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THE PROGRESSIVE IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

Abstract

In der folgenden Arbeit wird untersucht, wie die Progressivkonstruktion in südirakischen Dialekten durch Aspekt, Grammatikalisierung und Arealmorphologie trianguliert wird. In Anlehnung an Sasse (1990, 2001) und Bickel (1997, 2000) werde ich die mit der Progressivkonstruktion verbundene Aspektualität und die sprachspezifischen Beschränkungen der Verbalklassen untersuchen. Grammatikalisierung spielt bei der Entwicklung einer progressiven Konstruktion eine bedeutende Rolle, ebenso die räumliche Verbreitung dieser spezifischen Konstruktion in der Großregion Irak und Kuwait. Die fragliche Konstruktion fügt sich typologisch gut in die vorgeschlagenen Modelle der Entwicklung eines Progressiv, da es sich um die Grammatikalisierung des Haltungsverbs „sitzen“ mit einer flektierten Verbalform handelt. Die linguistischen Daten beruhen grösstenteils auf Feldforschungen in Wien. Mein Berater ist ein irakisch-arabische Muttersprachler, die in den letzten Jahren in Österreich Zuflucht suchen musste. Die Studie versucht, einen weiteren Beitrag zur morpho-syntaktischen Forschung im Bereich der arabischen Dialektologie und zum Verständnis des Aspekts in der Grossregion Südirak und Kuwait zu leisten.

Schlüsselwörter: Aspekt, Irak, progressiv, Grammatikalisierung, Morpho-Syntax

THE PROGRESSIVE IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

Abstract

In the following thesis, I will investigate how the progressive construction in Southern Iraqi dialects is triangulated by aspect, grammaticalization, and areal morphology. In reference to Sasse (1990, 2001) and Bickel (1997, 2000), I will look at the aspectuality concerned with the progressive construction and the language specific constraints on verbal classes. Grammaticalization plays an important role due to the development of a progressive construction, and secondly, to the areal distribution of this specific construction in the greater region of Iraq and Kuwait. The construction in question fits well into the typologically proposed models of progressive development, as it involves the grammaticalization of the posture verb “to sit” with an inflected verbal form. The linguistic data is mostly based on fieldwork conducted in Vienna. My consultant is an Iraqi Arabic native, who had to seek refuge in Austria in the past few years. The study attempts to add another piece to morpho-syntactical based research in the studies of Arabic dialectology and to the understanding of aspect in the greater region of Southern Iraq and Kuwait.

Keywords: Aspect, Iraq, progressive, grammaticalization, morpho-syntax

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Introduction

How we conceptualize the world around us by putting it into words and sentences changes from languages and language communities. Despite our differences we can observe structures and unifying processes in these manifestations. The study of *progressive* asks questions of how we perceive and construct referential time. In some languages like English, I can express that something is in the process of happening, for example “I am reading this sentence”. In German, there is a split between colloquial use “Ich bin am Trinken” and a more standard and written form “Ich trinke gerade”, while in other languages a progressive is not integrated into the verbal system.

These typological observations (Bybee and Dahl 1989) of the variability of the progressive lay the ground for the fascination with this topic and therefore the motivation for this thesis. Where do we see progressives in the languages of the world? How are they constructed and integrated in a verbal system? What does the progressive express in each language? What is the source material for the different progressive constructions? And can we observe patterns and recurring source material? While this is not a typological work it remains important and interesting to ask these questions when working on a one-language project.

Interestingly, in Modern Standard Arabic, there exists no morpho-syntactical marking for a progressive. In reply to the question *māḍā tafʿalu al-ān?* (“What are you doing now?”), I would answer *ʾanā ʾaktubu ġumlatan al-ʾān* (“I am writing a sentence now”). Being asked the same question in a spoken variety of Arabic, I would have the linguistic tools to express the on-going action. For example, in Lebanese Arabic *ʾana ʿam bāktob ġāmle*. Looking at the different Arabic varieties diachronically, we observe parallel patterns and changes. With the restructuring of the verbal paradigm in many Arabic varieties a progressive has emerged. In several cases, the source material for a progressive is the same in different regions of the Arabic speaking world.

