Progressivity Expressions in Hassawi Dialect

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To my father… you are always in my heart

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1. Data tag abbreviations:

Here is a list of symbols and abbreviations used in this paper:

1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
M	Masculin
F	Feminine
ACC	Accusative
Nom	Nomanitive
Neg	Negation
Fut	Future
Pres	Present
Past	Past
PROG	Progressive
POSS	possessive
GER	gerund
IMPFv	Imperfective form of the verb
PERFv	Perfective form of the verb
Freq	Frequency verb
SV	Subject verb order
VSO	verb subject object order
OVS	object verb subject order
OSV	object subject verb order
AP	Active participle
VP	Verb phrase
PV	Prefixed verb form
NP	Noun phrase
VP	Verb phrase
PASS	Passive form
Def	Definite article
Ar	ARABIC
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
HA	Hassawi Arabic
HD	Hassawi dialect
KA	Kuwaiti Arabic
TA	Tunisian Arabic
MA	Moroccan Arabic
SUA	Sudani Arabic
EN	English
GA	Gulf Arabic
*	ungrammatical
?	odd
~	Equivalent

2. Transcription Conventions

Here are the Phonemic Symbols that the researcher uses in the transcription of the Hassawi Dialect sounds and their English approximate equivalent. The transcription symbols in the literature review part are kept as they are found in the literature.

Consonants	Ryding	
Hamza	ʔ	voiceless glottal stop
baaʔ	b	voiced bilabial stop
taa ʔ	t	voiceless dental stop
thaa ʔ	th	voiceless interdental fricative
Jiim	j	voiced palatal affricate
Haa ʔ	H	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
xaa ʔ	x	voiceless velar fricative
Daal	d	voiced dental stop
Dhal	dh	voiced interdental fricative
raa ʔ	r	apical trill
Zaay	z	voiced alveolar fricative
Siin	s	voiceless alveolar fricative
Shin	sh	voiceless palatal fricative
Saad	S	voiceless emphatic alveolar fricative
Daad	D	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
Taa ʔ	T	Voiceless emphatic dental stop
Zaa ʔ	Z	
ʕayn	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
Ghayn	gh	voiced velar fricative
faa ʔ	f	voiceless labiodental fricative
Qaaf	q	voiceless uvular stop
Kaaf	k	voiceless velar stop
Laam	l	lateral
Miim	m	bilabial nasal
Nuun	n	alveolar nasal
haa ʔ	h	voiceless laryngeal fricative
Waaw	w	bilabial glide
yaa ʔ	y	palatal glide
Gaa	g	voiced velar stop
Heavy l	ll	Emphatic lateral
vowels		
short	long	
I	ii	
A	aa	
U	uu	
O	oo	

Abstract

Progressivity expressions in many languages and in some variations in dialectal Arabic are discussed whereas the expressions of the progressive aspect in the eastern Arabian dialect and the Hassawi dialect have not been studied before. Therefore, the main objective of the dissertation is to provide a description of the progressivity expressions in the Hassawi dialect. These expressions denote several meanings: duration, contingent happenings, temporariness, incompletion of actions and, in some instances, they show a 'temporal frame effect'. It is argued that there are 13 means that denote progressivity in the Hassawi Dialect. Four of them were found in the literature. There are lexical main verbs functioning as aspectual verbs that express continuation such as: the simple form that consists of the imperfective form of activity, accomplishment, frequency, and passive meaning verbs that occur in all tenses and it is used interchangeably with the other progressive constructions showing that there is no opposition between the simple form and the progressive form. In addition, the active participles '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*' that mean '*sitting, remaining, staying*' in all tenses, the perfective verbs '*jalas/gaᶜad*' meaning '*sat, stayed*'and 'tamm/ Zal'that mean '*stay,remain.completed*' and '*stay,reman,continue*', respectively, in the past and the imperfective verbs '*yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm*' in the present and the future preceding the imperfective form of activity, accomplishment, frequency, and passive meaning verbs and in very few cases with the state and achievement verbs. On the other hand, there is also a prepositional phrase '*fiᶜizz*' behaving aspectually and denoting progressivity in all tenses followed by activity, accomplishment, frequency and a few state verbal nouns. Additionally, there is the active participle of some translocative, activity and very few state verbs in affirmative sentences and with a lot of the activity, and accomplishment verbs in the negative sentences in the present, past and the future. The imperfective and the perfective means are normally negated by '*maa*' and for the purpose of intensifying the same action or introducing another action, '*mu*', its variants and the negative copula are used instead. The perfective '*Zal/tamm*' is either preceded by the negation particle denoting a progressive reading or followed by the negation particle indicating two readings; habitual or progressive. The active participles and the prepositional phrase denoting progressivity are negated by the particle '*mu*'normally in the present tense and by '*maa*' in the past and the future tenses. Finally the progressive construction in Hassawi dialect shows clear evidence that support Anderson's localistic theory which indicates that the notion of location and direction is involved in the different aspect expressions in many languages. In one construction a locative participle is used and in the other one, a locative prepositional phrase is used.

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

This research investigates the expressions of progressivity in the Hassawi dialect and examines the verbal progressive aspect. The reason for choosing the Hassawi dialect is that it is the researcher's native language; thus, the researcher speaks the dialect fluently and has better knowledge of it than other modern Arabic dialects. In addition, for over 25 years, the researcher has lived in the subject area of study and observed other speakers of the dialect. Another reason is that because this dialect is spoken and is in contact with and influenced by other languages and other Arabic dialects, it is subject to various continuous changes, in spite of the fact that it extends into other neighbouring Gulf countries. Furthermore, a Modern Hassawi dialect is emerging, which is a mix of Hassawi and Najdi (Bassiouney, 2010).

Various studies on the progressive have been conducted in various languages and dialects. However, the number of researches into the Hassawi dialect, in general, is limited, and no particular research deals with the expressions of progressivity. For the few studies related to Hassawi, most found in the literature deal with phonology of the dialect. Thus, one reason for choosing this study is to fill this gap in the literature by providing a description of the various means in which events and actions that are in progress are expressed. Additionally, understanding the progressive constructions in the Hassawi dialect will help increase linguists' general insights on how progressive markers develop. Thus, in this study, various syntactic constructions of the progressive markers in Hassawi Arabic (HA) are examined, with a view to providing evidence that these sentences are grammatical in HA. Accordingly, clear explanations of the syntactic functions of these expressions in the dialect are provided.

This research will also demonstrate the semantic effects of the progressive in the Hassawi dialect by studying and illustrating the correlation between the interpretation of the progressive and the aspectual classification of verbs. In other words, their co-occurrence with activity, accomplishment, achievement, state, and frequency verbs will be investigated by discussing the various meanings that are associated with and conveyed by the progressive. Furthermore, Anderson's localistic theory will be discussed in relation to the Hassawi progressive aspect.

A number of remarks will be provided with reference to other Arabic dialects, particularly, Kuwaiti Arabic (KA), as well as other languages.

The main source for the linguistic data provided in this study is the researcher who has been a citizen of the subject area of study for over 25 years. Thus, this study is based on the researcher as an informant and her observations of the everyday conversations of relatives, friends, neighbours, co-workers, colleagues and other people who are citizens of Al-Ahsa. This study deals with syntactical and semantic traits in the dialect and does not deal with phonology. Therefore, differences in the way certain letters are pronounced between this dialect and other dialects, such as the Gulf dialects, are not given much attention in this study. Unified and simple transcriptions and representations of the words are provided, so those who are unfamiliar with the phonological distinctiveness and peculiarities of each of the Gulf dialects can easily read the examples.

This study is organised as follows: the second section of the first chapter presents the main facts related to HA. The second chapter deals with general background information, a review of the literature, and a short summary of the expression of progressivity in various languages. In the third chapter, the topic under discussion is introduced; various syntactic forms, functions and affirmative constructions and semantic effects are discussed in detail, and the data under examination are exhibited. The fourth chapter covers the negation constructions of progressivity in HA. Finally, the last chapter consists of a short discussion about progressivity expressions in HA in relation to Anderson's localistic theory, the conclusion, a brief discussion of the main findings of this paper and future directions.

1.2 Basic facts about Al-Ahsa and the Hassawi Dialect:

This part of the paper briefly describes Al-Ahsa, its location and its people. It also provides the reader with some phonological, morphological, and syntactic facts about the dialect of the Hassawi people, which is the subject of this study. It is worth mentioning that not much was found in the literature regarding the syntax and morphology of the HA; thus, some of the basic syntactic features in relation to word order, in particular, are taken from the literature found on Gulf Arabic (GA), as HA is one of the GA dialects.

One of the Arabic variations is the Hassawi dialect, or the so-called Al-Ahsa dialect. According to Smeaton (1973), it is spoken in the Saudi Arabia eastern province in Al-Ahsa in an area that borders Addahna in the west, the Arabic Gulf coast in the east, Kuwait in the north and Arrub' Alxa:li in the south. It is well known that this dialect consists of lengthened vowels and many loan-words (Aljumah, 2008). Though there are other dialects in that area, HA is the dominant one. The four main cities in Al-Ahsa are: AL-Hofuf, Al-, the capital of the AL-Ahsa province; Al-Mubarraz; Al-Oyoun; and Al-Omran. There are also over 50 small towns and villages, and according to a 2010 estimate, Al-Ahsa county's population was 1,063 million (Bassiouney, 2010; Ethnologue, 2009)).

A few studies have investigated the phonological aspects of this dialect and some important features were found. Regarding the morphology of HA, Smeaton (1973) provides us with a number of morphological aspects encountered by the Hassawi people in their dialect (see Appendix 3: some phonological facts 1, some morphological facts 2).

Some **syntactic** features were also discussed and found in Smeaton (1973), which are related to the **modification of the nouns** by other nouns and adjectives. The use of adjectives to modify nouns in HA is quite similar to other types of Arabic. The noun is followed by the adjective which shows agreement with the noun it modifies in number, person, gender and definiteness. Normally, if the article '*al*' appears before the noun, it is placed before the modifying adjective(s). Noun qualifiers are similar to the adjective qualifiers in that they appear after the noun they modify, but the article is only located before the last noun modifier. An example is: '*bāb al-bait›the door of the house*' (see Appendix 3 for more information, 3.1).

Furthermore, according to Smeaton (1973), a complete series of **demonstratives** correspond to '*this, these*' that is commonly used in HA. They are '*hāδā*' for M.SG, '*hāδī*' for F.SG,

'*hāδūl*' for animate plural, '*hāδī*' for inanimate plural, while the series corresponding to '*that, those*' is: '*hāδāk*' for M.SG , '*hāδīk*' for F.SG, '*HāδūLāK*' for animate plural and '*hāδīk*' for inanimate plural.

Additionally, in order to express the **past** or a completed state, '*kān*' (*he/it was*) and '*kānū*' (*they were*), for example, are used.

Similar to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), two forms of **personal pronouns** exist; an absolute form that is used nominatively such as '*anā(I)*, '*inta*'(*you*, M.SG), '*intii*' (*you*, F.SG), '*huwa/hū*'(*he*), '*hiya/hī*'(*she*), '*iḥna*'(*we*), '*intū*'(*you*, PL) and '*hum*'(*they*), and a suffix form that is added to verbs and prepositions functioning as an object and attached to nouns functioning as a possessive as '*ī*' (*me/my*, attached to a verb), '*-(a)k*' (*you*, your, M.SG), '*ik*'or '*-(ī)ki*' (*you*, your, F.SG), '*-(u)h*(*him, his, it , its*) '*-hā*' (*her ,it, its*), '*-nā*' (*us, our*), '*-kum*'(*you, your*, PL), and lastly, '*- hum*'(*them, their*) (Smeaton, 1973).

Regarding **number** in GA, there are singular, plural, and dual nouns. Singular nouns contain count and mass nouns, such as '*yaahil- child*' and '*laHam-meet*', respectively. Dual nouns are generally constructed by attaching the suffix '*-een*' to a masculine noun and '*-teen*' to a feminine noun that ends with '*a*' and '*een*' to a feminine noun that does not end with '*a*'. For instance, '*qisim- section* › qismeen- *two sections*' and 'banka-*fan › bankateen –two fans*'. As for the plural, GA includes two types: sound plural which is either sound masculine referring to males formed by attaching '*iin*' to singular nouns, or sound feminine referring to females, feminine nouns ending with '*a*', some masculine nouns ending with '*a*' or '*u*', and some foreign-origin masculine nouns and that are formed by adding '*aat*' to the end of the singular noun. Examples are: '*muslim-Moslem › muslimiin*' and '*daxtoora-doctor ›daxtooraat*' (Qafisheh, 1977).The second type is the broken plural, which is constructed by changing the word's internal structure, and there are several patterns; most of these are not predicted from the singular form and few are (see Appendix 3 for examples of these patterns, 3.2).

Gender in GA includes either masculine or feminine, with some nouns having both. A noun's gender plays an important role as it governs the verbs' and the adjectives' gender inflection. Personal female names are feminine and male names are masculine. Non–living-thing nouns have a gender as well. Nouns and proper names ending with '*a/ aa*' are feminine, such as '*gahwa - coffee*', '*lampa - light bulb*'. However, a few nouns ending with '*a*' are masculine, such as '*masa - night*' and '*qada - lunch*'. However, other feminine nouns do not end with '*a*', such as the double body parts, '*9iin - eye*', '*riil - foot/leg*', and country, city and town names, for example, '*9umman - Oman*' and '*9ajmaa - Ajman*'. Also, some nouns denoting females have corresponding masculine nouns, such as ' *'ubu - father masculine*' › ' *'umm - mother*', most animals females as in '*xaruuf - lamb*' › '*n9aya - ewe*', and lastly, a few common words, such as '*naar - fire*' and '*batri - battery*' (Qafisheh, 1977).

Regarding the **word order** in GA, according to Owens and Elgibali (2013), regardless of what is being said, SVO is the basic order of spoken Arabic; however, VSO, which is the basic order in Classical Arabic, is still commonly used. In their study, they observed that other orders such as OVS and OSV are possible. They maintain that choosing one of these

two common orders as the basic order is an arbitrary decision, and that the order depends on the sentence function in a text. According to the authors, the elements in a sentence can have a free order, and elements such as adverbials and nominals in the right context can be fronted. There is a SV word order, and there are sentences in which the subject is not overt, nominal or pronominal.

According to Qafisheh (1977), five types of sentences exist in GA. First is the nominal sentence in which there is no finite verb and the subject is either a noun or pronoun, and the NP-initial sentence functions as the subject of the main clause where the predicate could be a noun, adjective or prepositional phrase (Owens & Elgibali, 2013). An example is '*d-dramm matruus - the barrel is full*'. Under this type comes a special type, referred to as an 'equational sentence'. Here, the subject and predicate are interchangeable, as in '*Šeexhum hadif - their Shaikh is Hdif*'. The second type is the pseudo-verbal sentence in which the prepositional pseudo verbs are suffixed with pronouns meaning '*to have*' or '*to own*', such as '*9ind, ma9 and l*', and the particle '*fii*', for instance, 'ma9ha *waldeen-she has two children.*'

Third is the verbal sentence, which includes a finite verb and consists of two types – one containing an indefinite subject that generally follows the verb, as in '*Nbaag minna fluus - some was stolen from him*' and '*ṣaddi-na ṭuufaan hnaak - we were hit by a typhoon*'. This is the VP-initial sentence where the subject follows the verb phrase; this type is commonly used to describe sequenced actions (Owens & Elgibali, 2013).The other type contains a definite subject that may appear before or after the verb. An example is: '*z-zawaaj ykallif waayid - marriage costs a lot*' and ' *'anna ma gilit-la- I did not tell him*' (Qafisheh, 1977).

The fourth type is the topical sentence or the topicalized subject sentence, which consists of a noun or a pronoun topic and a nominal or a verbal comment sentence on the topic, such as '***uhum** 9indahum fluus waayid - they(m) have a lot of money*' (Owens & Elgibali, 2013; Qafisheh, 1977).

The last type is the conditional sentence in which there is an '*if*' clause that starts with a particle, such as '*n(kaan)', 'lo' or 'law*' and '*iða*' meaning '*if*' and a main or result clause. Open conditionals denote possibility, such as '*lo tiyi hini 'aHsan - if you come here it is better*', in addition to the unlikely conditionals where a condition that presumably cannot be fulfilled is now expressed, as in '*'in Haṣṣalta yiit wiyyaa - if I found him, I would come with him.*' Lastly, the unreal conditionals in which a contrary-to-fact or rejected condition is expressed as in '*lo riHt kaan Haṣṣalta' - if I had gone, I would have found him*' (Qafisheh, 1977).

There is also what is called uninodal with tail (Ingham, 1994). In this type, any element in the sentence can be repeated with falling intonation for clarification, such as '*yi-ridd-uun yi-ṭagguun ʕalee-ha **baʕad** iṭ-ṭabaabiil - they drummed some more for her, the drummers*'. There are also bimodal sentences, whereby fronting of any element in the sentence is involved and can be of different types, including the topicalized subject. Another type is the topicalized direct object as in the following example:

(1) **Anna**   ʕaṭaani   Ɵrəyya

    I   gave-1.SG   necklace

   'He gave me a necklace'.

Finally, there is the topicalized argument of a preposition. An example is:

(2) kil   **waḥd-a**   ʕalee-ha **yoom**

    every   one-F   on-3.F   day

   'Every woman had a special day (for house work)'.

(Owens & Elgibali, 2013)

Chapter 2

2. Review of the literature

According to Comrie (1976), the progressive is a combination of continuous durative meaning and non-stativity, and it goes beyond this definition to include contingent meaning and temporary meaning. Progressivity is sometimes compatible with habituality so a specific event can be seen as both habitual and progressive. There are many ways to specify progressivity. In many languages, morphosyntactic tools are employed to express progressivity, which will be referred to as PROG in this study. It is worth mentioning that in languages such as Baltic and Finnic, simple tenses are frequently used to indicate progressivity. A further way to convey the idea of progressivity is by using adverbials (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

This study will examine, in particular, the progressivity expressions that are related to the verb or verb phrase and the progressivity semantic notions. This next part exhibits the progressivity means used in European languages, MSA and some Arabic dialects.

2.1 Progressive in Europe Languages

2.1.1 Progressive in English

The use of the progressive in the English language is considered to surpass other languages in that is fully grammatical and frequently employed (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000). There are three constructions for this aspect. First, the present participle precedes the verb '*to be'*. Another form is *'will'* followed by the progressive form. The last form is the perfective progressive, which is composed of '*has/have/had'* followed by '*been'* and the verb plus '*ing'*. Semantically speaking, different meanings are associated with the progressive aspect in English. It is used to refer to temporary situations or activities, and it may also denote that the action is presently ongoing. Additionally, indicating duration is another function of the progressive aspect in EN (Friedrich, 1974). It also expresses that the actions are not necessarily complete as in (1) shown below, and according to Sweet (2014), this is one of the main features of the progressive. Following the limited duration feature of the progressive is the semantic effect which surrounds an event by a 'temporal frame', in which there is a reference point where the verb stretches into the past and the future to form a frame. However, there are number of cases where there is no 'temporal frame' as in the progressive in the perfect tense and when two progressives in the past appear together in the same sentence as in (2) shown below (Leech, 2004; Declerck, 1991; Palmer, 1965; Kilby, 1984). Examples are:

(1) Where is Sam?

He was travelling to Saudi Arabia.

Here, there is no indication that the event is complete as it can be followed by '*but he missed his flight'*.

(2) She was cleaning her room while she was listening to music.

(See appendix 3 for further functions of the progressive in English where it denotes habituality and future meaning, 4).

