pronoun are adjoined in a construct state where nothing can intervene between them. The following subsection highlights construct states and definiteness.

2.2.1.3 Construct State

The last way of marking a noun with definiteness, which is relevant to this thesis, is through a construct state. A DP can be definite if its head noun is subjoined to another categorical element in a construct state. A Construct state or a genitive construction "*links two nouns together to specify a genitive or possessive relationship between them*" (Brustad, 2000, p. 70). The first noun in the construct state is a bare noun and is called *the construct head* or *possessee*. The second noun is definite and is called *the inner NP* or *possessor*. In Arabic, construct states are not only restricted to the linking of two nouns. Rather, a possessive pronoun can be linked with the head noun forming a construct state, Ryding (2005). The

following exemplifies the possible distributions of construct states including examples (12)

and (13), which are mentioned earlier:

- (14) a. kitāb-u-ha
book-NOM-her
her book
- b. *al-kitāb-u-ha
the-book-NOM-her
*her the book
- (15) a. madīnat-u al-ḫāb-i
city-NOM the-fog-GEN
The city of fog
- b. madīnat-u ḫāb-in
city-NOM fog-GEN
a city of fog
- c. *al-madīnat-u al-ḫāb-i
the-city-NOM the-fog-GEN
?The city of the fog
- (16) a. mudīr-u al-madrasat-i
head.NOM the-school.GEN
the head teacher
- b. mudīr-u madrasat-in
head.NOM school.GEN

a head teacher

- c. *al-mudīr-u al-madrasat-i
 the-head.NOM the-school.GEN
 *the head the teacher

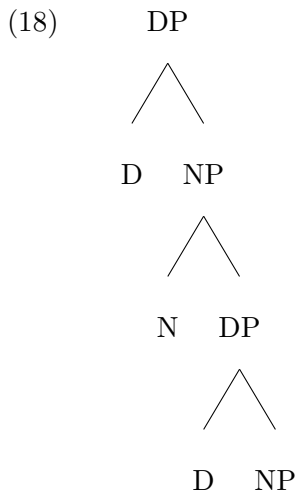
Example (14) shows a construct state which involves a head noun and a possessive pronoun. Examples (15) and (16) show construct states which involve two nouns.

The head noun of the construct state in (16), for instance, is *mudīr-u* (*head*) and *al-madrasat-i* (*the-school*) is its inner NP. The definite DP *al-madrasat-i* (*the school*) is linked to the bare noun *mudīr-u* (*head*) from which the head noun *mudīr-u* (*head*) inherits definiteness. In Arabic language, the construct head is marked for case according to its position within a sentence. However, the inner NP is always assigned a genitive case. For this reason, a construct state is also called a genitive construction. In (16), the construct head *mudīr-u* (*head*) is marked with a nominative case by default, whereas the inner NP *al-madrasat-i* (*the-school*) is assigned a genitive case.

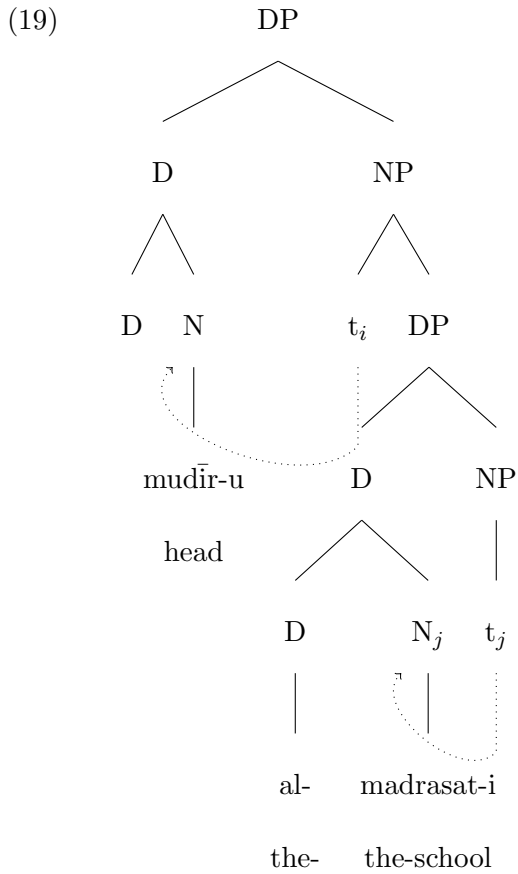
The examples mentioned above indicate that there is a fixed adjacency between the construct head and the inner NP in which nothing can intervene between them, Fassi Fehri (1998). Thus, the established labelled bracket structure of the construct state *mudīr-u al-madrasat-i* (*head-NOM the-school-GEN*) would be as the following:

- (17) [DP [NP[N mudīr-u] [DP [D al- [NP madrasat-i]]]]]

The following is a tree representation of the construct state:



Construct States in Arabic are characterized by an adjacency between the construct head and the inner NP and by definiteness inheritance. Their structure consists of a DP with a null head, This DP dominates the construct state which consists of the construct head and a the inner NP. According to Hoyt (2008), the structure of a construct state parallels the structure of VS clause in Arabic, in which the construct head raises to the null D head position. The syntactic representation of the construct state (16) would be the following:



The tree representation in (19) shows that the construct state is dominated by a DP and the construct head occurs at the left periphery of the inner NP. The construct head *mudīr-u* (*head-NOM*) raises from its position as the head of NP and lands in the D head position in an N-to-D movement. The inner NP *al-madrasat-i* (*the-school-GEN*) is dominated by a DP which hosts the definite article *al-* (*the-*). the N head raises to the D head and merges with the definite article.

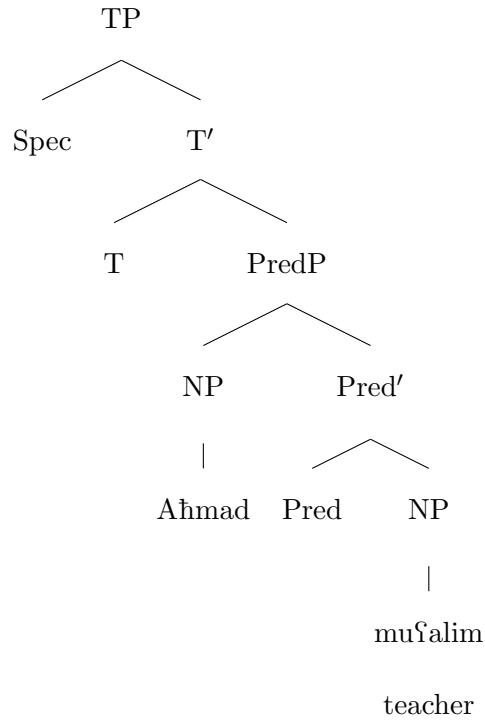
2.2.2 Nominal Sentences

Nominal sentences are common in Modern Standard Arabic as well as its vernaculars and many researchers investigated their structure which led to a controversy about the structure of Arabic nominal sentences. The prominent Arab grammarian Sibawayh (1977), whose book of grammar was written in the seventh century, claimed that verbless sentences do not require a VP or copula. On the contrary, contemporary Arabists Bakir (1980), Fassi-Fehri (1993) and Bahloul (1993) assumed that there is a null copula in verbless sentences which carries [+Tense] feature and assigns case to the DPs. However, Benmamoun (2008) proposed that verbless sentences in the present tense do not require a host, and thus, the VP is not projected. Only Tense is projected in verbless sentences in order to assign a structural case to the DPs. Tense carries the present tense feature in these verbless structures. Benmamoun (2008) proposes that the T head has a Predication Phrase (PredP) as its complement instead of a VP.

- (20) Ahmad-un mufalim-un.
 Ahmad-NOM teacher-NOM
 Ahmad is a teacher.

Benmamoun (2008) would project (20) as the following:

(21)

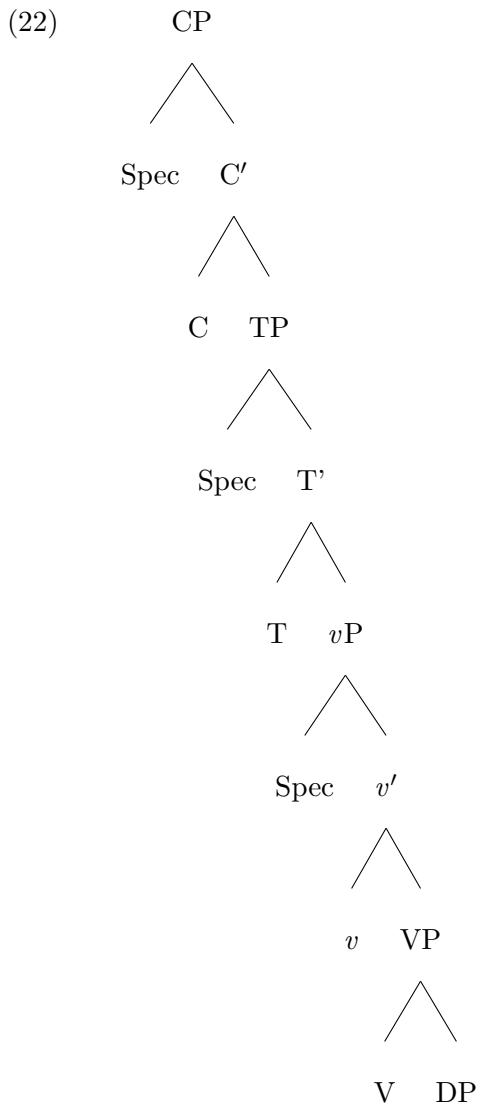


The DPs in nominal or verbless sentences are assigned structural case rather than the default case which is assigned to topics and left-dislocated elements, Benmamoun (2008).

In (20), *Aḥmad* and *muʕalim* (*teacher*) are assigned nominative structural case.

2.2.3 Sentence Structure

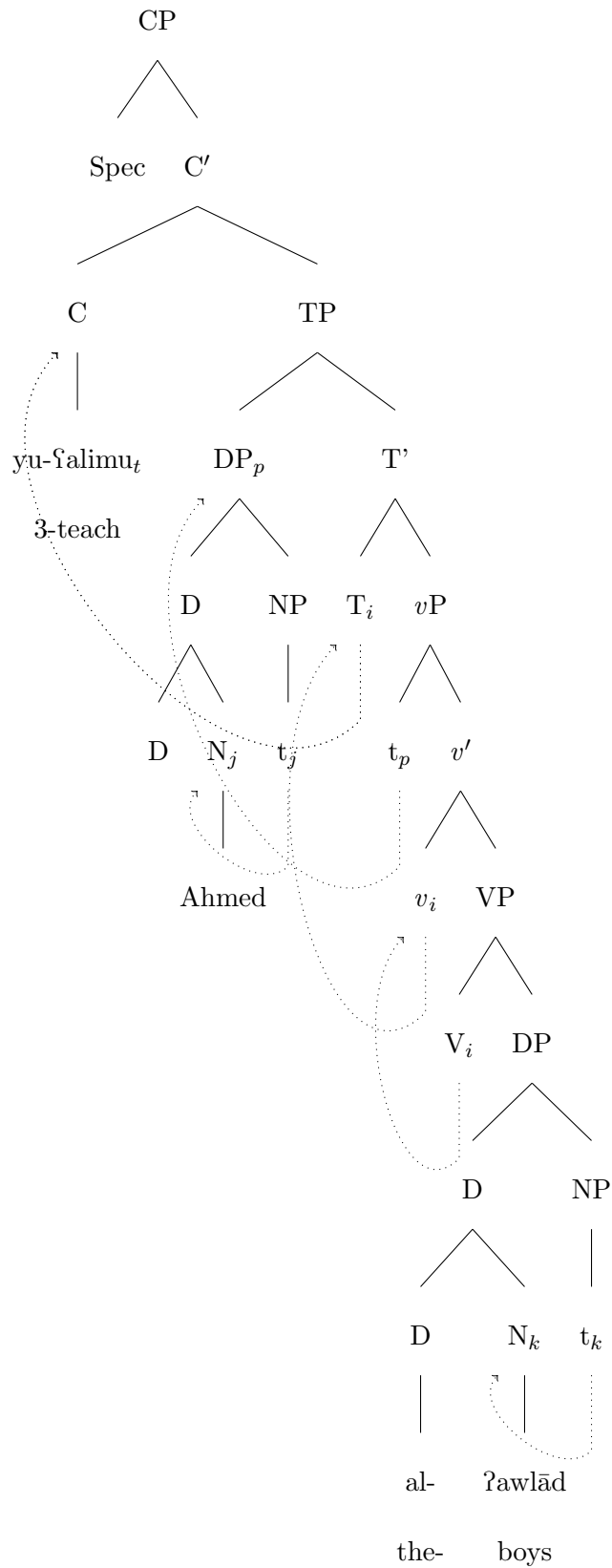
The structure of sentences with overt verb phrase is different from nominal sentences. The following is a projection of a verbal sentence structure in MSA:



In Arabic, both TP and VP are projected, where the V head raises from V to *v* to T to C in VSO structures. The following example is represented in tree (24):

- (23) yu-ʕalimu Ahmad-un al-ʔawlād-a.
 3-teach Ahmad-NOM the-boys-ACC
 Ahmad teaches the boys.

(24)



The hierarchy of the projection in (24) shows that the V head raises to v to C head position. The subject is merged in the specifier of vP . It then raises to the specifier of TP. The N head raises from its position as the head of NP and lands in the D head position in an N-to-D movement.

As for the case system, there are three cases that can mark nouns and adjectives in Modern Standard Arabic: nominative, accusative and genitive. Ryding (2014) presented a paradigm of the case marking system in Modern Standard Arabic to show the two main categories of case marking:

- The definite case is assigned to definite nouns and adjectives.
- The indefinite case (*nunation*) is assigned to indefinite nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

Case	Definite	Indefinite
nominative	<i>naʒm-u</i>	<i>naʒm-un</i>
accusative	<i>naʒm-a</i>	<i>naʒm-an</i>
genitive	<i>naʒm-i</i>	<i>naʒm-in</i>

Table 2.2: Case Marking Paradigm of the Word *naʒm* (*star*)

The nominative case is assigned to the subject of verbal sentences and to the topic of nominal sentences. The accusative case is assigned to the object and to some adverbs as *ʔabad-an* (*ever-ACC*). The genitive case is assigned to the complement of a preposition, possessive construction and to the linked NP in the construct states. These are the main characteristics of Modern Standard Arabic.

2.3 Gulf Arabic

Gulf Arabic is one of the vernaculars which is spoken in the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula. Its variation from Modern Standard Arabic is obvious in vocabulary as well as the phonological and morphological aspects. This clarity in the variations between the two dialects attracts the researchers to document them. However, the variation in the syntactic structures receives less attention which motivates this thesis to investigate the syntactic structures of exclamation in an understudied variety of Arabic. Holes (1990) is among the few authors who provides a description of the grammar of Gulf Arabic. Brustad (2000) provides a comparative study of four varieties of spoken Arabic among which is Kuwaiti Arabic. Kuwaiti Arabic is one of the six sub-varieties of Gulf Arabic, which is the spoken dialect of Kuwait.

The following subsections provide a general overview of the syntax of Gulf Arabic which is relevant to this thesis. The first subsection provides a general comparison of GA vs. MSA in terms of templatic forms, word order and case assignments. Then, it discusses the projection of sentences. The last subsection describes focus movement in cleft constructions.

2.3.1 General Comparison of GA Vs. MSA

Since Gulf Arabic is a spoken language, it is constantly changing. It shares many characteristics of Modern Standard Arabic and exhibits differences as well. The major differences between Gulf Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic, which are relevant to this thesis, are:

1. The deviation from the fixed templatic forms of verbs,
2. the flexibility in the word order structure, and

3. the lack of overt case marking.

2.3.1.1 Templatic Forms

Modern Standard Arabic has a fixed templatic forms of verbs as mentioned earlier in §2.2.

Gulf Arabic also has these templatic forms. It also exhibits deviations from the templatic forms in some words, such as the trilateral root of the word {ʔ-k-l} (eat). The following table shows the templatic patterns of the root {ʔ-k-l} (eat) in MSA:

root	past tense 3sg	present tense 3sg	present tense 1sg	imperative
{f-l-l}	faʕala	ya-fflu	ʔa-ffalu	ʔi-ffal
do	did	3-does	1-do	2-do
{ʔ-k-l}	ʔakala	ya-ʔkulu	ʔākulu	kul
eat	ate	3-eat	1.eat	2.eat

Table 2.3: Templatic Patterns of the Root {ʔ-k-l} (eat) in MSA

The following table exemplifies the deviation from the templatic forms in table 2.3 in

GA:

root	past tense 3sg	present tense 3sg	present tense 1sg	imperative
{f-l-l}	faʕala	ya-fflu	ʔa-ffalu	ʔi-ffal
do	did	3-does	1-do	2-do
{ʔ-k-l}	ʔakal / kala	ya-ʔkul	ʔākul	kul / ʔi-kil
eat	ate	3-eat	1.eat	2.eat

Table 2.4: Templatic Patterns of the Root {ʔ-k-l} (eat) in GA

In in table 2.4, the past tense forms *ʔakal* and *kala* deviate from the pattern **faʔala**. The present tense form for the third person singular *ya-ʔkul* deviates from **ya-ʔʔlu**. The present tense form for the first person singular *ʔākul* also deviates from **ʔa-ʔʔalu**. Finally, the imperative forms *kul* and *ʔi-kil* deviate from the pattern **ʔi-ʔʔal**.

2.3.1.2 Word Order

Gulf Arabic shares with Modern Standard Arabic the VSO and SVO word order, as the following examples:

- (25) V S O
ya-ʔkul Ahmad al-tuffaḥa.
3-eat Ahmad.NOM the-apple.ACC

Ahmad eats the apple.

- (26) S V O
Ahmad ya-ʔkul al-tuffaḥa.
Ahmad.NOM 3-eat the-apple.ACC

Ahmad eats the apple.

Gulf Arabic is more flexible in its word order than Modern Standard Arabic. Adjectives, for instance, in GA can precede the noun in some contexts. However, adjectives only occur post-nominals in Modern Standard Arabic. The following nominals illustrate the possible orders of the adjectives in Gulf Arabic:

(27) **ħam̄ra** al-saiyarah
red the-car
 The car is red.

(28) al-saiyarah **ħam̄ra**
 the-car **red**
 The car is red.

The adjective in example (27) precedes the noun. In example (28), the adjective occurs post-nominal. The above examples indicate that adjective modifiers can occur pre-nominal or post-nominal in Gulf Arabic.

2.3.1.3 Case Assignment

The case assignments in Gulf Arabic works similar to the case assignments in Modern Standard Arabic. It differs from that of Modern Standard Arabic in two ways: the lack of overt case marking and the lack of nunation with indefinite nominals. Nunation, which is used to mark indefinite case in MSA, is only used with few adverbials in GA such as *?abad-an* (ever-ACC).

The nominative case is assigned to the subject of verbal sentences by its governor T. The topic of nominal sentences is assigned a nominative case by default. The accusative case is assigned to the object by little *v* and to some adverbs as *?abad-an* (ever). The genitive case is assigned to the complement of a preposition, possessive construction and to the inner NP in the construct states.

- (29) katab Aḥmad al-kitāb.
 3-write Ahmad.NOM the-book.ACC
 Ahmad wrote the book.
- (30) al-baīt kabīr fī al-sakan.
 the-house.NOM big.NOM in the-compound.GEN
 The house in the compound is big.

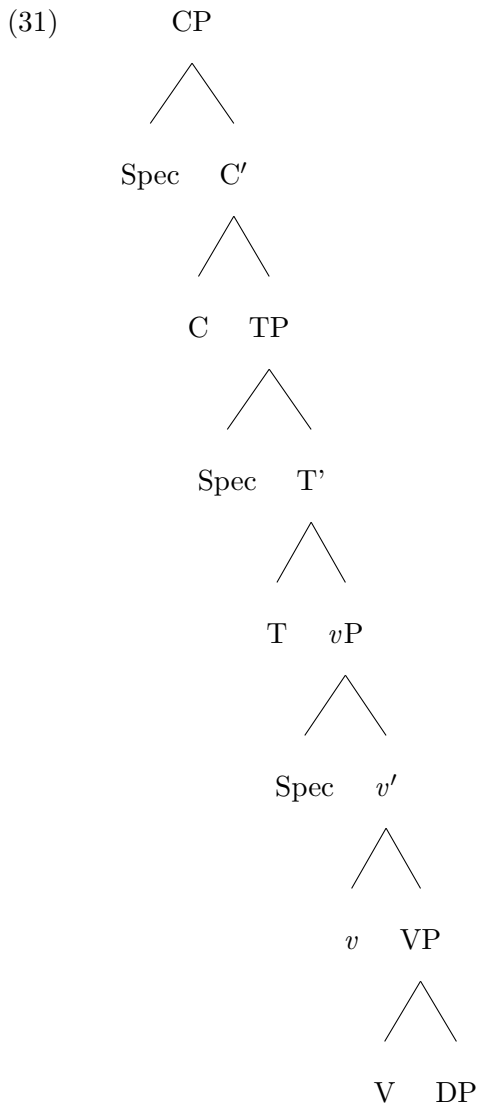
It is notable that the above examples (29) and (30) lack an overt case marking on the arguments, which is one of the characteristics of Arabic vernaculars. The subject *Aḥmad* in example (29) is assigned a nominative case by T which always bears a nominative feature. The little *v* bears an accusative case which assigns it to the object DP *al-kitāb* (the book).

Example (30) shows a nominal sentence in which *al-baīt* (the-house) is assigned a nominative case by default. The attributive adjective *kabīr* (big) is also assigned a nominative case because it agrees with its preceding noun in terms of case, gender and number. The preposition *fī* (in) assigns a genitive case to its complement *al-sakan* (the-compound).

This is a brief overview of the case marking system in Gulf Arabic which is relevant to this thesis.

2.3.2 Sentence Structure

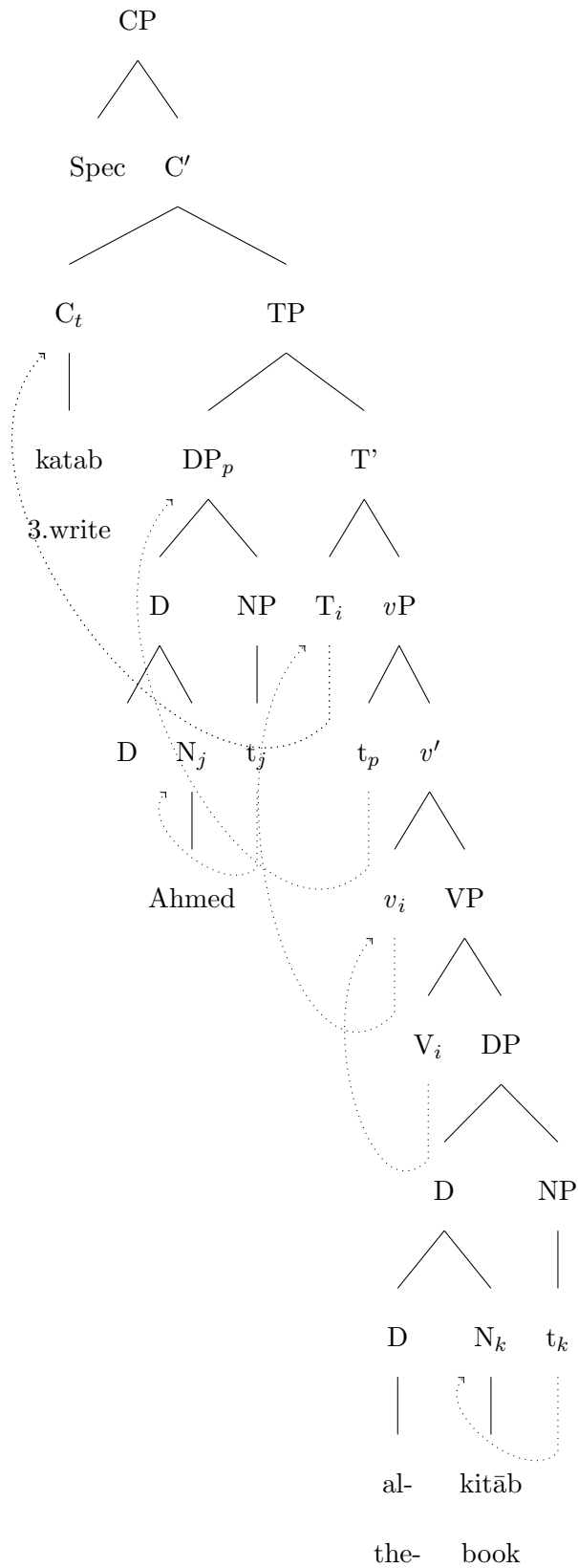
The projection of the structure of sentences in GA resembles that in MSA in which both TP and VP are projected. The V head raises from V to *v* to T to C. The subject is merged in the specifier of *v*P, then moves to the specifier of TP. The representation of VSO structure in GA is the same as in tree (22).



The following is a sentence in Gulf Arabic followed by its tree representation:

- (32) katab Aḥmad al-kitāb.
 3.write Ahmad.NOM the-book.ACC
 Ahmad wrote the book.

(33)

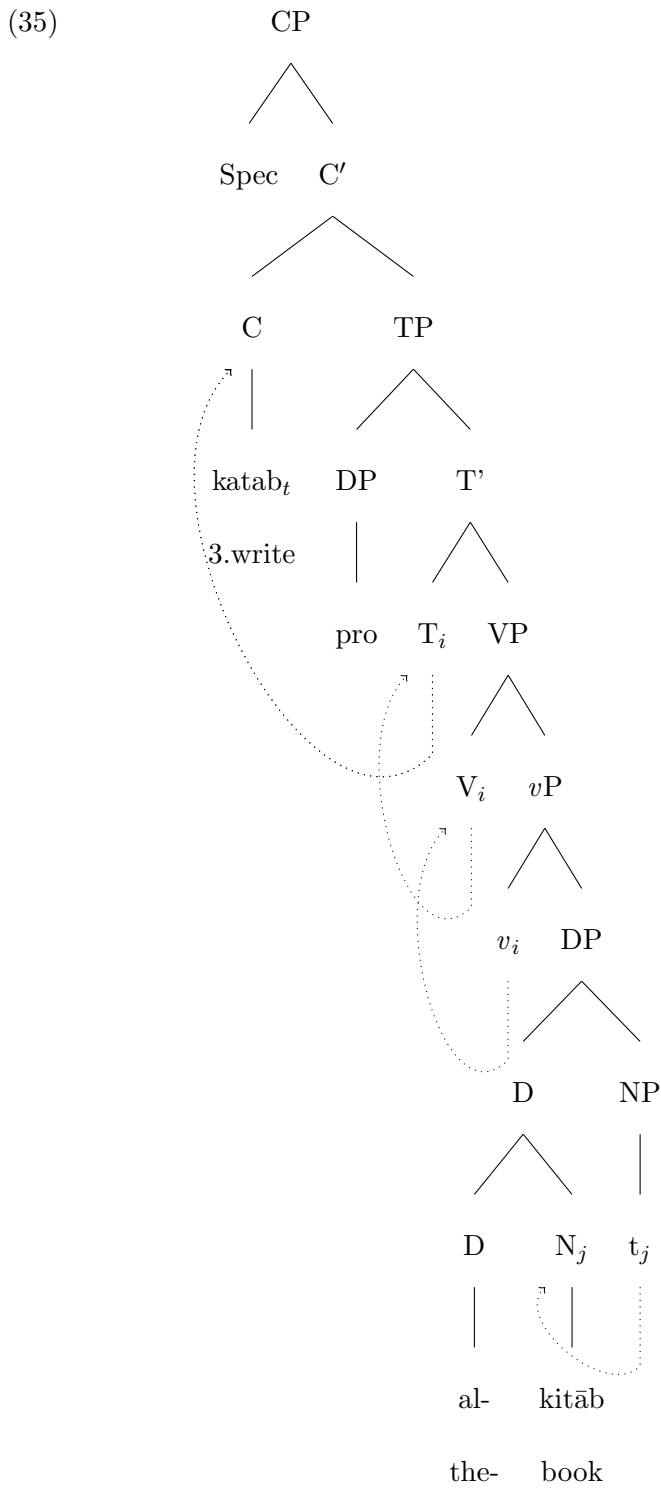


The tree representation in (33) of example (32) in Gulf Arabic is similar to the projection of example (23) in MSA. The verb *katab* (3.write) moves from its launching site under the V position and raises to the little *v*. It then raises to T and finally lands at the C head position. The subject DP *Ahmed* moves from the specifier of the little *v*P to the specifier of TP. The N head *Ahmed* moves to the D head position for definiteness. The N head *kitāb* (book) also moves to the D head position for definiteness.