In this thesis, I will focus on the dialect spoken in Diwāniyyah, a town in Central-South of Iraq. Due to socio-political turbulences and history the dialects of Iraq (Mesopotamian Arabic) have been given less attention than other Arabic varieties in Western Arabic linguistics. I will connect the variety to geographically close varieties in Southern Iraq and draw some comparison to their progressive construction in the framework of grammaticalization.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured in a theory and methodology part, a presentation of the collected data, followed by the discussion, a conclusion and an outlook. In the scope of a wider theory part, I will first address grammaticalization, define the term and how the process of grammaticalization relates to the thesis' topic. In that chapter I will outline the used parameters (Heine et al.1991) for defining grammaticalization processes. I will also say a few words on the conceptualization of grammaticalization as it shapes our understanding of its process.

In the second chapter of the theory part, I will define the term *aspect* and how grammatical and lexical aspect intertwine in the function of a progressive. I will also address the typological research on the correlation between form and function of progressives in the languages of the world.

In the methodology chapter, I will talk more about the collection of data and the particular questions on how to gather linguistic material on topic overlapping syntactic and semantic levels. I will go into more detail about fieldwork and what fieldwork can tell us about the developing new methodologies.

The second part of my thesis hosts the collected linguistic data from interviews with the language helper and the discussion of this data in application of the theoretical structure from part one. The outline of the linguistic data will be simple. First, I will present a recorded picture story, which combines spontaneous speech with a pre-selected story that requires a progressive reading. The second source of linguistic data is the progressive questionnaire by Dahl (1985). Its structure is based on typological research and consists of 83 situations to translate into the goal language. This questionnaire will be reproduced sentence for sentence with the Arabic translation attempts.

The discussion of this linguistic data is constituted in the framework of grammaticalization and aspect, as outlined in chapter one and two. It will show that the progressive construction in the dialect of Diwāniyyah is still an interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect. Not all verbal classes are taking the progressive construction, that would enable a further grammaticalization to a more general marker.

I will end my thesis with a conclusion and outlook, that bears room for reflection and wishes for future research on the topic of progressive in Arabic dialects.

State of the Art

In the last few years, the study of grammaticalization in Arabic has increased, also because Arabic linguistics has opened up to general linguistics and typology in particular. This is a development only to congratulate as it widens the analysis within Arabic studies and makes Arabic patterns and examples more accessible to the general linguistics community.

The most recent and most exhaustive study on the grammaticalization of progressive and other verbal modifiers is the work of Melanie Hanitsch (2019; 2015). In her dissertation (2019), she shows with a sample of eight representative dialects across the Arabic speaking world the distribution of verbal modification. She concludes her study with different micro-grammaticalization paths leading to a highly diverse environment of verbal modification in spoken Arabic varieties. Grammaticalization processes are observed in grammatical and lexical aspect. In short, grammaticalization of verbal modifiers into progressive, frequentative, and habitual play into the ongoing restructuring of the verbal system in Arabic dialects. The progressive function of these verbal modifiers is across the tested dialects a very frequent stage and easily accessed for the evolution of the language. Her stages of Arabic developments are the following (Hanitsch 2019: 580):

1. verbs without boundaries and with possibly ongoing action in main clauses, e.g. “to eat” > semelfactive verbs like “to cough”
2. in analogy, verbs with repetitions that have a larger time frame > frequentative
3. frequentative enables the development of a new habitual (cf. Muslim Maşlāwi)
4. in analogy, general habitual (cf. Christian Maşlāwi)
5. development of a second or new modifier according to the established mechanisms (cf. Damascene Arabic)
6. spread of the second/new verbal modifier

We find in many regions of the Arabic speaking world the different stages represented in the local varieties. One of the most prominent groups belongs to the *sitting*-modification, where formants of different verbal roots of “to sit” are used as a verbal modification with functions of *i.a.* progressive. This includes *qaʿada* “to sit, sit down” and *ġalasa* “to sit”, rendered into an active participle *qāʿid*

(Mesopotamian) or *gales* (urban Moroccan) and *jilis/jiss* (Ṣanʿā, Jemen) (Hanitsch 2019: 266ff.; cf. also Jarad 2015).