2. 1.2 Blansitte's classification of the morphosyntactic expressions of the progressive in Europe languages

Blansitte (1975) classified the morphosyntactic expressions of the progressive into two types. The first is affixal progressive markers. The only European language that employs an affix to denote progressivity is Turkish. They use the suffix *'–yor'* as in the following example:

(3) Turkish

Çalı**Ş**ı-yor-du

Wrk-YOR: PAST

'He was working' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

The second type is the complex verb phrase, which signals the progressive and consists of four types. The first is a verb phrase with a copula as an auxiliary, which in itself has four types: the copula is combined with the gerund as in Catalan, English and Italian; an infinitive that can be found in and restricted to Finnic languages such as Estonian, Finnish and Karelian; the copula is followed by a prepositional phrase that includes a non-finite verb form construction, as found in Breton, all Frisian varieties, and Icelandic; and lastly, a copula is combined with lexical expressions such as busy, be at work, be after, be under way as in Basque, French and Zürîtüütsch (see Appendix 3 for examples, 5).

The second form is a verb phrase that includes a motion verb such as '*go*' and '*come*'. These are, generally, not interchangeable with copular constructions in the same context when they behave fully as a progressive, as in Romance languages such as Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and, rarely, French; or a postural verb functioning as an auxiliary and having a progressive interpretation, as in the majority of the Germanic languages, which is coordinated with the main verb finite form in Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish while Dutch and all the Frisian varieties use a construction where the postural verb is coordinated with an infinitival marker and then an infinitive (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000). Examples are:

(4) Spanish

El   calor   venía   durando   demasiado.

The   heat   came   last:GER   too much.

'The heat had been lasting too long'.

(5) Swedish

Han   sitter   och   laser   tidningen.

He   sits   and   reads   newspaper-the

'He is reading a newspaper' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

Third are verb phrases that include a pro-predicate (do-type) behaving as an auxiliary. Last are verb phrases that have a special auxiliary verb; not many languages in Europe have a dedicated verb functioning as an auxiliary; however, Swedish and Yiddish do. A verb meaning '*hold*' and used to express the progressive is an example. Another example is found in Albanian where the emphatic particle *'po'* is used (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

(6) Swedish

En   ny   kyrka   håller   på   att   byggas.

A   new   church   keeps   on   to   build:Pass

'A new church is being built' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

To conclude, generally, European languages display complex verb phrases, especially the first, second and last types. Also, the progressive aspect is mainly associated with the imperfective predicates. However, it is compatible with the perfective and the imperfective tenses. Additionally, the means to express progressivity in languages such as English, Irish and Icelandic have approached a status of full gramaticalization as only these devices indicate the notion of progressivity, while in other languages, it is quite complex as they have more than one device for the progressive, and secondly, they may linguistically have infrequent spontaneous usage (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

Additionally, progressive and non-progressive opposition is allowed in English as they cannot be used interchangeably, whereas in Spanish and Italian, it is not permitted since other forms can be used interchangeably with the progressive form to indicate progressivity.

Lastly, three morphological types of the progressive are found in European languages (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000). (see Appendix 3 for the main morphological progressive types, 6).

2. 2 Progressive in MSA

There is no particular form for the progressive aspect in MSA, which is denoted in two ways. One is to use the bare imperfective as s morphological marker to express the present progressive, and the other is to use the imperfective past with '*kaanna*' (al-Najjar, 2000; Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueir, 2009; Eid & Holes, 1993). Examples are:

(7) taktubu   l-bentu   risaalatan

   write:3SG.F   the- girl:SG:F   a letter:SG

   'The girl writes (is writing) a letter' (al-Najjar, 2000).

(8) Kaana   Ali   yaktubu   risaalatan

   PAST.   Ali:3SG:M   write:3SG:M   a letter:SG

   'The boy wrote (was writing) a letter' (al-Najjar, 2000).

Thus, in the MSA, no special overt particles or verb clitics exist to denote progressivity (Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueir, 2009).

According to Hallman (2015), the imperfective meaning is not expressed by the imperfective verb form in Standard Arabic. In fact, the default lexical verb form is marked by the IMPFv. Thus, an analogy can be drawn between it and the English infinitive. He also proposes that by adding covert progressive and habitual operators to this infinitival base, such as 'l- ʔāna – now' and 'lā ta-zāl-u- still', respectively, the progressive and the habitual interpretations are derived.

According to Comrie (1976), if the underlying verb is eventive, the imperfective verb form in the linguistic typological literature denotes that the happening is in progress at the present time or habitual. In the literature, what the Arabic grammatical tradition refers to as the imperfective in MSA follows this generalization when the underlying verb is eventive; otherwise, it corresponds to the English infinitive. If the imperfective form is a stative verb, it denotes a state holding at the present (utterance) time (Hallman, 2015). In addition, in Standard Arabic, achievement verbs can appear in the progressive, unlike in Romance/Germanic languages. An example is:

(9) y-abluġu   r-rajul-u   l-qimmat-a   l-ʔaan-a

   3-reach   the-man-NOM   the-top-ACC now

   'The man is reaching the top now'(Fehri, 2012).

Hallman provides us with the following picture for Arabic:

In the present:

(10) [TP T [AspP ØPROG/HAB … [VP V IMPF]]]

In the past:

(11) [TP Kāna [AspP PROG/HAB [VP VIMPF]]]

Here, in the present, the tense node behaves as the tense locus, whereas the progressive and the habitual aspect appear in a separate aspectual head, not with the verb locus. In the past, the perfective morphological form 'kāna' expresses the past tense.

2. 3 Progressive in the Dialects of Colloquial Arabic

There are clear developments in the progressivity devices and constructions, and different forms exist to denote the progressive aspect. One type is the affixal progressive, as seen in Cairene, which is the Egyptian Arabic, and Hijazi Arabic. The prefix '*bi-/ba*' is employed to mark the progressive aspect as in the following example (Eid & Holes, 1993; al-Najjar, 1991, 2000). This '*bi-*' is different from the future marker that is found in other Arabic dialects, such as GA which is spoken in Bahrain, Eastern Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, Kuwait and Oman (Persson, 2008; al-Najjar, 2000).

(12) Il   walad   bi-yilᶜab.

   The boy   Prog.M.SG. play

   'The boy is playing' (al-Najjar, 2000).

In Sanʕaani Arabic, the prefix '*bi-*' is used to denote progressivity for all persons except for the first person singular in the present. In the latter case, '*bayn*' is used as a progressive marker. There is no progressive marker in the present tense in some Yemani dialects such as Taʕizzi and Adeni (Boudelaa, 2006; Persson, 2008). Another example is the prefix '*da*' followed by the imperfective form of the verb from the Iraqi Arabic (al-Najjar, 1991).

Another type in a number of Arabic dialects is using an auxiliary particle such as ''*am(m)* ' in Syrian Ar; ' '*amma. 'amm, 'am and 'ammāl*' are commonly used in Damascus for all persons and genders, and ' '*a , 'am/m, 'an, man and ma*' followed by the prefix '*b*' in Lebanese Arabic; in the case of ' '*amma*' and ' '*am*', this prefix can be dropped (Persson, 2008; Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri, 2009). A change has been noticed in the Lebanese Arabic from the use of the prefix '*b*' to the prefix '*m*'/ '*mi*' in the '*we*' verb form (Nydell & Omar, 1976). ''*am*' is most frequent particle in Libano-syrian dialects. '*Am (m)*' in the Lavintine Ar is also used with the prefix '*b-/ bi-*'attached to the imperfective form of the verb in which '*b*' indicates incompletion of the action and '*am(m)*' denotes ongoing actions or that the action is in progress. They usually occur together, while in Cairene Egyptian, '*b/bi*' is used to convey both meanings and they do not use '*b*' and '*am (m)*' together. '*Am (m)*' is also used in the upper part of Egypt (Nydell & Omar, 1976). ''Ammāl, '*ammālin* and '*ammālă*' are also commonly used in the Egyptian dialect followed by the prefix '*b*' attached to the imperfective form of the verb. In the negative and the interrogative negative sentences, 'šin al-kaškaša' is attached to these particles, or attached to the pronoun, or can occur at the end of the verb. The Palestinians use other forms; ' '*ammāl* for masculine singular, '*ammālă* for feminine singular, ' '*ammālin*' for masculine plural, and ' '*ammālāt*' for feminine plural. These particles are sometimes alternated with the particle ''*ā'id*'. ''Am/m and ''*amma*' are also used in the Palestinian dialect, but the former particle is preferred (Agius & Harrak, 1987). Examples are:

(13) Lavintine Arabic

Š uu   9am-b-ti9mal

What PROG-PROG.

'What are you doing?'

(14) Egyptian Arabic

biti9mil   eeh?

'What are you doing?' (Nydell & Omar, 1976).

Furthermore, the so-called 'proclitic particle', such as *'ta-'* in Moroccan Ar, is attached to the imperfective form of the verb, and in some Moroccan dialects, this particle is alternated with the particle *'ka-ku'* for all numbers and genders (Agius & Harrak, 1987). An example is:

(15) Moroccan Ar

Ta-y-gra

PROG-3-study

'He is studying'.

Additionally, many languages use the active participle *'gaa9id'* which means '*sitting, staying'* as in Bahraini Ar, Qatari Ar, Syrian Desert dialect, Iraqi Ar, Tunisian Ar and Kuwaiti Ar. In order to indicate the progressive aspect, these forms are followed by the imperfective form of the main verb (Al-Tajir, 1982; Rudolf de Jong & Al-Wer, 2009). In Maltese, the following forms are used: '*iyed* for (m.sg), *'ēda* (F.SG) and *Ēdin* (M/F.PL)', which are also contracted to ''*ed'*. Similar forms are found in Senglea with a slight phonological difference. They use '*qiyed (*M.SG), *qēda* (F.SG), *qēdin* (M/F.PL)' which are reduced to '*qed'* (Agius& Harrak, 1987). An example is:

(16) Maltese

 'iyed   yo'tol

Remaining.M.SG   he-kills

'He is killing' (Agius & Harrak, 1987).

In southern and northern Iraq, the particle '*gā'id*' is used, though in the northern area, there is no plural form of the auxiliary *'gā'din'*. They also have two other forms which are used by Bedouins in the northern area, which are *'qā'id/qā'da'* and *'ğ ā'id/ğ ā'da'*. A reduced form of these particles is also used by Muslims and Christians in Mawsil and the area around it, '*ad, qad* and *ked'*, respectively. In Bagdad, the most frequent particle used by Muslims is '*da*' and it is used for all genders and numbers, whereas '*gā'id*' is less common. '*KÍ, kū, kə and ka'* are used in the Bahzani dialect of Iraq for all numbers and genders. '*Kū*' is used in a number

of dialects in southeast Turkey. In the Azəh dialect, the particle '*ka*' and '*kā*' is used before '1ˢᵗ'. This particle is shortened to '*k*' in Dargözʋ. Sudanese also use '*gā'id*' and its allomorphs (Agius & Harrak, 1987).

According to Saddour (2010), the progressive aspect is realized by several constructions in the Tunisian Ar and are of three types. The first is the active participle or the prefixed form of the verb and these are simple entities. The second are periphrases that include the aspectual progressive marker '*qa:' id*' or '*fi*' as in the following constructions:

(17) qa:'id+PV, qa:'id+PV+'*f*i' and PV+'*f*i'.

These are the most frequent expressions (Saddour, 2009, 2010). An example is:

(18) Wehid   qa:'id   ye-kol.

    One   PROG. SG.M   P. 3SG.M-eat

    'Somebody is eating' (Saddour, 2009).

Here, this example shows that '*qa:'id*' inflects for number and gender of the subject. There is only one instance in TA where '*qa:'id*' is followed by another active participle and that is '*ra:gid*', which is derived from the verb '*rqad-slept*'(Saddour, 2009). For example:

(19) Ra:jil   ga:'id   ra:gid.

    Man   PROG   sleep.AP.3SG.M

    'A man is sleeping' (Saddour, 2009).

Regarding '*fi*' as a progressive marker, it is a location preposition that means '*in*'. In the following construction, it indicates progressivity (Saddour, 2009, 2010).

(20) E(l)-ra:jil   ye-kil   fi   ft_u:r e(l)-s_beh_.

    The-man   PS3M- eat   PROG   meal   the-morning

    'The man is having breakfast' (Saddour, 2009).

The last type is combined predicates that consist of preverbs or 'coverbs' with specific lexical semantics that denote progressivity, such as '*bqa-stayed*' and '*kammal-finished*'.

In Jewish Ar spoken in Tunis, the progressive marker '*qa*' is used to denote progressivity, and it is also used in the past and future construction to express past and future progressivity. It is a reduced affixal form of '*qa:'id*' that shows the loss of gender and number agreement. '*(ma) qās*' is used in the negation construction (Cuvalay, 1991; Saddour, 2009, 2010; Agius & Harrak, 1987). They also still use '*qa:'id*' (M.SG), '*qa:'ada*' (F.SG) and '*qa:' din*' (F.M.PL) (Agius & Harrak, 1987). Rural Tunisia and Tunisian Bedouins use the following forms to express continuity: '*ǎmmal, ǎmmāla* (F.SG), and *ǎmmālin*' for both F.PL and M.PL (Agius & Harrak, 1987).

In KA, the plain imperfective is used to denote progressivity (Eid & Holes, 1993). According to al-Najjar (2000), the main characteristics of the progressive in KA are duration, incompletion and contingent situation in specific contexts. KA has three constructions that denote the progressive aspect: first is the periphrastic construction where the active participle '*gaa 9id*' is followed by the imperfective form of the verb. It is the most frequent construction in which there is an inflection for the subject's number, person and gender. According to al-Najjar (1991), '*gaa 9id*' is a grammatical marker that indicates progressivity. It is worth mentioning that it was noticed recently that '*gaa*' is used and heard more frequently in casual conversation and fast speech than '*gaa 9id*', particularly with plural nouns. Thus, a phonological reduction is already in progress as there is an interchangeable use of '*gaa 9id*' and its reduced form '*ga9*'. It is used with both gender types found in KA. In this case, '*gaa*' does not inflect for the subject noun phrase number, person or gender. Additionally, there can be a development in the case of '*gaa9 id*' from a lexical item to a grammaticalized uninflected marker (al-Najjar, 1991, 2000). An example is:

(21) maryam   ga9   taktib   maktuub

    maryam   Prog   IMPFV-SG.F-write   letter

    'Maryam is writing a letter' (al-Najjar, 1991).

'*ga9*' may also be reduced, fused and attached to the imperfective form of the verb in the future, and according to al-Najjar (1991), is due to articulation ease. A possible example is:

(22) ? saami   ga-yadris   fi   l-beet.

    sami   PROG-IMPFV-SG.M-study   in   the house

    'Sami is studying at home'.

Additionally, the KA progressive constructions frequently appear with action verbs including activity, accomplishment and frequency verbs in all the simple tenses. Furthermore, the progressive marker '*gaa 9id*' can be used without the auxiliary '*kaana*' in its imperfective form and without the future marker '*bi*', if a noun or an independent pronoun is present before '*gaa9 id*'. As for achievement verbs, the progressive construction seems to appear rarely, except in certain instances in which they indicate habituality. Regarding stative complement verbs, they do not normally appear in this construction of progressivity with '*gaa 9id*'. In specific instances, in a different construction, they do in order to indicate a temporary state, habituality or durative progressive as in (36) (al-Najjar, 2000). Examples are:

(23) Naadia   gaa9 da   itsuuf   it-tilifiyoon.

    naadia   prog.F. SG   IMPFv ,-she-watch.   the-television

    'Nadia is watching the television'.

(24) With activity verb in the future + 'bi' + IMFv.be

baacir   ha—l-wagt   bakuun   gaa9 da   aktib   fi
l- imtihaan.

tomorrow this-the-time FUT.IMPFv. SG.be   PROG.1SG.F   IMPFv.-I-write
in   the-exam

'At this time tomorrow, I will be writing during the exam'.

(25) With activity verb in the future without 'bi' + IMFv.be

baacir   ha—l-wagt   Sami   gaa 9id   iyganni.

Tomorrow   this-the-time Sami   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv.-he-.sing

'Tomorrow at this time Sami is (will be) singing'.

(26) With achievement verbs

il-bass   gaa9id   yooosal   is-saa a   xams   min   isniin.

The bus   PROG.SG.M   .IMPFv.-he-arrive   the-hour   five   from years

'The bus has been arriving at five o'clock for years' (al-Najjar, 2000).

Here, *'gaa9id'* with achievement verbs express habituality only in the present.

The other expression of progressivity is '*fi9izz*' followed by a verbal noun (N_v). This expression is constructed of two parts – *'fi'* which means *'in'* and '*9izz*' which means '*prime*' or *'power'*. Semantically, this construction denotes the action intensity and the subject is placed in the middle of the action that is in progress. Thus, it differs from the other KA progressivity expressions. This also is found in English, '*in the process of*', and French, '*être en train de'*. This construction also allows the activity and frequency verbal nouns in the present, past and the future, whereas achievement and accomplishment verbal nouns are never allowed in this construction. As for the stative verbs, they rarely appear in this construction. *'Hubb'* which means '*love'* appears to be the only stative verbal noun that occurs with this expression of progressivity (al-Najjar, 2000). Examples are

(27) With frequency verbal noun

Maryamm   ilhiin fi9izz   it-tittibix   hagg haflatha   il-leyla

Maryam   now   in the middle of   the-cooking   for   party-POSS.SG.F   the-night

'Maryam is now in the middle of (frantic) cooking for her party tonight' (al-Najjar, 2000).

A third way progressivity is denoted in KA is using the active participle of a number of verbs, such as motion verbs in the present and past, '*raah- go'*, *sa9 ad-ascend'*, *daxal-enter'*, the translocative verbs such as '*nizal-come downl'*, activity such as '*libas-wear'* and '*naam-*

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sleep', state verbs and psychological verbs such as '*shakk-doubt, shaaf-see'* in the present, past and future . These verbs show inflection for number, person and gender (al-Najjar, 2000).

(28) Akiid   il-yoom   9iid,   maryamm   laabsa   nafnuufha   il-yidiid

     Surely   the-day   holiday   Maryam   PROG.wear.-she   dress, POSS.SG.F the-new

'It must be a special day today (because) Mryam is wearing her new dress'.

To conclude, there is more than one device for the PROG in some dialects.

Chapter 3

3. Progressivity in Hassawi dialect HA/HD

3.1 Introduction

The use of the progressive aspect is expanding and languages have developed many forms to express this. In this chapter, the basic features and the different meanings conveyed by the progressive aspect in HA will be provided. Also, various devices of progressivity in HA will be presented, and the relationship between these aspectual expressions and their complementation will be investigated. The progressive aspect is frequently used in HA, and semantically, it is associated with various meanings. It expresses that the action has been in progress for a period of time. Additionally, duration is one of the main and most noticeable functions of the progressive, as is the case in many languages. Another basic feature of the progressive in HA is denoting that the action is not definitely complete. Thirdly, it is used to denote contingent situations. Similar to English, the 'temporal frame effect' is a further semantic effect of the progressive aspect in HA. Here, a specific situation is surrounded by a 'temporal frame' in which the event stretches into the past and the future from what is referred to as a 'reference point' that can be either an adverbial or a clause. Lastly, it denotes that the situation is temporary and includes the present moment in a timespan that stretches into the past and the future for a limited time.

In addition, two main types of complementation follow the progressivity aspectual marker. The first is the imperfective form of the verb and the other is a verbal noun (see Appendix 1, Table 1, for these two types of complementation].

The type of complement has an influence on the behaviour of the aspectual marker, as will be seen later in this study. Therefore, it is considered highly significant to discuss the main types and classifications of verbs.