Null subjects or pronoun drop (pro-drop) are one of the characteristics of Gulf Arabic. Chomsky et al. (1982) identified the term *pro* as a null personal pronoun which functions as the subject of a tense clause. It is projected as a DP containing a silent pronoun labelled as *pro*-drop. This silent pronoun is referential which can be interpreted as 1,2,3 person argument, Fehri (2012). It is also assigned a nominative case by T. The following is an example of a sentence with a null subject:

- (34) *katab al-kitāb.*
 3.write the-book.ACC
 He wrote the book.

The null subject in example (34) is the 3-personal pronoun *huwa* (he). The following tree illustrates the projection of example (34):



The null subject (pro) in the projection (35) is located under the specifier of T. This

pro is dropped and doesn't spell out to the surface structure resulting in example (34).

The subsequent trees in this thesis will be simplified by omitting projections that are not relevant to the main analysis. The projection of little *vP*, verb movement and pro-drop are omitted in the projection of the subsequent trees.

2.3.3 Focus Movement

Focus will appear in the projection of exclamatives in later chapters. Therefore, this subsection provides a reference for focus movement of clefts in Gulf Arabic as background for later analysis.

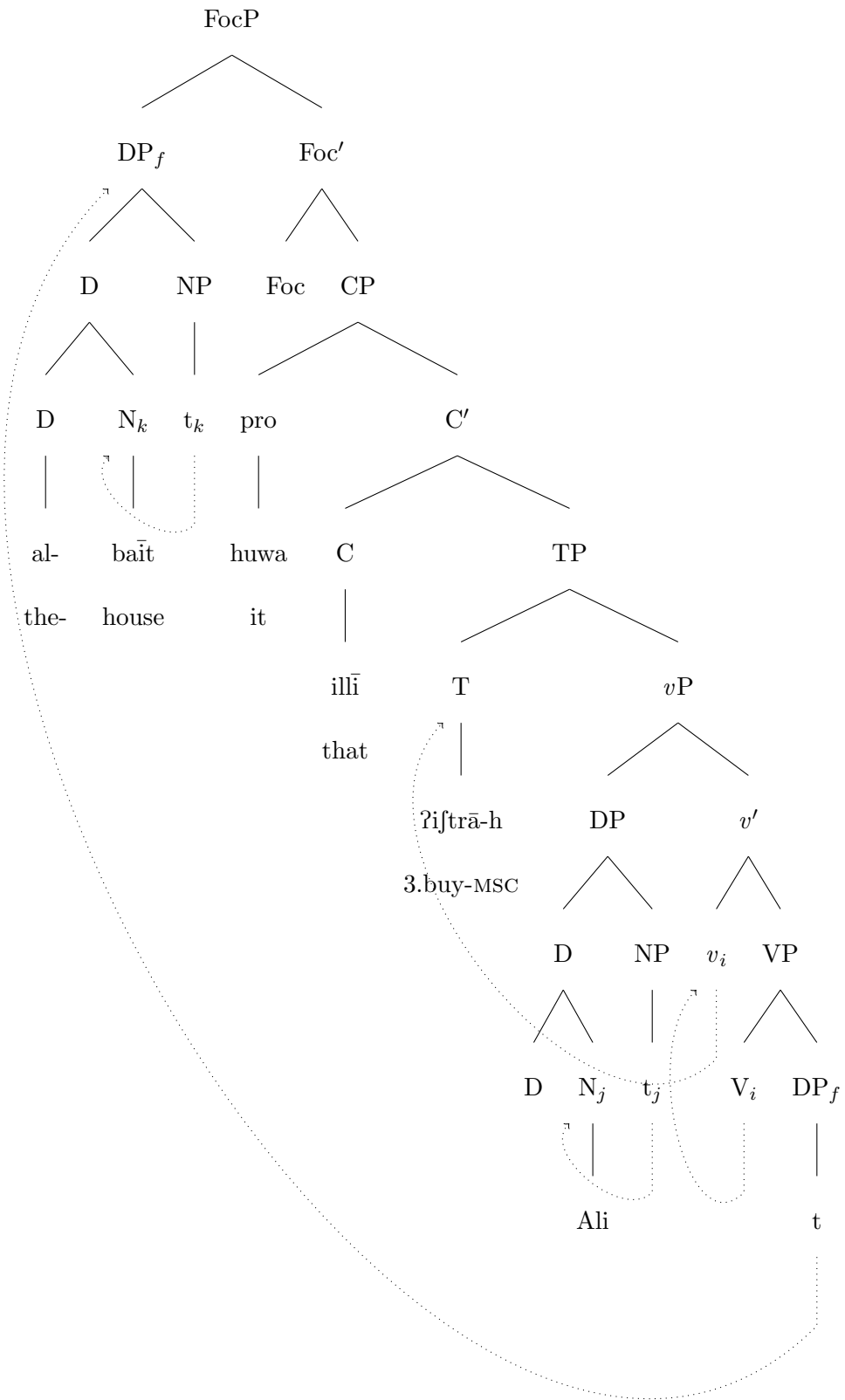
Focus is a functional category which is generated at the CP domain or above based on Rizzi (1997) SPLIT CP HYPOTHESIS. The focus phrase is projected in the structure of exclamatives as well as clefts in Gulf Arabic. According to Haegeman et al. (2014), clefts are derived by the movement of focused constituents. The structure of clefts in Gulf Arabic is exemplified below:

- (36) al-baīt huwa illī ʔiʃtrā-h Ali.
 the-house it that 3.buy-MS Ali
 It is the house that Ali bought.

Ouhalla (1999) states that the structure of Arabic clefts consists of a focus phrase, a pronominal copular and a free relative. Example (36) consists of the focus phrase *al-baīt* (the-house), the pronominal copular *huwa* (it) and the free relative *illī* (that). Example (36) is derived by the focus fronting of *al-baīt* (the-house) to the left periphery of the projection.

The following tree represents the focus movement in example (36):

(37)



In tree (37), the cleft focus is *al-bait̄* (the-house). It is the object of the verb which moves from its launching cite as the complement of the V head to the spec of focus phrase. Clefting and particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic are derived through the same movement of focus fronting.

2.4 Summary

To sum up, Modern Standard Arabic is mentioned briefly as a reference. The syntax of Gulf Arabic shares some characteristics with the syntax of Modern Standard Arabic and exhibits some differences as well. The following chapter introduces exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic. It also points out the main properties of exclamatives, vocatives and particles.

Chapter 3

Exclamatives

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the types of exclamatives which exist in both Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic. It then highlights the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of exclamatives and vocatives. Finally, it discusses the properties of particles.

3.2 Exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic

Exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic fall into two main types: templatic exclamatives and non-templatic ones. Templatic exclamatives are based on fixed forms known as templates which are patterns of the verb's root consist of three consonants **{f-ʕ-l}**, whereas non-templatic exclamatives are not based on a fixed root pattern.

3.2.1 Templatic Exclamatives

Templatic exclamatives in Modern standard Arabic are divided into two types: *mā (how)-exclamatives* and *imperative exclamatives*. The ***mā (how)-exclamatives*** involve the particle *mā (how)* and an argument. This argument is based on the root pattern **{ʔ-f-ʕ-a-l}**, which is a root pattern for comparative adjectives. In English, this pattern can be represented by consonants (C) and vowels (a). The root **{ʔ-f-ʕ-a-l}**, then, consists of three consonants and two vowels **aCCaC**. The following are examples of *mā (how)-exclamatives* in which the templatic adjectives are written in bold:

(1) mā **ʔaʒmal**-a al-ḥadīqat-a!
 how more.beautiful-ACC the-garden-ACC
 How beautiful the garden is!

(2) mā **ʔakbar**-a al-mabna-a!
 how bigger-ACC the-building-ACC
 How big the building is!

(3) mā **ʔaʒmal**-a al-manḏʔar-a!
 how more.beautiful-ACC the-view-ACC
 How beautiful the view is!

(Ryding, 2005, 181)

(4) mā **ʔafīʔal**-a zaid-an!
 how noble-ACC Zaid-ACC
 How noble Zaid is!

(Al-Seghayar, 1997, 107)

- (5) *mā* **ʔakram** Aamr-an!
 how more.generous-ACC Amr-ACC
 How generous Amr is!

(Al-Seghayar, 1997, 107)

The templatic adjectives which are based on the root pattern **{ʔ-f-ʕ-a-l}** in the above examples (1) and (2), for instance, are *ʔaẓmal* (*more.beautiful*) and *ʔakbar* (*bigger*) respectively. Both of the adjectives are preceded by the exclamative particle *mā* (*how*).

According to the traditional grammar of Arabic, the adjective which occurs in *mā* (*how*)-exclamatives has to satisfy two criteria. These criteria are identified by Hassan (2010) as the following:

1. The adjective's root must consist of three phonemes with few exceptions.
2. The meaning of the adjective must be gradable and comparative in order to convey the meaning of exclamation.

The adjectives *ʔaẓmal* (*more.beautiful*) in (3), *ʔafḥ²al* (*more.noble*) in (4) , and *ʔakram* (*more.generous*) in (5), for instance, meet the above criteria as the following:

1. Their roots are *ẓml*, *fḥ²l* and *krm* respectively and each of which consists of three phonemes.
2. The adjective *ʔaẓmal* (*more.beautiful*) has a gradable interpretation and it is the comparative form of the adjective *jamīl* (*beautiful*)
3. The adjective *ʔafḥ²al* (*more.noble*) is also gradable and is the comparative form of the adjective *faḥ²īl* (*noble*).

4. The adjective *ʔakram* (*more.generous*), is the comparative form of the adjective *karīm* (*generous*).

The second type of templatic exclamatives is the **imperative exclamative**. This term comes from the use of the imperative verb though it does not convey the meaning of a command. The imperative verb is based on the templatic root pattern **{ʔ-f-ʕ-i-l} aCCiC** which is different from the perfective form **{ʔ-f-ʕ-a-l} aCCaC**. The following are some examples of imperative exclamatives:

- (6) **ʔa-ʒmil** bi-al-manḏ^ʔar-i!
 IMV-beautify with-the-view-GEN
 Make the view more beautiful (if you can)!

- (7) **ʔa-fḷ^ʔil** bi-zaid-in!
 IMV-ennoble with-Zaid-GEN
 Make Zaid more Nobel (if you can)!

- (8) **ʔa-krim** bi-Amr-in!
 IMV-be.generous with-Amr-GEN
 Make Amr more generous (if you can)!

Each of the imperative exclamatives above involves an imperative verb based on the templatic root pattern **{ʔ-f-ʕ-i-l} aCCiC**, the preposition *bi-* (*with*) and a noun. The templatic verbs in examples (6), (7) and (8), are *ʔa-ʒmil* (*IMV-beautify*), *ʔa-fḷ^ʔil* (*IMV-ennoble*) and *ʔa-krim* (*IMV-be.generous*)¹ respectively. These verbs do not mean that the

¹The verb *ʔa-krim* does not contain (be). It is written in the gloss to indicate that the word is a verb.

speaker is uttering a command. Rather, they express surprise. The exclamative in (6) is interpreted as (Make the view more beautiful if you can). The exclamative in (7) means (Make Zaid more noble if you can) and (8) means (Make Amr more generous if you can)². These interpretations denote exclaiming about a person or thing that is found to be surprising and extraordinary.

In this templatic form of exclamatives, the preposition *bi-* (*with*) assigns a genitive case to its complement DP. The following two examples indicate the difference between the exclamative and the imperative:

- (9) ʔa-krim zaid-an. [**imperative**]
 IMV-be.generous Zaid-ACC
 Be generous to Zaid.

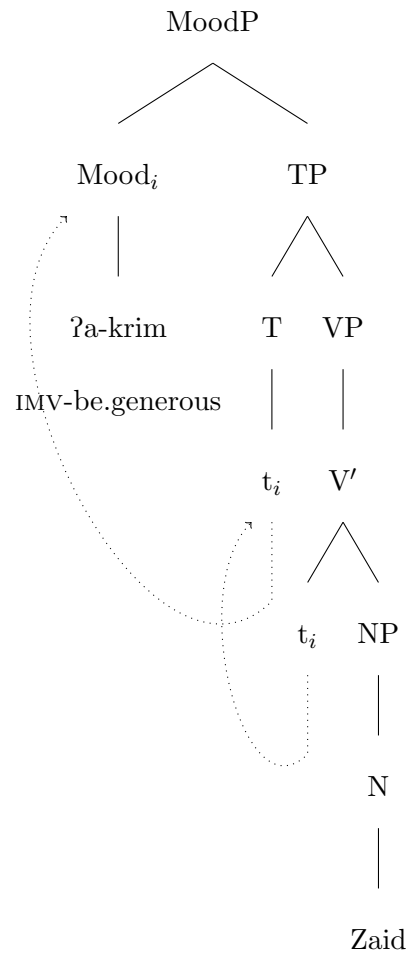
- (10) ʔkrim bi-zaid-in! [**exclamative**]
 IMV-be.generous with-Zaid-GEN
 Make Zaid more generous (if you can)!

(Al-Seghayar, 1997, 157)

The imperative in (9) is a command to be generous to Zaid, whereas the exclamative in (10) is an exclamation about the generosity of Zaid. The following is a tree representation of the imperative in (9):

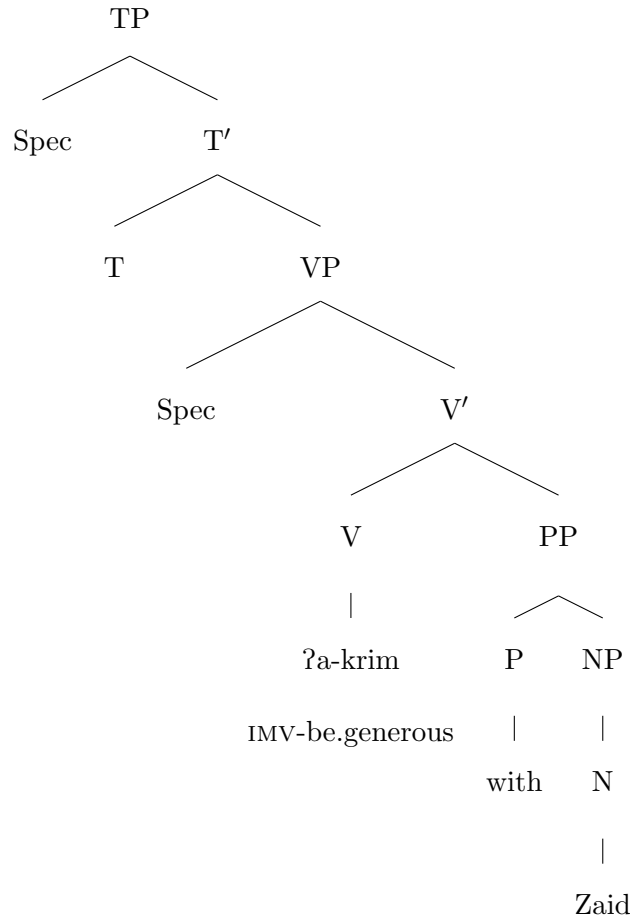
²The colloquial equivalent in English is *beat that!*.

(11)



The following is a tree representation of the exclamation in (10):

(12)



Both examples in (9) and (10), represented in trees (11) and (12) respectively, have the same form of the verb. However, their interpretations and functions are different. The verb in example (9) functions as an imperative and selects an accusative NP as its complement. The verb raises from its launching site to the Mood Head position to check for the imperative. The other verb in example (10) functions as an imperative exclamation and selects a prepositional phrase (PP) complement. The preposition assigns a genitive case to its complement noun *Zaid*.

These are the templatic exclamatives which exist in Modern Standard Arabic. The following section discusses the non-templatic exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic.

3.2.2 Non-Templatic Exclamatives

The Non-templatic exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic do not require fixed patterns of the root. They cover a wider range of forms than the templatic ones. Examples of non-templatic exclamatives are: (i) exclamatives with the particle *ʔa-*, (ii) vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*, and (iii) wh-exclamatives with the wh-word *kāifa* (*how*).

Exclamatives with the particle *ʔa-* have the form of a yes/no questions but with an exclamative interpretation. The structure of this type of exclamatives consists of the particle *ʔa-*, which is a bound prefix, and two arguments: a VP and an NP. The following is an example of a yes/no question in MSA which can denote an exclamative depending on the context of utterance and prosody:

- (13) *ʔa-ʔāʔa* Zaid-un?
 does-come.PV Zaid-NOM
 Did Zaid come?

Example (13) has the form of a yes/no question. Yet, its interpretation can denote an exclamative in which the speaker expresses his surprise of the presence of Zaid who lives in a different country.

Vocative exclamatives are another type of non-templatic exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic. The reason behind its name comes from the use of the vocative particle *yā* in its structure. The following examples present a vocative in (14) and a vocative exclamative in (15) :

- (14) *yā raʒul-an!* [**vocative**]
 PRT man-ACC
 Hey, man!
- (15) *yā ʃaʒāʔat al-raʒul-a!* [**vocative exclamative**]
 PRT braveness the-man-ACC
 What a brave man!

The surface structure of the vocative (14) involves the vocative particle *yā* and an indefinite noun. However, the surface structure of the vocative exclamative in (15) involves the vocative exclamative particle *yā*, bare noun and a definite noun. The structures of vocatives and vocative exclamatives are discussed thoroughly in § 5.

Wh-exclamatives are the third type of non-templatic exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic. They are formed by using the wh-word *kaif* (*how*) to convey an exclamative, such as the following example:

- (16) *kaifa tu-fawitu al-rihlat-a!*
 How 3-miss the-flight-ACC
 How did you miss the flight!

The wh-exclamative in (16) means that the speaker is surprised by the addressee who missed an important flight.

Ever since Sibawayh (1977)³ grammar of Arabic, these are the forms of exclamatives, which have been accounted for in the literature. It is then interesting to go beyond these

³It was first written in the 6th century.

forms and to look at the forms of exclamatives that exist in Gulf Arabic.

3.3 Exclamatives in Gulf Arabic

A fascinating fact is that while most of the morphology of Arabic is templatic, the templatic exclamatives which are found in Modern Standard Arabic do not exist in Gulf Arabic dialect. Exclamatives in Gulf Arabic have three major non-templatic types: (i) vocative exclamatives, (ii) exclamatives with the particle *ʔamā*, and (iii) wh-exclamatives. This thesis focuses only on the first two types which are particle-based exclamatives: the vocative exclamatives and the exclamatives with the particle *ʔamā*.

3.3.1 Particle-Based Exclamatives

Particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic can be divided into two types based on the exclamative particle: vocative exclamatives and non-vocative exclamatives. As for the vocative exclamatives, Gulf Arabic has extended the use of two vocative particles instead of one to convey an exclamative. These particles are *yā* and *ʔaya*. Each of these vocative exclamative particles appears in different structures in which they can not be interchangeable. The following is an example of a vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā* in Gulf Arabic:

- (17) *yā karam-it!*
 PRT generosity.FM-your
 How generous you are!

The following is an example of a vocative exclamatives with the particle *ʔaya*:

- (18) ?aya al-sax̄īf-ah!
 PRT the-silly-FM
 How silly you are!

The structures and properties of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic are discussed in § 5.

In Gulf Arabic, exclamatives can be formed by the exclamative particle ?amā. This particle does not belong to the set of vocative particles, and thus, it does not belong to vocative exclamatives. Exclamatives which involve the exclamative particle ?amā do not exist in Modern Standard Arabic. In MSA, the particle ?amā has different grammatical functions, such as emphasis, a conditional marker, or as a topic shift marker. In Gulf Arabic, ?amā functions as an exclamative particle, a topic shift marker or a question particle. As an exclamative particle, ?amā appears in several environments which is identified in § 6 in this thesis. Below are two examples of this type of exclamatives:

- (19) ?amā badlah!
 PRT suit
 What a suit!

- (20) ?amā ḏakī!
 PRT smart
 How smart he is!

3.3.1.1 Focus and Ellipses

Focus is a feature in the structure of particle-based exclamatives in GA which is responsible for the movement of the exclamative nominals to the left periphery. The derivation of particle-based exclamatives involve an ellipsis operation of fully pronounced elements. Ellipses appears to be obligatory to prevent a violation when spelling out. The remnants of ellipses are the exclamative nominals which function as focus, and thus moves to the spec of focus phrase.

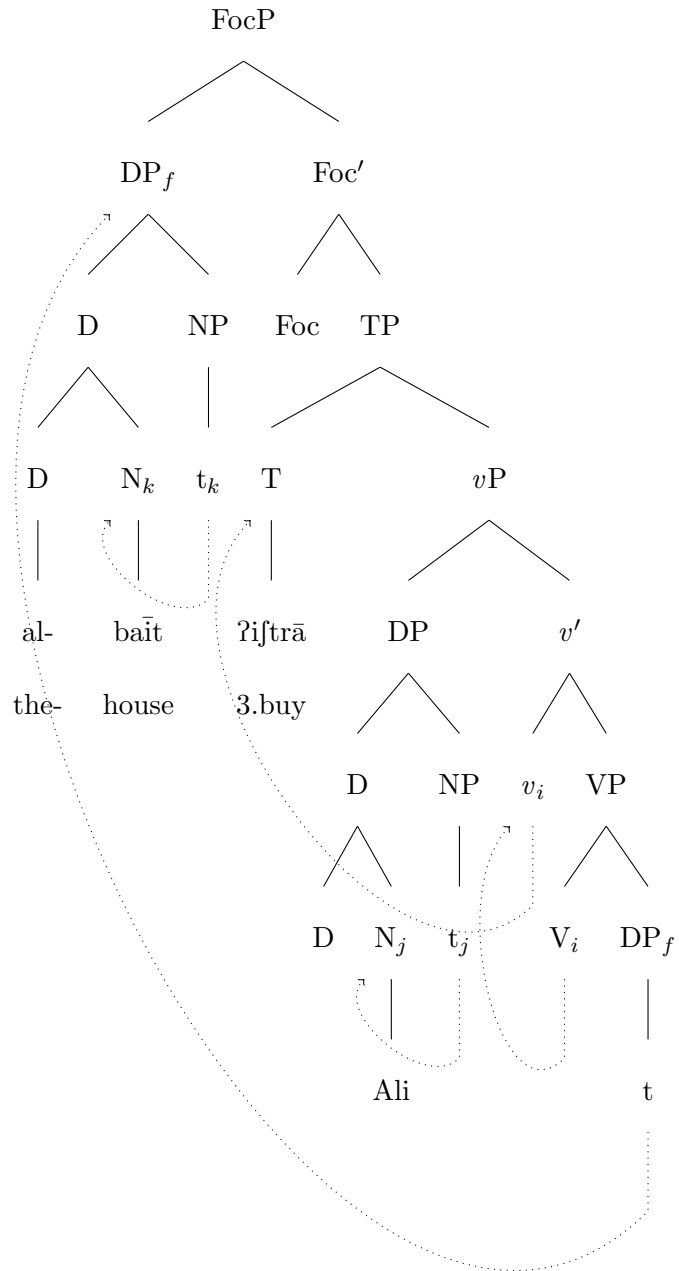
The relationship between focus and ellipsis has been the interest of recent researchers including Rooth (1992), Brunetti (2003), Winkler and Schwabe (2003) and Winkler (2005).

(Brunetti, 2003, 96) states that *"focus movement is a crucial step in order for ellipsis to apply"*. The following exemplifies the focus movement and VP ellipsis in Gulf Arabic:

- (21) a. $\bar{r}\bar{i}j$ $\bar{r}i\bar{f}tr\bar{a}$ Ali?
 what 3.buy Ali
 What did Ali buy?
- b. al-ba $\bar{i}t$
 the-house
 The house

The answer (21-b) of question (21-a) undergoes a focus movement of the focused constituent to the left periphery and ellipsis of the VP as exemplified in the following tree:

(22)



The focus constituent in tree (22) is the DP *al-bait̄* (the-house) which moves from its

launching position as the object of VP to the spec of focus. Then, the non focused constituents, which are TP and its lower elements, are elided. Focus movement and ellipses of TP appear in the derivation of particle-based exclamatives in §5 and §6 of this thesis.

3.3.1.2 Exclamative Particles

The structures of particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic involve an exclamative particle whether a vocative exclamative particle or a non-vocative exclamative particle. I adopt Tsoulas (2015) and Tsoulas (2017)'s view that particles are complex, and propose that exclamative particles are complex and carry two features: an exclamative feature and a deictic feature. According to (Diessel, 1999, p. 35), a *deictic feature* identifies the proximity of the addressee. Realizing two features requires two heads, each of which carries one single feature. That is, an exclamative particle is decomposed into an exclamative head and a deictic head.

The vocative exclamative particle *yā*, for instance, is a complex particle which carries the exclamative feature and the deictic feature. The decomposition of this particle results into two heads: the vocative exclamative head *ya-* which carries the exclamative feature, and the deictic head *-a* which carries the deictic feature of person.

Chapter 7 of this thesis provides an overview of the properties of vocative particles, vocative exclamatives particles, and the exclamative particle *?amā*. It discusses the decomposition of these particles and provides evidences for the proposal.

3.3.2 Wh-Exclamatives

The last type of exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, which is not tackled in this thesis, is the wh-exclamatives. The most common wh-words which are used in wh-exclamatives are *ʔaiḥ* (*what/how*) and *ḥinw* (*what*). The following are examples of this type of exclamatives:

(23) ḥinw ha-al-buḥul!
 WHAT this-the-greediness
 What a greedy person you are!

(24) ʔaiḥ kiḥir ti-ḥin!
 HOW much 2-nag
 How nagging you are!

(25) ʔaiḥ ḥalāt al-ḥadiqah!
 what beautiful the-garden
 What a beautiful garden!

The following section identifies the main properties of exclamatives, vocatives and particles.

3.4 Properties

3.4.1 Introduction

This section provides an overview of the main properties of exclamatives, vocatives and particles which have been identified by researchers among which are Rett (2008), Cruschina

(2011), Espinal (2013), Zanuttini and Portner (2003), Hill (2013), Zwicky (1985) and Biberauer and Sheehan (2011). It first identifies the properties of exclamatives which is the core of this thesis. Since one type of exclamatives which is analyzed in this thesis is the vocative exclamative, it is worth identifying the properties of vocatives to compare them with vocative exclamatives. The chapter ends with identifying the main properties of particles because the exclamatives which are analyzed in this thesis are particle-based exclamatives.

3.4.2 Properties of Exclamatives

3.4.2.1 Syntactic Properties

Exclamatives have specific syntactic structures which make them distinct from declaratives and interrogatives. Their main syntactic properties are: DPs, inversion, the wh-operator in wh-exclamatives, temporality, modality, focus fronting, and the exclamative particles which exist in some languages, such as Icelandic and Arabic. Not all these properties exist in every exclamative structure. As for the particle based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, three of the above properties characterize them: DPs, Focus Fronting and the exclamative particles.

The first simplest structure of exclamatives involves DPs, which can be considered as exclamatives if they express a degree property, as in the following, (Rett, 2008, 12):

- (26) a. (Oh,) The height of that building!
 b. (Oh,) The places you'll go!
 c. (Oh,) Her way of doing things!

The DP in example (26-a) above is considered as an exclamative because it denotes

that the building's height exceeds the standard heights, and thus, it is surprising to the speaker. Example (26-b) also has a degree property. It can either be interpreted as the places are numerous or that the places are extraordinarily beautiful. The last example (26-c) is interpreted that her way of doing things is extraordinary in degree of excellence. All of the above DPs have the degree property which Rett (2008) considers to be a signal property of exclamatives.