This group based on *sitting* formans has emerged in various regions of the Arabic speaking world. A division can be drawn between full or complete forms, and reduced forms. The former is typical for nomadic varieties or with nomadic adstrat as well as *qəltu*-dialects and the rural sedentary dialects in Morocco, Tunisia, and Palestine (Hanitsch 2019: 267). The latter, that does not conform to the participle pattern anymore, is limited to the urban areas of the Syro-Mesopotamian region and the Jewish urban dialects of the Eastern Maghreb, and Maltese. Within the Syro-Mesopotamian region, the *qāʿid*-pattern shows a wide variety of different forms and grammaticalization stages, parallel to other sources for progressives in this region, namely the formant *ḡāy*. It also emerged from the active participle pattern of *ḡāʾa* “to come, to go”. While this strictly speaking does not belong to the semantic group of *sitting*-modifiers it behaves very similarly and is stretched over the Southern region of Iraq, overlapping with *qāʿid*. It is attested in the variety of Basra (Mahdi 1985). Parallel to the different forms of the *qāʿid*-pattern it can be found with subject agreement. Mahdi (1985: 218) mentions that there is a “fluctuation between agreement and non-agreement of those auxiliaries with the subject” and dependency on the speaker.

Ex. 1

ḡāy (/ḡāyīn) yliʿbūn

PROG PROG.PL.M IPRF.play.3PL.M

“They are playing.”

(ibid: 218)

Ex. 2

*gāl: laʾ, iḥna hēna mkayyḥīn ibbyūt iḡḡbūr **gāʿdīn nākul wnišrab** wi-l-ʾalamān yʿālḡūnna, ydāwūnna bittadāwi, wfīmā baʿd iḍa ṭibna niḡi.*

gāʿdīn nākul w=nišrab

PRCP.A.sit.PL.M/PROG IPRF.eat.1PL and=IPRF.drink.1PL

“We are eating and drinking.”

«Die sagten: Nein, wir fühlen uns ganz wohl, wie wir hier in den Zelten der Ġubūr sitzen. Wir haben zu essen und zu trinken, und die Deutschen pflegen uns und kurieren uns mit Arznei. Später, wenn wir genesen sind, kommen wir.» (Denz and Edzard 1966: 77)

In the attested examples of Southern Iraq and Kuwait (al-Najjar 1991) variability of the progressive marker in terms of agreement can be found, as well as different roots and formants to express functions of progressivity and inchoativity. But in contrast to the attested varieties in Baghdad (Blanc 1964; Agius and Harrak 1987) the development of progressive > general imperfective is not as advanced and does not show tendencies of obligatoriness in all imperfective situations and lexical aspect; they tend to be around stage 2 of the above-mentioned development stages of Hanitsch (2019).

The examples from Baghdad do not only include desemantization and reanalysis of the verbal modifier but even the double marking of the progressive, what is described in stage 5 and 6. The examples are taken from the Muslim Baghdadi dialect (Hanitsch 2015:111). Both examples exist next to each other. We can observe similar developments of double marking in Lebanese and West-Syrian dialects.

Ex. 3

da-yuštugul *bi-l-ḥadīqa*
 PROG-IPRF.work.3SG.M in-ART-garden
 “He is working in the garden.”

Ex. 4

gā'id da-yuštugul *bi-l-ḥadīqa*
 PROG PROG-work.IPRF.3SG.M in-ART-garden
 “He is working in the garden.”

Briefly, we have seen parallel grammaticalization processes in different Arabic varieties and specifically, in the Mesopotamian varieties. Filling the proposed stages with a new data point, the town of Diwāniyyah, may shed some light on the distribution and development of the progressive construction in Southern Iraq. In the next two chapters, I will address the fundamentals of grammaticalization and aspect, in order to possess the tools to analyse and insert the data of Diwāniyyah into

the model of Hanitsch (2019). In a more formalized way, the next section addresses the hypotheses approaching this thesis.

1. The observed progressive construction is part of a bigger grammaticalization path.
2. The observed progressive construction will be between the morphological markings of the progressive construction in Basra and Kuwait, and the progressive construction in Baghdad. Therefore, it will show less morphological markings than the progressive construction in Basra and Kuwait, but more morphological markings than in Baghdad.
3. The functions of the observed progressive construction will be on a continuum between the progressive construction in Basra and Kuwait, and the progressive construction in Baghdad. Therefore, it is assumed to show in case of a higher grammaticalization also a higher functional abstraction.