3.2 Classification of verbs

Verb typology in Arabic distinguishes states, acts and inchoatives (al-Najjar, 2000). Inchoative verbs are verbs that indicate a situation's inception. An example of this in HA as well as in KA is *'bida - start'*. Many studies propose a distinction between the two types for English verbs: stative and non-stative. There is also Vendler's classification of verbs, which many studies and linguists have followed. According to Vendler (1967), English verb meanings are classified into four main classes. First, state verbs refer to external and physical, emotional or perceptual states or conditions where no change over a time interval is involved. They are referred to as anti-progressive verbs as they do not normally appear in progressive constructions. They are normally limited to a simple form. Moreover, state verbs have no endpoint and no change entailment. Also, they are not intentional. The state verb class includes several sub-classes as follows: 'having and being state verbs' such as *'be, belong to, consist of'*; 'inter-perception verbs' like *'feel, taste, smell'* – these verbs denote sensation and no intention or conscious effort is involved; 'inert cognition verbs', which indicate a mental state such as *'think, know, believe';* and 'attitude verbs' that express a psychological state,

such as *'like, hate, regret, want'*. However, there are exceptions regarding some of the verbs mentioned above in the listed sub-classes. Not all linguists agree with Vendler and his classification as they appear to be compatible with the progressive in certain instances and contexts. This is because they can be part of a different verbal class and deliver a different meaning (al-Najjar, 2000; Mourelatos, 1981; Rothstein, 2004, 2008; Leech, 2004; Baker, 1989). For instance:

(1) He is being kind.

Here, the meaning delivered by '*to be*' is '*acting in a way*' and it functions as an activity verb.

(2) He is feeling the sand (Leech, 2004).

In this instance, '*feel*' does not refer to an inert perception, but to an activity in which there is a physical and conscious effort and intention by the speaker.

(3) She is seeing stars (Palmer, 1965).

The progressive in this example is employed to express an imaginary or hallucinatory repetition of sensation.

(4) He is living in Dammam.

Here, a temporary state is referred to by '*live*' to indicate that he is not a permanent resident in Dammam.

On the other hand are the non-stative verbs which include three classes. First are the atelic activity verbs like '*drink, work, eat, talk, swim*' – they express situations or processes that are ongoing over a time interval without a necessary end point or 'built-in boundary'. Therefore, they indicate an open-ended process or an indefinite continuation of an event. These verbs are intentional and they can appear with adverbs, such as '*deliberately* and *carefully*' (al-Najjar, 2000). Thus, this class can easily occur in the progressive construction. The second class is the telic achievement verbs such as '*knock, stop, and arrive*'. These verbs are punctual and do not express duration as they occur in a single moment (al-Najjar, 2000). They express either the event start or end in which there is a change in the state and culmination (Rothstein, 2004; Vendler, 1967; Baker, 1989. Traditionally, these verbs are not favoured by the progressive aspect and they do not appear in that construction (Rothstein, 2004); however Miller (2002, 2008) suggests that they do, but not freely. To illustrate, certain achievement verbs appear with the progressive. They are the 'culmination of a type of activity or process verbs' as in (5), whereas the so-called 'happen to you verbs' are not compatible with the progressive aspect.

(5) My vehicle was stopping.

Here, the cessation of the movement is not indicated and there is no indication that the ongoing action is complete; it simply means that the vehicle was slowing down in order to stop.

Lastly, there is the telic accomplishment verbs such as '*mend, build, write*'. This class has to do with the happening and the activity process phase and the closing phase. They involve duration and there is a natural 'built-in boundary'. They can occur naturally in the progressive construction to denote that the event is in progress, and the verb phrase that refers to the accomplishment as a whole extends over a period of time to refer to a slice of the accomplishment (Vendler, 1967; Baker, 1989; Miller, 2002, 2008).

(6) He was writing his assignment.

The progressive, here, is used to refer to the '*writing*' process as a single event. In other words, '*he*' was in the process of writing, and the writing was in progress, indicating that the event ends.

A class was proposed by al-Najjar (1991, 2000) for the verbs in KA, the frequency verbs. They express action repetition or intensity, such as '*ittikatib - write many times*' from the verb '*kitab*' and '*Sakkak - close*' from the verb '*sakk*'. These verbs are trilateral verbs in which the second consonant is doubled and geminated.

(7) Kattabt   kil   il-mikaatiib.

PFv.-write-I-Freq   all   the –letters

'I wrote all the letters (one after another)' (al-Najjar, 2000).

This study follows Vendler's classification of verbs along with the additional category of frequency verbs by al-Najjar (2000). The following part of this chapter discusses the HA devices for progressivity.

3. 3 Means of Progressivity in HA in the Affirmative Construction

Unlike the western part of Saudi Arabia, the eastern part including Al-Ahsa does not have what Blansitte (1975) refers to as affixal progressive forms, whereas his second classification type of complex verb phrases is found in the Hassawi dialect. There are several constructions in HA that exhibit progressivity, as described in the following sections.

3.3.1 The simple form: the imperfective form of certain verbs

One way to express progressivity in HA is by using the simple form, which is the imperfective form of the verb originally found and used in MSA. In this dialect, no one form expresses the progressive aspect. Therefore, the progressive form is not obligatory and it is substitutable with the simple form similar to French. They use the simple form to express progressivity, though there is a particular form for the progressive which is '*être en train de*'. Unlike the English language in which these two forms are not interchangeable, in HA, there is no noticeable difference in meaning between the progressive form and the simple non-

progressive form. Thus, the progressive and the non-progressive opposition is not allowed in the Hassawi dialect.

All the activity, accomplishment, frequency and passive meaning verbs are used in this construction to denote progressivity and that the action is ongoing for a period of time in all simple present, past and future tenses. The imperfective form of the verb agrees with the subject noun phrase in number, person and gender.

In this construction, there is a big possibility for ambiguity as the same construction is used to indicate habituality or a state. Out of context, this construction can give two readings. However, whether habitual or progressive, the interpretation is usually easily understood from the context of speech. Another way to disambiguate and to get the progressive reading is by adding adverbials, such as '*lissa - still*', '*alHiin - now*', '*la-alHiin - up till now*', as well as the demonstratives that are inflected for number, person and gender of the subject, such as '*haDani – this - I*' for first person singular, and '*haDahum – these - them*' for third person plural in the present (see Appendix 1, Table 2 for the inflected demonstratives). It should be pointed out that these inflected demonstratives are used with all the expressions of progressivity found in HA, and which will be discussed and presented in this paper for the same purpose. Additionally, there are expressions that denote duration and refer to a period of time in the past or future, such as '*tul-il-liil - all the night*', *'from 3:00 to 6:00 yesterday'* and '*yesterday morning*', and specific preceding verb phrases in the past, such as '*shiftah -* PERFv.*I-see-him*' *'simaᶜhum -* PERFv.*he-hear-them'* and *'ligitha -* PERFv.*she-find-her'*, and in the present such as '*ashuufah*-IMPFv.I-see-him' and 'asma*ᶜha - IMPFv.I-hear-her'*. Examples for the progressive use of the simple form are:

In the present:

With activity verb

(1) Nora titgahwa   fi   il-majlas.

   Nora IMPFv. She- Drink coffee   in   Def. Guest room

   'Nora is drinking coffee in the guest room'.

With accomplishment verb

(2) hdhahii   tiTbax   il-ghda   (alHiin).

   this-she   IMPFv.She-Cook.   Def. Lunch (now)

   'Here she is cooking lunch now'.

This can be used to answer the following question:

(3) Nora wish   tsawii   alHiin?

   Nora   what   IMPFv. she-do   now?

'What is Nora doing now?'

(See Appendix 2, examples with passive meaning verbs, 1, 2).

In the past:

The imperfective past is used and the construction is as follows: perfective '*kaana*' followed by the simple imperfective form of the verb.

(4) Nora   kaanat   tiTbax   il-ghda.

    Nora   PERFv.be-she   IMPFv.she-cook   Def. Lunch

    'Nora was cooking lunch'.

Generally, achievement verbs and stative verbs in this construction do not express progressivity. Let's consider the following examples:

With achievement verb

(5) Il-hilal   kaan   yafuuz   b-il-kass   kil   sanah.

    Def-Hilal   PERFv.be-he   IMPFv. it-win   with-Def.cup   every   year

    'Al-Hilal used to win the cup every year.'

This instance indicates a habitual state that ends in the past.

With frequency verbs

(6) Shiftah   yakattib   tuul   il-layl.

     PERFv.I-see-him   IMPFv.he-write (repeatedly)   all   Def.night

'I saw him; he was writing (repeatedly) all night', 'I saw him writing (repeatedly) all night'.

Here, an action is repeated over a period of time in the past and the past tense is indicated by the preceding perfective verb phrase, '*Shiftahah*', or by using the perfective verb to be '*kaana*'. It should be pointed out that '*Kaan yakattib*' with the deletion of the adverbial gives both habitual meaning in the past that finished in the past meaning, '*he used to write*', and it may give a progressive meaning that the action was in progress in the past; thus, it has two readings – the habitual and the progressive interpretation.

In the future:

The addition of the futurity marker '*b-/raH*' and the obligatory presence of the imperfective form of *'kaana'* show that the action will be in progress for a period of time.

(7) Nora   b/raH   tiTbax   il-ghda.

    Nora   Fut   IMPFv.she -Cook.   Def. Lunch

'Nora will cook lunch'.

(8) Nora   b/raH   itkuun   tiTbax   il-ghda   bukrah   IZ-Zihir.

    Nora   Fut   IMPFv.be-she   IMPFv.She -Cook.   Def. Lunch   tomorrow   Def.afternoon

'Nora will be cooking lunch (tomorrow afternoon)'.

To conclude, the type of verb in this construction determines the aspect denoted and the adverbials play a significant role. The context is also an important factor. The next part of the discussion is devoted to aspectual verbs + IMPFv.

3.3.2 The active participles gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv

A lot of aspectual markers come from lexical main verbs to express duration of a situation. Some of these aspectual markers preserve their lexical meaning, while others lose their lexical meaning and are fully grammatical markers used solely as aspectual markers. The former appears in simple sentences and the latter appears in a verb-verb complex sentence. An example is *'gaaᶜid';* in simple sentences, it behaves as a locative verb preserving its lexical meaning, while as aspectual marker, it loses that meaning. For example:

(9) Locative gaaᶜid

ᶜli   gaaᶜid   ᶜla   il-maktab.

Ali AP.he-sit   on   Def. office

'Ali is (sitting) in the office'.

Therefore, it behaves lexically in that construction and, in the other construction, it behaves aspectually.

Another way to express the progressive aspect in HA is the use of the active, locative participle '*gaaᶜid*', which means '*remaining, sitting, and staying*' of the verb '*gaᶜad*', which means '*remain, stay, sit*' preceding the imperfective form of the main verb. This particle is found in many Arabic dialects as mentioned in the literature, and because HA is one of the eastern Arabian dialects and a Gulf dialect, they share several syntactic and semantic features. '*gaaᶜid*' is one of the progressive constructions commonly used in HA. A synonym of this active participle, '*jaalis*' meaning '*remaining, sitting, and staying*', is also commonly used in HA as a progressive marker; both '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*' as progressivity devices share the same syntactic and semantic features and are used interchangeably. In other words, they are equivalent as will be proven in the following examples. Both the main verb and *'gaaᶜid/jaalis'* exhibit agreement with the subject noun phrase in number, person and gender (see Appendix 1 for their inflection, Table 3.1). They are followed only by imperfective form of the verbs and there are no instances at all showing that they can be followed by an active participle, as

in the case of the Tunisian locative participle in 'gaaᶜid raagid'. Unlike in KA, Iraqi Ar, Maltese Ar, and TA, HA does not have a phonological reduced form of 'gaaᶜid' functioning as a grammatical marker of progressivity. Similar to KA and English, these forms of the progressive do not appear with all the types of verbs mentioned above. It appears that the HA means of the progressive occurs easily and freely with specific types of verbs that include activity, frequency and accomplishment verbs. The HA progressive constructions rarely appear with achievement verbs as they do not involve duration, which is one of the basic features of the progressive aspect. In these rare cases, the progressive form denotes iterative meaning. Regarding the stative verbs, they normally do not appear in the HA progressive constructions. However, there are specific contexts in which they do. In these contexts, they denote a temporary state, a change from one state to another, or they convey a habitual meaning. Examples for **activity verbs** are:

In the present:

(10) Nora   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   targiS   maᶜa Sdigatah   fi il-Haflah   (alHin)

      Nora   PROG . F.SG   IMPFv. she-dance   with   friends.POSS(her) in Def-party (now)

'Nora is dancing with her friends at the party (now)'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 3, 4, 5).

In the previous example, the addition of the adverbial 'alHin' is optional, and it is understood from the progressive form that the action is taking place now at the time of speech, indicating that the action is in progress and will continue for a limited period of time, but there is no indication that the action is complete.

In the past:

(11) Ahmad   kaan   gaaᶜid/jaalis   iyshuuf   il-mbarah   maᶜa aSdigah   lamma   itiSalt   ᶜlih.

Ahmad   PERFv.be.he   PROG . M.SG IMPFv.he-watch   DEF-game   with friends. POSS(his)   When   PERFv. I-call-him

'Ahmad was watching the match with his friends when I called him'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example with 'kaana', 6).

In the future:

(12) Bukrah   h-al-Hazah   b/raH akuun   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   asbaH   fi il-birkah.

Tomorrow   this- Def-time Fut   IMPFv.be-I   PROG.F.SG   MPFv. Swim-I   in Def-pool

'Tomorrow this time, I will be swimming in the pool'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 7).

These examples show that this construction appears with the activity verbs in all simple past, present, and future tenses. In the present tense, it indicates that the action involves duration with no indication that it is complete. In the past tense with '*kaana*', it indicates that the action is ongoing for a period of time. In the construction with '*lamma - when*', there are two events and a relative period of time is indicated of one action that is in progress, while the other action is in the simple past and occurred while the first action was ongoing. As with English, this instance shows that the progressive aspect has a 'temporal frame' effect, which is a progressive semantic effect that is dependent on the limited duration feature where there is 'a reference point' from which a temporary happening is forming a frame and stretching into the past and the future. This can be diagrammed as follows:

(13) Watching the match

$$\sim\!\sim\!\sim\!\sim$$

▼

I called

In the following example, the clause in the simple past is used as a reference point.

In the past:

(14) ReHit   il- Haflah   illa   hum   (kanuu)   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   iyHTuun al-ᶜasha

    PERFv. I-go DEF-party when they (PERFv.be.they) PROG.(M/F).PL   IMPFv. they-put

Def. dinner

'I went to the party, when (to my surprise) they were sitting at the dinner tables'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 8).

Both '*lamma*' and '*illa*' are translated to '*when*' in English. They both appear with '*gaaᶜid*' in this construction in the past, but there are syntactic and semantic differences between them. Syntactically, the *'lamma'* clause can appear initially and it can also be the second clause, whereas '*illa*' can only appear in the middle between two clauses. Another difference is that

'lamma' comes along with the simple past clause, while *'illa'* precedes the progressive clause. It is ungrammatical to place it initially or along with the simple past clause. Examples are:

(15)*illa   hum (kaanuu)   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   iyHTuun   il-ᶜasha   reHit il- Haflah.

    when they PERFv.be.they PROG.(M/F).PL IMPFv. they- put Def. dinner PERFv. I-go   Def-party

(16)*illa   ReHit   al- Haflah hum (kaanuu)   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   iyHTuun il-ᶜasha.

    when PERFv. I-go DEF-party they PERFv.be.they PROG.(M/F).PL   IMPFv. they-put Def. dinner

Another difference is that '*lamma*' denotes two happenings, with the first happening occurring before, during and after the second happening. '*Illa*', on the other hand, provides a narration of the happenings and it also denotes that the following event is surprising, unexpected or annoying to the subject.

In the future tense, this construction is used to express an anticipated action or arranged situation at a specific time in the future. Unlike the KA dialect, the presence of the imperfective form of '*kaana*' is obligatory, not optional, and it cannot be deleted.

Regarding accomplishment and frequency verbs, they are similar to the activity verbs. Examples are described in the following.

With **accomplishment** verbs, the progressive form is used to denote a VP that refers to the whole accomplishment extending over a period of time, making the VP refer to a slice of an accomplishment and a situation that is in progress.

In the present:

(17) Nora   gaaᶜdah /jaalsah   tarsim   luHah.

   Nora   PROG. F.SG   IMPFv. she-draw   INDef. picture

   'Nora is drawing a picture'.

In the past:

(18) Ahmad   kaan   gaaᶜid/jaalis   ysaliH   il-kompyuter.

   Ahmad   PERFv.be-he   PROG.M.SG IMPFv. he-repair   Def.computer

   'Ahmad was repairing the computer'.

It also appears with '*lamma*' '*illa*' '*yoom (day)-when*' (see Appendix 2 for examples 9, 10).

In the future:

(19) (b/raH) nikuun   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   inghasil   is-sHuun   bukrah h-il-wagt.

       Fut   IMPFv.be-we   PROG.(M/F).PL   IMPFv. we-wash   Def.dish.PL tomorrow   this-Def.time

'We will be washing the dishes tomorrow at this time'.

Again, unlike in KA, the presence of the imperfective form of '*kaana*' and the future marker is obligatory, not optional. A sentence like the following is not normally used:

(20) ? HInna bukrah   h-il-wagt   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   inghasil   is-sHuun.

      We   tomorrow   this-Def.time   PROG.(M/F).PL   IMPFv. We-wash   Def.dish.PL

When they appear with **frequency verbs,** they indicate that the event is happening continuously and repeatedly.

In the present:

(21) Nora gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tfatiH   il-daraish   ᶜlshan truuH riHat   al-Tabx.

    Nora   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.Freqv. she-open   Def-window.PL   so   IMPFv.it-go away   smell   Def.cooking

'Nora is opening the doors one after another (continuously) so the cooking smell goes away'.

In the past:

(22) lamma shiftahum   ams,   kaanuu   gaaᶜidiin/jaalsiin yakattbuun   il-assami   ᶜla   kruut   il-ᶜirs.

When   PERFv.I-see-them   yesterday,   PERFv.be-they   PROG(M/F).PL   IMPFv. Freq.they- write Def.name.PL   on   card.PL   Def. wedding

'When I saw them yesterday, they were writing (continuously) the (guests') names on the wedding cards'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 11, 12, 13).

In the future:

(23) Il-isbuuᶜ   il-jay   (b/raH) tikuun   **Nora** gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tiTbbix l-iz-ziuuf

(24) Il-isbuuᶜ   il-jay   **Nora** (b/raH) tikuun   gaᶜdah   tiTbbix l-iZ-Ziuuf

Def.-week Def-coming   Fut   IMPFv.be-she Nora   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.
Freq.she-cook   for-Def-guest-PL

'Next week, Nora will be cooking (continuously) for the guests'.

Here, the doer of the action (the subject) may appear in two positions with no noticeable difference in meaning.

With achievement verbs

Generally, the progressive construction does not occur with achievement verb complements. However, they do in specific instances. Similar to English, the HA progressive form does not appear with what is referred to as 'happen to you verbs' (Rothstein, 2004; Vendler, 1967; Miller, 2002, 2008; Baker, 1989). Examples are:

(25)*hii gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tiZayᶜ   shanTathaa.

   She PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. She-lose   bag. POSS(her)

    *'she is losing her bag'.

It is worth mentioning that when '*tiZayᶜ*' means '*waste*', it easily appears in the progressive construction.

(26) hii   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tiZayᶜ   il-wagt.

   She PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. she-waste   Def-time

'She is wasting time'.

Other examples are:

(27) Il-Hilal   gaaᶜid/jaalis   yafuuz   bil-kass   kil   sanah (illa has-sanah)

      Def-Hilal   PROPG.M.SG   IMPFv. it-win with-Def.cup   every   year   (except this-Def-year)

    'IL-Hilal has won/is winning the cup every year (except this year)'.

Here, the progressive form is used to indicate habituality in the present tense and that there is a habitual state. However, the addition of an adverbial such as (illa has-sanah) denotes that this state continued until the present at which it ends. The addition of the perfective '*kaana*' in the previous example denotes that the habitual state ended sometime in the past.