The second structure of the simplest exclamative form is by inversion. Inversion can represent another type of exclamatives where the subject and the auxiliary are inverted either in a declarative statement or a yes/no question. The following are examples taken from (Rett, 2008, 13) for illustration:

- (27) a. (Boy,) Does she have a lot of money!
b. (Boy,) Can Meg cook!

Even with the inversion property, exclamatives also bear the degree property. The exclamative in example (27-a) above is interpreted as that person has an extraordinary amount of money.

Moving towards the more complex structures of exclamatives, wh-exclamatives are the most common type in several languages. The main property of wh-exclamatives is the occurrence of a wh-word. In English, the only wh-words which can occur in an exclamative clause are *what* and *how*. The purpose of these exclamative wh-words is to express a high degree. The wh-word *what* in exclamatives functions as a predeterminer of a noun phrase. This NP can be preceded by an adjectival phrase.

- (28) a. What **a house** you live in!
 b. What **a messy house** you live in!

However, *how* functions as a degree adverb for an AP and can be followed by an adverb or a quantifier, Trotta (2000).

- (29) a. How **gloomy** the sky is!
 b. How **very gloomy** the sky is!
 c. How **terribly gloomy** the sky is!

Having a wh-question form, exclamatives undergo wh-movement which is distinct from the wh-movement in interrogatives.

- (30) a. What a fool he was making of himself! (Radford, 2009, 186)
 b. What was he making of himself?

The question particle *what* and the DP *a fool* in (30-a) move from the VP position to the spec of a CP without the auxiliary-inversion. However, the wh-question in (30-b) triggers a movement of the relative pronoun *who* from the spec of the TP to the SPEC of a CP, and requires the inversion of the auxiliary.

Another property of exclamatives is temporality. They bear tense feature since they contain a VP in their construction. The most common tense used in exclamatives is the present though the past and future are also used.

- (31) a. How cool am I! [**present simple**]

- b. How funny was that! [**past simple**]
- c. How nice is she being! [**present continuous**]
- d. How strange were they being! [**past continuous**]
- e. How lucky have we been! [**present perfect**]
- f. How great will that be! [**future**] (Nye, 2010, 133)

Focus Fronting is one of the characteristics of exclamatives. Cruschina (2011) name focus fronting which occurs in the generation of exclamative structures as *Exclamative Focus Fronting*. In exclamatives, focus does not provide new information because exclamatives are factive whose information is presupposed. The reasons for this type of focus fronting to the left periphery are due to the emphatic interpretation they add, and to mark the sentential force of the exclamative. Cruschina (2011) restrict the Exclamative Focus Fronting to scalar adjectives or adverbs, as shown in the following examples:

- (32) **MULte case** a construit! [Romanian]
 many houses has built
 (How) many houses (s)he built!
- (33) **IntereSSANtes Buch** liest du da! [German]
 interesting book read.2SG you there
 That's an interesting book you're reading!

The exclamative in (32) includes the scalar adverb *MULte* (*many*) which becomes the focalised element through Exclamative Focus Fronting. The other exclamative in (33) has the

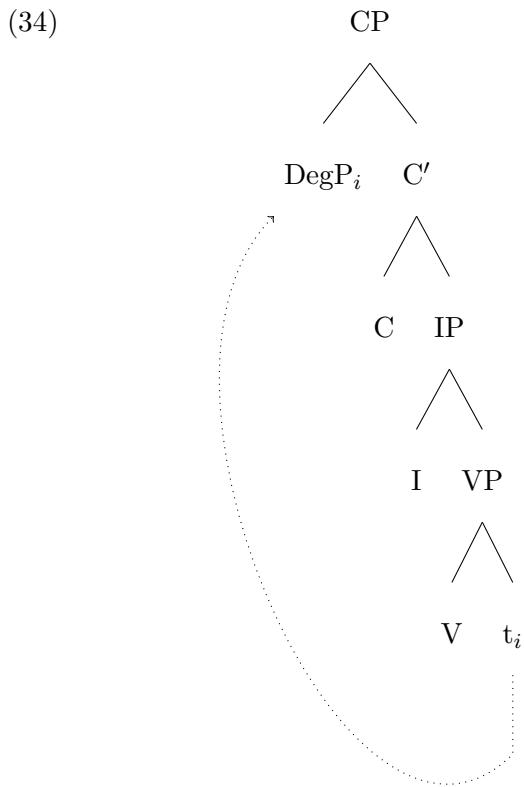
scalar adjective *IntereSSANtes* (*interesting*) which permits the Exclamative Focus Fronting.

3.4.2.2 Semantic Properties

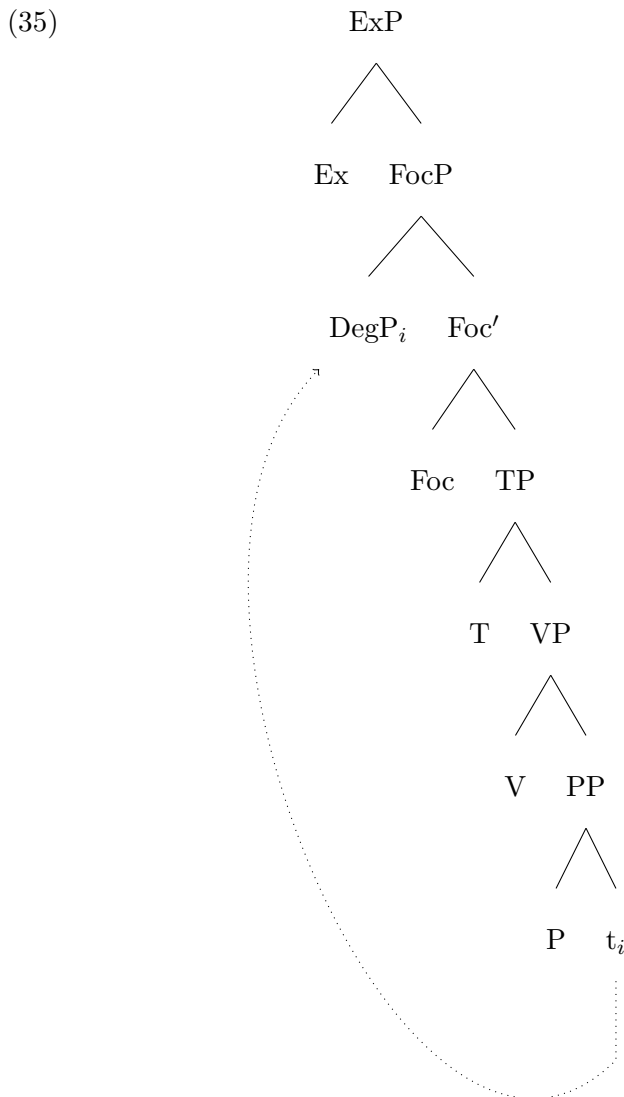
One of the semantic properties, which is crucial in the analysis of the data of this thesis, is the degree property. Exclamatives express degree by virtue even without a morphologically overt degree word, Milner (2018) and Gerard (1980) . Rett (2008) also argues that exclamatives "*must receive 'extreme degree' interpretation*" p. (601).

The degree phrase (DegP) will appear in the syntactic representations of exclamatives later in this thesis, based on Rett's (2008) who generates the DegP at the lower position, then raising it to the specifier of a functional phrase. Rett moves the DegP to the Spec of CP position. Since focus phrase is crucial in the structure of exclamatives, the DegP raises to the Spec of focus phrase based on Rizzi (1997)'s Split CP Hypothesis. The DegP hosts the exclamative nominals which involves DPs or AP. The relationship between the DegP and the DP is related to the gradable property which is a covert adjective expressing gradability.

The following tree represents the DegP and its landing site according (Rett, 2008, P.615):



The syntactic representations of particle-based exclamatives in this thesis are represented in the following tree, where the DegP is generated at the prepositional phrase complement and moves to the spec of focus phrase (FocP):



Another semantic property which defines a structure as an exclamative is factivity. Exclamatives denote a set of alternative propositions as a semantic property which arises from the widening operator, Zanuttini and Portner (2003). The widening operator applies on a domain or a set of alternatives.

(36) The pepper he eats!

The exclamation in (36) presupposes that (he eats something and this something is pepper): (he eats χ , and χ is pepper). So, its propositional meaning is true. According to the widening operator, the meaning of the exclamative can be widened by expanding the domain to include all types of peppers, such as jalapeno, red pepper, green pepper, etc. The propositional content of (36) can be:

(37) $[\text{The pepper he eats!}]_W = \{p : p \text{ is true in } W \text{ and } \exists a [p = \text{'he eats a'}]\} = \{\text{'he eats jalapeno'}, \text{'he eats red pepper'}, \text{'he eats green pepper'}\}$

The set of alternative propositions in (37) is the domain D: {jalapeno, red pepper, green pepper}.

3.4.2.3 Pragmatic Property of Force

Exclamatives are uttered to express the speaker's attitude towards someone or something. The speaker intends to express his/her surprise in various syntactic structures of exclamatives. Therefore, it is important to shed light on their pragmatic properties.

As proposed by Austin (1962), uttering words means doing things, and thus, speaking words is performing acts. This means that:

- Uttering a declarative has the speech act of stating.
- Uttering an interrogative has the speech act of questioning.
- Uttering an imperative has the speech act of commanding.

Similarly, *"to exclaim something is an act; to do so with language constitutes a speech act"* (Rett, 2011, p. 1). Besides considering utterances as performing acts, Austin classified three types of acts to perform a single speech act: a locutionary act, an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act. The locutionary act is the basic meaning conveyed by the utterance. The illocutionary act expresses the intended meaning of the speaker and is conveyed through the illocutionary force. The last type of acts is the perlocution which is identified through fulfilling the meaning of an utterance, Birner (2012).

(38) John is sick.

The statement (38) is a declaration whose speech act is stating. The locutionary act of this sentence is the sickness of John. The illocutionary act may vary according to the intended meaning of the speaker. It might be a command if the speaker, for instance, intends to order the hearer to leave the place. Or it might be a request to the hearer to switch off the air conditioning. The perlocutionary act of (38) can be postponing the meeting due to the sickness of John, for example.

Moreover, each main clause has a specific force which is the illocutionary force. This force is a factor in shaping the type of the clause whether declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative. The following clauses illustrate the different types of force, (Radford, 2009, 10):

(39) a. He went home.

- b. Are you feeling OK?
- c. You be quite!
- d. What a great idea that is!

The statement (39-a) contains a declarative force. The question form in (39-b) has an interrogative force, and (39-c) is a command associated with an imperative force. The last example (39-d) has exclamative force, and this type of clause is the core of this research.

To sum up, DPs that express a degree property, wh-operator, inversion, temporality, factivity, widening and having the illocutionary force are the main properties of exclamatives which have been identified by researchers. Even though exclamatives are a small group of constructions, their complexity is worth investigation.

3.4.3 Properties of Vocatives

The most common type of non-templatic exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic as well as its different varieties is the vocative exclamative. Sibawayh (1977) and Hassan (2010) called *vocative exclamative* as such because this type of exclamative involves the vocative particle (*yā*). They also assumed that the structure of vocative exclamatives is similar to that of vocatives. Vocative exclamatives are also considered as one of the functions of vocatives. Therefore, it is important to shed light on the properties and the syntactic structure of vocatives to find out whether the structure of vocative exclamatives is similar to that of vocatives as mentioned earlier or not.

Vocatives combine the syntactic and pragmatic properties as proposed by Hill (2013) and (2013b). Hill (2013) argued that *"the interpretation of a noun as a vocative arises from*

the way it is syntactically processed; and that the processing concerns pragmatic features encoded in syntax as stable feature sets”, (p. 134). The syntactic and pragmatic properties are discussed in the following section pointing out the differences between vocatives and vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic.

3.4.3.1 Syntactic Properties

Vocatives are associated with nouns, and thus, with a DP/NP. The kind of DP can vary between a noun, proper noun or a pronoun. The main syntactic properties of vocatives can be summarised as the following:

- Vocatives disallow the use of a definite or indefinite article with the vocative noun.

- (40) a. *The teacher! ENGLISH
 b. Teacher!

- (41) a. *al-ʔustāð! ARABIC
 the-teacher
 b. ʔustāð!
 teacher

- Vocatives can be introduced by a particle known as a pragmatic marker in some languages, such as Arabic, Greek and Romanian. This pragmatic marker is called a vocative particle whose presence in a vocative phrase varies between obligatory or optional depending on the language. When a vocative particle is introduced to a phrase, it carries two restrictions. First, it always precedes a DP (known also as the vocative noun), and thus, the word order is restricted. Second, it disallows the use of

a definite article with its DP. The following are examples of vocatives which involve a vocative particle in Romanian, Greek, Gulf Arabic and English:

- (42) a. **Bre** mamaie, stai cu mine. ROMANIAN
 VOC gran'ma stay with me
 Gran'ma, stay with me.

(Hill, 2013, p. 44)

- b. **Vre** jaja, ti kanis eki? GREEK
 VOC gran'ma what do there
 Gran'ma, what are you doing there?

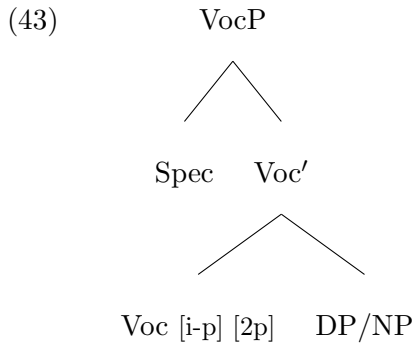
(Hill, 2013, p. 53)

- c. **yā** Elham, jib-tī al-ʔalwān? GULF ARABIC
 VOC Elham bring.PV-2.FM the-colours
 Elham, Did you bring the pen colours?

- d. **Hey** Jake, bring the keys. ENGLISH

- Vocatives are associated with two functional features: the interpersonal feature [i-p] and the second person [2p] feature, Hill (2013). They have the interpersonal feature of [+speaker] and [+addressee]. The interpersonal feature is the relationship between the speaker and the addressee which has a range of values, such as the relation between the teacher and the student, mother and daughter, brother and sister, and etc.

These features are valued in the vocative head position instead of the article and licensed by the vocative noun or DP. The derivation of a vocative phrase is triggered by these functional features. The following tree represents the structure of a vocative phrase with the functional features as proposed by Hill (2014):



- Vocatives can occur at the left periphery of different sentential types, such as interrogatives, imperatives or declaratives, where a Force phrase is required in the derivation, (Espinal, 2013, 116).

(44) **yā** Sara, kali-tī fat²ōr-itʃ? GULF ARABIC
 VOC Sara eat.PV-2SG.FM breakfast-yours.FEM
Hey Sara, did you eat your breakfast?

The vocative phrase *yā Sara*, in (44), occurs at the left periphery of an interrogative.

- The vocative particle agrees with the vocative noun in number and gender in some languages, such as Umbundu. The vocative particle *epa* in Umbundu is used to address a singular masculine informally. The following is an example of a vocative in Umbundu, (Hill, 2013, 141):

(45) **epa** a Pedro
 VOC MRK Pedro

However, Arabic vocative and vocative exclamative particles do not share the agreement property of number and gender.

To sum up, a vocative phrase is identified with certain syntactic features: (i) the disallowance of the definite or indefinite article, (ii) the restrictions in the word order, (iii) the use of the pragmatic marker, the [2p] and [ip] functional features associated with the vocative head, (iv) the possibility of occurring at the left periphery of various sentential types, and (x) the agreement between its head and the vocative noun in some languages.

3.4.3.2 Semantic and Pragmatic Properties

Vocatives function either as a call or an address. They are characterized with certain semantic and pragmatic properties. Vocatives identified with the truth condition, deixis feature, interpersonal feature and specificity feature.

Zwicky (1974) divided the functions of vocatives into: *calls* and *addresses*. Vocatives which function as a call are uttered to catch the attention of the hearer, while those which function as an address are uttered to "*emphasise the contact between the speaker and addressee*", (p. 787).

- (46) a. Hey Jake, give me that book. [CALL]
 b. Sorry, Peter, I can not attend the meeting. [ADDRESS]

Vocative exclamatives differ from vocatives in their function. They do not function as a call or an address. Rather, they express a surprise or feelings.

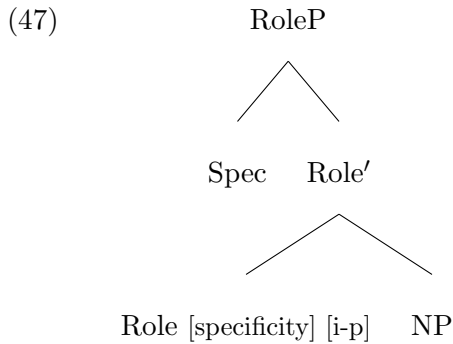
Vocative exclamatives share two semantic properties with vocatives which are mentioned above. One of the main similarities between vocatives and vocative exclamatives is related to the truth condition. Vocatives are interpreted semantically according to the addressed content but "*are not truth-conditionally relevant, because they are not part of the verb's*

thematic grid” (Hill, 2013, p. 15). Exclamatives presupposes the factivity of context but do not have a truth value.

Another similarity between vocatives and exclamatives is related to the deictic feature. Vocatives are indexical because they refer to the addressee. They have the [+deixis] interpretable feature, as proposed by Espinal (2013). The word deixis means an element which expresses a spatial, temporal, personal, social or discourse relation. It can be expressed by personal pronouns, demonstratives, adverbs and pragmatic or discourse markers, among which are vocatives and exclamative particles. According to Espinal (2013), the VocP is a functional projection whose Voc head has the interpretable [+deixis] feature of the second person. The deictic feature of vocatives and vocative exclamatives are discussed in § 7.

Hill (2013) argues that a vocative is composed of a vocative phrase which appears to be similar to a noun phrase regardless of the existence of a vocative particle. The vocative phrase has two pragmatic functional features which distinguish it from a noun phrase. These features are: the inter-personal functional feature [i-p] and the specificity feature. The evidence that the vocative phrase has these features is the vocative particle. The inter-personal functional feature [i-p] of a vocative noun signals the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. As the existence of the addressee is not necessary in vocative exclamatives, this inter-personal functional feature does not appear in vocative exclamatives.

The vocative noun also has the [specificity] functional feature which identifies the addressee. This feature needs to be checked. In this case, the vocative particle, which is the pragmatic Role marker, triggers the feature checking process. Hill (2013) represented the pragmatic Role as the following:



The tree representation in (47) fits together with the earlier tree representation of vocatives in (43). The Role Phrase is an equivalent to the Vocative Phrase since the vocative particle is considered as a pragmatic role marker by Hill (2013). The difference between both representations is that the (47) focus on the pragmatic function of the vocative.

Vocatives have an illocutionary force whose identification is related to their function whether a call or an address, Portner (2004). The illocutionary force associated with the vocative in (46-a) is that of a *request*, hence, the propositional meaning would be: (*I request Jake's attention to give that book*). The vocative in (46-b) has the illocutionary force of *informing* in which its propositional meaning is : (*I inform you, Peter, that I won't be able to attend the meeting*).

3.4.4 Properties of Exclamatives vs. Vocatives vs. Vocative Exclamatives

The following table summaries the main syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of exclamatives, vocatives and vocative exclamatives. It also indicates the shared and varied properties among the three syntactic types:

PROPERTIES	Exclamatives	Vocatives	Voc Exclamatives
1. <i>wh</i> -operator	✓	x	✓
2. pragmatic marker	x	✓	✓
3. word-order restriction	✓	✓	✓?
4. left periphery occurrence	?	✓	✓
5. nominal construction	✓	✓	✓
6. verbal construction	✓	x	✓"left periphery"
7. allowing articles	✓	x	✓
8. expressing degree property	✓	x	✓
9. truth-condition	x	x	x
10. inter-personal feature	x	✓	x
11. specificity	x	✓	x
12. indexicality	✓	✓	✓
13. illocutionary force	✓exclaiming	✓requesting <i>or</i> informing	✓exclaiming
Total Properties	8	8	10

Table 3.1: Properties of Exclamatives, Vocatives and Vocative Exclamatives

Table 3.1 indicates that vocatives share the least number of properties compared to exclamatives and vocative exclamatives, whereas vocative exclamatives seem to inherit properties

from both vocatives and exclamatives.

3.4.5 Properties of Particles

This section introduces the properties of particles since the data on exclamatives in this theses are particle-based exclamatives. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the general properties of particles for a better understanding of how exclamative particles syntactically behave. The properties of exclamative particles in Gulf Arabic are discussed in § 5, 6 and 7.

Bayer and Struckmeier (2017) define particles as "*simply not-inflecting parts of speech*". They consider discourse particles to pattern with prepositions, complementizers, and adverbs. The classification of the sets of particles vary among languages. In Arabic, for instance, there is a set of particles called vocative exclamative particles which do not exist in German. Modal particles which exist in German do not exist in Arabic. Each set of particles is restricted to a specific type of clause or phrase. Vocative particles, for example, can only occur in a vocative phrase.

Zwicky (1985), Biberauer and Sheehan (2011) and Biberauer et al. (2014) identify the syntactic properties of particles. Zwicky (1985) highlights two properties of particles providing examples from English (p. 291):

1. Particles are combined with phrases rather than words:
 - The particle *off* combines with two lexical categories: V and NP. For example, *send [the astronauts] off*.
 - The infinitive *to* is a particle which combines with a VP. For instance, *to [boldy*

go where no man has gone before]

2. Some particles have relatively free word order, such as *even* and *only*.

Biberauer and Sheehan (2011) list five syntactic properties of particles which they agree on from the literature, and adding to it a sixth property. Those properties are listed below, (p. 400):

1. inability to project in any way (Toivonen (2003))
2. in ability to project full structure (Van Riemsdijk (1998))
3. inability to select (Biberauer et al. (2014))
4. lack of categorical identity/syncategorematicity (Rothstein (1991))
5. inability to assign Case (Aboh (2004))
6. realizing a single feature

Biberauer et al. (2014) extend the properties of particles to include the following, (p. 2):

1. Particles lack inflectional endings.
2. They occur in fixed positions.
3. They do not enter into agree relations with clausal domain because their inability to be inflected.
4. Their interpretation is context-dependant.

Vocative exclamative and exclamative particle in Gulf Arabic share the above properties with some variation. The findings of the analyses indicate that exclamative particles are complex realizing two features (exclamative and deictic), have the ability to select focus phrase, and license the ellipsis of a tense phrase. These properties are discussed thoroughly in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

3.5 Summary

Arabic has different strategies for forming exclamatives within its varieties. The templatic exclamatives which exist in Modern Standard Arabic, for instance, are not used in Gulf Arabic. Exclamatives in Gulf Arabic are non-templatic and can be divided into three types: vocative exclamatives, *ʔamā* exclamatives and wh-exclamatives. The following chapter provides the previous studies on exclamatives, vocatives and particles.

Chapter 4

Previous Analyses

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of previous studies in the literature related to exclamatives. Most of researches in the literature focus on wh-exclamatives since it is the most common type used cross-linguistically. Due to the insufficient data on particle-based exclamatives and exclamative particles, the previous studies which are mentioned in this chapter provide a general overview of exclamatives. It starts with the previous researches done on the classification and distinction between exclamations and exclamatives. Then, it discusses the literature on nominal exclamatives particularly because the exclamatives in this thesis are all nominal in their surface structure. Previous studies on vocative exclamatives are to be discussed in the following section. Then, the chapter sheds light on researches on wh-exclamatives. Previous studies on particles are discussed and studies on vocatives are considered.

4.2 Previous Analyses on Exclamations and Exclamatives

Previous researchers have struggled with classifying exclamatives. Quirk et al. (1985) distinguishes between two terms: *exclamatives* and *exclamation*. He considers the former to be a grammatical category which belongs to clausal type, whereas the latter is referred to as a semantic status of an utterance. Radford (1997) treated exclamatives as a syntactic structure. But, he only restricted this term to wh-exclamatives. Rosengren (1997) argues that exclamatives are a pragmatic phenomenon. Rosengren (1997)'s argument has been supported by Beijer (2002) who argues that an exclamative can not be a clausal type or even a syntactic structure because language varies between form and function.

Recent researches, including Rett (2011), have treated exclamatives as a *sentential type* and have distinguished between two types: EXCLAMATIONS and EXCLAMATIVES. Rett (2011)'s classification is different from that of Quirk et al. (1985). Rett (2011) uses the term EXCLAMATIONS to refer to utterances which express surprise in the form of declaratives. The term EXCLAMATIVES covers a wider range of structural forms which are used to convey surprise or emotional feelings, among which are DP, inversion and wh-questions.

Jónsson (2017) provides another crucial difference between exclamations and exclamatives, in which the former is a proposition carrying a truth value. This truth value can be approved or negated in exclamations. However, exclamatives are expressive speech acts which can not be negated. The following are examples of exclamations from Icelandic (p. 103):

- (1) a. Vá, Jón getur talað spænsku!
 Wow, John can speak Spanish!

- b. Æ, það var leiðinlegt!
Oh, that was unpleasant!

The propositions denoted by the exclamations in (1-a) and (1-b) can be either approved or negated. That is, it can be true that John can speak Spanish in (1-a), or he actually can not speak it. Notice that exclamations here are not gradable. However, exclamationatives, which are expressive speech acts, are gradable. Their proposition can not be negated.

- (2) Æ hvað það var leiðinlegt!
oh what that was unpleasant
What a shame that was! (p. 101)

The wh-exclamative example in (2) is also from Icelandic. It has a degree reading unlike (1-b) which only expresses that something happened was unpleasant.

4.3 Previous Analyses on Nominal Exclamationatives

Portner and Zanuttini (2005) discuss one of the minor types of exclamationatives called *nominal exclamationatives*. They compare nominal exclamationatives with clausal exclamationatives and argue that both types are pragmatically and semantically equivalent.

- (3) The strange things that he says!

- (4) What strange things he says!

Example (3) is a nominal exclamationative, whereas (4) is a clausal one. Portner and Zanuttini (2005) refer to exclamationatives which are based on the structure like in (3) as nominal

exclamatives because they are noun phrases. They also argue that since the noun phrases are definite and must have a relative pronoun, their structure stands by their own and are not derived via ellipsis. They consider the absence of a relative pronoun to be semantically insufficient, as in the following:

(5) The/That strange things!

Their claim is that the exclamative in (5) has been topicalized from the object position of the verb phrase *he says*.

Martin (2013) discusses the inappropriate appearance of specificity markers in nominal exclamatives in French and English. Specificity markers are markers like *certain* (*certain*) and *précis* (*particular*).

(6) Oh! Un colis!
Oh! A package!

(7) ??Oh! Un certain colis!
??Oh! A certain package!

(8) ??Oh! Un colis précis!
??Oh! A particular package!

The nominal exclamative in (6) indicates that the speaker is surprised by a particular entity, *package*, in a particular situation. Martin (2013) claims that specificity markers have a clausal relation between property *A* which satisfies *B*. Property *A* is implied in the entity *package*, for example. *B* is denoted by a VP. In this case, nominal exclamatives have the property but lack the VP which satisfies it.

(9) A particular package arrived.

(10) A certain package arrived.

In sentences in (9) and (10), the VP *arrived* satisfies the property which is implied in the markers *certain* and *particular*. However, the lack of the VP in the nominal exclamatives make the examples in (6), (7) and (8) unacceptable. Martin (2013) provides instances where a specific property of an entity is acceptable to exist in nominal exclamatives, as the following:

(11) Ooh! Un paquet ROUGE!
Ooh! A RED package!

The RED *package* in (11) indicates that the speaker is surprised by the *red* property of the entity. Such properties are acceptable in nominal exclamatives as proposed by Martin (2013).

The following examples of exclamatives with the particle *ʔamā* in Gulf Arabic support Martin (2013) view that specificity is inappropriate in exclamatives in Gulf Arabic.

(12) ʔamā ʕulba!
PRT package
What a package!

(13) ʔamā ʕulba ḥamrā!
PRT package red
What a red package!

- (14) ??ʔaṁā ʕulba muḥadada!
 ??PRT package particular
 ?? What a particular package!

4.4 Previous Analyses on Vocative Exclamatives

Vocative exclamatives is a term used in Modern Standard Arabic to refer to exclamatives which involve the vocative particle *yā*. Research into vocative exclamatives is based on the traditional grammar of Modern Standard Arabic which considers their structure similar to that of vocatives as proposed by traditional grammarians and contemporary linguists including Ryding (2005) and Hassan (2010). The problem with this traditional view lies in the fact that it only accounts for VocEs in terms of their similarity to vocatives, and identifies only one type of VocEs, which has the particle *yā*. However, other types of VocEs, their underlying structure and derivation have not been given much attention.