(28) Huu gaaᶜid/jaalis   yuSal   l-ilqimah.

   He   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. he-reach   to-Def-top.

'He is reaching the top'.

Here, there is no indication that the action in progress is complete, nor is there an indication of its termination. The meaning conveyed here is that '*he is on his way to the top*'.

(See Appendix 2, for another example, 14).

(29) Huu gaaᶜid/jaalis   yaghmiz   l-i   bᶜainah.

    He   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. he-blink   for-me   with-eye.PL.POSS(his)

    'He is blinking his eyes at me'.

In this example, the progressive form indicates that not only is there one movement, but there is a series of repeated actions. There are several blinks.

With state verbs under which fall a number of sub-groups

Similar to the case in EN, normally in HA, the progressive form '*gaaᶜid*' does not take stative verbs as their complements. Here are some examples that show the ungrammaticality of such sentences:

a. With some inert-cognition verbs that indicate a mental state:

(30) *gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   aᶜrif   Innah   insan   muHtaram.

    PROG.F.SG-I   IMPFv. I-Know   that-he   INDEF.human respectful

    *'I am knowing that he is a respectful person'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 15).

b. With stance verbs:

(31) *Nora   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tugaf.

    Nora   RROG.F.SG   IMPFv. She-stand

    Intended, 'Nora is standing'.

c. With attitude verbs that express a psychological state:

(32) *Binkuun   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   nabii   shahi bukrah   h-il-Hazah.

    IMPFv.be-we PROG.(M/F).PL   IMPFv.we-want   tea   tomorrow   this-Def-time

    Intended, 'we will be wanting tea tomorrow at this time'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 16).

There are some exceptions; some inert perception verbs that are a sub-class of the state verbs occur in this construction in which they denote that there is volition and effort done by the subject where conscious intention is involved. For instance:

(33) iHna   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   nismᶜ   aSwat   fi   il-Huush.

      we   PROG. (M/F).PL   IMPFv. we-hear   (strange sounds/noise) in   Def.yard

      'We are hearing (strange sounds/noise) in the yard'.

(34) kaanat   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tishuuf   ixuha   ykassir   wala   galt   lah   shay.

PERFv.be-she   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. she-see   brother-POSS(her)   IMPFv.Freq. he-break and NEG PERFv. she-say for-him   thing

'She was seeing her brother breaking (continuously) and she did not say anything'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 17).

Here, it is worth mentioning the present construction is more frequently used than the past and the future.

Some of the activity and accomplishment complements along with the progressive markers, '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*', denote that the action is in progress and will culminate when the action is finished; they do not necessarily indicate that the action is not happening at the time of speech. These are referred to as 'contingent happenings' in specific contexts.

(35) Nora gaᶜdah/jaalsah   tangil   l-il-bait   il-jididd.

      Nora PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. She-move   to-Def.house   Def.new

      'Nora is moving to the new house'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 18, 19).

This construction is also used to indicate habituality with activity and some state verbs with the addition of some adverbials, like '*everyday*'. For instance:

(36) gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tidxal   w   tiTlaᶜ   ᶜla kifhaha

      PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. She-come in   and IMPFv. She-come out   on mood-POSS(her)

      'She is coming in and going out as she likes'.

Here, it gives two readings. It either expresses a contingent situation or a habitual reading.

(37) gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   asmaᶜ   aSwat fi il-Huush   kil yuum.

      PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.I.hear   voice.PL in Def.yard every day

'I hear strange sounds/noise in the yard every day'.

Also, it should be pointed out that this construction can be followed by verbs that indicate passivization.

(See Appendix 3 for the appearance of this construction with passive meaning verbs, 7).

3.3.3 The perfective form of the verbs jalas/gaᶜad VS tamm/ Zal + IMPFv

'gaᶜad' is a perfective verb form that means '*sit, remain, and stay*'. The literature of the other Arabic dialects that use the active participle '*gaaᶜid*' as a progressive marker, such as KA, MA, TA, SUA, do not show that the perfective form '*gaᶜad*' from which the active participle '*gaa ᶜid*' is derived is used as progressive marker, but which is found in the HA dialect.

'gaᶜad/ tamm' were only found in KA and they are not referred to as progressive markers, but rather as durative verbs. This study will refer to them as devices of the progressive aspect in HA as they fulfil these basic features, which are incompleteness and duration of a happening that was in progress for an interval of time in the past.

Similar to the second form of the progressive in HA, not only '*gaᶜad*' is used; its synonym 'jalas' meaning '*sit, stay, remain*' is found to function syntactically and semantically as '*gaᶜad*', the progressive marker. Examples are provided and discussed to support this argument. The case is the same with '*Zal*' meaning '*stay, remain, continue*' and '*tamm*' meaning '*complete*' in MSA, and in KA and HA as a lexical verb, it means '*stay, remain, to be completed, completed, finished*'; they are used interchangeably with no difference in meaning. These forms indicate that the action was in progress for a period of time in the past, and all appear only in the past. Additionally, as perfective verbs, they inflect for number, person and gender (see Appendix 1 for their inflection, Table 3.2). In terms of correlation with the five classes of verbs adopted in this study, they are similar to the second type presented in the study. They appear freely with activity, accomplishment and frequency verbs, and are not normally followed by achievement, state verbs. However, there are exceptions. Here are some examples that also exhibit some of the differences between '*Zal/tamm*' and '*ga ᶜad/jalas*'.

With activity verbs:

(38) Sami   Zal/tamm   ythakir   (l-ilsubah/*min ams).

      Sami   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-study   (until morning/*from (since) yesterday)

'Sami was studying (ongoing action) (until morning/*from yesterday)'.

(39) Sami   gaᶜad/jalas   ythakir   (l-ilsubah/ min ams).

      Sami   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-study   (until morning/from (since) yesterday)

'Sami was/has been studying until morning/since yesterday'.

It is noticed that the former answers the question until when. It is also noticed that it cannot be followed by adverbials that indicate the beginning of the action. It indicates that the action extends for a limited duration. Semantically, there is a difference in the meaning between '*Zal/tamm*' and '*gaᶜad/jalas*'; the latter denotes the inception of an event that lasted for a period of time, whereas the former indicates that the action is already in progress and it is ongoing. In both cases, adverbials can be added to indicate and specify a termination point of the action. They both appear with activity, frequency and accomplishment verbs. Generally speaking, state verbs do not appear with these progressive markers. To illustrate, the following examples are not grammatical and that is because of the conflict between the progressive marker, which indicates that there is an ongoing process or situation for a limited interval of time, and the stative verbs, in which no terminal point is implied. Therefore, the co-occurrence of these verbs with the progressive aspect verb is ungrammatical.

With state verbs:

(40) *Salim gaᶜad/jalas/ZAL /tamm   yHbha.

     Salim PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-love-her

   * 'Salim was loving her'.

However, some of the state verbs appear with '*gaᶜad/jalas*' and *'Zal/tamm'* to indicate a change of state. An adverbial that indicates an end point of a situation or duration brings about that change from one state to another state. The occurrence of the adverbial is critical and explains the grammaticality of these sentences; otherwise, the sentence would be ungrammatical and odd. It is worth mentioning that that these aspectual verbs do not appear with inter-cognition stative verbs such as '*know*' and *'understand'*, even if there are such adverbials that indicate an end point because the main verb denotes a pure state that is infinitely durative with no change or end; when you know a person or a thing, you always will. The presence of '*gaᶜad*' or *'Zal'* in the construction imposes limited duration to the meaning and these states, generally, cannot be limited. Examples are:

(41) Salim gaᶜad/ /jalas/ZAL /tamm   yakrahha   snnen layn ʔxir yuum fi ᶜmrah.

     Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-hate-her   years until last day in life-POSS(his)

'Salim was hating her until the last day of his life'.

(42) gaᶜad/ /jalas/ZAL /tamm   yahiss   b   maghaS   lin axadh id-diwa.

PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-feel   with stomach-ache   until PERFv.he-take   DeF.medicine

'He was feeling pain until he took the medication'.

 (43) *Salim   gaᶜad/ /jalas/ZAL /tamm   y ᶜrif Nora   lin   safar.

        Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he- know   until PERFv.he-travel

*'Sami was knowing Nora until he travelled'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 20).

With accomplishment verbs:

Regarding their occurrence with accomplishment verbs, '*Zal/tamm*' and '*gaᶜad/jalas*' appear but each indicates a different meaning. '*Zal/tamm*' indicates that the action repeats, whereas '*gaᶜad/jalas*' indicates that the event continued until the action finished. Let's consider the following examples:

(44) Salim   gaᶜad/jalas   yshoof   il-film   tul   il-lail.

      Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG IMPFv.he-watch Def-film all   Def-night

      'Salim was watching the film all night'.

(45) Salim   Zal/tamm   yshoof   il-film   tul   il-lail.

      Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-watch Def-film all   Def-night

      'He was watching (ongoing action) the film all night'.

The co-occurrence of '*Zal/tamm*' denotes that the event was already in progress and continued with an accomplishment verb that denotes that there is an end point. That is, the situation lasts for an interval of time until it reaches that end point, and the adverbial '*tul il-lail*' indicates repetition of the action. While with '*gaᶜad/jalas*', it denotes a different meaning, which is the action lasted for a long period of time. It conveys the following meaning: '*it took him the whole night to finish that movie*' (see Appendix 2 for more examples, 21, 22).

With achievement verbs:

Achievement verbs as mentioned above do not include duration in their meaning, and because of their punctuality nature, when they appear with these aspectual verbs they indicate repetition of the action. Examples are:

(46) gaᶜad/ /jalas   yaxsar   b   is-sibagat.

      PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-lose   in   Def-races

      'He is losing in the races'.

(47) Zal/ tamm   yaxsar   b is-sibagat.

 PERFv.PROG. M.SG IMPFv.he-lose in Def-races

 'He is losing (ongoing action) in the races'.

With frequency verbs:

These aspectual verbs appear easily and freely with frequency verbs to emphasize the repetition or the intensity of the action. For instance:

(48) gaᶜad/jalas   yKattib   kil il-mikaatiib.

 PERFv.PROG. M.SG IMPFv.he-write (continuously and repeatedly) all Def-letters

 'He was writing all the letters'.

(49) Zal/tamm   yKattib   kil il-mikaatiib

 PERFv.PROG. M.SG IMPFv.he-write (contiously and repeatedly) all Def-letters

 'He was writing (ongoing action) all the letters'.

It is worth mentioning that these cannot be followed by verbal nouns. They only appear in the following construction: ASPv + IMPFv. An example is:

(50) * gaᶜad   il-liᶜib.

 PERFv.PROG. M.SG Def. Playing

3.3.4 The imperfective form of the verbs gaᶜad/jalas and Zal/tamm

3.3.4.1 Habituality

The imperfective form of '*gaᶜad/jalas*' and '*iyZil/iytimm*' + the imperfective form of the verb in the present is used to express habituality, where '*yagᶜid/yajlis*' denote the beginning of an event that continues and could be terminated by the addition of an adverbial, and '*iyZil/iytimm*' denote the continuation of an event which is already in progress.

In the present:

(51) Salim   yagᶜid/yajils/ iyZil/iytimm   (ydhakir/*yakrah/ *yaktib risalh/*yarbaH/iykattib) la ilᶜasir.

      Salim   IMPFv. M.SG   IMPFv.he-(study/*hate/*write letter/*win/write (continuously and repeatedly) until Def.afternoon

'Salim continues to study/*hate/*write a letter/*win/write continuously) until afternoon'.

(52) Salim   yagᶜid/yajlis/iyZil/iytimm   (*ydh akir/*yakrah/ yaktib risalh/*yarbaH/*iykattib)   as-saᶜah   5 kil yuum.

      Salim   IMPFv. M.SG   IMPFv.he-(study/*hate/write letter/*win/write (continuously and repeatedly) Def.hour   5 every day

'Salim continues to study/*hate/write a letter/*win/write continuously) at 5 o'clock every day.'

The first example is grammatical with frequency and activity verbs since both indicate an activity that is in progress and lasts for a period of time, and the presence of the adverbial limits that period. In other words, the activity goes on for a limited period of time that is indicated by the adverbial. As for the ungrammaticality of the sentence with the accomplishment verb, this is due to the nature of this type of verb, which indicates an end point, and its occurrence with '*yagid/yajlis'*, *'iyZil/iytimm'* and the adverbial only indicates the temporarily limited period of time with no indication that there is a terminal point. In the other example, the accomplishment verb is grammatical with '*yagᶜid/yajlis*' and *'iyZil/iytimm'* because it refers to one event that starts, continues and ends in a limited period of time. *'yagᶜid/yajlis'* and *'iyZil/iytimm'* do not appear with state and achievement verbs; they only appear with durative verbs.

In the past:

'*Kaana'* indicates the imperfective past along with *'yagᶜid/yajlis'* and *'iyZil/iytimm'*.

(53) kaan   yagᶜid/yajlis/iyZil/iytimm   ydhakir   kil   yuum 4 saᶜat.

    PERFv.be –he   IMPFv. M.SG   IMPFv.he-study   every day   4 hours

    'He used to study for 4 hours every day'.

The example indicates that, in the past, he studied for a period of time and that there were a number of occurrences of the situation that continued (lasted) for an extended interval of time. That is why state verbs such as *'AHib-love'*and '*akrah-hate'* do not appear in this construction as they refer to continuous periods of time that do not include intervals.

45

(54) *kaan   yagᶜid/yajlis/ iyZil/iytimm   yaHibha   tul il wagt.

PERFv.be –he   IMPFv. M.SG   IMPFv.he-love   all DEF. time   all   DEF. time

1.3.4.2 Progressivity:

The imperfective form of '*gaᶜad/ jalas*' and '*Zal/tamm*' in limited examples are used to denote progressivity in a specific construction in the present tense and also in the future. In this construction, the progressive marker agrees in number, person and gender with the subject (See Appendix 1 for their inflection, Table 3.3). The present tense constructions are:

(55) a.Instead of +tagᶜid/tajlis- tiZil/tittim + IMPF.verb +IMPR.verb.

   b. Instead of +tagᶜid/tajlis- tiZil/tittim + IMPF.verb + gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPF.verb

(56) Badal   maa   tagᶜid/tajlis   tiHin   guum
dhakir.

   Instead   of   IMPF.PROG.2SG.M   IMPF. You.SG.M.nag   IMPR.you-stand (start)
IMPR.you-study

'Instead of nagging, study'.

(57) Badal ma   ant   gaaᶜid/ jaalis   tiHin   guum
dhakir.

Instead   of   you   PROG. IMPFv. 2SG. M   IMPFv.you.M-nag   IMPR.you-stand (start)
IMPR.you-study

'Instead of nagging, study'.

These two examples are equivalent in their meaning.

(58) Badal maa   tiZil/tittim   tiHin   guum
dhakir.

   Instead   of   PROG. IMPFv. 2SG. M   IMPFv.you.M-nag   IMPR.you-stand (start)
IMPR.you-study

'Instead of nagging (ongoing action), study'.

(59) Badal maa   tagᶜ diin/tajlisiin   tSaliin   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah
tilᶜabiin   sonii.

   Instead   of   PROG.IMPFv.2SG.F   IMPFv.you.F-pray   PROG.IMPFv.2SG.F
IMPFv.you.F-play Sony.

'Instead of praying, you are playing Sony'.

(60) Badal   maa   tiZiliin/titimiin   tidhakriin,   gaᶜdah/jalsah
tilᶜabiin   sonii.

      Instead of   PROG.IMPFv.2SG.M   IMPFv.you-study PROG.IMPFv.2SG.F
IMPFv.you.F-play Sony

'Instead of studying (ongoing action), you are playing Sony'.

It is noticed that there are two actions – one negative and the other positive – and that the progressive marker appears with both as shown in the examples. The progressive marker appears with the negative action if it is followed by the imperative that includes a positive action, and it occurs with the positive action if it is followed by another sentence denoting the progressive aspect and a negative action.

'*B/raH yagᶜid*' expresses a future interpretation, volition and intention. Moreover, only the activity and frequency verbs are allowed in this construction. However, the addition of a different adverbial allows other types of verbs. This construction of the progressive form with achievement verbs indicates an intention to begin or continue a habit in the future. Examples are:

(61) (b/raH) yagᶜid/yajlis/iyiZil/iytim   yafuuz   bil-kass   kil   sanah.

     Fut   IMPFv.PROG.M.SG   IMPFv.win-he with-Def.cup   every   year

     'He will be winning the cup every year'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 23 and 24).

(62) Sami (bi/raH)   yagᶜid/yajlis   ydhakir   li-Is-sibH.

     Sami Fut   IMPFv.PROG.M.SG   impfV.study-he   until-Def.morning

    'Sami will be studying until morning'.

(63) Sami (bi/raH)   iyZil/iytimm   ydhakir   li Is-sibH.

     Sami Fut   IMPFv.PROG.M.SG   impfV.study-he until Def.morning

    'Sami will be studying (ongoing action) until morning'.

3.3.4.3 The co-occurrence of Zal/tamm and the active participle gaaᶜid/jaalis

There is yet another difference between, '*gaᶜad/jalas*' and '*Zal/tamm*'. '*gaᶜad/jalas*' never appear with the active participle, '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*', whereas '*Zal/tamm*' easily co-occur with them. Let's consider the following constructions and examples:

a. Zal/tamm + gaaᶜid' /jaalis + prepositional phrase

(64) Zal/tamm   fi il-majlaas.

    PERFv. Stay/remain-he   in Def-guest room

    'He stayed in the guest room'.

Here, 'Zal/tamm' are lexical main verbs.

(65) Zal/tamm   gaaᶜid/jaalis   fi il-majlaas.

    PERFv.PROG. he   AP.he-sit   in Def. guest room

    'He was sitting (ongoing action) in the guest room'.

'*Zal/tamm*' are the auxiliary verbs indicating the past tense and the progressive aspect and the continuation of an action that was in progress, and '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*' are the main lexical verbs.

b. Zal/tamm +gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv

(66) Zal/tamm   gaaᶜid/jaalis   ylᶜab   li-iS-SibaH.

    PERFv.PROG. he   PROG.AP.SG.M   IMPFv.he-play   until-Def.morning

    'He was playing (ongoing action) until morning.'

'*Zal/tamm*' function as auxiliaries that carry the tense and denote that the action was already ongoing and continues for a period of time; the active participle is also behaving like an auxiliary and it is also carrying the progressive aspect. Both inflect for agreement in number, person and gender.

On the other hand, *'gaᶜad/jalas'* never appear in these constructions along with 'gaaᶜid/jaalas', which would result in the production of odd sentence.

(67) ?*gaᶜad/jalas   gaaᶜid/jaalis   fi il-majlaas.

    PERFv.PROG.he   AP.he-sit   in Def. guest room

(68) ?*gaᶜad/jalas   gaaᶜid/jaalis   ylᶜab   li-iSibaH.

    PERFv.PROG.he   PROG.AP.SG.M   IMPFv.he-play   until-Def.morning

3.3.5 The active participle of some verbs

Another device to mark the progressive is the active participle of translocative verbs: *'daaxil - coming* in from *daxal, taaliᶜ - coming out* from *Talaᶜ, raagi - going up* from *riiga,* and *Naazil - coming down* from *nizal;* some motion verbs such as *raayh - going* from *raH, jay - coming* from *ja,* and *raajiᶜ - coming back* from *rijaᶜ'*; some activity verbs like '*raakib - getting in*

from *rikab*, *maashi - walking from misha*, *shaayil - carrying* from *shal,* and *raafiᶜ - lifting up* from *rifaᶜ'*; and some state verbs such as the perception verbs, *saamiᶜ - hearing* from *simaᶜ, shaaif - seeing* from *shaf, sham - smelling* from *shamm, Haass - feeling* from *Hass',* and attitude verbs, such as the emotional verbs, *'Haab - loving* from *Hab, ᶜaajib - liking* from *ᶜajab,* and *kaareh - hating* from *karah'*. These participles inflect for number, person and gender, and they occur in all the simple past, present, and in particular, future tenses. Examples are**:**

In the present:

(69) Ashuufah   maashi   gidami.