There are two different views of the structure of vocatives: performative vocatives and nominative vocatives. According to the traditional grammar of Arabic, vocatives in Modern Standard Arabic are performatives and covertly contain the verb *ʔu-nāḍī* (*1-call*). The early grammarian Sibawayh (1988) proposed that vocatives have a covert verb in Arabic. He stated "*as for the vocative, every vocative noun is assigned a genitive case by the covert verb ʔu-nāḍī (1-call)*"¹ (p. 182).

Abdullah (2012) supported Sibawayh (1988)'s view on the existence of the overt verb in vocatives. He considered that "*the vocative noun, even if it appears to be in a nominative*

¹This quotation is translated from Arabic.

position, it is assigned a genitive case by the covert verb *ʔu-nādī* (1-call)² (p. 21).

Particles in Arabic convey performative verbs, a term originated in Austin (1962)'s work. Performative utterances, also called illocutionary act, are able to do things with words and are not just descriptive utterances. Examples of performative verbs in English are: *advice, request, order, name, accuse* etc.

(15) I order you to leave the house.

Example (15) does not convey a description of a situation or an assertion but an order which is a performative utterance as considered by Austin (1962).

The vocative particle *yā* has the underlying verb *ʔu-nādī* (1-call), the vocative exclamative particles *yā* and *ʔayā* have the underlying verb *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (1-exclaim), and the exclamative particle *ʔamā* also has the underlying verb *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (1-exclaim), which is explained further in Chapter 6. Those particles are performatives having the illocutionary acts of calling or exclaiming. The difference between performative verbs and particles lies in the fact the performative verbs are uttered explicitly, whereas the performative verbs of particles are represented in the underlying structure. Other particles which exist in Arabic are also performative utterances, some of which are mentioned in the following table:

²This quotation is translated from Arabic.

Particle	Function	Performative Verbs
yā	vocative	ʔu-nādī (1-call)
yā	vocative exclamative	ʔatafa-ʔab (1-exclaim)
hall	question	ʔa-stafhim (1-question)
laita	optative	ʔa-tamnā (1-wish)
lā	negation	ʔa-nhā (1-forbid)

Table 4.1: Performative Verbs Associated with Some Particles in MSA

The following is an example of a vocative in Modern Standard Arabic (16-a) and its underlying performatives structure (16-b):

- (16) a. yā raʔul-an!
 PRT man-ACC
 Hey, man!
- b. ʔu-nādī raʔul-an.
 1-call man-ACC
 I call a man.

The vocative construction in (16-a) consists of the vocative particle *yā* and a bare noun which is marked with an indefinite accusative case. Example (16-b) shows the underlying performative form of the vocative, which consists of the verb *ʔu-nād* (1-call). This underlying performative verb assigns an accusative case to its object which is the vocative noun. When the vocative structure is derived, the verb is elided and its remnant object maintains

its accusative case. This justifies the accusative case on the vocative noun.

The second view raised by the contemporary linguist Ryding (2005) who considered that vocative nouns are nominal constructions which are assigned a nominative case instead of the accusative (p. 170). He claims that there is not any underlying performative verb in vocatives, and thus, a vocative noun is assigned a nominative case by default. The following exemplified Ryding (2005)'s view:

- (17) *yā* *Raḥīd-un!*
 PRT Rasheed-NOM
 Hey, Rasheed!

The traditional grammar of MSA have not provided a thorough description nor an in depth analysis of vocative exclamatives. It only considers vocative exclamatives to have a similar structure to vocatives due to the existence of the vocative particle *yā*. The difference between vocatives and vocative exclamatives according to the grammar of MSA is that the particle in the former combines with a bare noun and addresses animates, whereas it combines with a construct state with the latter. Their structures also differ in the underlying VP. As mentioned earlier, the underlying verb in vocatives is *ʔu-nād* (*1-call*). However, the underlying verb in vocative exclamatives is *ʔa-taʔaʔab* (*1-exclaim*). This verb must be followed by the preposition *min* (*about*), and thus, the noun following the VocE particle is assigned a genitive case. This genitive case is an evidence for the underlying preposition. The following is an example of a vocative exclamative in Modern Standard Arabic (18-a) followed by its underlying structure (18-b):

- (18) a. *yā karam-ik!* [vocative exclamative]
 PRT generosity-GEN-FM.your
 How generous you are!
- b. *ʔa-taʕaʕab min karam-ik!*
 1-exclaim about generosity-GEN-FM.your
 I exclaim about your generosity.

The structure of the vocative exclamative in (18-a) consists of the following:

1. *yā* is a vocative exclamative particle.
2. *karam* (generosity) is a noun marked with a genitive case.
3. *-k* (your) is a possessive pronoun marked with a covert genitive case because it is linked with the noun (generosity) in a construct state structure.

I support the first view that vocative exclamatives have an underlying VP and a preposition by extending this analysis for MSA to Gulf Arabic. I provide an empirical analysis of data from Gulf Arabic in § 5. I also extend this view to *ʔamā* exclamatives in § 6.

4.5 Previous Analyses on Wh-Exclamatives

Even though wh-exclamatives appear irrelevant to this thesis, they share four properties with particle-based exclamatives. Thus, this section highlights the previous studies which tackled the following properties: gradability, existence of Focus, factivity and Force.

Miró (2008) and Rett (2008) develop a degree approach towards wh-exclamatives. The degree approach means that the wh-exclamative has a gradable property whether in it is

underlying or interpreted within the context.

(19) How tall John is!

The word *tall* in (19) has a gradable property. It means that John is taller than the speaker's expectation. For Chernilovskaya (2010), the gradable approach towards wh-exclamatives is limited because not all wh-exclamatives have a gradable property. He shows this limitation with the following example:

(20) What languages Mary speaks!

The speaker in (20) knows that Mary speaks two languages which the speaker expects them to be French and Italian. But he finds that Mary speaks Portuguese and Romanian instead. This example, according to Chernilovskaya (2010) does not have the gradable property.

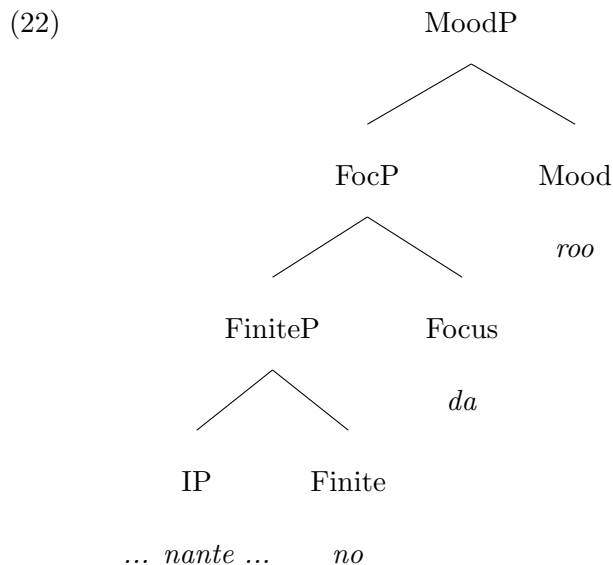
In this thesis, I adopt Miró (2008) and Rett (2008)'s degree approach in which the data on particle-based exclamatives are gradable. Their gradability are projected with an underlying degree phrase with a null degree head.

Lipták (2005) mentions the existence of focus in wh-exclamatives in Hungarian. He suggests locating the wh-word under the Spec of FocP shell. When it is located under the FocP Specifier position, the head movement of the verb from V to Foc becomes obligatory, as exemplified below:

(21) [_{FocP} focus/*wh* [_{Foc'} V_i ... [_{AspP} PV [_{Asp'} ... [_{VP} t_i]]]]]]

According to Lipták (2005), the *wh*-words in Hungarian exclamatives have two structural positions in the left periphery: Spec of FocP, or *many*P which is a higher quantificational projection above the FocP. Throughout the analysis of particle-based exclamatives, FocP appears at the left periphery.

Ono (2006) also mentions the existence of FocP in *wh*-exclamatives in Japanese. His main investigation is that the structure of *wh*-exclamatives is licensed by three functional projections within the CP domain which make exclamatives distinct from interrogatives. The three functional categories are: Finite *no*, Focus *da*, and Mood *roo*. Each of these functional projections has an overt particle as the Head of the projection. Since Japanese is a head final language, those functional projections are located at the right periphery instead of the left periphery. The only possible order of the functional projections in Japanese *wh*-exclamatives is as the following, (p. 5):



The above tree representation (22) shows that each of the functional projections has an

overt particle as the head of the projection.

The third property of wh-exclamatives, which is of an interest in this thesis, is factivity. Exclamatives are associated with factivity because their purpose is to exclaim about something and do not require an answer. Zanuttini and Portner (2003) identified factivity as a semantic property of an exclamative clause. It is the FACT that an exclamative presupposes which is a universal property among exclamatives in different languages. Zanuttini and Portner (2003) considered factivity in exclamatives to be represented as an abstract morpheme under the CP which leads to alternative propositions. Therefore, they combined the property of factivity with the semantic property of widening: *"Exclamatives widen the domain of quantification for the WH operator, which gives rise to the set of alternative propositions denoted by the sentence"* (p. 40)

The semantic feature of factivity has been supported by Abels (2010). He claimed that the exclamatives' propositions are supposed to denote presupposition, that is, they are true. For instance, exclaiming *"How tall John is!"* presupposes that John is tall (p. 6). Therefore, he considered what he called *what-a* and *how-very* exclamatives to be factive. Abels (2010) supported his argument by stating that *what-a* and *how-very* exclamatives can not be answers for questions since they presuppose factivity while answering questions can have truth value.

(23) Question: How tall is John?

Answer: Very tall.

Answer: How tall John is!

(24) Question: Did John leave?

Answer: It's odd that he did.

Answer: I'd forgotten that he did. (p. 10)

The last property of wh-exclamatives, which is related to this thesis, is Force. Zanuttini and Portner (2003) modified the analysis of force associated with exclamatives. They argued that the illocutionary force is not accurate in identifying a clause as an exclamative because exclamatives can have different forms, such as a declaration or a question. Thus, they proposed that the sentential force is essential to determine the exclamative clause type.

- (25) a. He's so cute! (declarative)
 b. Isn't he the cutest thing! (interrogative) (p. 41)

The illocutionary force of both (25-a) and (25-b) is exclamation. However, their sentential force is declarative in (25-a) and interrogative in (25-b).

4.6 Previous Analyses on Vocatives

Since one of the types of exclamatives which this thesis investigates is called *vocative exclamatives*, it is important to look into the literature of vocatives. A vocative is a "*form of direct address*", as defined by Hill (2007). The syntax of vocatives has attracted the attention of researchers since the end of the 20th century, with the emergence of the syntax-pragmatics interface, Hill (2014). In order to account for the syntax of vocatives, researchers compare them either to exclamatives Corver (2008), imperatives (Portner, 2004), to nominal

phrases (Hill, 2014), or to copular sentences (Espinal, 2013).

Corver (2008) made comparison between the structure of the vocative construction (*You idiot!*) and the noun phrase (*we linguists*). He clarifies how both structures should not be treated the same even though they appear to be the same. He supports his claim by two reasons, (p. 53):

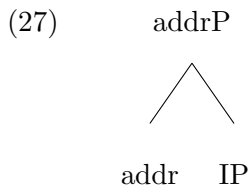
1. The pronominal expression *we linguists* can not be singular, whereas the vocative *You idiot(s)!* can be plural.
 - (a) I think that [you linguists] think too much.
 - (b) *I think that [you linguist] think too much.

2. The pronominal expression *we linguists* functions as an argumental NP as opposed to the vocative *You idiot!* which is an independent construction.
 - (a) I believe that [you linguists] work too hard.
 - (b) *I believe that [you idiot] work too hard.

Portner (2004) compares the pragmatics of vocatives to imperatives, in which both structures have a reference to addressee.

(26) Boys take your bags.

The subject of the imperative in (26) is *boys*, which refers to the addressee. Portner (2004) projects the addressee in imperatives as *addrP*:

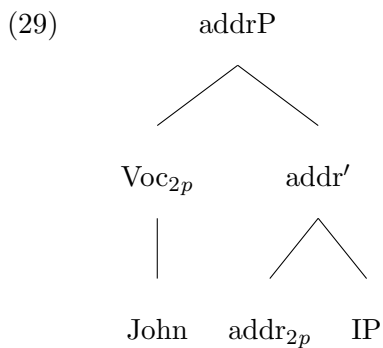


In vocatives, the addressee is represented in a vocative phrase which can occur with different types of structures, (p. 4):

- (28)
- a. John, you maybe interested in this. [**declarative**]
 - b. Maria, what's that on your nose? [**interrogative**]
 - c. Test takers, no one touch your pencils! [**imperative**]

The vocative phrases (*John*, *Maria*, and *Test takers*) do not require the to correspond to the argument as it is the case with the addressee in imperatives.

Portner (2004) suggests placing the Voc under the specifier of the addressee phrase.

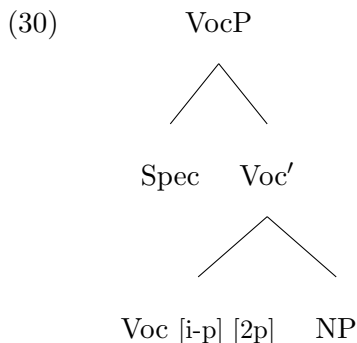


According to Portner (2004), the addressee phrase is present in the structure of vocatives.

This addressee phrase is mentioned to provide the possible projections of vocatives in the literature.

Hill (2014) proposes that a vocative phrase is a nominal phrase that undergoes the regular agreement and case checking procedure. The difference lies in the functional features which are mapped to the Voc^o head. Those functional features are: the second person feature [2p] and the interpersonal feature [i-p]. The interpersonal feature encodes the relation between the speaker and the addressee.

Hill (2014) suggests that the functional features occupy the Voc^o position, and the Spec of the vocative phrase would accommodate the vocative particle if it exists.



The vocative phrase consists of a vocative noun which can be checked for a vocative case either morphologically marked or unmarked. Hill (2014) points out two major differences between a vocative phrase and a nominal phrase in addition to the functional features:

1. Vocative phrases disallow the use of definite articles. It only allows the use of bare nouns or proper nouns, for example:
 - *Girls!*
 - **The girls!*
2. Vocatives can combine with particles. These particles are pragmatic markers for the addressee. Vocative particles exist in some languages including Arabic, Romanian and

Greek. The following is an example of a vocative phrase in Romanian which include the vocative particle *mâi*, (p. 96):

- (31) (mâi) fetișo
 VOC girl.VOCC
 Girl!

The vocative case (vocce) is morphologically marked in *fetișo* in (31). According to Hill (2014), when the vocative case is marked, the vocative phrase is derived through head to head movement. That is, the vocative noun moves from N-to-D-to-Voc, in which the vocative noun occupies the Voc^o position, as illustrated below (p. 96):

- (32)
-
- ```

graph TD
 VocP --> mâi
 VocP --> Voc_prime[Voc']
 Voc_prime --> Voc[Voc]
 Voc_prime --> DP
 DP --> D[fetișo]
 DP --> NP
 NP --> D2[fetișo]
 NP --> NP2[NP]

```

Even though vocative phrases are considered as nominal, they disallow the existence of an adjectival phrase:

- (33) (mâi) fetiṭo (\*isteatṭo)  
 VOC girl.VOCC smart.VOCC  
 Smart girl!

Unlike vocative phrases, the structure of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic permits adjectival phrases. The following example illustrates the structure of a vocative exclamative in Gulf Arabic where an adjectival phrase exists:

- (34) yā kubur ḥaḏ<sup>2</sup>a-ha!  
 PRT great luck-her  
 How lucky she is!

Corver (2008) investigates a type of vocative in Dutch where the vocative noun is an epithet. He calls this type of vocatives as evaluative because they indicate a scalar meaning. Below are some of his examples, (p. 47):

- (35) a. Jij kanjer  
 you colossus  
 b. Jij idioot  
 you idiot

According to Corver (2008), both nouns in (35) have an intensifying meaning which makes them degree words. In Dutch, non-degree words can not combine with a second person pronoun to form a vocative phrase. The following vocative phrases are ruled out in the grammar:



- (36) a. \*Jij jongen!  
           you boy
- b. \*Jij leraar!  
           you teacher

The nouns *boy* and *teacher* are non-gradable. There is no person who is more teacher than another. However, the word *idiot*, for instance, can be gradable.

The intensifying meaning in nouns can occur in exclamatives, as proposed by Corver (2008). The structure of this type of exclamatives involves *an epithet noun + a relative clause*. Corver provides an example of this degree exclamatives in German (p. 49):

- (37) Eikel die je bent!  
       Jerk who you are  
       You are such a jerk!

Vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic share the characteristic of intensifying meaning with vocatives. Epithet adjectives are used in vocative exclamatives and are evaluative.

- (38) ?aya al-sax̣if-ah!  
       PRT the-silly-FM  
       How silly you are!

- (39) ?aya al-ʔabi!  
       PRT the-stupid.M  
       How stupid you are!

The epithet adjectives *silly* and *stupid* in (38) and (39) are gradable. The speaker is

surprised how silly or stupid the person is, which expresses a higher degree of silliness or stupidity.

## 4.7 Previous Analyses on Particles

This section is dedicated to the previous work done on particles since the core of this thesis is particle-based exclamatives. Exclamative particles are understudied in the literature. Therefore, this section tackles the most prominent researches on particles in general, alongside with a research on exclamative particles.

Particles are defined in the early work of Zwicky (1985) as *"items which, in contrast to those in established word classes of a language, have (a) peculiar semantics and (b) idiosyncratic distributions"* (p. 290). Zwicky (1985) argues that particles do not fall into any grammatical category. Rather, he classifies them into three groups based on their types: affixes, clitics and words.

It is mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 that Aboh (2004) claims that particles lack the ability to assign case. I oppose Aboh (2004)'s view because some particles in Modern Standard Arabic do assign case. A group of subordinate conjunctive particles, for instance, assigns an accusative case to the subject. These particles are *ʔaṅā* (*that*), *ʔiṅā* (*indeed*), *laḵiṅā* (*but*), *liʔaṅā* (*because*) and *laʔaṅā* (*perhaps*). The following examples from Modern Standard Arabic are taken from Ryding (2005) to support my position:

- (40) ʔiṅā al-ʔamāl-a ta-ḥawal-at ʔila ʔawhām-in.  
indeed the-hopes-ACC measure-turn-FM into delusions-GEN  
Indeed, hopes have turned into delusions. (p. 423)

The verb *ta-ḥawal-at* (*measure-turn-FEM*) in (40) is not the element which assigns case to its subject due to the existence of the particle *ʔiīna* (*indeed*). Instead, this particle assigns an accusative case to the subject *al-ʔamāl-a* (*the-hopes-ACC*). It would be ungrammatical to have the subject in the nominative case in such context:

- (41) \*ʔiīna al-ʔamāl-u ta-ḥawal-at ʔila ʔawhām-in.  
indeed the-hopes-NOM measure-turn-FM into delusions-GEN  
Indeed, hopes have turned into delusions.

However, if the particle does not exist, the subject would be assigned the nominative case by the verb:

- (42) al-ʔamāl-u ta-ḥawal-at ʔila ʔawhām-in.  
the-hopes-NOM measure-turn-FM into delusions-GEN  
Hopes have turned into delusions.

Traditional grammar of Arabic is descriptive. That is why it does not include a justification for how these particles assign case.

In identifying the properties of particles, Biberauer et al. (2014) proposed that particles lack inflectional endings and can not be inflected. Here, I support Biberauer et al. (2014)'s view that particles lack inflectional endings because vocative exclamatives and non-vocative exclamative particles in Gulf Arabic and Modern Standard Arabic can not be inflected as well.

However, Alshamari (2017) claimed that one of the particles used in Haili Arabic dialect

(*ʔedī*) can be inflected with a masculine suffix, as illustrated in the following example, taken from (p. 10):

- (43) Ali ʔedī-h ʔaf as-sayarah bi-as-sāḥah.  
 Ali PRT-3SG.M see.PVM the-car in-the-yard  
 It's probable that Ali saw the car in the yard.

The reason for the inflectional ending on the particle *ʔedī* in (43) is due to the Agree relation between the particle and the singular masculine name *Ali*. This particle has to agree in terms of person, number and gender with the DP as proposed by Alshamari (2017). In example (43) the DP is a singular masculine name *Ali*. The suffix *-h* which is attached to the particle agrees with *Ali* in person, number and gender. Hence, the lack of the inflectional ending would be ungrammatical:

- (44) \*Ali ʔedī ʔaf as-sayarah bi-as-sāḥah.  
 Ali PRT see.PVM the-car in-the-yard  
 It's probable that Ali saw the car in the yard.

Unlike the particle *ʔedī*, the vocative exclamative particles which are the core of this thesis can not be inflected and do not enter into Agree relation with any lexical item.

The syntax of particles in Arabic has received less attention in the literature than other languages. This justifies the reason for the the insufficient data on Arabic particles. Alshamari (2017) is one of the researchers who provides a syntactic and pragmatic analysis of some particles in Arabic following the minimalist approach. He investigates the syntactic

and pragmatic properties of the particle *ʔedI* in North Hail Arabic, a spoken dialect of the Northern Provenance of Saudi Arabia. Alshamari (2017) proposes that the particle *ʔedI* is a C-related particle which is generated in the CP domain, as he considered it to be a discourse particle. The CP domain means a discourse domain. Based on the proposed Spec-Head configuration, the particle *ʔedI* has an uninterpretable [Top] feature which needs to be checked before spelling out. The DP, which is *Ali* in (43), has a topic [Top] feature which triggers its fronting movement to the Spec of Topic in order to value the particles uninterpretable feature.

Alshamari identifies two syntactic properties of the particle *ʔedI* :

1. It tends to be immobile because it has its own scope.
2. It is inflected by a resumptive pronoun.

Tsoulas and Alexiadou (2006) investigate the spoken Greek particle *Re* which has different interpretations and different usages. *Re* is mainly associated with root properties. This particle can appear in wh-exclamatives (p. 49):

- (45) Ti vlakas ise re!  
 What idiot are-sg PRT!  
 What an idiot you are!

What is significant about the particle *Re* in relation to this thesis is its influential effect on the Focus structure. Tsoulas and Alexiadou (2006) suggest that *Re* is located in a head position and is associated with the FocP. In line with Tsoulas and Alexiadou (2006), the

vocative exclamatives particles  $y\bar{a}$  and  $\gamma a\gamma a$ , and the exclamative particle  $\gamma a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  are also associated with FocP.

Tsoulas (2015) proposes an interesting approach towards the decomposition of Greek particles which I adapt in this thesis. He classifies two classes of particles: the *E* series and the *A* series. Each of these series includes a set of particles which are listed below with their English translations in brackets:

(46) The *E* series:

- 1.Re (address)
- 2.De (exhortation)
- 3.Ne (Yes)
- 4.Vre (affirmation)

(47) The *A* series:

- 1.Ba (negation)
- 2.Dha (degree)
- 3.Na (demonstrative, pointing)
- 4.Ma (but, swear)
- 5.etc...

Particles of the *E* series are addressee oriented whereas those of the *A* series are speaker oriented. Tsoulas (2015) considers each of the above particles to be complex rather than simple. That is, these particles realise two features, which are inherited from the basic *E*

or *A* particles. The complex particle *Re*, for instance, is composed of two heads: *R* and *E*. I adopted Tsoulas's approach in decomposing exclamative particles in § 7.

A recent research has been tackled on three exclamative particles in Icelandic by Jónsson (2017): *en* (*but*), *vá* (*wow*) and *æ* (*oh*), which he considers to be discourse particles. Those particles only exist at the left periphery of wh-exclamatives, which are the *hvað*-exclamatives. Jónsson (2017)'s main argument is that these exclamative particles are syntactic heads which have the ability to select their complement. Here Jónsson (2017) opposes Biberauer et al. (2014) who point out that one of the distinct properties of particles is their inability to select.

(48) **En** hvað þessi mynd er falleg!  
 but what this picture is beautiful  
 How beautiful this picture is! (p. 101)

(49) **Vá** hvað þú ert orðinn stór!  
 wow what you are become big  
 How you have grown! (p. 101)

(50) **Æ** hvað það var leiðinlegt!  
 oh what that was unpleasant  
 What a shame that was! (p. 101)

Jónsson (2017) proposes that these three particles select a wh-phrase. Therefore, the following example (51) is ruled out when the degree word *rosalega* (*extremely*) intervenes between the particle *vá* and the wh-word *hvað* (*what*):

- (51) \***Vá** rosalega hvað pessi leikur var spennandi!  
 wow extremely what this match was exciting (p. 107)

Even when placing the degree word above the particle in order not to intervene between the particle and the wh-word, the exclamative is ruled out because the particle has a syntactic fixed position which does not allow to be headed by an adverbial phrase or a degree phrase.

- (52) \*rosalega **vá** hvað pessi leikur var spennandi!  
 extremely wow what this match was exciting (p. 107)

If the wh-exclamative is formed without the exclamative particles, the degree phrase can precede the wh-word, as illustrated in the following example:

- (53) Mikið rosalega hvað hann var fljótur!  
 much extremely what he was quick  
 How unbelievably quick he was! (p. 108)

For Jónsson (2017), exclamative particles are clause-initial discourse particles which selects a wh-phrase as its complement. He also considers them to be functional heads rather than full phrases.

## 4.8 Summary

Throughout the literature of exclamatives, there has not been any research done so far on the exclamatives in Gulf Arabic to the best of my knowledge. A considerable amount of researches is done on wh-exclamatives, nominal exclamatives, and the semantics and pragmatics of exclamatives. Limited studies has been found on exclamative particles, such



as the work of Jónsson (2017).

## Chapter 5

# Vocative Exclamatives

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the syntactic structures and properties of two types of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic. The first part of this chapter analyses vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*, and the second part analyses vocative exclamatives with the particle *?aya*.

A vocative exclamative is a type of exclamative which includes a vocative particle. The surface structure of vocative exclamatives appear to be nominal which leads to investigating their underlying structure and their derivation. I, hence, propose that vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic are derived from an underlying TP and a preposition *?a-taʕaʕab min* (1-exclaim about) which do not spell out in the presence of the vocative exclamative particle. I also propose that focus contributes to the derivation of vocative exclamatives by hosting the degree phrase which involves the exclamative noun. The VocE particles *yā* and *?aya* license the ellipsis of the TP which dominates the verb *?a-taʕaʕab* (1-exclaim) by blocking it from

spelling out. The remnants maintain the meaning of the elided elements. The preposition *min* (*about*) is also blocked from spelling out because preposition stranding do not exist in in Gulf Arabic, Leung (2014).

The type of ellipsis that vocative exclamatives undergo are the deletion of fully projected elements rather than phonetically null elements, Kim and Sakai (1997). The relationship between Focus and ellipsis has been the interest of recent researchers including Rooth (1992), Winkler and Schwabe (2003) and Winkler (2005). This research will examines this relationship specifically in vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic.

It is important to point out that there are two main differences between the structure of vocative exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic and that of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic. The first difference lies in the case marking system. In Modern Standard Arabic, case is morphologically realised Sibawayh (1977). However, there is no overt case marking in the modern dialects as suggested by Brustad (2000). She assumes that the dialects of Arabic have no case marking system except for the definite coding which is marked on some adverbs in some dialects, such as *ʔabad-ān* (*never*) (p. 27). The second difference is regarding the selectional properties of the vocative exclamatives. In MSA, vocative exclamatives involve a construct state, whereas in GA, they involve either a construct state or nominals.

The following examples are vocative exclamatives Gulf dialect with gender and number variation. Notice the absence of any overt case marking in the following examples from Gulf Arabic:

- (1) a. yā karam-it!  
 PRT generosity.GEN-FM.your  
 How generous you are!

- b. yā karam-ak!  
 PRT generosity.GEN-your  
 How generous you are!
- c. yā karam-kum!  
 PRT generosity.GEN-your.PL  
 How generous you are!