     IMPRFv. I-see-him   AP.he-walk   in front of me

(70) Ashufah   gaaᶜid/jaalis   yamshi   gidami.

     IMPRFv. I-see-him   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. He-walk   in front of me

     'I see him walking in front of me/I see him, he is walking in front of me'.

There is a slight difference in the meaning between those sentences. Both indicate progressivity, but the first instance provides a description of the action after its start and prior to its end, while in the second, the action is described as it begins and continues.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 25, 26, and 27).

In the past:

The past tense is indicated by verb phrases such as '*Shifthum - I-saw-them'* or by the perfective '*kaana'* .

(71) Il-bizran   kanuu   maashiin   bwiST   ISH-SHariᶜ.

     Def. kid.PL   PERFv.be-they   AP.they-walk   in-middle   Def.street

     'The kids were walking in the middle of the street'.

(72) Shifthum   (w hum)   (kannu)   raakbiin   is-syarah rayhiin il- ᶜirs.

       PERFv.I-see-them (and they) (PERFv.be-they)   AP.they-get in   Def.car   AP.they-go Def.wedding

Here, there are two readings; one reading is: '*I saw them and they were getting in the car',* an ongoing action. The other reading is: '*I saw them and they were already in the car'.* Therefore, it may also denote a state that is a consequence and a reasonable result of an action or at the end of an action. So, there is ambiguity in the meaning. To disambiguate it, sentence with the progressive marker, for example, *'gaaᶜid',* is used to give the first reading or by using the simple form. It should be pointed out, here, that *'kaana'* is optional.

(73) Shifthum   (w hum)   (kannuu)   gaaᶜdiin   yarkbuun
is-syarah rayhiin   il- ᶜirs

     PERFv.I-see-them (and they) (PERFv.be-they) PROG.3PL.M   IMPFv. They-get in
Def.car   AP.they-go Def.wedding

(74) Shiftahum   (w hum)   yarkbuun is-syarah.

   PERFv.I-see-them (and they) IMPFv. They-get in   Def.car

   'I saw them getting in the car' or 'I saw them and they were getting in the car'.

(75) Maghir shaaylah   w   HaaTah   bh-il-kanab.

   Just   AP.she.lift up and   AP.she put with-this-Def.sofa

   'She is just lifting up and putting down that sofa/she keeps moving it from its place'.

Here, it indicates a contingent situation where the action is not necessarily taking place at the moment of speech.

In the future:

(76) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   b/raH   ykuun   raajiᶜ   il-bait.

   Tomorrow   this-Def.time   Fut   IMPFv.be.he   AP.he- come back Def. house

   'Tomorrow at this time he will be coming back home'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 28).

Here, again, there is ambiguity in this example; it either indicates the recent competition of the event, expressing the perfective aspect rather than the progressive, or it may convey a description of the happening after the start and before the end.

(77) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   il-maᶜziim b/raH   ishufunha   naazlah
min/ ᶜla   h-id-daraj.

   Tomorrow   this-Def.time Def.guests Fut   IMPFv.they-see-her AP.She- come
down   from/   on this-Def. stairs

'Tomorrow at this time, the guests will be watching her (and she is) coming down the stairs.'

This example is quite clear in our dialect and it has one reading which is the progressive, which is due to the presence of the preposition *'ᶜla-on'* and the demonstrative '*ha (this)*'. This is the only explanation the researcher could come up with, since without them, two readings are possible.

Furthermore, the active participle of some perception verbs is also used to indicate progressivity, and in particular, to express the durative feature of the progressive, that is, to denote a temporary situation whereby the active participle does not involve or indicate the

start and termination point of the happening. That is why it appears easily with such verbs to indicate progressivity as these verbs do not indicate a process with a beginning point and an end point, unlike the construction with '*gaaᶜid/jaalis'* that indicate the inception of the event and the culmination point can be easily determined with an adverbial. For example:

In the present:

(78) Anna   Shaaif   shay   min   id-driishah.

   I   AP.I.M-see   something   from   Def. window

(79) Anna   gaaᶜid   ashuuf   shay   min   id-driishah.

   I   PROG.1SG.M   IMPFv.I-see   something   from   Def.window

'I am seeing something from the window'.

(See Appendix 2, example 29).

In the past:

(80) Kaanat   shaaifah   ixuhah   w   huu iykub   il-Haliib ᶜla   il-kanab.

   PERFv.be-she   AP.she-see   brothr.POSS(her)   and he   IMPFv.he-pour Def. milk on Def.sofa

   'She was seeing her brother and he was pouring the milk on the sofa'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 30, 31, 32).

(81) Shayfah   Harakatha   w   saaktah.

   PERFv.I-see behaviour.POSS(her)   and AP.I.F.be-silent

   'I am seeing her behaviour and saying nothing about it'.

Here, a contingent situation is indicated.

With other state verbs:

(82) Hii   kaarahh   txSuSSha   ilHiin.

   She   AP.she.hate   major-POSS(her) now

   'She is hating her major now'.

The active participle of state verbs such as '*fahm* from *faham - understand, ᶜaarif* from *ᶜaraf - know'*, are not used to indicate progressivity; they indicate the perfective aspect.

(83) Anna   faahmah   il-muZuᶜ

    I   AP. I.F   Def.topic.

    'I have understood the topic'.

3.3.6 The prepositional phrase fiᶜizz + verbal nouns

Similar to KA, the prepositional phrase *'fi -ᶜizz'* followed by a definite verbal noun is one of the means used to express the progressive aspect in HA to denote action intensity whereby the subject is in the middle of the action that is in progress. It also conveys the meaning of '*in the middle of*' or '*in the process of*'. '*Fiᶜizz'* does not inflect for number, person or gender of the subject noun phrase and it appears, normally, with animate subjects; however, an example with an inanimate subject was found as can be seen in the following examples:

(84) *Il-malaf fiᶜizz   it-tiHimil.

     Def. file.PL PROG   Def- VN**. -**down load.

    *'the files are in the middle of downloading'.

 (85) il-Haram   fiᶜizz   at-taSliHat.

     Def-Holy Mosque PROG(in the middle/process of)   Def- VN.repair.PL

    'The Holy Mosque is in the middle of repairs (being repaired)'.

It should be pointed out that the Arabic verbal noun may be translated by the English (v + ing). Activity and frequency verbs seem to occur in this construction easily in all tenses. *'Fiᶜizz'* can be also followed by a noun to indicate a location in time, as in '*fiᶜizz il-Har/ ilgailah/ il-layl- In the middle of heat /noon/night'*.

With activity verbal N

In the present:

(86) Anna   fiᶜizz   at-taslimat.

     I   PROG (in the middle/process of) Def- VN. Submit

'I am in the middle of submitting (my assignments)'.

(87) alHiin Nora fiᶜizz   il-karf   w   mma tigdar tHik   rasha   Hata.

    now   Nora   PROG (in the middle/process of) Def- VN. Work hard and Neg IMPFv.she-can   IMPFv.she-scratch head-POSS(her) even

'Nora is in the middle of working and she cannot even scratch her head (do anything else)'.

(See Appendix 2 for another example, 33).

In the past:

(88) iT-Tulab   kaanuu   fiᶜizz   il-mudhakrah   the last two weeks.

  Def.student.PL   PERFv be-they   PROG (in the middle/process of) Def. VN.study Def. last two weeks

'The students were in the middle of studying the last two weeks'.

This form cannot be followed by an imperfective form. However, there are some instances in which it is not directly followed by an imperfective form of the verb or the active participle, where it is preceded by '*maa-when/while*' and a subject noun or pronoun, particularly in the imperfective past construction. An example is:

(89) Kalmatni   fiᶜizz   maa   anna ashtighil.

  PERFv. She-talk-me PROG(in the middle/process of)   (when)   I   IMPFv.I-work

'She talked to me (when) I was in the middle of working'.

The following examples have a habitual reading:

(90) fiᶜizz   maa   huu   yakil   maa   iyHib aHad ykalmah.

  PROG(in the middle/process of)   (while) he   IMPFv.he –eat   Neg   IMPFv.he-like one

IMPFv-talk-him

'He does not like anyone to talk to him while he is in the middle of eating'.

(91) fiᶜizz   maa   anna Saym   la   tikalmini.

   In the middle of   (when)   I   AP.I-fast Neg   IMPFv.talk- to me

'When/while I am fasting, do not talk to me'.

In the future:

(92) iHna il-ithnayn   il-jay   b/raH nkuun   fiᶜizz ish-shighil

  we   Def.Monday Def.coming   Fut.   IMPFv.be-we   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.work

'We will be in the middle of working next Monday'.

With frequency verbal N

In the present:

(93) hadhahii   fiᶜizz   it-tirissil   ᶜlashan ramaZan ma xalat   aHad ma arsalat   l-ah.

        this-she   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def- VN.send for   RamDan Neg PERFv.she-leave one Neg PERFv.she-send to-him

'Here she is in the middle of sending (repeatedly and continuously) messages because of RamDan and she left no one'.

In the past:

(94) kinna   fi fiᶜizz   it-tikittib.

PERFv.be-we PROG(in the middle/process of)   Def. VN.Freq.write

'We were in the middle of writing'.

In the future:

(95) il-ᶜaruusah b/raH   tikuun   fiᶜizz   it-tiSuwir

bukrah.

        Def. pride   Fut   IMPFv.be.she   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN. take-photos tomorrow

'The pride will be in the middle of taking photos tomorrow'.

(96) il-Hareem   b/raH   ikunuun   fiᶜizz   it-tiTTbix (tuul RamZan)

    Def.woman.PL   Fut   IMPFv.be.they   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.cook(repeatedly and continuously) all RamDan

Again, the imperfective form of '*kanna*'and the future marker is a must, contrary to the case in KA as the following is not generally used:

(97) ?il-Hareem   fiᶜizz it-tiTbix ish-shahar il-jay

        ?Def.woman.PL   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.cook(repeatedly and continuously) Def.month Def.coming

With state verbal N

Normally, '*fiᶜizz*' does not occur with stative verbal nouns, but there are certain contexts where it naturally does, especially with some emotional verbal nouns. In addition, it is not

necessarily used to denote a state in a sarcastic way, like in KA where it is very rare to have state verbs in this construction (al-Najjar, 2000). An example is:

(98) tara   il-ʔax   fiᶜizz   il-Hub.

     (I tell you)   the –brother   in the middle of   the-love

     'Our friend is in love' (al-Najjar, 2000).

The following state verbs never appear with '*fiᶜizz':

'fiᶜizz il-fihim-understanding/ il-maᶜrifah-knowing/*is-samᶜ-hearing'*, whereas the following show some examples where they do.

In the present:

(99) maskeenah layla   hadhahii fiᶜizz   il-mHatah bsibat   il-ixtibarat.

        poor-3SG.F Layla this-she   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.worry because of   Def.exam.PL

'Poor Layla, here she is being worried because of the exams'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 34, 35, 36).

(100) Hadhahum fiᶜizz   Hiznhum   yaZHkuun.

        This-them PROG(in the middle/process of)   VN..be-sad-their   IMPFv.they-laugh

'Here they are in the middle of sadness, (being sad) (and they are) laughing'.

In the past:

(101) Kannuu   fiᶜizz   Hiznhum   yaZHkuun

        PERFv.be-they (in the middle/process of)   VN.be-sad-their   IMPFv.they-laugh

'They used to laugh in their sadness'.

Here, in the past, a different meaning is conveyed. There is a habitual reading in this instance. However, with the addition of 'w-and' before the imperfective verb *'yaZHkuun'*, we can also get the progressive reading.

(102) Kinna   fiᶜizz   il-wanassah   illa janna il-xabar ish-shayn.

PERFv.be-we   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN. be-excited (excitement) when(to our surprise) PERFv. Come-to us Def.news Def.bad

'We were in the middle of excitement (being excited) when we heard the bad news'.

(See Appendix 2, example 37).

In the future:

(103) b/raH itkuun   fiᶜizz   al²lam   b-il-layl
l²nah   b-yruuH   mafᶜul   il-muxadir

       Fut   IMPFv.be-she   PROG(in the middle of)   Def. VN. feel pain-she in Def.night because Fut.IMPFv. go away   effect   of Def.drug

'She will be in pain because the drug effect will go away at night'.

(See Appendix 2, example 38).

Accomplishment verbal nouns

Normally, accomplishment verbs do not seem to appear in this construction.

(104)* fiᶜizz   banni   il-bayt.

      *In the middle of   Def. VN.build   Def.house

(105) * Salim kaan   fiᶜizz   il-ghassil (ghassil)   is-syarah   lamma shiftah

       *Salim PERFv.be-he In the middle of   Def. VN.wash   Def. car   when PERFv. I-see-him

(See Appendix 2 for other future examples, 39).

These sentences are ungrammatical as accomplishment verbals have a beginning, middle and culmination at which it is understood that the subject has just begun and is in the middle reaching the end, whereas the presence of *'fiᶜizz'* involves only the middle stage of the happening and does not indicate the other stages. As for its appearance with **motion verbals** such as '*id-daxlah - coming in, ir-ruuHah - going, in-nazlah - coming down, IT-Talᶜah - going out/up*', these verbs also normally involve the beginning, middle and culmination of the situation and they involve a culmination goal. So, it is ungrammatical as well for the progressive marker *'fiᶜizz'* to occur with them.

(106) *Anna   fiᶜizz   in-nazlah   min   id-daraj.

       I   in the middle of   Def. **VN**.come down from   Def.stairs

(See Appendix 2, example 40).

3.3.6.1 Appearance of gaaᶜid/jaalis - fiᶜizz in the same construction

(107)Nora   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   takrif   fiᶜizz   il-Har.

      Nora   PROG.SG.F   IMPFv.she-work hard   in the middle of   Def.heat

'Nora is working hard in the middle of the heat'.

Here, *'gaaᶜid/jaalis'* are the progressive markers and 'fiᶜizz' is a locative prepositional phrase that indicates the time of the situation.

Chapter 4

4. Negation and Means of Progressivity in Hassawi Ar

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a short review of negation in GA and spoken Arabic, particularly the verbal negation. It also deals with the negation of the various progressivity means discussed in the previous chapter, including which negation particles are used with each and its position and its semantic effect on the sentence.

Negation in GA is divided into two classes according to Holes (1990). First is the sentential negation, which includes '*maa*' immediately before both perfective and imperfective verbs and is the verbal negation (Brustad, 2000); '*laa*' which is followed by imperatives and '*laa..walla*' are used with coordinated clauses. The second category is the constituent negation and includes '*mu*' and its variants '*mub*', which is not common in KA, and '*mu,muhub,hub*', which are also used to negate adjectives, the adjectival participles and the verbal participles, and to negate nouns, prepositions, adverbs and pronouns (Johnstone, 1967). There is also the negative particle or what is referred to as a 'negative copula', and that is a combination of a verbal negation particle and a personal pronoun. An example is the negation marker '*maa*' or '*maa-sh*' prefixed to independent personal pronouns such as '*maani*' for 1SG, '*mihnaa*' for 1PL, '*mant*' for 2SG.M, '*minti*' for 2SG.F, '*mintu*' or '*mantu*' for 2PL, '*muhu*' or '*mahu*' for 3SG.M, '*mahii*' for 3SG.F '*muhum*' for 3LP, and maHHad in KA. Here, the form marked for verbal negation is used to negate nominal forms, prepositional phrases and adjectives (Wilmsen, 2014; Holes, 1990; Brustad, 2000). '*Mu*' is also prefixed with a personal pronoun '*mi*' = '*ma hii*', which is used to negate feminine noun phrases and adjectives.

The HA dialect has several negation markers, '*ma, mu, mub, mush, la*' and the negative copula. They are commonly used in HA and each progressivity device selects a specific negation marker depending on its type.

4.2 Negation of the Simple Form

Since this construction mainly consists of the imperfective form of the verb, as found in the literature, this form is negated with '*maa*' which is placed before the IMPF.verb in the present, before '*kaana*' in the past, and before the future marker in the future.

In the present:

(1) Nora maa   titgahwa   fi il-majlas (ilHiin).

   Nora Neg. IMPFv. She- Drink coffee.   in Def. Guest room (now)

   'Nora is not drinking coffee in the guest room'.

(2) hdhahii   maa   tiTbax al ghda(alHiin).

   this-she Neg   IMPFv.She -Cook. Lunch (now)

   'Here she is not cooking lunch now'.

In the past:

(3) maa   kaan   yaktib   il-wajib.

   Neg   PERFv.be-he IMPFv.he –write   Def. homework

   'He was not writing the homework'.

It has been noticed that when this form of the progressive is preceded by what is mentioned above as a specific verb phrase, such as '*shiftah*' or '*ashuufah*' whether in the present or the past, the position of the negation marker '*maa*' semantically affects the meaning of the sentence. To illustrate, if '*maa*' appears before the imperfective form, it only negates the action, but if it appears before '*shiftah*', it only negates '*shiftah*' and it means '*I did not see him writing*', but it does not necessarily mean nor is there any indication that '*he was not writing*', and it may be possible that '*he was writing, but I did not see him*'. This is made clear in the following examples:

(4) Shiftah   Maa (kaan)   yaktib   il-wajib.

   PERF. I-see-him   Neg (PERFv.be-he) IMPFv. He-write   Def. Homework

   'I saw him, he was not writing the homework'.

(5) Maa   Shiftah   yaktib   il-wajib.

   Neg   PERFv. I-see-him   IMPFv. He-write   Def. Homework

   'I did not see him writing the homework'.

In the future, '*maa*' is used to negate this form of the progressive and it is placed before the future marker.

(6) Nora maa b/raH   itkuun   tiTbax   il-ghda.

   Nora Neg   Fut   IMPFv.be-she   IMPFv.she-cook   Def.lunch

   'Nora will not be cooking lunch'.

The imperfective form of the verb in the GA and its dialects is negated by '*maa*' and it is not negated by '*mu*', its variant '*mush*' and the negative copula '*mahuu* for 3SG.M, *manii* FOR 2SG(F/M), *mahuum* for 3PL(F/M) …'; in this construction of the progressive, it has been found that '*mu*' is also used in some instances and it imposes a specific meaning to the sentence. Let's consider the following examples:

(7) Nora muu   titgahwa   fi il-majlas (ilHiin),   Nora tit‘sha.

    Nora Neg. IMPFv.she- drink coffee.   in Def. Guest room (now)   Nora IMPFv. She-eat dinner

'Nora is not drinking coffee in the guest room. She is eating dinner'.

By comparing examples (6) and (7), there is a clear difference between them. The latter indicates that '*Nora is not drinking coffee*' and she is doing something else, while in the former, there is no indication that she is doing something else. (6) Can appear with '*Nora tit‘sha*' and it can do without it, but (7) must be followed by '*Nora tit‘sha*' to show that she is doing something else. So, '*mu*' appears with the imperfective in this construction to indicate that the subject is not doing something and necessarily doing something else, and it is important that the other action is said, otherwise the sentence is odd and unacceptable and '*maa*' is used instead. Another example is:

(8) aHmad   mu   ydhakir   illa   mgaTi‘ nafsah   min   il-mudhakarah

    Ahamad   Neg   IMPFv. he- study,   but(here it means in fact)   AP. he-cut himself From Def. Studying

'Ahmad is not only studying, he is studying hard (knocking himself out)'.

Here, '*mu*' precedes the imperfective form not to indicate that the subject is doing another activity, but to intensify the first action.