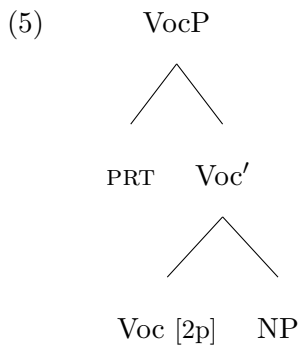
In order to identify the relationship between vocatives and vocative exclamatives, I point out the main properties of each. As for vocatives, they are a phrasal type and a "form of direct address", as defined by (Hill, 2007, 2077). Their purpose is a call or address in which the addressee must be present and animate.

- (2) yā riḡāl  
 PRT man.ACC  
 Hey, man

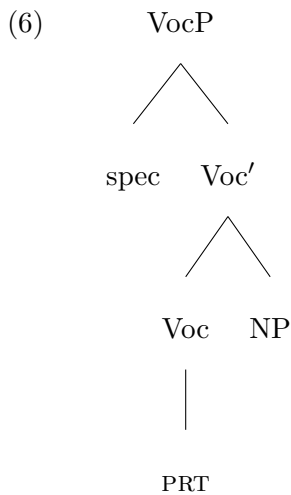
- (3) \*yā ar-riḡāl  
 PRT the-man  
 \*The man

- (4) \*yā kursī  
 PRT chair  
 \*Chair

Hill (2013) places the Voc particle under the spec of VocP position and keeps the Voc head position empty because she considers the Voc head position to be occupied with the the second person feature, as shown in (33). The DP in the vocative construction is indefinite because it is a proper noun.



I propose that the vocative particle occupies the head position of the vocative phrase, As opposed to Hill (2013)'s approach, because the interpersonal feature which Hill claims to occupy the Voc head position is a pragmatic feature rather than a syntactic one. Therefore, the representation of a vocative structure is the following:



Vocatives, then, are found to have the following properties:

1. The purpose of vocatives is a call or address.
2. They include a vocative particle.
3. The vocative head selects an NP.
4. This particle has a second person [2p] feature.
5. The NP must be animate.
6. Vocatives disallow a definite article with the NP.
7. The Voc particle is the head of VocP.

Comparing vocatives with vocative exclamatives, the purpose of the latter is to express an exclamative regardless of the presence of the addressee or the animacy feature. The relation between vocatives and vocative exclamatives can be related to the extension of the selectional requirements of the particle *yā*. The vocative particle *yā* and the vocative exclamative particle *yā* appear to be lexically the same particle but they have different functional spans. The vocative particle consists of two heads: the vocative head and the deictic head, whereas the vocative exclamative particle consists of an exclamative head and a deictic head. The vocative head has selectional requirements different from the exclamative head. The decomposition of particles will be discussed thoroughly in §7.

Arabic has extended the use of the vocative particle to express an exclamative. In vocative exclamatives, the particle selects a focus phrase which dominates the exclamative nominals. The exclamative nominals consist of DP, two DPs or a construct state. The extension also covers the loss of restrictions in animacy and definiteness.

(7) *yā* *ḥiluw* *al-ḥadīqah!*  
 PRT beauty.GEN the-garden.GEN  
 How beautiful the garden is!

(8) *yā* *al-ḥiluw-ah!*  
 PRT the-beautiful.GEN-FM  
 How beautiful you are!

(9) *yā* *ḥiluw-ah!*  
 PRT beautiful.GEN-FM  
 How beautiful you are!

The VocE in (7) exclaims about inanimate, which is the garden. The structure includes two DPs. In (8), the VocE particle allows the use of the definite article, and also allows its absence in (9).

For clarity purposes, the word *ḥiluw* (*beautiful*), with its different gender and number variations, is classified as an adjective rather than a normalized adjective.

The following section presents the data and analysis of the first type of vocative exclamatives, which includes the vocative exclamative particle *yā*.

## 5.2 Vocative Exclamatives with *yā* in Gulf Arabic

This section is dedicated to the analysis of the syntactic structures and the derivation of vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā* in Gulf Arabic. It provides an analysis of the data within the Minimalist Framework and sheds light on the main characteristics of their

structures. Vocative Exclamatives with *yā*, as mentioned earlier, is the only type of vocative exclamatives found in Modern Standard Arabic. This type of VocE is the most common type used in Gulf Arabic.

### 5.2.1 Data

The vocative exclamative particle *yā* occurs in five nominal syntactic structures, three of which includes a construct state as a post-particle element. The following data of vocative exclamatives with *yā* are examples which are commonly used in daily life conversations and are uttered frequently in TV series. They are classified below according to their surface structure into four groups<sup>1</sup>. Their syntactic structures and derivation would follow accordingly:

1. ***yā* + DP + Possessive Pronoun**: The surface structures of the following examples are composed of the VocE particle *yā* and a construct state. The construct states of these examples consist of a head noun linked to a possessive pronoun. Since the data is taken from a spoken vernacular, the gender marker is not always phonologically overt.

(10) a. *yā ḥillw-it!*  
 PRT cuteness.GEN-FM,your

---

<sup>1</sup>There is another structure which is restricted for a fixed expression. It involves a direct and an indirect object:

(i) *yā kubrr-hā ʿind Allah!*  
 PRT greatness-her to God  
 Oh, my goodness!



How cute you are!

- b. yā ħillw-ak!  
 PRT cuteness.GEN-your  
 How cute you are!

- (11) a. yā ħaǰ<sup>?</sup>a-ha!  
 PRT luck.GEN-her.GEN  
 How lucky she is!

- b. yā ħaǰ<sup>?</sup>a-h!  
 PRT luck.GEN-his.GEN  
 How lucky he is!

- (12) a. yā qus<sup>?</sup>r-hum!  
 PRT shortness.GEN-their.GEN  
 How short they are!

- (13) a. yā saχāft-it!  
 PRT silliness.GEN-FM.your.GEN  
 How silly you are!

- b. yā saχāft-kum!  
 PRT silliness.GEN-your.GEN  
 How silly you are!

(14) a. *yā farḥat-ī!*  
 PRT happiness.GEN-my.GEN  
 How happy I am!

b. *yā farḥat-nā!*  
 PRT happiness.GEN-our.GEN  
 How happy we are!

2. ***yā* +  $DP_1$  +  $DP_2$  + Possessive Pronoun:** This surface structure is used restrictively for fixed expressions among which are example (15-a) and (15-b). The VocE particle combines with a DP and a construct state which consists of a head noun and a possessive pronoun.

(15) a. *yā guwāt ʔīn-itʃ!*  
 PRT boldness.GEN eye-FM.your.GEN  
 How bold you are!

b. *yā guwāt ʔīn-ak!*  
 PRT boldness.GEN eye-your.GEN  
 How bold you are!

3. ***yā* + DP:** The vocative exclamatives particle *yā* allows the definite article to be prefixed with the vocative exclamative nominal.

(16) *yā al-hiluw-ah!*  
 PRT the-beautiful.GEN-FM

How beautiful you are!

- (17) *yā al-karīm!*  
 PRT al-generous.GEN  
 How generous you are!

4. **yā + DP + DP**: The surface structure of this type of vocative exclamatives does not contain a construct state as the previous types. The post-particle elements are two DPs in which the first DP modifies the second one.

- (18) *yā ḥiluw al-ḥadīqah!*  
 PRT beauty.GEN the-garden.GEN  
 How beautiful the garden is!

- (19) *yā kubrr al-bāit!*  
 PRT bigness.GEN the-house.GEN  
 How big the house is!

### 5.2.2 Analysis

The VocE particle *yā* marks the given data as vocative exclamatives because exclamation is often a function which can be accomplished by the vocative. In vocatives, the post-particle NP is called vocative nouns in vocative phrases Hill (2013). In vocative exclamatives, the post-particle element is called a vocative exclamative nominal which may consists of a DP,

2 DPs, or a construct state. The VocE particle exhibits a tight bond between the particle and the exclamative nominals in which no element can intervene between them except for a modifying adjective.

There is no sufficient analysis for this particle, to the best of my knowledge. Yet, there is a study of the Greek particle *Re* which is used in address. This particle can occur in different types of clauses including verbal exclamatives, (Tsoulas and Alexiadou, 2006, p. 49).

- (20) Ti vlakas ise re!  
 what idiot are-you PRT  
 What an idiot you are!

This indicates that there is a tendency of relating the exclamation with the vocative. Exclamation is often a function that can be accomplished by the vocative. The data provided of Gulf Arabic vocative exclamatives appear to be nominals, which are similar to the structure found in Modern Standard Arabic. I adapt the view of Sibawayh (1977) and Hassan (2010) who considered vocative exclamatives to be one of the functions of vocatives, and develop a systematic approach of the syntactic derivation of vocative exclamatives which involves the following proposals:

1. I propose that there is an underlying tense phrase (TP) which involves a verb phrase (VP) with a prepositional phrase complement.
2. The degree phrase launches at the lower position as the complement of the preposition *min* (about).

3. The DegP hosts the exclamative nominals.
4. Vocative exclamatives are derived via the ellipsis of this TP with all its lower elements after the fronting movement of the degree phrase to the Spec of FocP.
5. The movement of the DegP involves pied-pipping of all its constituents.
6. The trigger for focus movement is the Extended Projection Principal (EPP) feature.
7. Focus contributes to the derivation of vocative exclamatives and the VocE particle licenses the ellipsis.

The first surface structure of vocative exclamatives, which is mentioned earlier in this section, consists of the VocE particle *yā* and a construct state with a possessive pronoun as the inner NP of this construct state. The following pairs exemplify a vocative exclamative in (21-a) and its underlying declarative in (21-b):

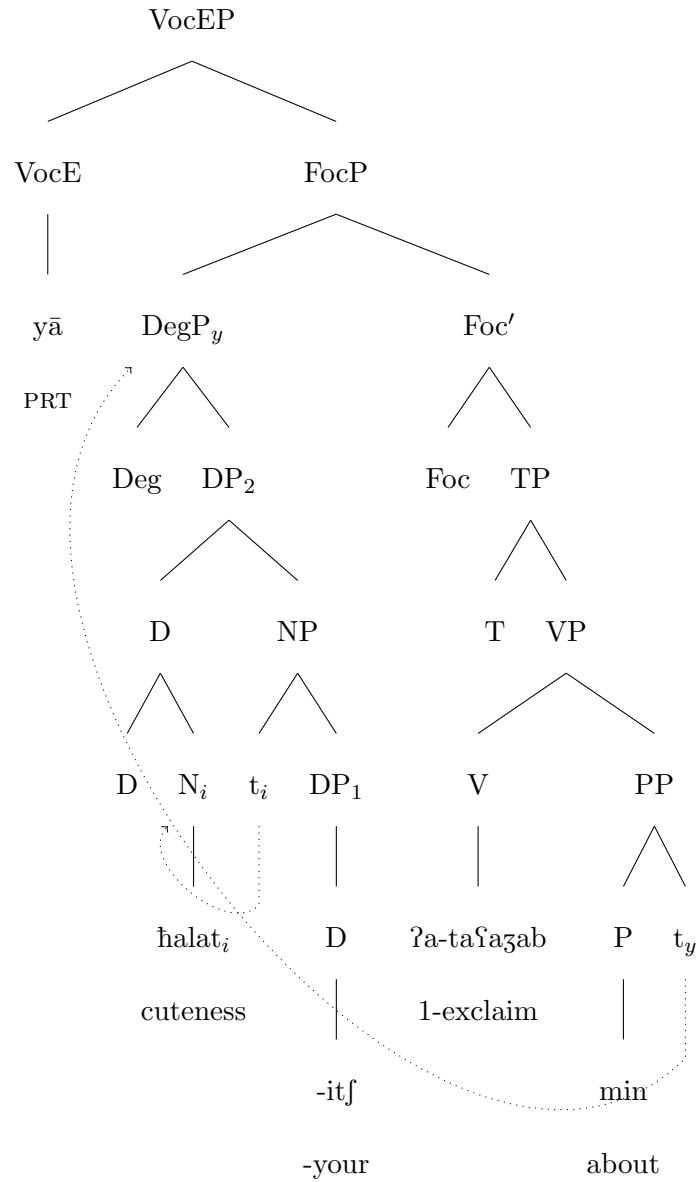
- (21) a. *yā ḥalat-itʃ!*  
 PRT cuteness.GEN-FM.your.GEN  
 How cute you are!
- b. *ʔa-taʕaʕab min ḥalat-itʃ.*  
 1-exclaim about cuteness.GEN-FM.yourGEN  
 I exclaim about your cuteness.

The ungrammaticality of the following example (22) suggests that the presence of the vocative exclamative particle *yā* licenses the ellipsis of the TP *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) with the preposition *min* (*about*) by blocking them from spelling out:

- (22) \*yā ʔa-taʔaʒab min ħalat-itʃ.  
PRT 1-exclaim about cuteness.GEN-FM.your.GEN  
\*PRT I exclaim about your cuteness.

The following represent the syntactic derivation of the vocative exclamation in (21-a):

(23)



The underlying structure represented in tree (23) indicates that the VocE head selects a FocP as its complement to form the maximum projection of VocEP. Since vocative exclamatives are gradable, the degree phrase (DegP) is present in the structure. It hosts the construct state, which involves the exclamative nominals.

The structure of the construct state consists of the construct head *ħalat* (*cuteness*) and the inner NP *-itf* (*-your*). The N-to-D movement is triggered to satisfy the definite feature of D. The N head *ħalat* (*cuteness*) moves to the empty D head position for definiteness. The features of the construct state would be listed below:

1. The construct head is a bare noun.
2. The N head raises to D head for definiteness.
3. The construct head noun can not be prefixed with a definite article, Fassi Fehri (1998).
4. The inner NP which involves a possessive pronoun occurs post nominal as a suffix.
5. The possessive pronoun occupies a D head position of the DP complement of the inner NP.
6. The inner NP is assigned a genitive case by the underlying preposition *min* (*about*).
7. The adjacency between construct head and the inner NP disallows any intervening item.

In order to form the structure of the vocative exclamative, the degree phrase which hosts the construct state raises from its bottom position to the spec of FocP. The trigger for focus fronting is the generalised EPP feature. The underlying structure also contains a tense phrase (TP) which does not spell out to surface. When forming a vocative exclamative, it undergoes an ellipsis operation where the elements are: TP, VP with the V head *?a-taʕaʒab* (*1-exclaim*), and the preposition *min* (*about*) are deleted. Prior to the ellipsis of the TP, VP and PP, the degree phrase (DegP) has to move from its position as a complement of a



preposition to the spec of FocP. The VocE particle maintains the meaning of the deleted items.

The derivation of the vocative exclamative structure is summarised below:

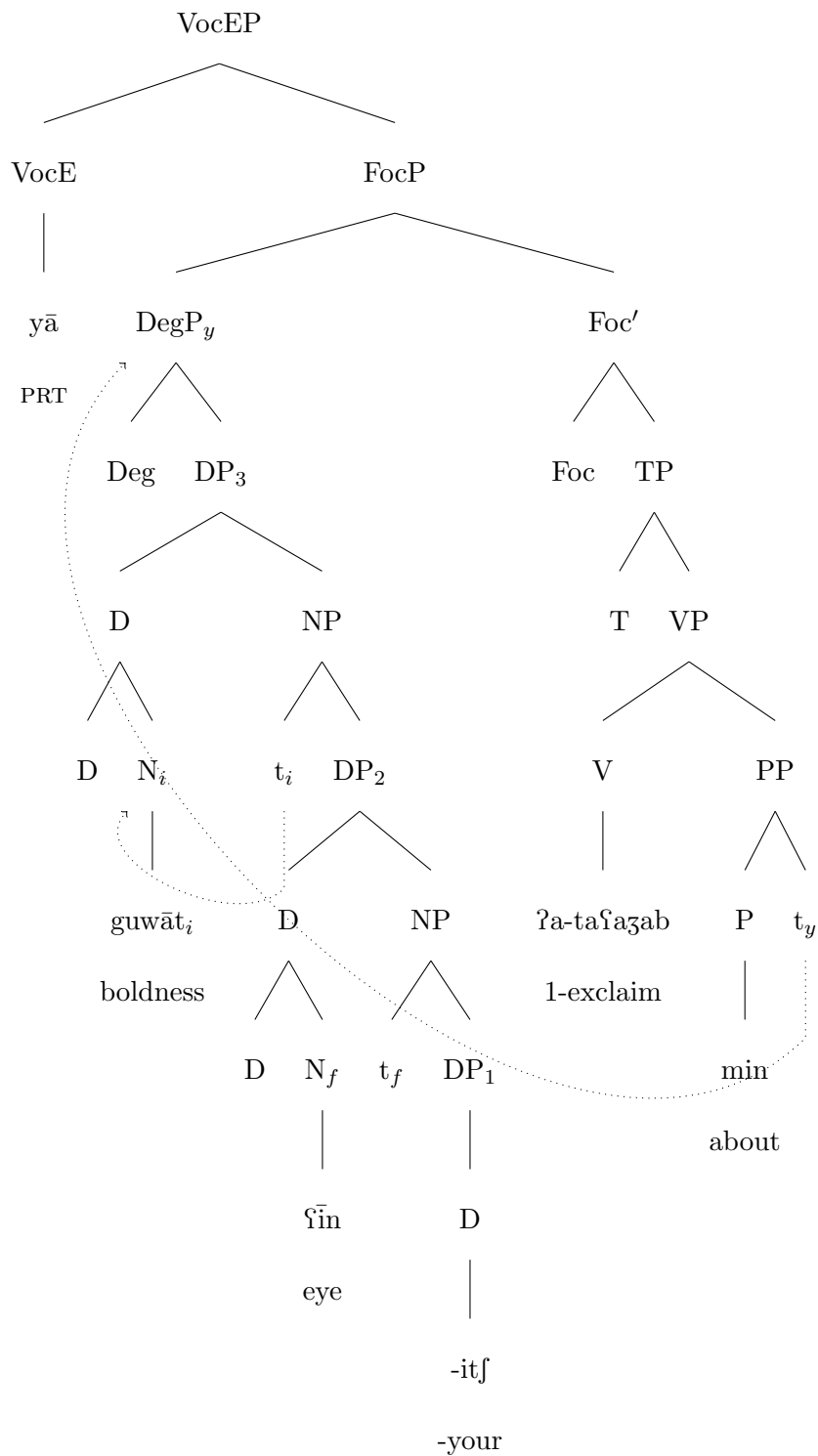
1. The VocE particle selects a FocP as its complement.
2. DegP moves to the spec of FocP.
3. The movement of the DegP involves pied-pipping of all its constituents.
4. The generalised EPP feature triggers the movement.
5. The VocE particle licenses the ellipsis of its lower elements.
6. The preposition *min* (about) assigns a genitive case to the vocative exclamative nominal.

The second classification of the surface structure of vocative exclamatives involve a DP and a construct state. The underlying structure of (15-a), repeated below, is as the following:

- (24) a. *yā guwāt.GEN ʕīn-itʃ!*  
 PRT boldness.GEN eye-FM.your.GEN  
 How bold you are!
- b. *?a-taʕaʒab min guwāt ʕīn-itʃ.*  
 1-exclaim about boldness.GEN eye-FM.your.GEN  
 I exclaim about your boldness.

The following is a representation of the syntactic structure and the derivational process of the VocE in (24-a)

(25)



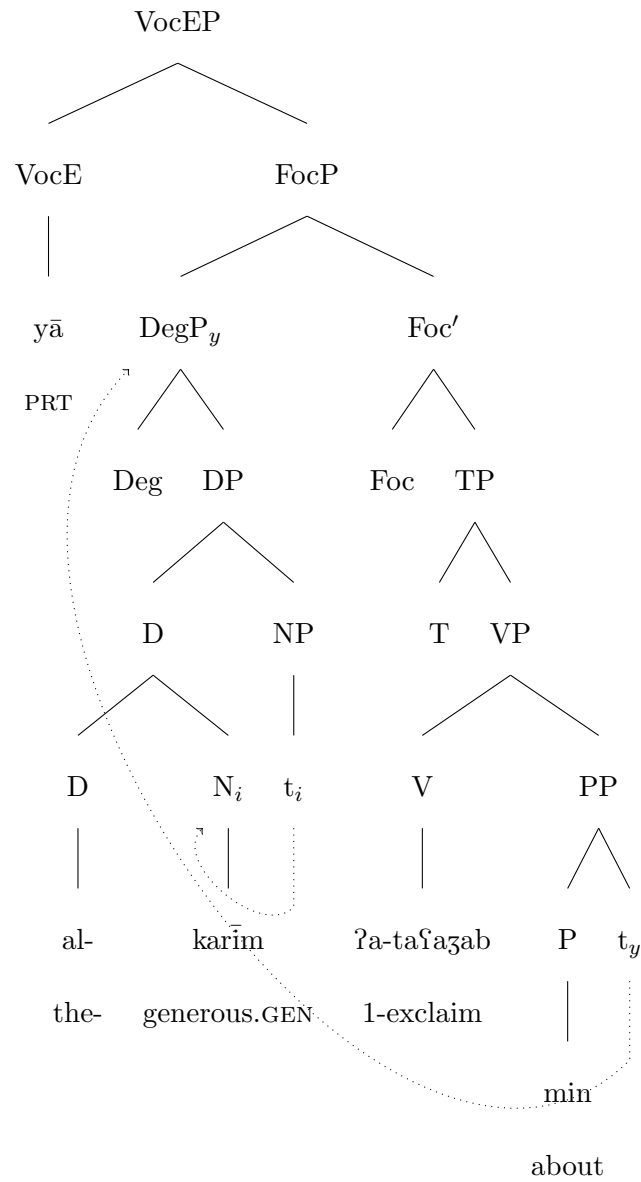
The syntactic representation in (25) is parallel to (23) except for a third DP which

exists in (25). That is, the construct state in (25) is preceded by  $DP_3$  which immediately dominates the construct state.

The third surface structure classification of vocative exclamatives with  $yā$ , involves a definite DP which is prefixed with the definite article *al-* (the-). The following vocative exclamative (26-a) is derived from the underlying structure in :

- (26) a.  $yā$  al-karīm!  
 PRT al-generous.GEN  
 How generous you are!
- b.  $ʔa$ -taʔaʔab min al-karīm.  
 1-exclaim about al-generous.GEN  
 I exclaim about the generous.

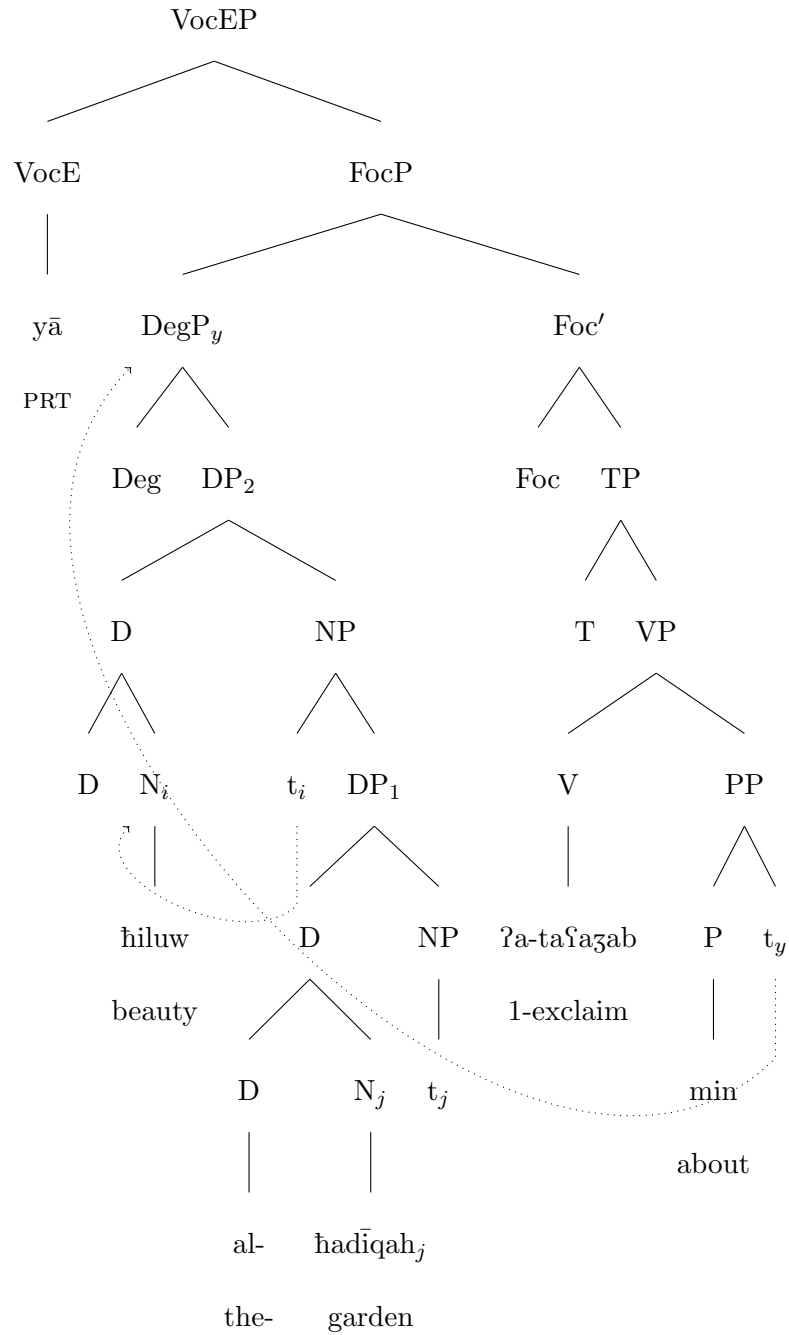
(27)



The following example (28-a) represents the last structure of vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*. Its underlying structure is exemplified in (28-b), followed by their tree representation:

- (28) a. yā ḥiluw al-ḥadīqah!  
PRT beauty.GEN the-garden  
How beautiful the garden is!
- b. ?a-taʕaʕab min ḥiluw.GEN al-ḥadīqah.  
1-exclaim about beauty the-garden  
I exclaim about the beauty of the garden.

(29)



The representation in tree (29) undergoes similar derivational process of the vocative exclamative in the previous examples. In this construction, the two DPs are not construct state constituents. The DP *ḥiluw* (*beauty*) is a pre-nominal modifier which modifies the

DP *al-ḥadiqah* (*the-garden*). Both N heads of the NPs are triggered to N-D movement to satisfy the definite feature of D. The D head of DP<sub>1</sub> is occupied with the definite article *al-* (*the-*). The head N *ḥadiqah* (*garden*) raises and merges with the D head. As for the head N *ḥiluw* (*beauty*), it also raises to the D head position for definiteness.

### 5.2.3 Summary

To sum up, the main syntactic properties of vocative exclamatives are found to be the following:

1. The purpose of vocative exclamatives is to express a surprise.
2. The vocative exclamative particle marks the utterance as an exclamative.
3. The VocE particle can be used to exclaim about animate or inanimate.
4. It is located in the head of a VocEP.
5. The vocative exclamative head selects a FocP as its complement.
6. Vocative exclamatives are gradable in which a DegP is present to host the VocE nominals.
7. The generalised EPP feature triggers the movement of the DegP to the spec of FocP.
8. The underlying structure involve the TP and the preposition *ʔa-taʕaʒab min* (1-exclaim about).
9. The preposition *min* (about) assigns a genitive case to the exclamative nominals.



10. The VocE particle licenses the ellipsis of the TP and P after the raising movement of the DegP to the spec of focus.

The following section is dedicated to the analysis of the second type of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic. These vocative exclamatives involve the vocative exclamative particle *?aya*.

### 5.3 Vocative Exclamatives with *?aya* in Gulf Arabic

Vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic can be formed with another particle, which is the particle *?aya*. This particle functions as a vocative marker in Modern Standard Arabic, which is restricted to addressing a distant animate addressee. For this reason, the traditional grammar of Arabic has not tackled this particle as an exclamative particle, which makes it worth investigation. The following is an example of a vocative with the particle *?aya* as a vocative marker in Modern Standard Arabic:

- (30) *?aya muʔalim-an!* [Voc]  
 Hey teacher-ACC  
 Hey, teacher!

The surface structure of the vocative in (30) involves a vocative particle and an indefinite DP. The Voc particle is associated with a [2-p] feature which justifies the absence of the pro-drop *you*. It might be confusing having an accusative case marked on the vocative noun instead of a nominative case. The reason for this is traced back to the traditional grammar of Modern Standard Arabic which considers the underlying structure of vocatives to include

the VP *ʔu-nadī* (1-call) in which the overt DP is treated as the object of this underlying VP, Sibawayh (1977) and Hassan (2010).

In Gulf Arabic, the particle *ʔaya* functions only as an exclamative marker. The term vocative exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic refers to exclamatives which involve the vocative particle *yā* as an exclamative marker. Since the particle *ʔaya* also functions as a vocative marker in Modern Standard Arabic, I adapt this term to exclamatives in Gulf Arabic which involve the particle *ʔaya*. This particle as a vocative exclamative particle exhibits more restrictions than the vocative exclamative particle *yā*. The particle *ʔaya* involves only a definite nominalised adjective in its surface structure.

### 5.3.1 Vocatives Vs. Vocative Exclamatives with *ʔaya*

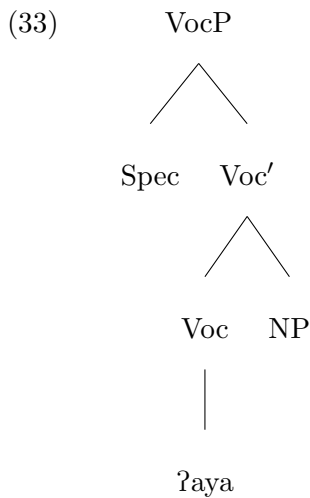
An interesting comparison can be raised between the structure of vocative exclamatives with *ʔaya* and vocatives with the *ʔaya* particle which exists in MSA to test whether they share a superficial similar structure or they are structurally distinct.

(31) *ʔaya al-jaḥūd!* [VocE - GA]  
 PRT the-ungrateful.GEN  
 How ungrateful you are!

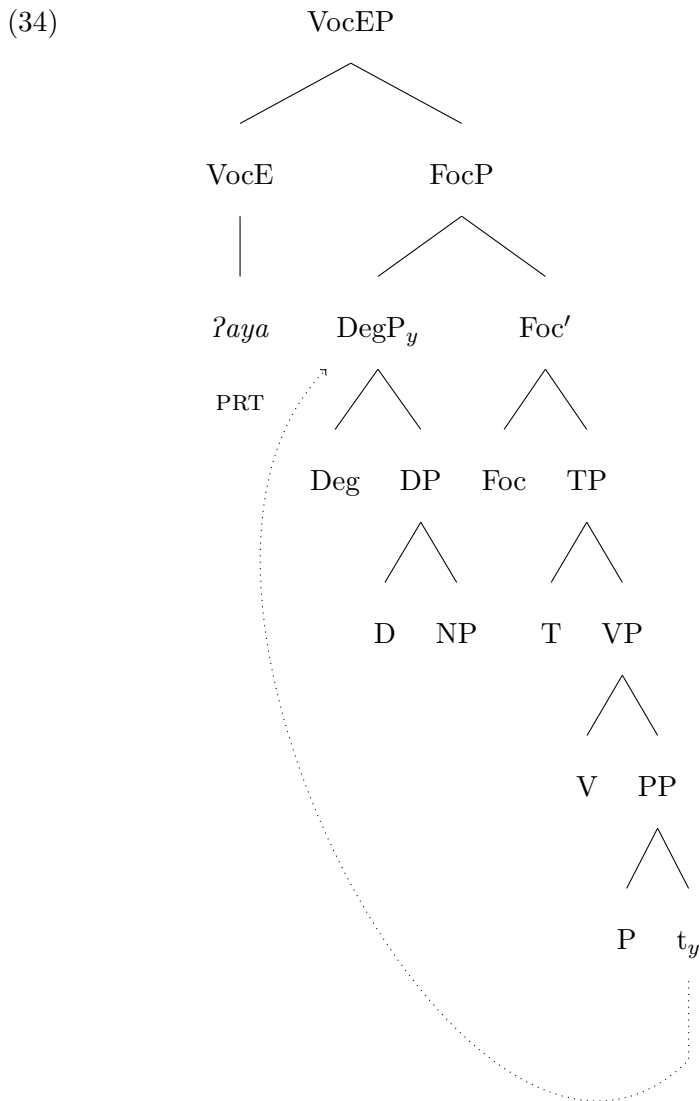
(32) *ʔaya walad-an!* [Voc - MSA]  
 PRT boy-ACC  
 Hey, boy!

The differences between the vocative exclamative in (31) and the vocative in (32) are related

to definiteness, c-selection, case marking and gradability. The definite article is obligatory to agree with the adjective in the vocative exclamation in (31), whereas the vocative in (32) disallows the definite article with the noun. The vocative exclamation involves only a definite adjective, while the vocative involves only indefinite noun. Concerning the case marking, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, that case is phonologically realized in Modern Standard Arabic, where as it not realized in Gulf Arabic. The last difference between the vocative exclamation in (31) and the vocative in (32) is the gradability feature. Vocative exclamatives are gradable, whereas vocatives are not. For this reason, the degree phrase is not presented in the vocative structure. The following is a tree representation of the structure of vocatives:



Contrary to vocatives, degree phrase is projected in the structure which hosts the exclamative nominals. The VocE particle selects a FocP as its complement. The generalised EPP feature triggers the pied-piping movement of the DegP to the spec of FocP. The following is the tree representation of the structure of vocative exclamatives with the particle *ʔaya*:



### 5.3.2 Data and Analysis

The following are examples of vocative exclamatives with the particle *?aya* which are commonly uttered in the spoken Gulf Arabic vernacular:

- (35) ?aya al-saχīf-ah!  
 PRT the-silly.GEN-FM  
 How silly you are!
- (36) ?aya al-ʒarīʔ!  
 PRT the-bold.GEN  
 How bold you are!
- (37) ?aya al-maʒnōn!  
 PRT the-crazy.GEN  
 How crazy you are!
- (38) ?aya al-ḥanān-ah!  
 PRT the-nagging.GEN-FM  
 How nagging you are!

The above data indicates that vocative exclamative particle *?aya* can only appear with a definite nominalised **epithet adjective** which describes a negative human personal trait, such as (*greedy, lazy, stupid, nagging, etc.*). Other nominalised adjectives do not fit in the construction of the vocative exclamative with *?aya*.

- (39) a. \*?aya al-qasʔīr!  
 PRT the-short  
 You are that short!
- b. \*?aya al-ʔaʃgar!  
 PRT the-blond

You are that blond!

A nominalised adjective which describes a positive human personal trait can be only used in a sarcastic way, so that its proposition would be the opposite.

- (40)   ʔaya al-ḥākī!  
         PRT the-smart.GEN  
         You are that smart!

The interpretation of (40) conveys the meaning that the addressee is stupid rather than smart.

In order to identify the structural features and derivation of the vocative exclamatives with *ʔaya*, I raise the following two questions:

1. Why does the nominalised adjective include a definite article? Can it be formed without this article?
2. What is the possible underlying structure from which VocEs are derived?

The realisation of a definite article appears to be obligatory with the VocE particle *ʔaya* with the nominalised adjective.

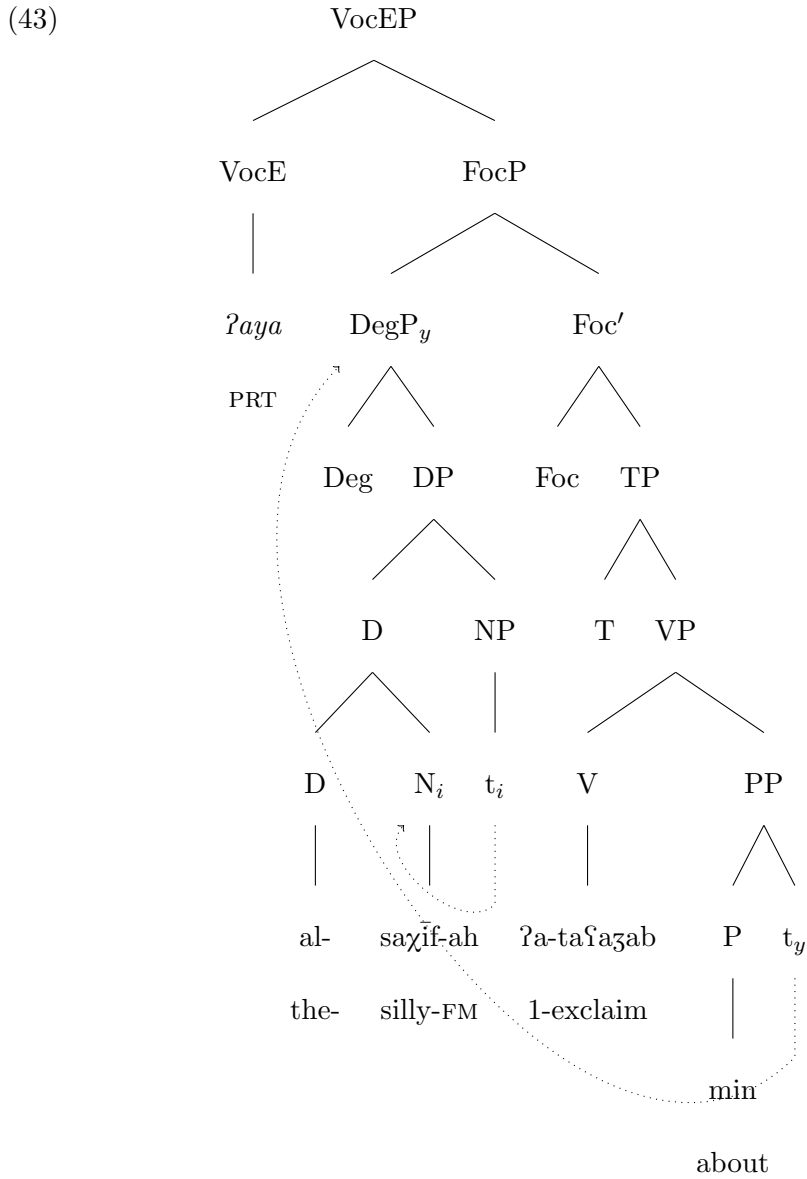
- (41)   a. \*ʔaya saḫīf-ah!  
         PRT silly-FM  
         You are that silly!

- b. \*ʔaya ʒarīʔ!  
 PRT bold  
 You are that bold!
- c. \*ʔaya maʒnōn!  
 PRT crazy  
 You are that crazy!
- d. \*ʔaya haṅān-ah!  
 PRT nagging-FM  
 You are that nagging!

I propose that vocative exclamatives with the particle *ʔaya* are derived from an underlying exclamation which includes the underlying VP *ʔa-taʔaʒab* (*1-exclaim*) and a prepositional phrase whose structure parallels to that of the vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*. I also propose that the particle *ʔaya* has a definite feature as one of its property. This type of vocative exclamatives is gradable which justifies the presence of the DegP in the underlying structure. The vocative exclamative in (42-a), for instance, is derived from (42-b) in the following:

- (42) a. ʔaya al-saxīf-ah!  
 PRT the-silly.GEN-FM  
 How silly you are!
- b. ʔa-taʔaʒab min al-saxīf-ah.  
 1-exclaim about the-silly.GEN-FM  
 I exclaim about your silliness.

The syntactic representation of the vocative exclamatives with the particle *?aya* in (42-a) can be represented below:





The underlying structure of the vocative exclamation represented in tree (43) appears to be similar to the structure of vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*. Tree (43) indicates that the vocative exclamation is derived from a declarative exclamation where. The existence of the VocE particle *?aya* triggers the ellipsis of the TP with all its lower nodes except for the complement of the preposition. The ellipsis of the TP, VP and P are obligatory because they express the same meaning which the particle expresses. The DegP hosts the exclamative nominals which raises to the spec of FocP. The generalised EPP feature triggers the movement of the DegP to the spec of FocP. This movement involves the pied-piping of the entire DegP. The VocE head is merged with the FocP to form the VocEP. Focus contributes to the derivation of the vocative exclamation, and the VocE particle licenses the ellipsis of the TP and the preposition. The relationship between Focus and ellipsis has been discussed earlier in §3.

## 5.4 Conclusion

Even though the superficial structure of vocative exclamatives appear to be similar to vocatives, they have different syntactic and semantic properties related to selection, definiteness, gradability and the addressee's presence and animacy. The main differences between vocatives and vocative exclamatives can be summarized in the table below:

| PROPERTIES              | Vocatives      | Vocative Exclamatives |
|-------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <b>Purpose</b>          | call / address | exclamation/ surprise |
| <b>Addressee</b>        | present        | present / absent      |
| <b>Selection</b>        | NP             | FocP                  |
| <b>Animacy</b>          | [+] animate    | [+] / [-] animate     |
| <b>Definite article</b> | [-] article    | [+] / [-] article     |
| <b>Gradability</b>      | [-] gradable   | [+] gradable          |

Table 5.1: Differences between Vocatives and Vocative Exclamatives

Vocative exclamatives with both particles *yā* and *ʔaya* have the underlying VP *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) and the P head *min* (*about*). In order for the vocative exclamative to derive, the VocE particle licences the ellipsis of the TP which dominates the VP and the preposition. The meaning of the elided elements are maintained by the VocE particle.

## Chapter 6

# Non-Vocative Exclamatives

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an empirical analysis of a particle-based type of exclamatives which exists in Gulf Arabic but not in the Modern Standard. Throughout the literature of exclamatives in Arabic, researches have been limited to the functions of the vocative exclamative particle *yā* and the exclamative particle *mā* in Modern Standard Arabic. Therefore, this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the neglected exclamative particle *ʔamā* in Gulf Arabic in an attempt to pave the way to a minimalist analysis of particles in Arabic.

Exclamatives in Gulf Arabic (GA) can be formed using the particle *ʔamā*. This particle exists in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) but with different grammatical functions and semantic interpretations. This particle in MSA functions as a topic shift marker and a conditional marker. It is also used for emphasis. In Gulf Arabic, the particle *ʔamā* functions as an exclamative particle or a question particle denoting an exclamation in Gulf Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The particle *ʔamā* has another function in GA which is not relevant to this thesis. It functions as a yes/no question particle. The following example in (i) is an interrogative in Gulf Arabic:

An overview of the different grammatical functions of the particle *ʔaṁā* is provided in §7.4.

Following this introduction, this chapter is divided into the following sections: data, syntactic analysis, semantic properties and interim conclusion.

## 6.2 Data

This section provides the data on *ʔaṁā* exclamatives which are commonly uttered in Gulf Arabic. The data is classified into six groups based on their surface structure:

1. **ʔaṁā + DP**: This surface structure involve only a definite DP with the exclamative particle. The DP either hosts a noun, as in (1) and (2), or an adjective as in (3), (4) and (5).

(1) *ʔaṁā al-baḍlah!*  
 PRT the-suit.GEN  
 What a suit!

(2) *ʔaṁā al-maḥbaz!*  
 PRT the-bakery.GEN  
 What a bakery!

(3) *ʔaṁā al-ḍakī!*  
 PRT the-smart.GEN

---

(i) *ʔaṁā ʔād mā ʒib-ti-ha?*  
 PRT really not bring.2PV-FM-it  
 Did not you bring it?

He the smart!

- (4)  $\text{ʔaṁā al-ḥilluw-ah!}$   
 PRT beautiful-FM.GEN  
 She the beautiful!

- (5)  $\text{ʔaṁā al-ʔafgar!}$   
 PRT the-blond.GEN  
 He the blond!

2. **ʔaṁā + DP + AP**: This surface structure of the exclamative involve an indefinite DP with a modifying attributive AP.

- (6)  $\text{ʔaṁā baḍlah ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 What a beautiful suit!

- (7)  $\text{ʔaṁā maḥbaz laḍīḍ!}$   
 PRT bakery.GEN delicious.GEN  
 What a delicious bakery!

3. **ʔaṁā + DP + DP**: This surface structure of the exclamative involve a definite DP with a definite attributive Adjective.

(8)    ʔaṁā al-baḍlah    al-ḥillw-ah!  
       PRT the-suit.GEN the-beautiful.GEN-FM  
       That beautiful suit!

(9)    ʔaṁā al-maḥbaz    al-laḍīḍ!  
       PRT the-bakery.GEN the-delicious.GEN  
       That delicious bakery!

4. **ʔaṁā + AP**: This surface structure of exclamatives involve a bare adjectival phrase.

(10)   ʔaṁā ḍaki!  
       PRT smart.GEN  
       How smart he is!

(11)   ʔaṁā ḥilluw-ah!  
       PRT beautiful.GEN-FM  
       How beautiful she is!

(12)   ʔaṁā ʔaḥmar!  
       PRT red.GEN  
       How red it is!

(13)   ʔaṁā baʕīd!  
       PRT distant.GEN  
       How far it is!

### 6.3 Syntactic Analysis

This section provides an empirical analysis of exclamatives with the particle *ʔaṁā* pointing out their syntactic properties and distributions in Gulf Arabic.

I propose that non-vocative exclamatives, which involve the particle *ʔaṁā*, are derived through the same derivational process of vocative exclamatives. The underlying structure of *ʔaṁā* exclamatives contains a TP which dominates the verb *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) and the preposition *min* (*about*). The preposition assigns a genitive case to its complement DegP. The EPP feature triggers the fronting movement of the DegP, which hosts the exclamative nominals, to the spec of FocP. The exclamative particle *ʔaṁā* licenses the ellipsis by blocking the TP from spelling out to surface. The preposition *min* (*about*) is also blocked from spelling out because preposition stranding does not exist in Gulf Arabic.

I also propose that the particle *ʔaṁā* is a functional head located at the highest projection at the left periphery. I adopt Jónsson (2017) view, that the exclamative particle occupies a head position. Jónsson (2017) proposes that exclamative particles in Icelandic select a Degree phrase as their complement, since heads have the ability to select their complement.

In line with Jónsson (2017), I propose that the exclamative particle *ʔaṁā* occupies the head position of the Exclamative Phrase (Henceforth ExP). The ExP is an equivalent for the VocEP. The difference between them is related to the type of the particle whether a vocative exclamative or non-vocative exclamative.

I also propose that the exclamative particle has the ability to select a focus phrase as

its complement. The DegP which hosts the exclamative nominals raises to the spec of FocP prior to the ellipsis operation of the TP and the PP.

The Ex head selects a FocP as its complement to create the exclamative phrase (ExP). The following is the representation of exclamatives with the particle *ʔaṁā*:

Exclamatives with the particle *ʔaṁā* are derived from an underlying declarative which contains the verb *ʔa-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*) and a prepositional phrase as its complement. The VP with its complement are elided after the insertion of the exclamative particle *ʔaṁā* to the structure. The exclamative in (14), for instance, is derived from the underlying structure in (15):

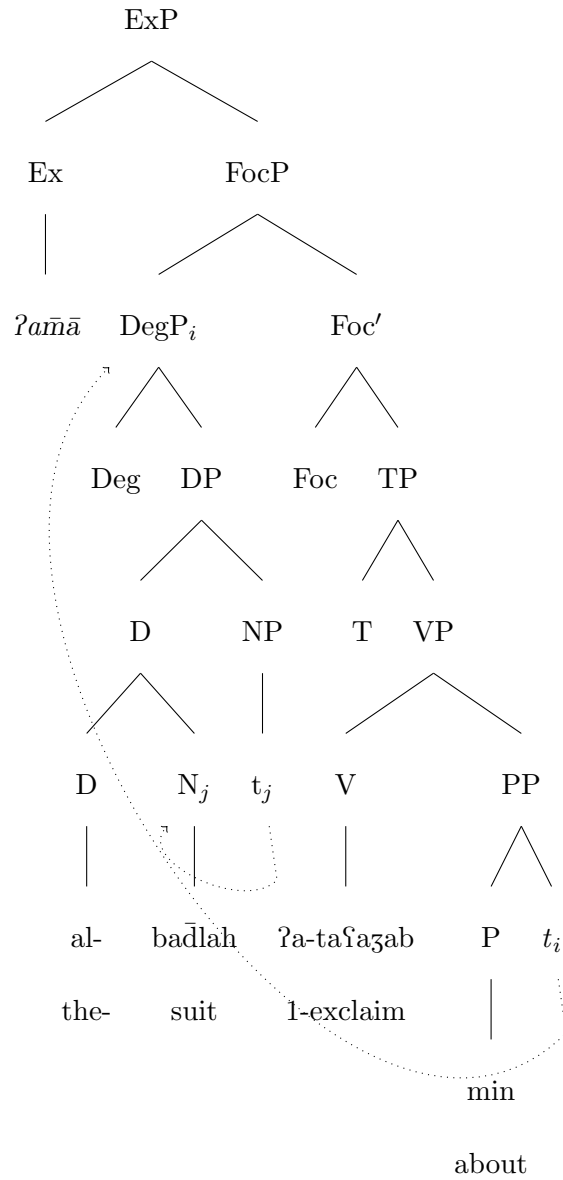
(14) *ʔaṁā al-baḍlah!*  
 PRT the-suit.GEN  
 What a suit!

(15) *ʔa-taʕaʕab min al-baḍlah.*  
 1-exclaim about the-suit.GEN  
 I exclaim about the suit.

The following tree represents the generation of the exclamative (14) from the declarative (15):



(16)



The second surface structure of *ʔamā* exclamatives involves a DP and an agreeing attributive adjective. An attributive adjective, as mentioned in §2.2.1.1, is an adjective which modifies a preceding noun and agrees with it in terms of number, gender and definiteness. This accounts for the ungrammaticality for examples (17-c) and (17-d) below:

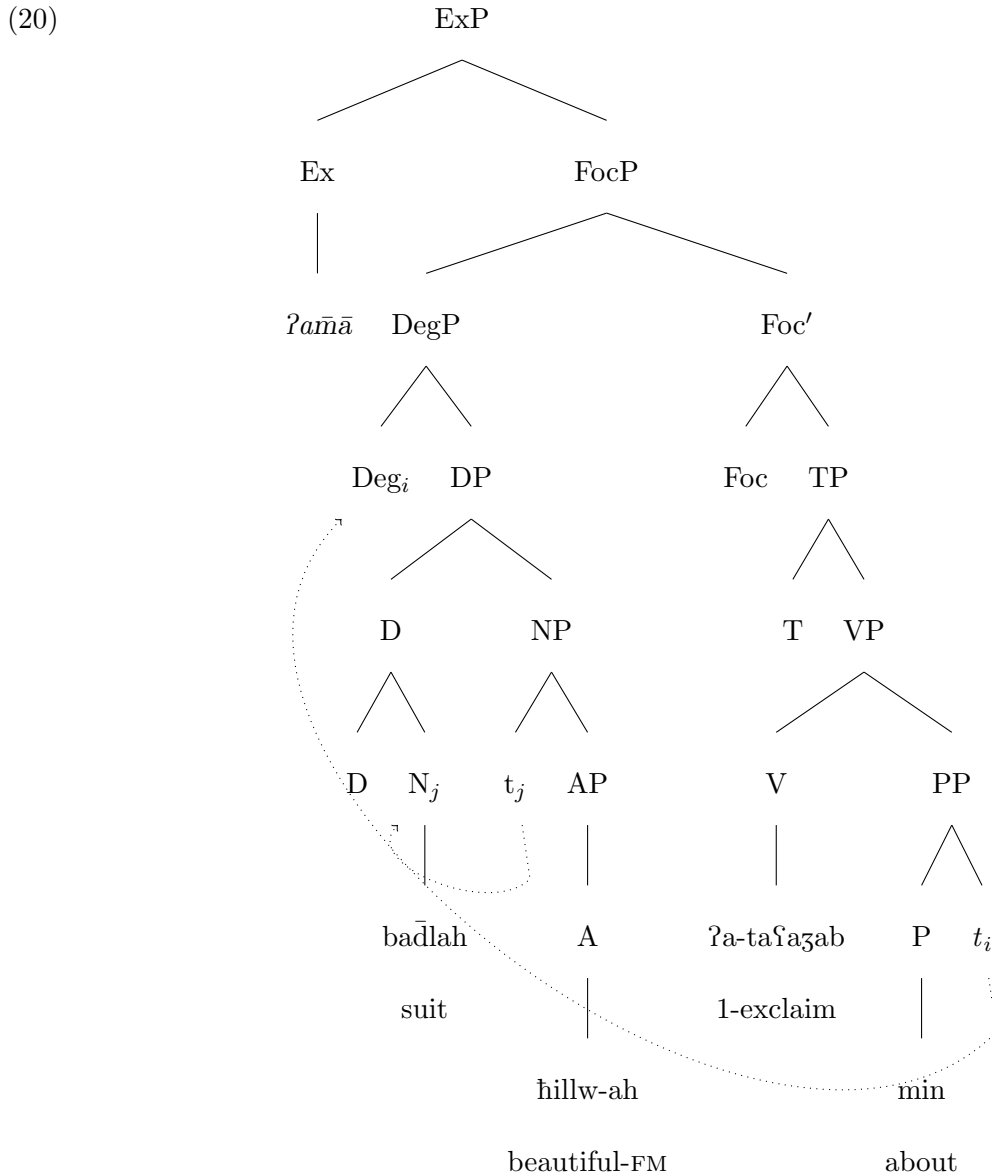
- (17) a.  $\text{ʔaṁā bad̄lah ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 What a beautiful suit!
- b.  $\text{ʔaṁā al-bad̄lah al-ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT the-suit.GEN the-beautiful.GEN-FM  
 That beautiful suit!
- c.  $\text{*ʔaṁā bad̄lah al-ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN the-beautiful.GEN-FM
- d.  $\text{*ʔaṁā bad̄lah ḥillw-īn!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-PL

$\text{ʔaṁā}$  exclamatives involves a DP and an agreeing attributive adjective which agrees with the noun in terms of gender, number and case. They are also generated from an underlying declarative. The exclamative in (18), for example, is derived from (19):

- (18)  $\text{ʔaṁā bad̄lah ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 What a beautiful suit!
- (19)  $\text{ʔa-taʔaʔab min bad̄lah ḥillw-ah.}$   
 1-exclaim about suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 I exclaim about a beautiful suit.

The noun *bad̄lah* (*suit*), in (18), is indefinite, singular and feminine noun. Its modifying attributive adjective *ḥillw-ah* (*beautiful-FM*) agrees with it in terms of definiteness, number and gender. Thus, the adjective is also indefinite, singular and feminine.

The following tree represents the derivational process of the exclamatives (18):



The representation in (20) parallels (16) excepts for the presence of the AP as a complement of the noun. The exclamative particle selects the FocP as its complement where the Foc<sup>o</sup> is null. This Foc<sup>o</sup> has an uninterpretable DegP feature which triggers the movement of

the DegP to the spec of FocP. The Spec of the FocP is the hosting shell of the the focalised element. The focalised element, then, in (20) is the DegP.

The third surface structure of *ʔaṁā* exclamatives involves a definite DP and an agreeing definite AP.

- (21) ʔaṁā al-baḍlah al-ḥillw-ah!  
 PRT the-suit the-beautiful-FM  
 That beautiful suit!