4.3 Negation of the Active Participles gaa‘id/jaalis + IMPFv

In this means of progressivity, '*maa*' never precedes the active participle as it is formed from the active participle, which could only be negated by '*mu*', its variant '*mush*', and the negative copula '*mahuu, manii, maHna …*', obeying the same rules found in the literature about spoken Arabic. However, in the past and the future, '*maa*' is used as it does not directly precede the active participle; it appears before '*kaana*' in the past and before the future marker. Examples are:

In the present:

(9) Al-Hareem   muu/mush/mahum gaa‘diin/ jaalsiin   iysulfuun   ‘n al‘irs   (alHin)

Def-woman.PL   Neg   PROG. F.PL   IMPFv. They-talk about Def.wedding (now)

'The women are not taking about the wedding now'.

In the past:

(10) Ahmad   maa   kaan   gaaᶜid/jaalis   iyshuuf   al-mbarah   maᶜa   aSdigah   lamma   itiSalt   ᶜlih.

      Ahmad   Neg   PERFv.-be. he   PROG . M.SG   IMPFv.he-watch   Def-game

 with   friends. POSS(his)   when   PERv. I-call   on-him

'Ahmad was not watching the match with his friends when I called him (came)'.

In the future:

(11) Il-isbuuᶜ   il-jay   Nora   maa (b/raH) tikuun   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tiTbbix   l-iZ-ziuuf.

      Def.-week   Def-coming   Nora   Neg   FUT.   IMPFv.be-she   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv. Freq. she- cook   for-Def-guest-PL

'Next week, Nora will not be cooking (continuously) for the guests'.

4.4 Negation of PERF.gaᶜad/jalas and Zal/tamm +IMPF.verb

Here, '*maa*' is normally used as it consists of the perfective form of the verb, as seen in the literature of Arabic dialects, and the GA, in particular, is negated only by '*maa*' and here another difference between '*gaᶜad/jalas*' and '*Zal/tamm*' +IMPF.verb is found. Let's consider the following examples:

(12) Sammi   maa   gaᶜad/jalas   ythakir   l-is-subaH.

    Sami   Neg   PERFv.PROG-he   IMPFv. He-study   until-Def-morning

   'Sami was not studying until morning'.

(13) Sammi maa   Zal/tamm   ydhakir   l-is-subahH.

    Sami   Neg   PERFv.PROG-he   IMPFv. He-study   until-Def-morning

   'Sami was not studying (ongoing action) until morning'.

(14) Sammi Zal/tamm   maa   ydhakir.

    Sami   PERFv. He-used to   Neg   IMPFv. He-study

   'Sami used to not study'.

   'Sami was not studying'.

(15) Sammi Zal/tamm   maa   ydhakir   w   bas   yilᶜab.

     Sami   PERFv. He-used to   Neg   IMPFv.he-study   and   just
IMPFv.he.play

     'Sami used to not study and he used to just play'.

(16) Sammi Zal/tamm   maa   ydhakir   w   bas   yilᶜab
l-ilsubah.

     Sami   PERF.PROG- he Neg   IMPFv. He-study   and   just   IMPFv.He-play
until-Def-morning

'Sami was not studying and he was just playing until morning'.

(17) Sammi   Zal/tamm   maa   ydhakir   (ghayr)   b-il-
laayl.

     Sami   perfective. He –used to   Neg   IMPFv.he-study   except   at-
Def- night

'Sami used to not study except at night'. It also entails that 'Sami used to study at night'.

Without (ghayr), the meaning conveyed is '*Sami used to not study at night*'.

These examples show that '*gaᶜad/jalas*' are preceded by '*maa*' to indicate that the action was not happening in the past, but with '*Zal/tamm*', the examples show that '*maa*' may appear either before '*Zal/tamm*' or after them, preceding the imperfective form. What is interesting, here, is that the position of '*maa*' has an effect on the meaning and the aspect presented by the sentences. Both (12) and (13) almost convey the same meaning, except for the difference in meaning they show as discussed before, which is that 'Zal/tamm' indicate that the action was already in progress. Example (14) shows that when '*maa*' is placed after the marker '*Zal/tamm*', and the adverbials are absent, the progressive reading is no longer the only reading conveyed, and the other reading we can get is the habitual interpretation. With the addition of the adverbial '*l-ilsubah*', again it gives the progressive reading. In the last example, the effect of negation and the adverbial is clear. It expresses habituality and a state

Similar to what is found in the simple form to denote progressivity with the use of '*muu*' to negate the imperfective form, the perfective form '*gaᶜad/jalas*' and '*Zal/tamm*' are also negated by '*muu*' and its variants. Examples are:

(18) Sammi   mu   gaᶜad/jalas   ythakir   illa   (gaᶜad/jalas)
ylᶜab   sonni   l-is-subaH.

     Sami   Neg   PERFv.PROG-he IMPFv. He-study , but(infact)   (PERF.PROG-he)
IMPF.he-play Sony   until-Det-morning

'Sami was not studying; in fact, he was playing Sony until morning'.

(19) aHmad   muu   gaᶜad/jalas   ydhakir   illa   (kaan)
mmauuit   nafsah   min il-mudhakarah.

Ahamad   Neg   PERFv.PROG-he   IMPFv. he-study, but(in fact) (PERFv.be-he)
AP. he-kill   himself From GER. Studying

'Ahmad was not only studying, he was studying hard- (knocking himself out)'.

(20) Sammi mu   Zal/tamm   ydhakir   illa   (Zal/tamm)
yilᶜab.   l-ilsubah

Sami   Neg   PERFv.PROG- he   IMPF. He-study   but   (PERFv.PROG- he)
IMPFv.he-play until-Def-morning

'Sami was not studying, but (in fact) he was playing (ongoing action) until morning'.

(21) Sammi Zal/tamm   mu   ydhakir   illa   (Zal/tamm)   yilᶜab.

Sami PERFv. PROG-he Neg   IMPFv. he-study ,but   PERFv. PROG-he
PERFv.he-play

'Sami used to not study, but he used to play'.

'Sami was not studying, but he was playing'.

Because of the use of '*mu'* and its variants, these examples also exhibit that the subject is either doing another action or doing the same action but intensively and strongly. Thus, the second clause (part of the sentence that indicates the other action or the intensity of the action) is obligatory.

'*Mu*' with '*Zal/tamm*' is just like '*maa*' in that it can be located either before or after the progressive device causing a change in the meaning. In the last example, the ambiguity discussed previously still exists and there are two readings: habitual or progressive. The additional meaning that there is another action the subject is doing is due to the presence of '*mu'*.

4. 5 Negation of the Imperfective Form of the Verbs gaᶜad/jalas and Zal/tamm

Not many examples can be found for this construction, and the only construction found in the present tense does not appear in the negation construction. However, the future construction is negated by '*maa*' placed before the future marker and yagᶜid /yajlis, and before or after iyizil/iyitim.

In the future:

(22) Maa b-/raH yagᶜid /yajlis   ydhakir   tuul il-lil.

    Neg Fut   IMPFv.PROG.3SG.M   IMPFv.he-study all Def.night

'He will not be studying all night'.

(23) Maa b-/raH   iyizil/yitim   ydhakir   tuul   il-lil.

    Neg   Fut   IMPFv.PROG.3SG.M   IMPFv.he-study all   Def.night

'He will not (ongoing action) be studying all night'.

(24) b-/raH   iyizil/iyitim   maa ydhakir   ((ghayr) b-il-layl)

    Fut   IMPFv. 3SG.M   Neg   IMPFv.he-study ((except) in Def.night)

'He will never study except at night'.

Here, it gives us a habitual interpretation, while in the following example; it gives us a progressive reading.

(25) b-/raH   yizil/yitim   maa   ydhakir   tuul il-lil.

    Fut   IMPFv.PROG 3SG.M Neg   IMPFv.he-study all   Def.night

'He will not be studying (ongoing action) all night'.

As discussed with the perfective progressive marker '*Zal/tamm*' and '*gaᶜad/jalas*', '*yagᶜid /yajlis*' and '*iyiZil/iyitimm*' in the future show the same behaviour and the same difference in meaning and aspect due to the position of the negation particle.

4.6 Negation of the Active Participle of Some Verbs

Here, '*muu*', its variants and the negative copula are used to negate the active participle that is functioning semantically as a means of the progressive aspect. And similar to the previous expressions, '*maa*' is used in the future and the past and, here again, '*mu*' can also be used if it is placed before the active participle with no clear effect on the meaning of the sentence. '*Maa*' is also used in the present if there are perfective/imperfective verb phrases '*ashuufah/shiftah*', for example, that indicate the present/past tense, respectively.

In the present:

(26) aHmad muu/mush/mahuu nazil min/ᶜala id-darage shaklah

nazil bil-lift.

   Ahmad NEG AP.he-come down from/on Def-stairs look like
AP.he-come down by-Def.lift

'Ahmad is not coming down the stairs; it looks like he is taking the lift'.

(27) Maa asuufah Taliᶜ min il-bayit.

   NEG IMPFv. I-see-him AP.he-come out from Def.house

'I do not see him coming out of the house'.

Here, perhaps '*he is coming out of the house, but I don't see him*'. There is no indication that '*he is not coming out of the house*'; maybe he is and I cannot see him.

(28) Asuufah muu Taliᶜ min il-bayit.

   IMPFv. I-see-him Neg AP.he-come out from Def.house

'I see that he is not coming out of the house'. Here, there is a clear indication that 'he is not coming out of the house'.

In the past:

(29) Maa Shifthum massiin ᶜ la ir-riSeef.

   Neg PERFv.I-see-them AP.they-walk on Def.pavement

'I did not see them walking on the pavement', but 'maybe they were' can be added here.

(30) Shifthum muu massiin ᶜ la ir-riSeef.

   PERFv.I-see-them Neg AP.they-walk on Def.pavement

'I saw them not walking on the pavement'.

(31) Shifthum muu massiin ᶜla ir-riSeef kanuu
mashiin bwiST ISH-SHariᶜ

   PERFv.I-see-them Neg AP.they-walk on Def. pavement PERFv.be-they
AP.they-walk

In the middle Def.street

'I saw them not walking on the pavement; they were walking in the middle of the street'.

The second part can be added, but it is not obligatory and it can be deleted.

In the future:

(32) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   maa b-/raH ykuun   raji^c   il-bait.

      Tomorrow   this-Def.time Neg Fut   IMPF.be-he   AP.he come back Def.house

(33) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   b-/raH ykuun   muu   raji^c   il-bait

      Tomorrow   this-Def.time   Fut   IMPF.be-he Neg   AP.he come back
Def.house

Just like in the affirmative sentence, there are two interpretations for this sentence in this construction. It expresses either the completion of the happening or a description of the happening after it starts and before it ends.

'At this time tomorrow, he will not be coming back (on his way) home'.

'At this time tomorrow, he will not be home'.

(34) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   il-ma^cziim   mma b-/raH   ishufunha   nazlah
min/ ^cla   h-id-daraj.

      Tomorrow   this-Def.time Def.guests Neg   Fut   IMPFv.I-see-her AP.he-
come down from/on   Def.stairs

'At this time tomorrow, the guests will not see her coming down the stairs'.

It was discussed earlier that only translocative, some motion verbs, and some activity and state verbs appear in this construction to denote the progressive aspect. However, surprisingly, some examples in the negation construction show that the active participle of almost all the activity verbs and also some accomplishment verbs are used to express the progressive aspect. This leads us to think that there is a negation effect playing a role here as the participles of these verbs denote a totally different meaning in the affirmative instances. Let's consider the following examples:

In the present:

AP of activity verbs

(35) Muu/mush manii laa^cbah   ma^ckum.

    Neg   AP.I-play with-you

   'I am not playing with you'.

(36) muu/ mush/ mahu gaarii   il-qiSah   alHiin.

    Neg   AP.he-read   Def.story now

   'He is not reading the story now'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 41, 42).

AP of accomplishment verbs

(37) hum muu/mush/mahuu   kaatbiin   il-wajib   alHiin.

    they Neg   AP.THEY-write   Def.homework now

   'They are not writing their homework now'.

(38) Nora hawanat   mm/ mahii baaniah   il-bayit   alHiin.

    Nora PERFv.she-change(her mind) Neg   AP.she-build Def.house now

   'Nora changed her mind; she is not building the house now'.

(See Appendix 2 for more examples, 43, 44).

In the past:

With the addition of *'kaana'*

(39) Maa kaan   laaᶜ ib   maᶜhum.

    Neg PERFv.be-he AP.he-play   with them

   'He was not playing with them'.

(40) Kaan   muu/mush/mahuu laaᶜ ib   maᶜhum.

    PERFv.be-he Neg   AP.he-play   with them

'He was not planning to play with them, but he changed his mind'.

It is clear here that the position of the negation and the use of '*mu*' and its variants changed the meaning of the sentence.

In the future:

(41) Maa b-/raH ykuun   laaᶜ ib   maᶜhum.

    Neg Fut   PERFv.be-he   AP.he-play with them

   'He will not be playing with them'.

(42) ?b-/raH   ykuun   muu/mush mahuu laaᶜ ib   maᶜhum.

    Fut   PERFv.be-he   Neg   AP.he-play   with them

The last sentence is odd and is not used.

These instances are totally acceptable and grammatical and they denote progressivity; on the other hand, the following examples are not without the negation marker.

(43) *aHmad   gaarii   il-qiSah alHiin.

       Ahmad   AP.he-read   Def.story now

       '*Ahmad has read the book now'.

(44) *ᶜali mmSaliH   is-syarah alHiin.

       Ali AP.he-repair Def.car   now

       '*Ali has repaired the car now'.

The deletion of the adverbial '*alHiin-now*' will provide us with grammatical sentences; however, it does not give us sentences denoting the progressive aspect.

(45) aHmad   gaarii   il-qiSah.

       Ahmad   AP.he-read Def.story

(46) ᶜali   mmSaliH   is-syarah.

       Ali   AP.he-repair   Def.car

     The only reading of these sentences is '*Ahmad has read the book*', '*Ali has repaired the car*' some time in the past. So, it provides us with the perfective reading.

4.7 Negation of the Prepositional Phrase fiᶜizz + Verbal Noun

This device of progressivity is only negated by '*mu*', its variant '*mush*' and the negative copula '*mahuu, mahii*', as it is formed from a prepositional phrase. In the spoken Arabic dialects, it is negated by '*mu*', its variants and the negative copula, and it is only negated by '*maa*' in the future and the past instances. However, these instances in the future and in the past may take the negation marker '*mu*' and its variants if the negation marker is directly before the progressive marker 'fiᶜizz' and no difference in meaning is noticed.

In the present:

(47) alHiin Nora muu/mush/mahii fiᶜizz   il-karf.

       now   Nora   Neg   PROG (in the middle/process of) Def.VN. Work hard.

'Nora is not working hard'.

In the future:

(48) h-il-wagt   bukrah   maa   B-/raH akuun   fiᶜizz
is-saᶜadah   fi   jamᶜat ahali;   Ahmad   mahuu   hinak.

    this-Def. time tomorrow   Neg   Fut   IMPFv.be.I   PROG(in the middle of)
Def. **VN**.(be-happy/happiness) in   gathering family-POSS(my)' Ahmad Neg   there.

(49) h-il-wagt   bukrah   b-/raH akuun   mush/muu/manii fiᶜizz
is-saᶜadah   fi jamᶜat ahali;   Ahmad   mahu   hinak.

    this-Def. time tomorrow   Fut   IMPFv.be.I   Neg   PROG(in the
middle of) Def. VN. (be-happy/happiness) in gathering family-POSS(my)' Ahmad   Neg
there

'At this time tomorrow, I will not be happy in my family gathering, because Ahmad is not
there'.

In the past:

(50) maa Kinna   fiᶜizz   il-wanassah
lamma   janna   il-xabar   ish-shayn.

    Neg PERFv.be-we   PROG(in the middle of) Def. VN. be-excited(excitement)
when   PERFv. Come-to us   Def.news   Def.bad

(51) Kinna   muu/mush maHna fiᶜizz   il-wanassah
lamma   janna   il-xabar   ish-shayn.

    PERFv.be-we   Neg   PROG(in the middle of)   Def. VN. be-
excited(excitement) when(to our surprise) PERFv. Come-to us Def.news Def.bad

'We were not in the middle of excitement (being excited) when we heard the bad news'.

Chapter 5

5.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces Anderson's localistic theory. The progressivity expressions in HA are also briefly discussed in this chapter in relation to Anderson's localistic theory.

5.2 Anderson's Localistic Theory and the Progressive in HA

Because of the overt similarities found in many languages between the formal constructions that denote locative interpretation and the structures used to denote the progressive interpretation, Anderson proposes his aspect localistic theory, in which semantically a natural similarity relationship, but not an equivalent relationship, exists between locative structures and specific verbal aspect and expressions. He suggests that the notions of location and direction are involved in many aspectual distinctions. Particularly, in his theory, it has been argued that there is an association between the progressive aspect and the locative predication. He suggests that 'the progressive is analysed as predicating location – in-existence-at-a-certain-time of the event whose predicate is the "main verb"' (Ard, 1979).

There are many locative expressions, such as preposition, verb, noun, particle, which are used to express the progressive aspect (al-Najjar, 2000). According to Comrie (1976), this, cross-linguistically, is common phenomena. Comrie (1975) also notes that in many languages, the parallelism between the two constructions expresses a similarity relationship rather than equivalence or absolute identity. He also notes that this parallelism is sometimes found to be due to historical changes. One example is in English, '*they had been fighting*' comes from an older version, '*they had been at a(t) fighting*'(Ard, 1979; Comrie, 1975/6). In older English language stages, there was an overt locative progressive form where a locative preposition, normally *'at'* and sometimes *'in', 'on' or 'a',* is followed by a verbal noun as in '*Fred's been a-singing'* (Comrie, 1976). For instance, in English, they say '*he is in/at work'* to say that '*he is working*. Despite the existence of overtly locative paraphrases such as '*he is at work'*, the expression '*he is working'* in modern English exhibits no trace of a locative structure (Comrie, 1976).

Another example from English that shows that a locative expression is used to express progressive meaning is '*in the process of'.* To express this progressive meaning, expressions in other languages have the same meaning as the English expression *'in the process of'*, such as in French, *'être en train de' a sin je suis en train d'écrire une littre', 'I am (in the process of) writing a letter'* (Comrie, 1976).

Anderson provides many examples from several languages as evidence for his theory. In a Germanic language such as Dutch, the overtly locative construction is used to express progressive meaning, *'Hij is aan het tuinieren',* which means *'he is gardening',* and the literal meaning is *'he is at/on the gardening'* (Comrie, 1976). Although, Icelandic has a regular progressive form, a verb '*to be'* followed by a preposition is used to denote progressivity. For instance, *'Jeg er að lesa- I am reading'*.

In some languages, locative verbs are used as auxiliaries to express progressivity. One example is from Italian in which the locative verb 'stare' which means *'stand'* is used as a progressive marker, *'sto cantando - I am singing'*. In Spanish, *'estoy cantando - I am singing'*, and in Portuguese, *'estou cantando - I am singing'*, all come from the Latin verb *'stare-stand'*. In Mandarin Chinese, *'t'zhùzai'*, which literally means '*live at*', is used to express progressivity. In northern Indian languages, the perfect participle form of the verb '*rehna*' from (Hindi-Urdu) and '*rəýna*' from(Punjabi), which means '*live, stay, remain*', is used as an overt expression to express the progressive aspect as in *'Mðy cəl rəha hũ /Punjabi Mðy ja rýa vã literally - I go having-remained am'*.

(See Appendix 3 for more examples from other languages, 8).

The second progressive marker in this study, '*gaa ᶜid*', and its synonym, '*jaalis*', come from locative verbs '*ga ᶜad*' and '*jalas*', which mean '*sit, stay, remain*', and indicate a location in time and space and allude to '*in*', '*at*' situations. Thus, this form entails that the subject is in or at a specific situation. For example:

(1) hum ga ᶜdiin/jaalsiin yal ᶜbuun.