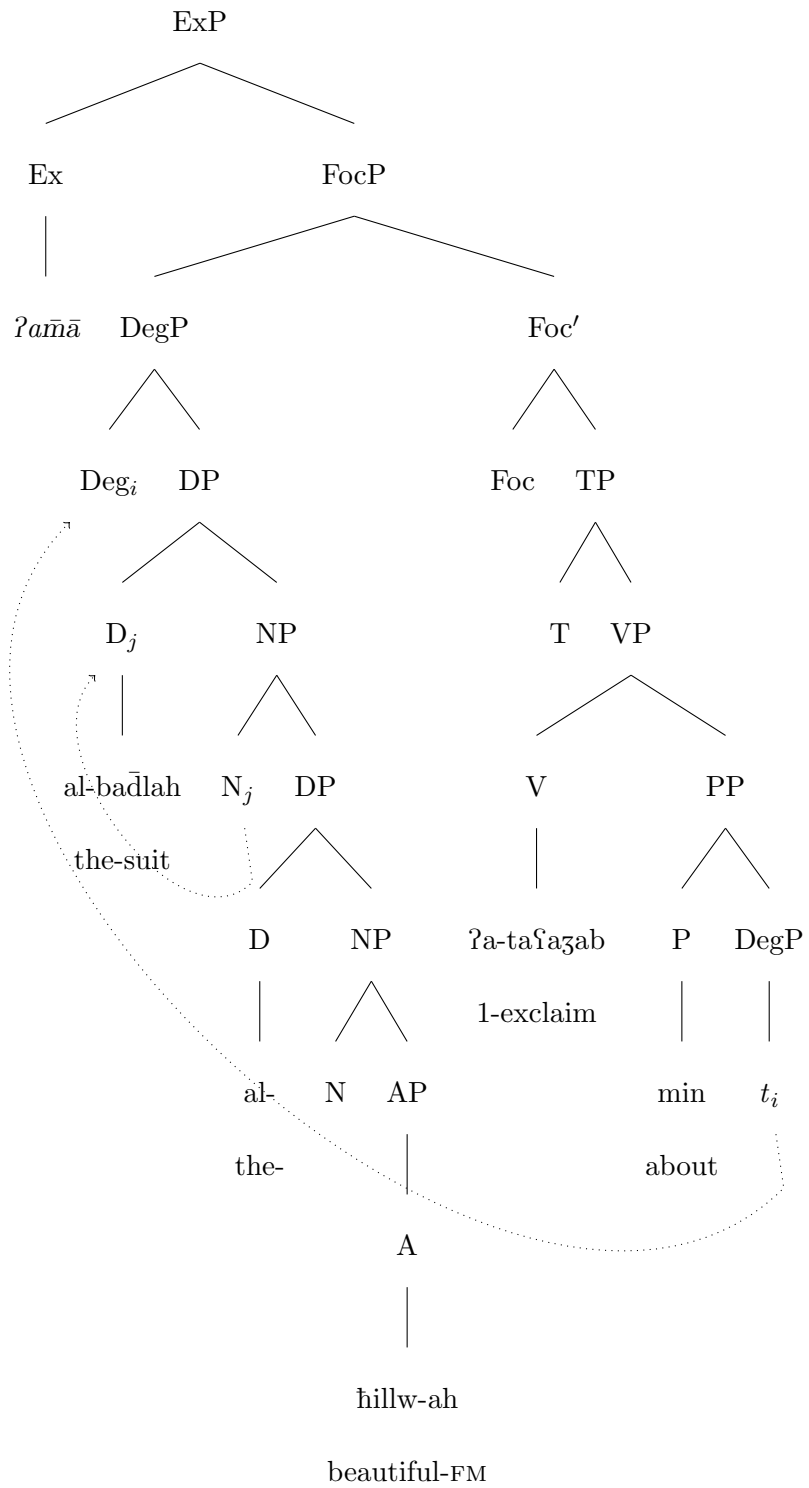
The noun *al-baḍlah* (*the-suit*), in (21), is singular, feminine and it is prefixed with the definite article. Its modifying attributive adjective *al-ḥillw-ah* (*the-beautiful-FM*) agrees with it in terms of definiteness, number and gender. Thus, the adjective is also singular, feminine and it is prefixed with the definite article.

The underlying structure of the exclamative in (21) is the following:

- (22) ʔa-taʔaʔab min al-baḍlah al-ḥillw-ah.  
 1-exclaim about the-suit the-beautiful-FM  
 I exclaim about the beautiful suit.

The following tree represents the derivational process of the exclamatives (21):

(23)



The fourth surface structure of *ʔamā* exclamatives involves an indefinite adjectival phrase.

This structure of *ʔaṁā* exclamatives differs from that of vocative exclamatives with *ʔay* in two ways: (a) the exclamative particle *ʔaṁā* allows the absence of the definite article with the adjective, and (b) any type of adjectives can fit in the structure.

- (24) *ʔaṁā ḏākī!*  
 PRT smart  
 How smart he is!

As it is shown earlier that the adjectival phrase in exclamatives can be bare or definite as presented in the following examples:

- (25) a. *ʔaṁā ḏākī!*  
 PRT smart  
 How smart he is!
- b. *ʔaṁā ḥilluwa-h!*  
 PRT beautiful-FM  
 How beautiful she is!

- (26) a. *ʔaṁā al-ḏākī!*  
 PRT the-smart  
 He the smart!
- b. *ʔaṁā al-ḥilluw-ah!*  
 PRT beautiful-FM  
 She the beautiful!

- c.  $\text{ʔaṁā al-ʔaʃgar!}$   
 PRT the-blond  
 He the blond!
- (27) a.  $\text{ʔaṁā ʔaḥmar!}$   
 PRT red  
 How red it is!
- b.  $\text{ʔaṁā baʃīd!}$   
 PRT distant  
 How far it is!

The difference between bare and definite adjectival predicate is related to the semantics of the exclamatives. The bare adjectives in (25-a) and (25-b) denote that the speaker is surprised by the smartness and beauty of a particular person. The definite adjectives in (26-a) and (26-b) denote that the speaker expresses his/her surprise of the identified person/thing rather than by his/her/its characteristic. That is, when the adjective is identified with a definite (Def) article, the Def article then is referential referring to a particular individual.

Concerning the type of adjectives which occur in exclamatives with the particle  $\text{ʔaṁā}$ , it is found that  $\text{ʔaṁā}$  is similar to the vocative exclamative particle  $\text{yā}$ . Both particles permit the occurrence with various types of adjectives, including epithet adjectives (25-a), adjectives of colour (27-a), distance (27-b) and physical appearance (26-c). They also appear to be flexible particles in terms of definiteness.

The  $\text{ʔaṁā}$  exclamatives with an indefinite AP are also derived from an underlying declar-

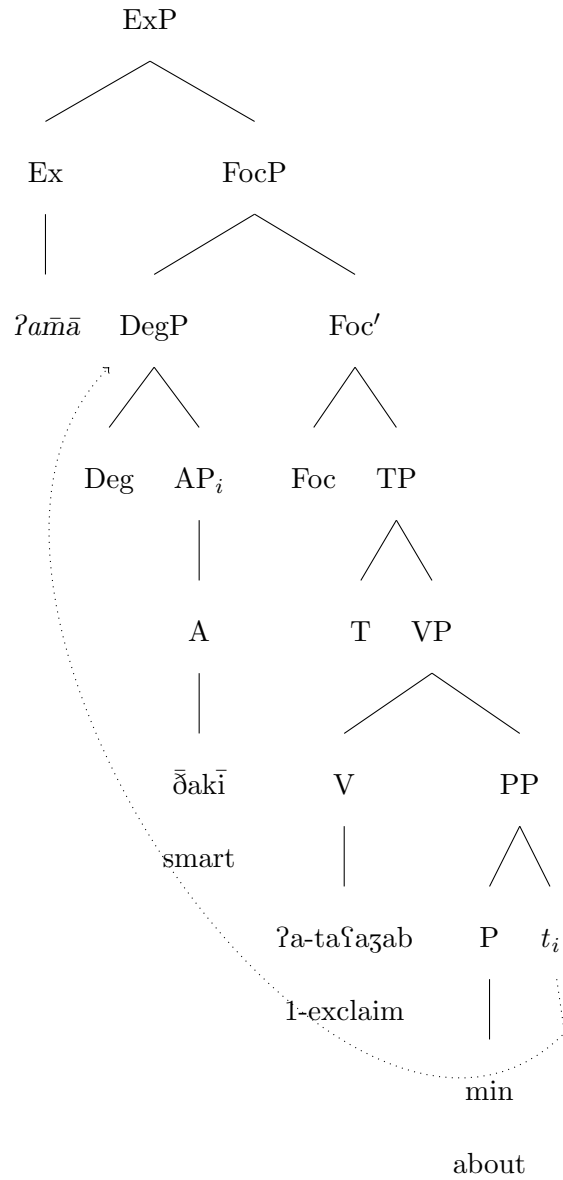
ative. The following example (28) is derived from (29):

(28)    ʔaṁā ḏakī!  
           PRT   smart.GEN  
           How smart he is!

(29)    ʔa-taʔaʒab min ḏakī.  
           1-exclaim   about smar.GENT  
           I exclaim about a smart one.



(30)



In the tree representation (30), the focalised element is a DegP which dominates a bare AP. The DegP raised from its positions as the complement of the P to the spec of FocP.

The exclamative particle The *ʔaṁā* blocks the TP and the P *ʔa-taʔaʒab min* (1-exclaim about) from surface and licenses their ellipsis parallel to the vocative exclamatives. Compare

the following:

- (31) a.  $\text{ʔaṁā al-ḏakī!}$   
 PRT the-smart.GEN  
 He the smart!
- b.  $\text{ʔa-taʕaʕab min al-ḏakī.}$   
 1-exclaim about the-smart.GEN  
 I exclaim about the smart.
- c.  $\text{*ʔaṁā ʔa-taʕaʕab min al-ḏakī.}$   
 PRT 1-exclaim about the-smart  
 \*PRT I exclaim about the smart.
- (32) a.  $\text{ʔaṁā baḏlah ḥillw-ah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 What a beautiful suit!
- b.  $\text{ʔa-taʕaʕab min baḏlah ḥillw-ah.}$   
 1-exclaim about suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 I exclaim about a suit is beautiful.
- c.  $\text{*ʔaṁā ʔa-taʕaʕab min baḏlah ḥillw-ah.}$   
 PRT I-exclaim about suit beautiful-FM  
 \*PRT I exclaim about a suit is beautiful.

The ungrammaticality of examples (31-c) and (32-c) is due to the violation of the restriction on spelling out both the exclamative particle  $\text{ʔaṁā}$  and the TP  $\text{ʔaṁā ʔa-taʕaʕab}$

*min* (1-exclaim about) to surface.

The analyses of exclamatives with the particle  $\text{ʔa}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  shows that they have the same structure and derivation of vocative exclamatives.

## 6.4 Semantic Properties

This section highlights the semantic properties of the shared knowledge of the common ground of exclamatives with the particle  $\text{ʔa}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  and their proposition. The exclamative particle  $\text{ʔa}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  can be replaced by the word  $s^{\text{ʔ}}idiq^{\text{ʔ}}$  meaning (*true*).

(33)  $\text{ʔa}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  al- $\bar{\delta}$ akī!  
 PRT the-smart.GEN  
 He the smart!

(34)  $\text{ʔa}\bar{m}\bar{a}$  ba $\bar{d}$ lah hillw-ah!  
 PRT suit.GEN beautiful.GEN-FM  
 What a beautiful suit!

The exclamative in (33) presupposes that person  $\chi$  in that particular situation is smart. In (34), the exclamative presupposes that the *suit* in that particular situation is beautiful. The exclamative can have an alternative proposition denoting two propositions, as explained in the following subsection.

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<sup>2</sup>It is also pronounced as  $s^{\text{ʔ}}i\bar{z}$  as a variety of the same word.

### 6.4.1 Common Ground

After testing the intuition of native speakers, the use of this particle in exclamatives can be divided into three groups based on the hearer's knowledge of the common ground and the use of a modifying adjective:

1. The exclamative lacks a modifying adjectival phrase, and the hearer lacks knowledge of what has been exclaimed about.
2. The exclamative lacks a modifying adjectival phrase, but the hearer has knowledge of what has been exclaimed about.
3. The exclamative includes a modifying adjectival phrase.

#### 6.4.1.1 Lack of AP and Lack of Hearer's Knowledge

If the exclamative does not include a modifying adjectival phrase and the hearer lacks knowledge of what has been exclaimed about, the exclamative denotes two propositions. This type of exclamative is usually followed by a question from the hearer.

- (35)   ʔaṁā al-farīq!  
           PRT the-team  
           What a team!

The exclamative in (35) denotes two propositions:

1. Either the team performed very well in the game, or
2. their performance was really bad.

Some native speakers would interpret (35) as it denotes the second proposition, whereas others would interpret it as denoting two propositions. Having two propositions provokes the hearer to ask a variety of questions:

- (36) a. kaif k̄an?  
How was  
How was it?
- b. kaif k̄an liḥib-hum?  
How was play-their  
How was their performance?
- c. kaif zāin?  
was good  
Was it good?
- d. kaif saiʔ?  
was bad  
Was it bad?

The two tag questions in (36-c) and (36-d) are asked according to the hearer's background of the team.

- (37) ʔamā badlah!  
PRT suit.GEN  
What a suit!

The exclamative in (37) denotes two propositions:

1. Either the suit is beautiful, or
2. it looks ugly.

Similar to the exclamative in (35) which triggers a question, the exclamative in (37) is also usually followed by the hearer's question.

#### 6.4.1.2 Lack of AP with the Hearer's Knowledge

When the speaker and the hearer have knowledge of what has been exclaimed about, the interpretation of the exclamative would also have two propositions. However, each proposition is related to an individual opinion, and this type does not trigger a question. Rather, it can be followed by either a negation or an affirmative.

- (38)    ʔaṁā badlah!  
           PRT suit.GEN  
           What a suit!

The interpretation of (38) could be as the following:

- The speaker likes the suit but the hearer does not:
  1. If the hearer knows that the speaker likes it, he/she utters a negation (*No, it is not beautiful.*)
  2. If the hearer does not know whether the speaker likes or dislikes the suit, he/she may utter either a question or a declarative: (*Is it beautiful/ugly?*) or (*It is*

*beautiful/ugly.)*

## 6.5 Conclusion

Exclamatives with the particle *ʔaṁā* are found to share the same derivational process of vocative exclamatives. They are derived from a declarative which has the underlying TP and P *ʔa-taʔaʒab min* (*1-exclaim about*). The exclamative particle licenses the ellipsis of the of the underlying TP and P by blocking them from spelling out.

## Chapter 7

# Exclamative Particles

### 7.1 Introduction

The grammar of Arabic has focused on the functions and case-marking system of particles, Sibawayh (1977), Hassan (2010) and Ryding (2005). However, there is no in depth analysis of their properties or structures to the best of my knowledge. This chapter, then, highlights the main properties of exclamative particles, and contributes a new approach towards the analysis of exclamative particles and vocative particles in Arabic. The reason for treating the Modern Standard Particles and Gulf Arabic Particles alongside each other is the co-occurrence of the particles in each dialect with some similarities and differences in their functions and distributions.

This chapter is divided into three sections. First, it discusses vocative particles in MSA and GA. The second section discusses vocative exclamative particles in MSA and GA. The last section is dedicated to the exclamative particle *ʔaīmā* in GA and MSA.



## 7.2 Vocative Particles

The two vocative exclamative particles *yā* and *ʔaya*, which have been analyzed in §5, function as vocative particles in Modern Standard Arabic. For this reason, it is worth examining vocative particles alongside vocative exclamative particles. Below is a list of vocative and vocative exclamative particles that exist in Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic:

- **Vocative Particles in MSA:** *yā* - *ʔa* - *ʔai* - *ʔā* - *ʔaya* - *haya*
- **Vocative Particles in GA:** *yā*
- **Vocative Exclamative Particle in MSA:** *yā*
- **Vocative Exclamative Particles in GA:** *yā* - *ʔaya*

There are six vocative particles which exist in MSA, whereas only one vocative particle exists in GA. The vocative particles in MSA are categorised according to the deictic feature of the addressee, Sibawayh (1977). The following list illustrates the deictic feature of the vocative particles in MSA:

- **yā:** distal or proximal feature
- **ʔaya** and **haya:** distal feature
- **ʔa** and **ʔai:** proximal feature

Each of the vocative particles is associated with a deictic feature besides the vocative feature. The selection of specific vocative particles in exclamatives is not just a coincidence.

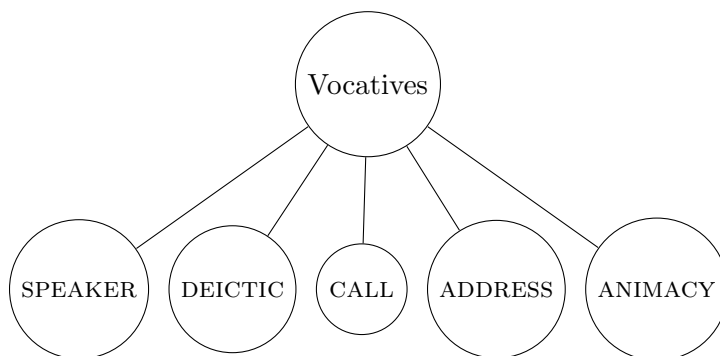
Rather, each of the two vocative particles which are used to convey an exclamative, contains the morpheme *ya-*, and the other morpheme can be realized as a particle in the language.

Vocative constructions are composed of the following semantic and pragmatic components:

- Semantic Component: ANIMACY, DEICTIC
- Pragmatic Components: SPEAKER, ADDRESS, and CALL

The following shows the components of vocatives:

(1)



The purpose of vocatives is a call or an address, which involves a speaker and an addressee. The addressee has to have an animate feature. Vocatives also are characterised with a deictic feature: a proximal deictic feature for a near addressee, or a distal deictic feature for a distal addressee.

For an intuitive schema, parts of the components in (1), which are SPEAKER, ADDRESS and ANIMACY, are realized in the Force head. The other components, which are CALL and DEICTIC are realized in the particle. Since each of the vocative particles is associated with a deictic feature and a vocative feature, these particles are complex. This leads me

to adopt Tsoulas (2015) and Tsoulas (2017)'s view that particles are decomposable due to their complexity of carrying more than one feature. I, hence, propose that vocative particles as well as vocative exclamative particles can be decomposed into two heads, each of which carries a single feature:

1. Voc/VocE head
2. deictic head

### 7.2.1 Decomposition of Vocative Particles

In an attempt to decompose the vocative particles in Modern Standard Arabic into two heads, they can be divided into the following two classes:

- **Class 1:** Voc particles that include  $?a$  are four out of six particles:

1.  $?a$
2.  $?a + a$
3.  $?a + i$
4.  $?a + ya$

- **Class 2:** Voc particles that include  $ya$  are three:

1.  $?a + ya$
2.  $ya + a$
3.  $ha + ya$

I assume that the  $\text{ʔ}a-$  head is related to getting the attention of the hearer/addressee, whereas the head  $ya-$  might denote a deictic feature in vocatives. In this case, the decomposition of the Voc particles might be classified according to the following table:

| Voc Particle      | Voc Marker   | Deictic Marker |
|-------------------|--------------|----------------|
| $\text{ʔ}a-$      | $\text{ʔ}a-$ | -              |
| $\text{ʔ}ai$      | $\text{ʔ}a-$ | $-i$           |
| $\text{ʔ}\bar{a}$ | $\text{ʔ}a-$ | $-a$           |
| $\text{ʔ}aya$     | $\text{ʔ}a-$ | $-ya$          |
| $y\bar{a}$        | $ya-$        | $-a$           |
| $haya$            | $ya-$        | $ha-$          |

Table 7.1: Decomposition of Vocative Particles in MSA

The bound and free morphemes attached to the vocative markers are deictic suffixes. According to (Diessel, 1999, p. 35), a *deictic feature* identifies the proximity of the addressee. The evidence for decomposing the vocative particles into two heads is the existence of the vocative heads  $\text{ʔ}a-$  and  $ya-$  as particles in different structures. The particle  $\text{ʔ}a-$  functions as a question particle in Modern Standard Arabic in the following example:

- (2)  $\text{ʔ}a-\text{ʔ}anta \text{ʔ}iftar\bar{i}ta-ha?$   
do-you buy.PV-it  
Did you buy it?

The particle *ya-* functions as a vocative particle affixed to the demonstrative pronoun *ʔayuha* in Modern Standard Arabic in the following example:

- (3) *ya-ʔayuha al-walad-u al-muʔtahid-u*  
 VOC-this the-boy-NOM the-devoted-NOM

The deictic head in in Voc particles encodes two deictic features (*proximal* or *distal*) each of which refers to the proximity of the addressee.

| Voc Particle | Deictic Head | Feature         |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>ʔa</i>    | -            | proximal        |
| <i>ʔai</i>   | <i>-i</i>    | proximal        |
| <i>ʔā</i>    | <i>-a</i>    | distal          |
| <i>ʔaya</i>  | <i>ya</i>    | distal          |
| <i>yā</i>    | <i>-a</i>    | proximal/distal |
| <i>haya</i>  | <i>ha-</i>   | distal          |

Table 7.2: Features of the Deictic Heads in Voc Particles

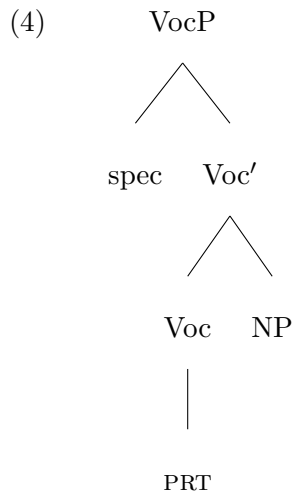
The deictic heads (morphemes) linked to the Voc particles can be divided into the following groups based on their deictic features:

- **LACK OF A DEICTIC HEAD:** The particle *ʔa-* has only one head which is the vocative head, even though it is used for calling a near addressee.
- **PROXIMAL DEICTIC HEADS:** The deictic head *-i* in the particle *ʔai* and the deictic head *-a* in *yā* encode proximal feature.

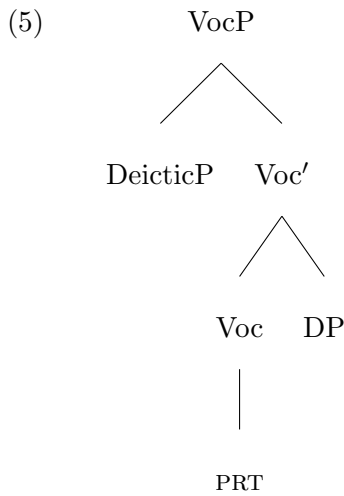
- DISTAL DEICTIC HEADS: The head *ya-* in the two Voc particles *?aya* and *haya* and the head *-a* in *yā* encode distal feature.
- PROXIMAL/DISTAL DEICTIC MORPHEME: The deictic head *-a* in the Voc particle *yā* can either have a proximal or distal deictic feature depending on the proximity of the addressee.

The qualitative feature of these vocative particles only indicate animate addressee.

I propose that the vocative particle occupies the head position of the vocative phrase, As opposed to Hill (2013)'s approach, because the interpersonal feature which Hill claims to occupy the Voc head position is a pragmatic feature rather than a syntactic one.



Based on my proposal that vocative particles are decomposed into two heads, the possible projection would be represented as the following tree:

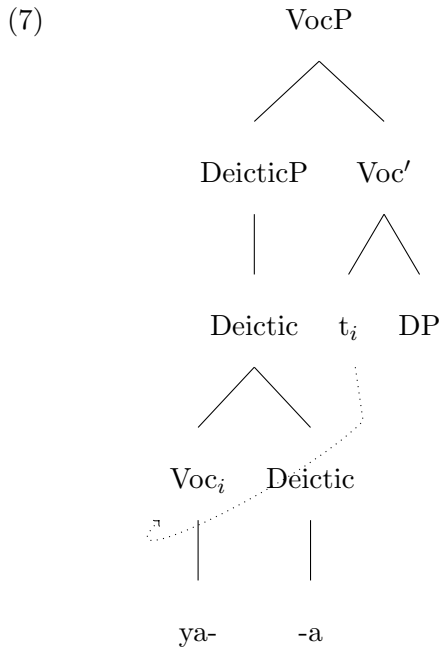


The deictic phrase which hosts the deictic head is located in the spec of the VocP. In order to form a complex particle, the Voc head moves to the Deictic head position and adjoins with it. The following exemplifies a vocative in in Gulf Arabic:

- (6) *yā walad*  
 PRT boy  
 Hey, boy

The above vocative can have either the proximal or proximal deictic feature depending on the proximity of the addressee.

The following tree representation shows how the complex particle *yā* is formed by movement and merging with the deictic head:



The Voc particle  $y\bar{a}$  is decomposed into two heads: the Voc head  $ya-$  and the Deictic head  $-a$ . The DeicticP which hosts the deictic head is located at the spec of VocP. The Voc head moves from its launching cite and adjoins to the left of the deictic head.

### 7.3 Vocative Exclamative Particles

The relation between vocatives and vocative exclamatives can be related to the extension of the selectional requirements of the particle  $y\bar{a}$ . Arabic has extended the use of the vocative particle to express an exclamative. In vocative exclamatives, the particle selects a sentential constrain. The extension also covers the loss of restrictions in animacy and definiteness.

In Gulf Arabic, two out of six vocative particles extend their function to convey an exclamative:  $y\bar{a}$  and  $?aya$ . Each of these VocE particles exhibit different properties, which are mentioned earlier in this thesis.



The following are two examples of VocEs which involve the particle *yā*:

- (8) *yā* ḥiluw al-ḥadīqah!  
 PRT beauty the-garden  
 How beautiful the garden is!

- (9) *yā* al-ḥiluw-ah!  
 PRT the-beautiful-FM  
 You beautiful!

Vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā* have the following properties:

1. It can be used to exclaim about animate or inanimate.
2. It allows both the use or absence of the definite article.
3. It can occur with a DP. This DP can be modified with an AP. It can also occur with a construct state.

As for the VocE particle *?aya*, it exhibits more restrictions on its structure. The following is an example of *?aya* exclamative:

- (10) *?aya* al-saxīfa-h!  
 PRT the-silly-FM  
 How silly you are!

Vocative exclamatives with the particle *?aya* have the following properties:

1. It is only used to exclaim about animate.

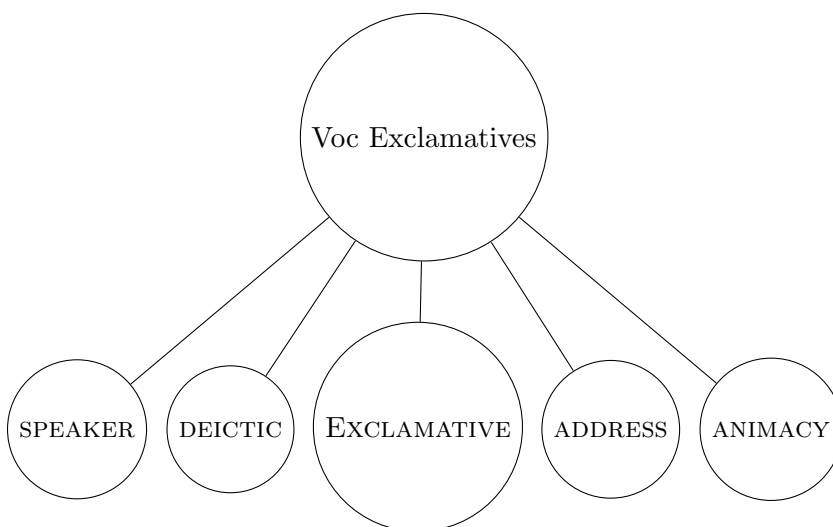
2. It only occurs with an adjectival phrase. The type of adjectives is restricted to epithet adjectives which describe a negative human personal trait, such as (*greedy, lazy, stupid, nagging, etc.*).
3. The adjective must be prefixed with the definite article *al-* (*the*).

Vocative Exclamatives share four out of five semantic and pragmatic components with vocatives. They differ from vocatives in their pragmatic component of EXCLAMATIVE. The following is the list of the vocative exclamatives's components followed by an illustrative diagram:

- Semantic Component: ANIMACY, DEICTIC
- Pragmatic Components: SPEAKER, ADDRESS, and EXCLAMATIVE

The following illustrates the components of vocative exclamatives:

(11)



The SPEAKER, ADDRESS and ANIMACY, are realized in the Force head. The other components, which are EXCLAMATIVE and DEICTIC are realized in the particle. The deictic feature in exclamatives is different from the deictic feature in vocatives. In vocative exclamatives, the particle does not encode the proximity of the addressee. It encodes the deictic person feature instead. What is interesting here is that the two VocE particles vary in their qualitative semantic feature of animacy. The VocE particle *yā* can either have [+animate] or [-animate] feature. However, the VocE particle *?aya* must have the [+animate] feature.