　　They PROG.PL.M　　IMPFv.they-play

　　'They are playing'.

Here, it entails that '*they are in the process of playing*'.

The same thing applies for the perfective forms of the locative verbs, '*ga ᶜad/jalas*', '*Zal/tamm*', and the imperfective forms of these locative verbs; the subject is located temporarily or spatially. An example is:

(2) igaᶜduu/ijlisauu　　ydhakiruun　　　　tuul il-lyuum.

　　 PROG.PL.M　　　IMPFv.they-play all the day

　 'They were studying the whole day', also entails that 'they were in the process of studying'.

The subject, here, is located in one situation where there is one action or event over a short period of time.

Furthermore, the locative preposition '*fi*' is used and the intensity noun '*ᶜizz*', which denotes the centre or the height of a process that is in progress. '*fiᶜizz*' is also used to indicate location in time or space in KA, as in the following examples:

(3) fiᶜzz　　　　　　il-layl　　gaᶜdah　　　tiTbax.

　 In the middle of Def.night   PROG-SG.F IMPFv.she-cook

　 'She is cooking in the middle of the night'.

(4) ᶜali ilhiin gaaᶜid iysiid fiᶜizz il-bahar.

ᶜali now PROG.-M.S IMPFv.-he-fish in the-middle of the sea

'Now, Ali is fishing in the middle of the sea' (al-Najjar-2000).

In HA, it only indicates the location in time rather than in space. There is another expression found in the dialect to indicate the location spatially, which is 'fi-niS', which literally means 'in-half'.

The last form is the active participle of translocative, motion verbs.

(5) wayn daxil?

Where AP.you-come in?

'Where are you coming in?'

Here, the subject is located in space. It also has a nominal character.

To conclude, the subject is located temporarily or spatially in time or space with these HA progressive expressions.

5. Conclusion and Future Directions

To conclude, this study sheds light on the common devices denoting the progressive aspect in the Hassawi dialect which is a Saudi Arabic variation. The progressive aspect in Hassawi as a spoken dialect is commonly used. This research data shows that common meanings of the progressive aspect are conveyed in HA, including temporariness and incompletion of the action that is in progress for a limited period of time, duration,contingent situations and in some cases, the 'temporal frame effect'.

One of the main findings in this study is that there are 13 means to express progressivity found in HA, four of which are found in the literature. As the use of the progressive is expanding, this researcher expects that more will be found in the dialect. There is the imperfective form of some verbs and that is the simple form used in MSA. Also, the active participle, '*gaaᶜid*', is used in many Arabic dialects such as Kuwaiti Ar, Tunisian Ar, Moroccan Ar, Iraqi Ar, Syrian Desert dialect, Bahraini Ar, Sudani Ar and Maltese Arabic.

Another significant finding is that not only is the active participle '*gaaᶜid*' of the perfective form of the verb '*gaᶜad*', meaning '*sit, remain, stay*', followed by the imperfective form used to express progressivity as found in many dialects of the spoken Arabic, but also the perfective form '*gaᶜad*' is also used and the imperfective form of '*gaᶜad*', which is '*yagᶜid*' in certain constructions. All of these forms are followed by the imperfective form and they show agreement with the subject noun phrase in number, person and gender. Thirdly, it has been found that not only are '*gaaᶜid, gaᶜad and yagᶜid*' used to denote that the action is in progress, but also their synonyms, '*jaalis, jalas, yajlis*', syntactically and semantically behave the same;

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they are all followed by the imperfective form of verbs, they inflect for number, person and gender, they appear in the same constructions of '*gaaᶜid, gaᶜad and yagᶜid*', and they are naturally used interchangeably with no noticeable difference in meaning.

Furthermore, '*tamm*', which means '*stay, remain, finished*', and '*Zal*' meaning '*stay, remain, continue*', are also found in HA to denote progressivity. They are also used interchangeably with no clear difference in meaning.

There is a difference in meaning between '*Zal/tamm*' and '*gaᶜad/ jalas*'. '*Zal/tamm*' indicate continuation of an action that already started, answering the question '*until when*', and accordingly, adverbials denoting the beginning of the event do not appear with '*Zal/tamm*', while '*gaᶜad/ jalas*' denote inception of the action and continuation. Another difference is that an action repetition is indicated by '*Zal/tamm*', followed by accomplishment verbs, whereas with '*gaᶜad/ jalas*' followed by the same verbs, the continuation of the action until its end is indicated. Furthermore, unlike '*gaᶜad/ jalas*', '*Zal/tamm*' co-occur with the aspectual markers '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*' and other locative participles. In addition, the negation marker appears before '*gaᶜad/ jalas*', whereas with '*Zal/tamm*', it may be placed either before or after the aspectual marker.

Furthermore, the simple form and the other progressivity forms in HA can generally be used interchangeably allowing no opposition between them.

The prepositional phrase '*fiᶜizz*' is another means of the progressive aspect and it has been found that it is not only used with activity verbal nouns, but also with some state verbal nouns, and not only 'Hub-love' as in the case of KA. A further way to denote that the action is in progress for a period of time is not only by using the active participle of some activity, translocative and a few state verbs in the affirmative structure, but also all the activity and accomplishment verbs in the negation constructions. This shows that there is a negation effect, which has been proven to be true by providing some examples of the same participles that refer to activity or accomplishment in the affirmative structure, showing that they indicate the perfective rather than the progressive aspect.

Regarding negation, the imperfective form (the simple form), the perfective verbs '*jalas/gaᶜad*', the perfective verbs '*tamm/ Zal*', the imperfective verbs '*yagᶜid /yajlis*', and the imperfective verbs '*iyZil/iytimm*' are generally negated by the particle '*maa*'. In some cases '*mu*' or its variants are used to indicate either the subject noun phrase is certainly doing another action, or that (*he/she*) is doing the same action intensively. The position of the negation marker, whether '*maa*' or '*mu*' in '*Zal*' and '*tamm*' constructions, influences the meaning and the aspect conveyed. When the negation particle is placed before '*Zal/tamm*', the progressive aspect is indicated; however, placing the negation particle after '*Zal/tamm*' and before the imperfective form of the verb and the presence of certain adverbials conveys different meanings, providing us with two readings – the negation of a habitual happening or progressive interpretations. On the other hand, the active participles, '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*', the active participle of some verbs, and the prepositional phrase '*fiᶜizz*' are negated by '*mu*', its variants and the negative copula in the present tense, and by '*maa*' in the past and the future

(see Appendix 1, Table 4, for a summary of the negation markers used with the Hassawi progressivity means).

As for their appearance in different tenses, all of the expressions provided here occur in the past, present and future, except for the perfective verbs '*jalas/gaᶜad*' and '*tamm/ Zal*', which only appear in the past tense, and the imperfective verbs '*yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm*', which express progressivity only in the present and the future. (See Appendix 1, Table 5 for a summary of the progressivity expressions in HA and their appearance in the different simple tenses.)

In terms of the correlation between these expressions and different classes of verbs, they all appear freely with activity, accomplishment, frequency verbs or verbal nouns (in the case of the prepositional phrase '*fiᶜizz*'), except in the case of the active participle of some verbs. The active participle of almost all the activity verbs and accomplishment verbs in the negation constructions are compatible with the progressive aspect, whereas the active participle of accomplishment verbs in the affirmative construction is incompatible with the progressive aspect and only the active participle of some activity, translocative, motion and a few perception verbs in the affirmative construction denote progressivity. As for the passive meaning verbs, they appear easily with the imperfective form (simple form), the active participles, '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*', the perfective verbs, '*jalas/gaᶜad*' and '*tamm/ Zal*', and the imperfective verbs, '*yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm*'. Achievement and state verbs rarely follow the active participles, '*gaaᶜid/jaalis*', the perfective verbs, '*jalas/gaᶜad*' and '*tamm/ Zal*', and the imperfective verbs, '*yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm*'. In addition, achievement verbs are not compatible with the other expressions of progressivity and there are a few state verbal nouns that come after the prepositional phrase, '*fiᶜizz*'. Lastly, the active participle of a few state verbs is also used to denote the progressive aspect. (See Appendix 1, Table 6 for a summary of the correlation between the progressivity means in HA and the different types of verbs/verbal nouns complementation.)

Finally, most of the progressive aspect forms in HA provide evidence backing Anderson's localistic theory.

Future research:

The researcher, here, only provided a descriptive study for the progressivity expressions in HA due to word limits. Therefore, it is highly recommended that an analytical study of these expressions be considered. Moreover, this paper deals with these expressions in only two constructions – the affirmative and the negative constructions. Therefore, an exploration on the use of these expressions in other structures is suggested, such as in wh-questions, interrogatives, tag-questions, conditional clauses and so on. It is also suggested that more studies be conducted on the HD to find out if there are more expressions denoting the progressive aspect.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Table 1. Progressivity expressions in HA and their complementation

Progressivity expressions	Complementation		
	Imperfective verb	Verbal noun	others
The imperfective form (simple form)			√(prepositional phrase/noun phrase/adverbials)
The active participles gaaᶜid/jaalis	√		
The perfective verbs jalas/gaᶜad and tamm/ Zal	√		
The imperfective verbs yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm	√		
The active participle of some verbs			√(prepositional phrase/noun phrase/adverbials)
The prepositional phrase fiᶜizz		√	√(maa+ subject+ IMPFv)

Table 2. List of inflected demonstratives that denot thet the following action is in progress in the present and particularly at the speech time.

person	number		
	singular		plural
First person	hadhani		hadhana
	gender		
	Masculine	Feminine	
Second person	hadhant	hadhnti	hadhantum
Third person	hadhahu-hadhaku	hadhahii-hadhakii	hadhahum

3. Aspectual verbs inflections:

Table 3.1 The active participle gaaᶜid /jaalis and their inflection for number, person and gender of the subject noun phrase :(the active participles are all inflected in the same way)

Number/Person	GENDER			
	Masculine(M)		Feminine(F)	
1SG	gaaᶜid	jaalis	gaaᶜda(h)	Jaalsa(h)
1PL	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin
2SG	gaaᶜid	jaalis	gaaᶜda(h)	Jaalsa(h)
2PL	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin
3SG	gaaᶜid	jaalis	gaaᶜda(h)	Jaalsa(h)
3PL	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin	gaaᶜdiin	jaalsiin

Table 3.2 The perfective gaᶜad/jalas and Zal/tamm and their inflection for number, person and gender of the subject noun phrase:

Number/Person	GENDER			
	Masculine(M)		Feminine(F)	
1SG	gaᶜadt/jalast	Zalayt/tammayt	gaᶜadt/jalast	Zalayt/tammayt
1PL	gaᶜadna/jalasna	Zalayna/tammayna	gaᶜadna/jalasna	Zalayna/tammayna
2SG	gaᶜadt/jalast	Zalayt/tammayt	gaᶜadti/jalasti	Zalayti/tammayti
2PL	gaᶜadtu/jalastu	Zalaytu/tammaytu	gaᶜadtu/jalastu	Zalaytu/tammaytu
3SG	gaᶜad/jalas	Zal/tamm	gᶜadat/jlisat	Zalat/tammat
3PL	gᶜadau/jlisau	Zalau/tammau	gᶜadau/jlisau	Zalau/tammau

Table 3.3The imperfective form of the verbs gaᶜad/jalas and Zal/tamm and their inflection for number, person and gender of the subject noun phrase: (the simple form which is the imperfective form of the verb shows the same inflection)

Number/Person	GENDER			
	Masculine(M)		Feminine(F)	
1SG	agᶜid/ajlis	aZil/atimm	agᶜid/ajlis	aZil/atimm
1PL	nagᶜid/najlis	niZil/nitimm	nagᶜid/najlis	niZil/nitimm
2SG	tagᶜid/tajlis	tiZil/tajlis	tagᶜdiin/tajlsiin	tiZliin/titmiin
2PL	tigᶜduun/tijlsuun	tiZiluun/titmuun	tigᶜduun/tijlsuun	tiZiluun/titmuun
3SG	yagᶜid/yajlis	iyZil/iytimm	tagᶜid/tajlis	tiZil/titimm
3PL	yagᶜduun/yajlsuun	iyZiluun/iytmuun	yagᶜduun/yajlsuun	iyZiluun/iytmuun

Table 4.Negation of Progressivity expressions in HA: (muu and its variants mush/mub/mahuu/mahii are used interchangeably)

Progressivity expressions	present	past	future
The imperfective form (simple form)	-Maa+IMPFv -muu+ IMPFv	-Maa+PERF. 'kaan'+ impfv -PERFvp+maa+ impfv -maa +PERFvp + impfv	-Maa+Fut.marker+IMPF.'kaan'+IMPFv
The active participles gaaᶜid/jaalis	-Muu+gaaᶜid/jaalis +IMPFv	- Maa+PERF. 'kaan'+ gaaᶜid/jaalis + impfv	-Maa+Fut.marker+IMPF.'kaan'+ gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv
The perfective verbs jalas/gaᶜad	_	-maa+ jalas/gaᶜad+ IMPFv - muu+ jalas/gaᶜad+ IMPFv	_
The perfective verbs tamm/ Zal	_	-maa+ tamm/ Zal + IMPFv - tamm/ Zal + maa+ IMPFv - muu+ tamm/ Zal + IMPFv - tamm/ Zal + muu+ IMPFv	_

The imperfective verbs yagᶜid /yajlis	–	–	maa+ Fut.marker+ IMPFv. yagᶜid /yajlis+IMPFv
The imperfective verbs iyZil/iytimm	–	–	-Maa+Futmarker+IMPF. iyZil/iytimm+IMPFv - Futmarker+IMPF. iyZil/iytimm+maa+ IMPFv
The active participle of some verbs	-muu+AP -maa +IMPFvp +AP - IMPFvp+ muu +AP	-maa +PERFvp +AP - PERFvp+ muu +AP -maa +PERF'kaan' +AP - PERF'kaan' +muu+AP	-Maa+Fut.marker+IMPF.'kaan'+AP - Fut.marker+IMPF.'kaan'++muu+AP
The prepositional phrase fiᶜizz	-muu+ fiᶜizz+ VN	- Maa+PERF. 'kaan'+ fiᶜizz+ VN -PERF.'kaan'+ muu+ fiᶜizz+ VN	-maa+Futmarker+ fiᶜizz+ VN

Table 5. Progressivity expressions in HA and their appearance in the different tenses:

Progressivity expressions	present	past	future
The imperfective form (simple form)	√	√	√
The active participles gaaᶜid/jaalis	√	√	√
The perfective verbs jalas/gaᶜad and tamm/ Zal		√	
The imperfective verbs yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm	√		√
The active participle of some verbs	√	√	√
The prepositional phrase fiᶜizz	√	√	√

Table 6. The correlation between the expressions of progressivity in HA different classes of verbs and verbal nouns:

Progressivity expressions	Activity		accomplishment		frequency	state	achievement	passive meaning
The imperfective form (simple form)	√		√		√			√
The active participles gaaᶜid/jaalis	√		√		√	rarely	rarely	√
The perfective verbs jalas/gaᶜad and tamm/ Zal	√		√		√	rarely	rarely	√
The imperfective verbs yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm	√		√		√	rarely	rarely	√
The active participle of some verbs	Affir	Neg	Affir	Neg		Few verbs		
	Some verbs	√		√				
The prepositional phrase fiᶜizz	√		√		√	Few VN		

Appendix 2

Simple form with passive meaning verb in the present

(1) Nora   titSawar   alHiin.

   Nora   IMPFv.she-be photoed   now

   'Nora is being photoed now.'

(2) Il-badlah   titnaZaf   alHin.

   Def.suit   IMPFv. PASS.it- be cleaned   now

   'The suit is being cleaned now.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with activity verb in the present

(3) Amad   gaaᶜid   iyshuuf   al-mbarah   maᶜa   aSdigah (alHin) .

   Ahmad   PROG . M.SG   IMPFv.he-watch   Def-game   with   friends. POSS(his) (now)

   'Ahmad is watching the match with his friends now.'

(4) Il-awlad   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   ylabuun   fi   al-Hadiqah (alHin).

   Def-boy.PL   PROG.(M).PL   IMPFv. play. (M).PL   in   Def.garden (now)

   'The boys are playing in the garden.'

(5) il-Hareem   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin iysulfuun   ᶜn   alᶜirs   (alHin).

   Def-woman.PL   PROG.(F).PL   IMPFv.talk.(F).PL   about   Def-wedding (now)

   'The women are taking about the wedding now.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with activity verb in the past

(6) Nora   kaanat   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   targiS   maᶜa   Sdigatah fi   il-Haflah albariH.

   Nora   PERFv.-be. she   PROG. F.SG   IMPFv. she-dance   with   friends. POSS(her) in Def-party   last night

   'Nora was dancing with her friends in the party last night.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with activity verb in the future

(7) Ash-shahar aljaay   h-il-wagt   b/raH nkuun   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin ninaZim il-hafil.

Def-month   DEF-coming   this-Def-time   Fut   IMPFv.be-we   PROG.(F/M).PL   IMPFv. organize –we Def-party.

'Next month this time, we will be organizing the party.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with activity verb in the past with 'illa-when (to my surprise):

(8) Daxalt   il-faSl   illa   hii (kaanat)   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tishraH

   PERFv.enter-I DEF.class   when   she (PERFv.be.she)   PROG.F.PL   IMPFv. she- explain

   'When I entered the class she was explaining (the lesson) (to my surprise).'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with accomplishment verbs in the past with 'illa/lamma/yuum-when':

(9) Daxalt   il-matbax   illa   hii   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   itghassil

as-shuun.

   PERFv.enter-I DEF.kitchen   when(to my surprise)   she   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.she-wash.
Def.plate.PL

   'I entered the room when she was washing the dishes.'

(10) Lamma riHit   ashik   ᶜla il-ᶜumal,   kaanuu   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin
yabnuun   ghurfat as-sawag il-xarjiah.

   when   PERFv. I-go IMPFv.I-check   on Def.worker.PL, PERFv.be-they   PROG.M.PL
IMPFv. they- build   room.POSS.SG.F   Def.driver Def.external.SG.F

   'When I went to check on the workers, they were building the driver's external room.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with frequency verbs in the past:

(11) Kint   gaaᶜdah   agaSiS   al-awrag   lamma Nora jaat.

   PERFv.be-I   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.Freq. I-cut   Def.paper.PL when   Nora PERFv. She-
come

   'I was cutting the papers when Nora came.'

(12) Nora kaanat   gaaᶜdah   tikabib   il- ᶜSeer   ᶜla iz-zuliah

   Nora   PERFv.be.she PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.Freq.she-pour DEF-juice   on Def-carbet

   'Nora was pouring (repeatedly) the juice on the carbet.'

(13) Kinna   gaaᶜdiin   inkattib   il-assami   ᶜla   kruut   il-ᶜirs

    PERFv. be-we   PROG.(M/F).PL IMPFv. Freq.we-write Def.name.PL on   card.PL Def.
wedding.

'We were writing (continuously) the names on the wedding cards.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with achievement verbs:

(14) Il-giTar   gaaᶜid/jaalis   ywagif.

    Def-train   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. It-stop.

'The train is stopping.' '*The train is slowing down to stop*'.

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with inert-cognition state verbs in the past

(15)*Salim   Kaan   gaaᶜid/jaalis   yafham   il-qaᶜidah.

   Salim   PERFv.be-he   PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. He-understand   Def-rule

   *'He is understanding the rule.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with attitude state verbs

(16) Huu gaaᶜid/jaalis   yaHbahah.

   He PROG.M.PL   IMPFv.he -love-her

   * 'he is loving her.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv with perception verbs

(17) binkuun   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   nishim   riHat il-baHri il-akil   fi   kil
mikkan .

   Fut.IMPFv.be-we   PROG.(M/F).PL IMPFv. we-smell   smell   Def-sea food   in every place

   'We will be smelling the smell of the sea food everywhere.'

Gaaᶜid/jaalis + IMPFv denoting contingent situations

(18) Salim   gaaᶜid/jaalis   yHaZir   l-il-mashruᶜ

   Salim PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. he-prepare   for-Def.project

   'Salim is preparing for the project.'

(19) Hum   gaaᶜdiin/jaalsiin   iygadmuun   ᶜla il-jamᶜat.

   They PROG.M.SG   IMPFv.they-apply   on Def-university.

   'They are applying for the university.'

Gaᶜad/ jalas and Zal/tamm +IMPFv with inert-cognition state verbs

(20) *Salim   gaᶜad/ /jalas/ZAL /tamm   yafham   riaZyat.

   Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-understand   math

   *'Salim was understanding math.'

gaᶜad/ jalas and Zal/tamm +IMPFv

(21) Salim   gaᶜad/ jalas   yaktib   ir-rissalah tul   al-lail.

   Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-write Def-letter all   Def-night

'Salim was writing the letter all the night.' 'It took him the whole night to finish writing that letter.'

(22) Salim   Zal/tamm   yaktib   ir-rissalah tul   al-lail.

   Salim   PERFv.PROG. M.SG   IMPFv.he-write Def-letter   all   Def-night

   'Salim was writing (ongoing) the letter all the night.'

Progressivity: yagᶜid/yajils –iyZil/iytimm +IMPFv in the future

(23) Sami (bi/raH) yagᶜid /yajlis   yakrah   Nora   layn axir yuum fi umrah.

   Sami   Fut   IMPFv.PROG.M.SG   IMPFv. He-hate Nora   till last day in life-
POSS(his)

   'Sami will be hating Nora till the last day of his life.'

(24) Sami (bi/raH) yagᶜid/yajlis   yarbaH   layn axir yuum fi umrah.

   Sami   Fut   IMPFv.PROG.M.SG   IMPFv.win-he   till last day in life-POSS(his)

   'Sami will be winning till the last day of his life.'

Here, it indicates several winning events; it expresses iterative meaning.

The active participle of some verbs in the present

(25) Hadhahum   raagyiin   il-daraj.

   This-them   AP.they-go up   Def.staris

(26) Hadhahum   gaa ᶜdiin   yarguun   il-daraj.

   This-them   PROG.M.PL   IMPFv.they-go up   Def.staris

(27) Hadhhum   yarguun   il-daraj.

   This-them   IMPFv.they-go up   Def.staris

   'Here they are going up on the stairs.'

The active participle of some verbs in the future

(28) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   b/raH   tkuun   nazlah   min id-daraj

   Tomorrow   this-Def.time   Fut   IMPFv.be.She AP.She- come down from Def. stairs

'Tomorrow at this time, she will be coming down from the stairs.'

The active participle of some state verbs in the present

(29) iHna   samᶜiin   aSwat   il-bizran   fi il-huush.

   we   AP.we-hear Def. sound.PL   Def-kid.PL   in Def.yard

   'We are hearing the kids noise (sounds) in the yard.'

The active participle of some perception state verbs in the past

(30) Hassah   bmaghaS   min   ams.

     AP.I.F-feel with-stomach ache from yesterday

 ' I have been feeling stomach ache since yesterday.'

(31) Nora   kaanat   Haassah   bmaghaS   lamma shiftha.

Nora   PERFv.be-she   IMPFv.feel.F.3SG with-stomach-ache when   PERFv.I-see-her

(32) Norah kaanat   tHis   b-maghaS   lamma shiftha.

     Nora PERFv.be-she IMPFv. feel-she   with-stomach-ache when   PERFv.I-see-her

     'Nora was feeling a stomach ache when I saw her.'

There is no difference in meaning between this sentence and the simple form of the progressivity with *'kanna'*; they both convey the same durative meaning.

fiᶜizz + verbal nouns with activity verbal N

 (33) Nora fiᶜizz   aS-Siam.

     Nora PROG (in the middle/process of) Def. Fast

     'Nora is in the middle of her fasting.'

fiᶜizz + verbal nouns with state verbal N

In the present:

(34) Nora fiᶜizz   it-tafkeer   bil-mtiHanat

     Nora PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. GER.think in.Def.exam.PL

     'Nora is thinking about the exams.'

(35) nora fiᶜizz   iS-Samt   w   mma tabi

 tikalim   aHad.

     Nora PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.be-silent and Neg   IMPFv.she-want
IMPFv.she- talk one

     'Nora is being silent and she does not want to talk to any one.'

(36) Huu fiᶜizz   in-nuum   ilHIIN.

     He   PROG(in the middle/process of) Def. VN.sleep   now

     'He is sleeping now.'

In the past:

(37) kaanuu   fiᶜizz   Hubhum   Lamma   iftargau

     PERFv.be-they   PROG (in the middle/process of)   VN.love-their   when   IMPFv.they-break up

       'They were in love when they broke up.'

In the future:

(38) h-il-wagt bukrah   b/raH   akuun   fiᶜizzi   is-saᶜadah   fi jamᶜat   ahali

      this-Def. time tomorrow   Fut   IMPFv.be-I   PROG(in the middle/process of)   Def. VN. (be-happy/happiness) in gathering family-POSS (my)

      'At this time tomorrow, I will be in the middle of being happy in my family's gathering.'

With accomplishment verbal noun

(39) *il-isbuuᶜ il-jay   b/raH   akuun   fiᶜizz   tartiib   il-ghurfah.

       Def.week   Def.coming   Fut   IMPFv.be-I   in the middle of   Def. VN.arrange Def.room

With motion verbal noun

(40)*kannuu   fiᶜizz   iT-Talᶜah   min   il-bayt

      PERFv.be-they   in the middle of   Def. VN.come out   from   Def.house

Negation of the active participle of activity verbs

(41) ᶜali mu Muu/mush mahuu mSaliH   is-syarah alHiin

      Ali Neg   AP.he-repair   Def.car   now

      'Ali is not repariring the car now.'

(42) la   tis ʔal   muu /manii   gaaylah   l-ik   shay.

      Neg   IMPR. You-ask   Neg   AP.I-say   for-you thing

      'Do not ask me, I am not saying anything to you.

Negation of the active participle of accomplishment verbs

(43) a. manni miSauurah.

      Neg   AP.I-take photos

      'I am not taking photos.'

This is different from

b. maa   aSawir.

Neg   IMPFv.I-take photos

'I do not take photos.'

Here, (a) denotes progressivity whereas (b) expresses a state

(44) manii raasmah   ha-il-luuHah   alHiin.

Neg.I   AP.I-draw   this-Def.painting   now

'I am not drawing that picture now.

Appendix3

1. Basic phonological facts about HA

One significant and an interesting phonological fact about HA is that initial consonant clusters and initial geminates are not permitted, yet the complex codas (moraic consonant clusters in the coda) are allowed. The medial and the final geminates are also allowed. Many features of the Arabic varieties are preserved in HA; no initial vowels, complex onsets and geminates are allowed. Unlike in the classic Arabic which has 28 consonants, in HA, there are 31 consonants including: nine stops, fourteen fricatives two affricates, one trill, a lateral, two nasals and two semi-vowels. Regarding the vowel system, there are six vowels. The HA syllable structure is of six patterns and they are as follows: CV, CVC, CVV, CVVC and CVCC.(Aljumah, 2008) (Smeaton, 1973).

2. Basic morphplogical facts about HA

In his book, Smeaton (1973) goes in detail discussing the main patterns of the noun plural. There are two ways of pluralization in HA; one is by uinteernal modification and that is of five patterns. 1. The most common Pattern is [1]u[2]ū[3]for singular pattern[1]V[2][3]. An example is (*dars-lesson*) ›PL (*durūs-lessons*). 2. pattern a[1][2]ā[3] for the singular pattern [1]V̆[2][3] in which *w* or *y* and sometimes *r* or *l* is one of the first two roots. For instance, (*kiys-bag*) ›PL (*akyās-bags*). 3. pattern [1]u[w]a[3] for singular pattern[1] ū[3]ah,such as(*kūmah-pile*) ›PL(*kuwam-piles*). 4. Pattern [1] ī[3]ānfor singular pattern [1] ā[3] or [1] au[3] as in (*bāb-door*) › PL (*bīban-doors*). 5. Pattern [I]a[II] ā[III]i[IV] or [I]a[II] ā[III] ī[IV] for four consonants nouns, for example, (*sangal-chain*) › PL (*sanāgil-chains*). The second type is the external plural which is not as common as the first type. Additionally, the main two endings in HA are 1. '*īn*' and that is uesd to refere to male persons, the iterative or intensive pattern [1]a[2][2] ā[3] agent nouns and to a lot of masculine relative ajectives that are used as nouns such as (*muslim-Moslem*) › PL(*muslimīn*). 2. '*āt*' suffixed to pluralize forms ending with '*-ah*' which are mostly feminine as in (*sayyārah-car*) ›PL(*sayyārāt-cars*).In order to pluralize the relative adjective forms which are used as nationality nouns is by adding the suffix '*-yah*' as in (*sūdānī -Sudani*) › PL(*sūdāniyyah*) and by thte elision of the suffix –I for instance(*inglīzī-British*) › PL(*inglīz*). As for the dual and the collective, Nouns referring to a genus or a substance to denote a particular individual or unit are suffixed by '-ah' such as PL (*hammām- pigeons*) › (*hammāmah-a pigeon*). As for the dual, the suffix '*–ain*' is an enumerative device. So if the noun is qualified by the numeral for two, '*ain*' is added. An example is (*jamal-camel*) › dual (*jamalain*) and if the noun is not present the word (*ithnain M/ thintain* F –*two*)is used.

3. Some syntactic features of HD

3.1 Modification of the nouns by other nouns and adjectives.

There are cases where '*al*' does not appear with the modifying adjective(s) though the noun is defined. The deletion of '*al*', here, is equivalent to the English sentence where a copula is between the noun and the adjective. Therefore, '*al-bait al-jadīd*' ~ '*the new house*' and '*al-

bait jadīd'~ 'the house is new'. Also, the deletion of the article between the demonstrative and the noun is to indicate predication. Examples are: '*hāδa-l-bait- this house'*, '*hāδā bait - this is a house'*.

With noun qualifiers, the repetition of the article appears in this construction if there is a connective particle such as the possessing element '*māl*' between the modified noun and the modifier noun as in '*al-bāb māl al-bait › the door of the house'*. '*Māl*' is used in the Gulf area and it is a noun that means '*property, belongings'*. In HA, '*ḥāgg*' when the modified or possessed noun is masculine and '*ḥāggat*' if it is feminine; is a noun meaning '*right, property*' that is also used as a connective thogh '*māl*' is preferred and it has a preposition meaning '*for*'.

3.2 Examples of some patterns of the broken plural in GA

Examples of some of these patterns are : '*fa9uul*' from the singular '*fa9il*' (*flis-fils ›fluus*) , '*fa9aal*' from '*fa9iil*' (*k(a)biir-big › kbaar*), '*af9aal*' from '*fa9l/fu9(u)l*' or '*fa9al*'(*9aam-year › '9waam*), '*fawaa9il*' from '*a*' ending feminine nouns(*saalfa-story› suwaalif*), '*fu99aal*' from '*faa9il*' (*yaahil-child ›yahhaal*), '*fa9a99iil*' from '*fa99aal*' (*xabbaaz-baker › xabaabiiz*), '*mafaa9iil*' from '*mif9aal/maf9uul/ mfa99il*' (*miftaaH- KEY ›mafaatiH*), '*fa9aayil*' from '*fi9iila*'(*digiiga-minute › digaayig*), '*fi9al*' from '*fi9la*' or '*f9ala*' (*duuba-ship ›duwab*), '*fa9aalil*' from different singular patterns (*daftar-notebook › dafaatir*), '*mafaa9il*' from '*maf9al(a)*'(*masiid-mosque › masaayid*), '*fa9aali*' from '*fu9li*'(*quuri- tea kettle ›qawaari*), '*fi9laan*' from various singular patterns (*9amay –blind man › 9imyaan*), '*fu9ul*' from '*af9al/fa9al*' (*aswad –black › suud*), '*fa9iil*' from different singular patterns (*9abd-slave › 9abiid*), '*fa9aaliin*' (*b(i)9iir- camel ›ba9aariimn*), '*mafaa9la*' (*mHassin – barber ›maHaasana*), '*afaa9il*' (*mukaan- place › 'amaakin*), '*fi9(i)l*' (*walad- boy › wild*), '*fa9aaliil*' from '*fi9laal*'(*fustian –woman's dress › fasaatiin*), and finally '*fa9aalila*'(*daxtar-doctor › daxaatra*).

4. Further functons of the progressive in English

A further function of the progressive in EN is to express habituality. It indicates what so-called 'habit in existence over a limited period'. Another habitual use of the progressive is expressing repetition of events that has limited duration (Leech, 2004) (Palmer, 1965). An example is:

(1) He is taking fencing classes this summer.

Additionally, the progressive aspect in EN denotes future meaning. The present progressive form is used to express anticipated, events that are temporary in the future with or without a temporal frame. They are arranged and predetermined in the present. That is referred to as 'futurate present progressive'. The second form of the progressive with 'will/shall' also refers to happening that are temporary in the future. It is also employed to express 'future as a matter of course' and that is the predicted event will come to pass and 'future as predicted to happen' is implied without any concerned person's volition (Leech, 2004). Examples are:

(2) I am moving to a new house next Friday.

(3) This time next week, I will be visiting my grandparent's house

(4) Next Sunday, I will be studying the Romanian history.

5. Examples of verb phrases with a copula as an auxiliary as expressions of the Progressive in Europe languages

(5) Italian

Lei   sta   lavorando.

She   is   work:GER

'She is working' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000)

Note: '*stare*' is a lexical verb that means '*stand*'. However, in this example, it is considered to be a copula especially in some spoken Italian central and southern varieties. (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000)

(6) Finish

Minä   olen   myy-mä -ssä   lippuja.

I   am   sell-3INF-INESS   tickets.PRTV

'I am selling tickets'   (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

(7) Icelandic

Hún   er   að   vinna.

She   is   at/to   work:INF

'She is working'

(8) Dutch

Wim   was   bezig   de   stofzuiger   te   maken.

Bill   was   busy   the   vacuum cleaner   to   repair

'Bill was busy repairing the vacuum cleaner.' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000).

6. Basic morphological types of progressivity in Euoropean languages

There are three basic morphological types. Firstly, the 'focalized' progressive construction (foc-PROG) and that is the construction that denotes the notion of an event that is seen as being on going at single point in time and the real event duration is not determinate. It is referred to as 'focalization point' that can be either explicitly or overtly expressed in the sentences or it can be understood from and conveyed by the context (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000). Secondly, the durative progressive construction (dur-PROG) and that is the

construction that indicates a larger period of time and, here, again the event duration is indeterminate. Lastly, the absentive construction and that is only found in eight languages in Europe, generally, the tools for the PROG are morphologically different from the tools of the absentive, but in Finnish and Faroese the absetive and the PROG construction coincide. This construction expresses that the event is happening in a place that is displaced from its deictic centre (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000). Examples from Finnish exhibit the three types and show that Finnish is special in a sense that the all three meaninigs can be expressed by the same construction.

(9) **Finnish**

a.Foc-PROG

kun	lamppu	putosi	pöydälle	Hannu	oli	syömässä
when	lamp	fell	table:ALL	Hanuu	was	eat:INESS

puuroa-nsa.

Porridge:PRTV-POSS:3SG

'When the lamp fell on the tabl, Hanuu was eating this porridge.'

b. dur-PROG

viime	tiistaina	Nina	oli	pitämässä	esitelmän	Helisingissä.
Last	Tuesday	Nina	was	keep:INESS	Talk	Helsinki:INESS

'Last Tuesday, Nina gave a talk in Helsinki.'

c. ABSV

jouko	oli	lippuja	myymässä
jouko	was	tickets	sell:INESS

'Jouko was off, selling tickets.' (Bertinetto, Ebert, & De Groot, 2000)

7. gaaᶜid/jaalis with passive meaning verbs

The construction with gaaᶜid/jaalis is also followed by verbs that are passive in meaning. There are several classes of Arabic derived verbs discussed in Qafisheh's (1977) in the Gulf Arabic dialects.There are two types of verbs follow the Hassawi progressive aspectual markers. The first type is of class V and they are intransitive reflexive of class II. The main chararcterstics of class II is the double middle radical and in which the meaning of 'to do something' or undergo an action is expressed. Class V expresses the object state as the result of the action of class II (Qafisheh, 1977). Here are some verbs in the passive form: '*y/titnaZaf-be cleaned, y/titnashif- be dried, y/titSaghar, y/itkabar-be enlarged, y/titrakab-be*

formed, y/titHammal-be downloaded, y/titfaᶜal, t/y/titramam, and *y/titnathar-be scattered, y/titshaTab.* These verbs also normally agree in number, person, and gender with the subject.

The second type is on the verbal measure '*infaᶜala*'; reflexif-intransitive of '*faᶜala*' such as '*y/Tinwikil-be eaten, y/tinshirib-be drank, tinTbixbe cooked* and*y/tinghisil-be cleaned/washed*'.

(Versteegh, C. & Versteegh, K. 2014)

In the present:

(10) Il-ᶜimarah   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   titnaZaf.

    Def.building   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.PASS.it-(be cleaned)

(11) Il-ᶜimarah   titnaZaf.

Def.building   IMPFv.PASS.it-(be cleaned)

'The building is being cleaned'.

These two examples are equivalent and convey the same meaning

In the past:

(12) Il-malfat   kannat   gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   titHamal   lamma Talᶜt   min   il-maktab.

Def-file.PL   PERFv.be-they   PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.PASS.(be downloaded) when PERFv.I-come out from   Def.office

(13) Il-malfat   kannat   titHamal   lamma Talᶜt min   il-maktab.

Def-file.PL   PERFv.be-they   IMPFv.PASS.(be downloaded) when   PERFv.I-come out from   Def.office

 'The files were being downloaded when I left the office.'

In the future:

(14) Bukrah   h-il-wagt   idh-dhbayH   b-/raH   tikuun gaaᶜdah/jaalsah   tiNTbix.

    Tomorrow   this-Def. time   Def. sheep(sacrifices).PL   Fut   IPMFv.be.they PROG.F.SG   IMPFv.PASS(be cooked)

Simple form with passive meaning verbs

(15) Bukrah h-il-wagt   idh-dhbayH   b-/raH tikuun tiNtbIX

Tomorrow   this-Def. time Def. sheep (sacrifices).PL Fut   IPMFv.be.they IMPFv. PASS(be cooked)

 'Tomorrow at this time, the sheeps are going to be being cooked'

Here, again the same meaning is conveyed by the simple form and the progressive form. These two forms can be used interchangeably.

8. Examples from several languages supporting Anderson's theory

An example from Scottish is: *'bha e ag gearradh craoinin- he was at ctting of a tree'*. Another example is from Irish: *'Tá seán ag marú an choinin- john is at killing of the rabbit'* (al-Najjar, 2000).

Additionally, the Celtic language according to (Comrie, 1976) exhibits a very widespread locative expressions use to express progressivity as an exception not as a rule; these are exceptions that in some contexts it express the progressive explicitly instead of the whole imperfective. However, in Irish these expressions particularly express the progressive.

In welsh, the verb '*to be*' with the locative preposition *'yn'* followed by a verbal noun is used for example, '*y mae hi'n gweithio -she is working* and literally '*is she in work(ing)*' and '*Y mae hi'n ein taro ne-she is hitting us,* literally, *is she in our hitting us.* Another example is from Shona, *'tìrí kùfúndá chìMányíká-We are studying ChiManyika'* literally *'we-be at-study ChiManyika'*.