### 7.3.1 Decomposition of Vocative Exclamative Particles

If the vocative particles are decomposed into two heads, the vocative exclamative particles can also be decomposed into two heads. Since vocative exclamative particles are associated with a deictic feature and an exclamative feature, these particles are considered complex. Following Tsoulas (2015) and Tsoulas (2017)'s view, I propose that vocative exclamatives particles can be decomposed into two heads, each of which carries a single feature:

1. VocE head
2. deictic head

The following table shows the possible decomposition of the two VocE particles in Gulf Arabic *yā* and *?aya*:

| VocE Particle | VocE Marker | Deictic    |
|---------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>yā</i>     | <i>ya-</i>  | <i>-a</i>  |
| <i>?aya</i>   | <i>-ya</i>  | <i>?a-</i> |

Table 7.3: Decomposition of VocE Particles in GA

Both VocE particles in the table above share the *ya-* head, which suggests that the head *ya-* is the VocE particle, whereas the other morphemes are deictic. The following table illustrates deictic feature of the vocative exclamative particles *yā* and *?aya* :

| VocE Particle | Deictic    | Feature       |
|---------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>yā</i>     | <i>-a</i>  | person deixis |
| <i>?aya</i>   | <i>?a-</i> | person deixis |

Table 7.4: Features of the Deictic Heads in VocE Particles

- The VocE particle *yā* can be used to exclaim about an animate or inanimate referent. In this case, its qualitative feature varies accordingly.
- The particle *?aya* is only used to exclaim about an animate (human or animal). Therefore, its qualitative feature always denotes animacy.

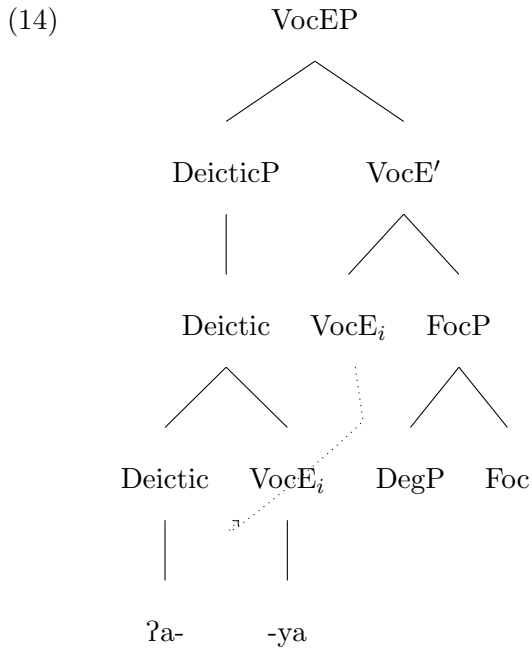
Is the VocE particle *?aya* a subset of *yā*? Only the VocE particle *yā* exists in MSA, whereas the particle *?aya* are used in GA. The occurrence of the morpheme *ya* in both VocE particles leads me to the assumption that *?aya* is a subset of the VocE particle *yā*. The particle *yā* can appear in various contexts, whereas *?aya* has more restrictions than *yā* has.

The following examples exemplify the distribution and restriction of each of the two VocE particles:

- (12) a.  $y\bar{a}$  al-sa $\chi\bar{i}f$ -ah!  
 PRT the-silly-FM  
 You silly!
- b.  $\text{ʔaya}$  al-sa $\chi\bar{i}f$ -ah!  
 PRT the-silly-FM  
 You silly!
- (13) a.  $y\bar{a}$   $\text{h}iluw$ -ah!  
 PRT beautiful-FM  
 You beautiful!
- b. \* $\text{ʔaya}$   $\text{h}iluw$ -ah!  
 PRT beautiful-FM  
 You beautiful!

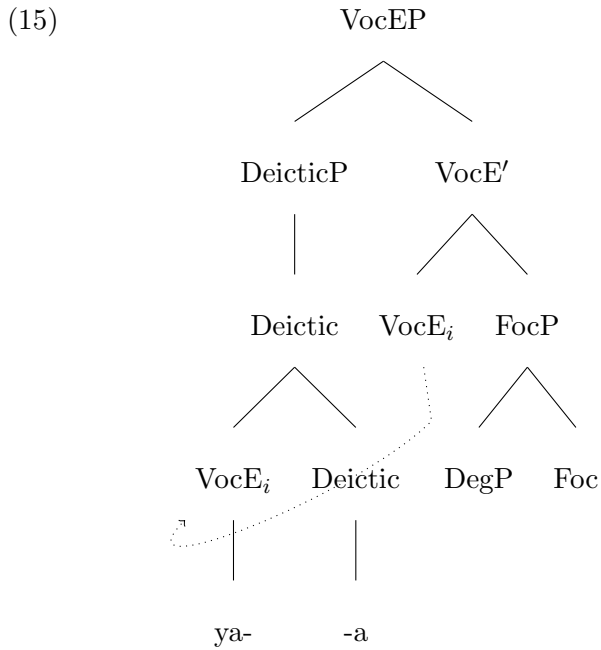
The examples in (12) show that both  $y\bar{a}$  and  $\text{ʔaya}$  can occur with a definite adjectival phrase. In (13),  $y\bar{a}$  is the only particle which allows its occurrence with any type of adjectives. However, (13-b) is ruled out because the particle  $\text{ʔaya}$  disallows this type of adjective which describes a physical appearance, and it also disallows the absence of a definite article.

The possible representation of the decomposition of the vocative exclamative particle  $\text{ʔaya}$  is the following:



The VocE particle *ʔaya* in (14) is composed of two heads: the VocE head *-ya* and the deictic head *ʔa-*. The VocE head *-ya* moves and adjoins to the right of the Deictic head. Since the Deictic head and the VocE head c-commands each other, they can be ordered differently depending on their phonological realisation. In (14), the VocE head is adjoined to the right of the Deictic head.

The VocE particle *yā* in the following tree is decomposed into the VocE head *ya-* and the deictic head *-a*.



In tree (15), the VocE head moves from its position to the right of the Deictic head based on the order of its phonological realisation.

The main properties of vocative exclamative particles can, then, be summarised below:

1. They mark an utterance as an exclamative.
2. They select a FocP.
3. The FocP hosts the DegP which raises to its spec and dominates the exclamative noun.
4. The DP which involves the exclamative nominal can be either animate or inanimate depending on the type of the VocE particle.
5. The use of a definite article in the DP varies according to the type of the VocE particle.
6. VocE particles are located in the head of a VocEP.

7. VocE particles are composed of two heads: a VocE head and a Deictic head.
8. The VocE head moves from its position as the head of the VocEP and adjoins with the Deictic head to form the complex particle.

## 7.4 The Exclamative Particle *ʔamā*

The particle *ʔamā* exists in Modern Standard Arabic. It exhibits different functions from the exclamative particle which exists in Gulf Arabic. It also shares some phonological similarities with two other particles: *ʔamā* and *ʔimā*. This leads me to question whether these three particles are different or they share similar properties.

### 7.4.1 Forms and Properties of the Particle *ʔamā* in MSA

The particle *ʔamā* which exists in Modern Standard Arabic has three different forms (*ʔamā*, *ʔamā*, and *ʔimā*). The following illustrates these three particles with their grammatical functions, Mustafa et al. (1985):

1. *ʔamā*: is used:
  - (a) for introducing a topic
  - (b) as a question particle which implies only an offer
  - (c) for getting the attention
  - (d) as an equivalent for the word REALLY
2. *ʔamā*: is used:
  - (a) for emphasis



(b) as a conditional marker

(c) as a topic shift marker

3. *ʔimā*: is used:

(a) as a disjunctive

The following examples illustrate the variety of functions of each particle listed above:

- 1a *ʔamā* is used to introduce a topic and is usually followed by a swear:

(16) *ʔamā wa-Allah-i mā faʔalt-u-ha.*  
 PRT swear-God-ACC not do.2PV-NOM-it  
 I swear to God that I did not do it.

- 1b *ʔamā* is used as a question particle which implies only an offer:

(17) *ʔamā taʔkul maʕa-nā?*  
 PRT eat with-us  
 Don't you eat with us?

- 1c *ʔamā* is used for getting the attention of the hearer:

(18) *ʔamā ʕalim-t-a ma ḥadaθ.*  
 PRT know.2PV-ACC what happened  
 Did you know what happened?

- 1d *ʔamā* is used as an equivalent for the word REALLY:

- (19) ʔamā ʔaṅa-k-a muḡtahid.  
 PRT PRT-you-ACC hard-working  
 You are really hard-working.

- 2a ʔamā is used for emphasis:

- (20) ʔamā al-ḡʔaif-a fa-ʔakrim.  
 PRT the-visitor-ACC be-generous  
 As for the visitor, be generous to him.

- 2b ʔamā is used as a conditional marker:

- (21) ʔamā iṅ ḡaḡʔara fa-ʔakrim-h.  
 PRT if come.3PV be-generous-him  
 If he came, be generous to him.

- 2c ʔamā is used as a shift topic marker:

- (22) ʔamā al-qisim-u al-mutarḡam-u fa-mutanwiḡ-un.  
 PRT the-part-NOM the-translated-NOM is-diverse-NOM  
 As for the translated part, it is very diverse.

(Ryding, 2005, p. 420)

- 3a ʔimā: is used as a disjunctive:

- (23) ʔimā ʔaṅ ta-nām-a ʔaw ta-drus-a.  
 PRT PRT 3-sleep-ACC or 3-study-ACC

Either you sleep or study.

The above examples indicate that the particles ( $\text{?amā}$ ,  $\text{?amā}$ , and  $\text{?imā}$ ) have different functions and appear in different structures.

#### 7.4.2 Forms and Properties of the Particle $\text{?amā}$ in GA

In Gulf Arabic, only two particles exist which are  $\text{?amā}$  and  $\text{?imā}$ . Each of these particles has distinct functions, as illustrated below:

1.  $\text{?amā}$ : is used:
  - (a) for exclamation
  - (b) as a question particle denoting exclamations
  - (c) as a topic shift marker
2.  $\text{?imā}$ : is used:
  - (a) as a disjunctive

The following are examples of the different functions of each particle:

- 1a  $\text{?amā}$  is used for exclamation:
  - (24)  $\text{?amā badlah!}$   
 PRT suit.GEN  
 What a suit!

- 1b *ʔamā* is used as a question particle denoting exclamations:

(25) *ʔamā ʔād mā ʔibti-ha?*  
 PRT ADV not bring2PV.FEM-it  
 Did not you bring it?

- 1c *ʔamā* can also be used as a topic shift marker:

(26) *ʔamā Khalid fa-ma ʔa.*  
 PRT Khalid is-not come  
 As for Khalid, he did not come.

- 2a *ʔimā*: is used as a disjunctive:

(27) *ʔimā ti-nām ʔaw ti-drus.*  
 PRT 2-sleep or 2-study  
 Either you sleep or study.

The following table summarises the variety of the particle *ʔamā* with its functions in MSA and GA:

| Particles   | Functions in MSA                                                                      | Functions in GA                                        |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>?amā</i> | introducing a topic<br>question particle<br>getting attention<br>equivalent to REALLY | N/A                                                    |
| <i>?amā</i> | emphasis<br>topic shift marker<br>conditional marker                                  | exclamation<br>topic shift marker<br>question particle |
| <i>?imā</i> | disjunctive                                                                           | disjunctive                                            |

Table 7.5: Variety and Functions of the Particle *?amā* in MSA and GA

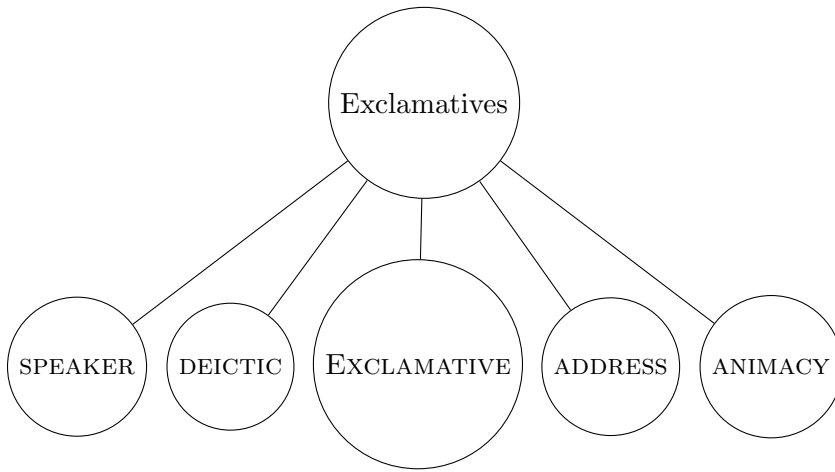
The above table indicates that two out of three varieties of the particle exist in Gulf Arabic, and the only shared function of the the particle *?amā* between Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic is the topic shift marking function. The absence of the exclamative function of the particle in Modern Standard Arabic justifies the reason of the lack of studies on the exclamative particle.

The non-vocative exclamatives which involve the particle *?amā* have the following components:

- Semantic Component: ANIMACY, DEICTIC
- Pragmatic Components: SPEAKER, ADDRESS, and EXCLAMATIVE

The following illustrates the components of *?amā* exclamatives:

(28)



The non-vocative  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  exclamatives share the same components with vocative exclamatives. The SPEAKER, ADDRESS and ANIMACY, are realized in the Force head. The other components, which are EXCLAMATIVE and DEICTIC are realized in the particle. The  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  exclamatives encodes the deictic person feature.

### 7.4.3 Decomposition of the Particle $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$

The exclamative  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  have two features: the exclamative feature and the deictic feature. By realising two features, this exclamative particle can also be decomposed into two heads. To provide an evidence for decomposing the exclamative particle, I will investigate the relationship between the various forms of the particle  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$ . The following table indicates the decomposition of the particles  $?am\bar{a}$ ,  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  and  $?i\bar{m}\bar{a}$ :

| Particles     | First Head   | Second Head |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| $\text{ʔamā}$ | $\text{ʔa-}$ | $mā$        |
| $\text{ʔamā}$ | $\text{ʔa-}$ | $mā$        |
| $\text{ʔimā}$ | $\text{ʔi-}$ | $mā$        |

Table 7.6: Decomposition of  $\text{ʔamā}$ ,  $\text{ʔamā}$  and  $\text{ʔimā}$  Particles

The above table indicates that all of the three particles share the  $mā$  head. This means that the  $mā$  head is worth investigation to find out its syntactic and semantic properties. Here, another particle which is identical to the  $mā$  head is used in both the MSA and GA. The two heads  $\text{ʔa-}$  and  $\text{ʔi-}$  exist only in MSA.

In order to support my proposal that the exclamative particle  $\text{ʔamā}$  is complex and can be decomposed into two heads, I provide the following list of the various functions of each of the three heads  $mā$ ,  $\text{ʔa-}$  and  $\text{ʔi-}$ , with an example of each function.

Below are examples exemplifying the various functions of the  $mā$  particle in MSA and GA:

A-  $mā$  as an exclamative particle:

- (29)  $mā$  ʔaʒmal-a al-ḥadīqat-a!  
 what beautiful-ACC the-garden-ACC  
 What a beautiful garden!

B-  $mā$  as a relative pronoun:

- (30) ʔa-ʔʒaba-nī mā qaraʔt-u.  
 1-like.PV-me what read.PV-NOM  
 I liked what I read.

C- *mā* as a conditional marker:

- (31) mā ta-faʔal-u-hu al-yaum-a, ta-ħs<sup>ʔ</sup>ud-u-hu ʔad-an.  
 what PRES-do-NOM-you the-today-ACC PRES-gain-NOM-it tomorrow-ACC  
 What you do today, you will gain it tomorrow.

D- *mā* as a question particle:

- (32) a. mā al-ʔaiʔ-u al-hām? [MSA]  
 What the-thing-NOM the-important?  
 What is the important thing?
- b. mā ʒā-t sāra? [GA]  
 did came-she Sara  
 Did Sara come?

The *mā* particle as a question particle is used slightly different in MSA and GA, as seen in examples (32-a) and (32-b). In MSA questions, *mā* is only used with inanimate and is equivalent to (*what*). In GA, however, *mā* can be used with animate and inanimate as a tag question maker.



E- *mā* as a negative particle:

- (33) a. *mā* ʔakalt-u-ha. [MSA]  
 not eat.1PV-NOM-it?  
 I did not eat it.
- b. *mā* kalaīt-ha. [GA]  
 not eat.1PV-it?  
 I did not eat it.

The particle ʔ*a*-, which exists only in MSA, has the following two functions:

A- ʔ*a*- as a vocative particle:

- (34) ʔa-Muhammad-an  
 PRT-Muhammad-ACC  
 Hey, Muhammad

B- ʔ*a*- as a question particle:

- (35) ʔa-ðahab-ti ʔila Beirut-i?  
 do-go.2PV-FEM to Beirut-GEN  
 Did you go to Beirut?

Below are examples exemplifying the various functions of the ʔ*i*- particle in MSA:

A- ʔ*i*- as an imperative particle:

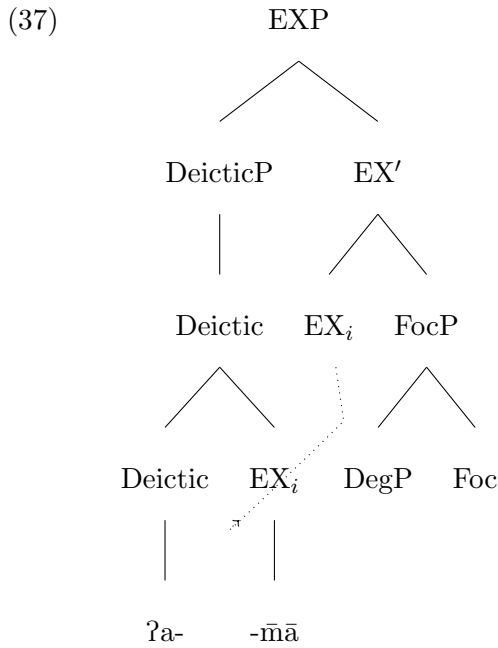
- (36) ?i-ffal haða.  
 2.IMV-do this  
 Do this.

The following table summarises the functions of the  $m\bar{a}$ ,  $?a-$  and  $?i-$  particles in MSA and GA:

| Particles  | Functions in MSA                                                                                | Functions in GA                        |
|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| $m\bar{a}$ | question particle<br>negative particle<br>exclamative<br>relative pronoun<br>conditional marker | question particle<br>negative particle |
| $?a-$      | vocative particle<br>question particle                                                          | N/A                                    |
| $?i-$      | imperative particle                                                                             | N/A                                    |

Table 7.7: Functions of the Particles  $m\bar{a}$ ,  $?a-$  and  $?i-$  in MSA and GA

There seems to be a relationship between the variety of the  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  particles. All of the three particles include the  $m\bar{a}$  head. When decomposing the exclamative particle  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  into two heads, we have  $?a-$  and  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$ . The  $m\bar{a}$  as a particle by its own is used in MSA as an exclamative particle. I, hence, propose that the exclamative particle  $?a\bar{m}\bar{a}$  is complex which is formed by adjoining two heads: the exclamative head  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$  and the deictic head  $?a-$ . The proposed projection of the decomposed exclamative particle is the following:



The tree in (37) shows that the exclamative head  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$  moves from its position and adjoins to the deictic head creating a complex exclamative particle.

## 7.5 Conclusion

The structure of vocative exclamatives in Gulf Arabic is found to have specific properties which make them distinct from vocatives . Arabic language has extended the use of three vocative particles to express an exclamative. This extension varies according to the type of the VocE particle.

1. For  $y\bar{a}$ , the extension covers the loss of restrictions in animacy and definiteness.
2. For  $\text{ʔ}aya$ , the extension covers the use of epithet adjectives and maintains the restrictions in animacy and definiteness.

The analysis of vocative exclamatives has led me to question about the properties and structures of the VocE particles to enrich the linguistic data particularly in Arabic. Vocative and vocative exclamative particles are found to be decomposed into two heads except for the vocative particle *ʔa-*. The Voc particles are composed of a Voc head and a deictic, whereas the VocE particles are composed of a VocE head and a deictic. The exclamative particle *ʔamā* is also found to be complex. It is composed of two heads adjoined together to create the exclamative particle: *ʔa-* and *mā*. The exclamative head is *mā*, whereas the *ʔa-* head is a deictic.

Each of the three exclamative particles has distinct properties, whereas all the vocative particles share the same properties except for the deictic features. The decomposition of vocative, vocative exclamative, and *ʔamā* particles, and the distinction between these particles despite the fact that they are homophonous are what I can contribute to the syntax of Arabic.

## Chapter 8

# Conclusions

This chapter is the last chapter in thesis. It summarises the main points which have been tackled throughout this thesis, and provides the concluding remarks of the analysis.

Previous researchers have identified several properties of exclamatives which make them distinct syntactic forms. Exclamatives can be formed by DPs with a degree property, subject and auxiliary inversion in declaratives or yes/no questions. The occurrence of a vocative particle forms a vocative exclamative, and the occurrence of a wh-word forms another structure of exclamatives called wh-exclamatives.

Arabic language provides different strategies for forming exclamatives between the Modern Standard and Gulf Arabic dialects. These different strategies are variations between two dialects of the same language, which signifies the importance of examining the syntax of the variety of spoken dialects for documentation and enriching the linguistic data.

The following list points out the major variation between the structures of exclamatives in Modern Standard Arabic and that of Gulf Arabic:

1. The case marking system is overt in Modern Standard Arabic whereas it is covert in Gulf Arabic.
2. The fixed templatic forms of exclamatives which exist in Modern Standard Arabic do not exist in Gulf Arabic.
3. In Modern Standard Arabic, only one vocative particle which is *yā* is allowed in the structure of exclamatives, while Gulf Arabic implements another vocative particle in exclamative structures, which is the particle *ʔayā*.
4. The structure of vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā* is similar in both dialects, regardless of the variation in the case-marking system.
5. The structure of vocative exclamative particle *ʔayā* in Gulf Arabic is similar to the structures of vocative exclamatives with the particle *yā*.
6. Gulf Arabic has extended the use of the topic-shift particle *ʔamā* to convey an exclamative. This particle is not considered as an exclamative particle in Modern Standard Arabic.

The variation between the forming strategies of exclamatives between Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic confirms that a spoken dialect is as complex as the written formal one.

The analysis has been tackled in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 analyzed vocative exclamatives with two different particles and account for their structures, derivation and distribution. Gulf Arabic has extended the use of two vocative particles to express exclamatives. This extension varies between the two particles. With the VocE particle *yā*, the

extension covers the loss of restrictions in animacy and definiteness. As for the particle *?aya*, the extension covers the use of epithet adjectives and maintains the restrictions in animacy and definiteness.

Throughout the analysis, it has been found that particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic contain the underlying TP and preposition *?a-taʕaʕab* (*1-exclaim*). They are derived through the ellipsis operation of the TP and the preposition. This ellipsis is licensed by the exclamative particle which blocks the TP and the preposition from spelling out to surface.

Chapter 6 analyzed the structure and distribution of non-vocative exclamatives with the particle *?aṁa*. It has been also found that this type of exclamatives is derived in the same derivational process of vocative exclamatives.

Chapter 7 focused on particles and contributed to the decomposition of exclamative and vocative particles. It has been found that vocative particles, vocative exclamative particles, and *?aṁa* particle are complex by realizing two features: the vocative/exclamative feature and the deictic feature. These particles, both in Modern Standard and Gulf Arabic, are decomposable into two heads: a vocative or an exclamative head and a deictic head. The two heads are adjoined together creating a complex particle.

The particle *?aṁa* has various forms and functions in Modern Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic. In Modern Standard Arabic, this particle *?aṁa* is used: (i) for emphasis, as (ii) a conditional marker, or as (iii) a topic shift marker. In Gulf Arabic, the particle *?aṁa* functions as: (i) a topic shift marker, (ii) an exclamative particle, and (iii) a question particle.

The exclamative particle *?aṁa* in Gulf Arabic is complex which carries two features: an exclamative feature and a deictic feature. Therefore, it can be decomposed into two

heads: the  $\bar{m}\bar{a}$  head carries the exclamative feature, and the  $\text{ʔ}a$ - head carries the deictic feature. . Each of these heads has an identical particle in both dialects, which supports my decomposition of the particle. In Modern Standard Arabic, the particle  $m\bar{a}$  is used as: (i) an exclamative particle, (ii) a relative pronoun, (iii) a conditional marker, (iv) a question particle, or (v) a negative particle. In Gulf Arabic, however,  $m\bar{a}$  is used as (i) a question particle, or (v) a negative particle. The other particle, which is  $\text{ʔ}a$ -, only exists in Modern Standard Arabic, which functions as (i) a vocative particle, or (ii) a question particle.

To sum up, particle-based exclamatives in Gulf Arabic, whether vocative exclamatives or non-vocative exclamatives, are derived from an underlying tense phrase with its preposition  $\text{ʔ}a$ -*taʕaḏab min* (1-exclaim about). In order to form an exclamative, this underlying TP has to be elided and can not spell out to surface. The variation between the three types of exclamatives lies in their syntactic properties and distribution. Particles in Modern Standard and Gulf Arabic could be decomposed into two heads, which helps in comprehending the set of particles and finding out the relationship between them.



# List of Abbreviations

| Abbreviation | Meaning               |
|--------------|-----------------------|
| 1            | first person          |
| 2            | second person         |
| 3            | third person          |
| ACC          | accusative case       |
| CP           | complementizer phrase |
| D            | determiner            |
| DP           | determiner phrase     |
| Deg          | degree                |
| DegP         | degree phrase         |
| FM           | femenine              |
| Foc          | focus                 |
| FocP         | focus phrase          |
| GEN          | genitive case         |
| GA           | Gulf Arabic           |

Table 8.1: Part 1: List of Abbreviations

|      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| IMPV | imperfect verb         |
| IMV  | imperative verb        |
| MSA  | Modern Standard Arabic |
| PP   | prepositional phrase   |
| PV   | perfect verb           |
| TP   | tense phrase           |
| VP   | verb phrase            |
| §    | chapter                |

Table 8.2: Part 2: List of Abbreviations

# Arabic Transcription

| IPA            | Description                                |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------|
| ʔ              | glottal stop                               |
| b              | bilabial voiced stop                       |
| t              | alveolar voiceless stop                    |
| θ              | dental voiceless fricative                 |
| ʒ              | post alveolar voiced fricative             |
| ħ              | pharyngeal voiceless fricative             |
| χ              | uvular voiceless fricative                 |
| d              | alveolar voiceless stop                    |
| ð              | dental voiced fricative                    |
| r              | alveolar voiced trill                      |
| z              | alveolar voiced fricative                  |
| s              | alveolar voiceless fricative               |
| ʃ              | alveopalatal voiceless fricative           |
| s <sup>ʔ</sup> | alveolar voiceless emphatic fricative      |
| ʒ <sup>ʔ</sup> | alveolar voiced lateral emphatic fricative |
| t <sup>ʔ</sup> | alveolar voiceless emphatic stop           |
| ð <sup>ʔ</sup> | dental voiced emphatic fricative           |

Table 8.3: Part 1: International Phonetic Alphabet of Arabic, Alghamdi (2005)

| IPA | Description                      |
|-----|----------------------------------|
| ʕ   | pharyngeal voiced fricative      |
| ʁ   | uvular voiced fricative          |
| f   | labiodentals voiceless fricative |
| q   | uvular voiceless stopl           |
| k   | velar voiceless stopl            |
| l   | alveolar voiced lateral          |
| m   | bilabial nasal                   |
| n   | alveolar nasal                   |
| h   | glottal voiceless fricative      |
| w   | labial-velar voiced approximant  |
| j   | palatal voiced approximant       |
| a   | short vowel                      |
| ā   | long vowel                       |
| i   | short vowel                      |
| ī   | long vowel                       |
| u   | short vowel                      |
| ū   | long vowel                       |
| k   | velar voiceless stop             |
| l   | alveolar voiced lateral          |

Table 8.4: Part 2: International Phonetic Alphabet of Arabic, Alghamdi (2005)

|   |                                 |
|---|---------------------------------|
| m | bilabial nasal                  |
| n | alveolar nasal                  |
| h | glottal voiceless fricative     |
| w | labial-velar voiced approximant |
| j | palatal voiced approximant      |
| a | short vowel                     |
| ā | long vowel                      |
| i | short vowel                     |
| ī | long vowel                      |
| u | short vowel                     |
| ū | long vowel                      |

Table 8.5: Part 3: International Phonetic Alphabet of Arabic, Alghamdi (2005)

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