Glossing Rules

All Arabic examples in the theoretical part and in the discussion chapter are glossed according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules. Transfixation or also called root-and-pattern morphology make it sometimes more difficult. I tried to stay consistent. The transliteration is based on the transliteration standards of the Encyclopaedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics (*EALL*) (Reichmuth 2011). In addition to the common transliteration of Modern Standard Arabic, these additional signs are used for the Arabic examples:

č	voiceless palate-alveolar affricate [tʃ]
g	voiced velar stop [g]
e, ē	short/long half-close or half-open unrounded front vowel [e, e: or ε, ε:]
o, ō	short/long half-close or half-open rounded back vowel [o, o: or ɔ, ɔ:]
ə	unrounded central vowel [ə]

List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	active
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ART	article
AOR	aorist
AUX	auxiliary
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
DEM	demonstrative
DU	dual
EXCL	exclusive
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INF	infinitive
IPRF	imperfect
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MED	mediative
NEG	negation, negative
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRS	present
PROG	progressive
PRON	pronoun
PST	past
PT	preterit

PTCP	participle
RES	resultative
SG	singular
TEMP	temporary aspect

Grammaticalization and its properties

In this chapter, I am going to discuss the basic concept of *grammaticalization*. As this concept is crucial in this thesis, here we are considering the underlying notions. There are several questions about the nature of grammaticalization and different perspectives on conceptualization. First, I am going to introduce the term and the proposed parameters. In a second step, we are going to discover the conceptualization of grammaticalization and the overlaying of different categories working together to achieve grammatical change. In a third step, we will encounter the cause of grammaticalization and tackle the question about the source and result of grammaticalization processes. In a fourth and final step, we will discuss grammaticalization in relation to areal linguistics and our specific case of diachrony in Iraq and Northern Gulf states, that constitute the base of the argument of an areal distribution of a grammaticalization path.

As the term *grammaticalization* has been widely used in the past decades, this chapter shall only touch the surface of its history and rather look at several questions related to its use and implications. The term is transmitted to be used for the first time by Antoine Meillet (1912: 131) in the sense of “*le passage d’un mot autonome au rôle d’élément grammatical [...] l’attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome*” (cf. Lehmann 1985), while the canonical definition was coined by Kuryłowicz ([1965] 1975: 52): “Grammaticalization consist in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.”¹ From this point of view, *grammaticalization* is the process of rendering a linguistic unit into something grammatical or making it more grammatical². In his book on grammaticalization in Semitic languages, Rubin (2005: 2) writes: “Grammaticalization is the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to lose their lexical meaning and serve grammatical functions, or, the change whereby a grammatical item develops a new grammatical function”, and adds, “[g]rammaticalized forms may coexist with their source lexemes” (ibid: 5). In a more abstract way, the processes of grammaticalization try to capture the way how grammatical units arise (Hopper & Traugott 1993: 4), which searches for answers about the universal nature of grammar. There, the

¹ This last part covering the development of derivative into inflectional has to be seen in light with his following paragraph, where he states that the “reverse process is the *lexicalization* of a morpheme” (ibid: 52), in Haspelmath (2004: 38, fn. 10). This relation is not situated on the same level.

² This already presumes a line of grammaticality, which shows how grammatical something is.

focus lies on system change and the interaction within a language system. Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2) write: “Since the development of grammatical forms is not independent of the constructions to which they belong, the study of grammaticalization is in the same way concerned with constructions, and with even larger discourse segments.” (cf. Traugott & Heine 1991; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Heine *et al.* 1991; Bybee *et al.* 1994; Lehmann [1982] 1995; Heine & Kuteva 2002). In contrast to the definitions with focus on *functional* change, Haspelmath (2004: 26) offers a definition morpho-syntactical change: “A grammaticalization is a diachronic change by which the parts of a constructional schema come to have stronger internal dependencies.”

Whereas the *communis opinio* has settled on the definition of grammaticalization as a historical process which involves potential category and domain change, opinions differ regarding the source and default unit for grammaticalization. These assumptions impact the defining parameters for grammaticalization, e.g. a constructivist approach places constructions as the core of grammaticalization, whereas a semantic approach defines the underlying semantics as the base of inquiry. Heine and Narrog (2015: 4) estimate that more than 90% of the research in grammaticalization is done in a functional framework. Within functional linguistics and the study of grammaticalization, different focal aspects of grammaticalization have been proposed such as a semantic aspect (Heine *et al.* 1991), a pragmatic aspect (Hopper and Traugott 2003), discourse (Givón 1979) and language processing (Bybee 2003). All these aspects can be viewed in the process of grammaticalization and may play part in different stages of grammaticalization. In the following, I will use the parameters of Heine *et al.* (1991) because it seems to me the most applicable framework.

Heine and Narrog (2015:410)³ propose **four parameters** in diachronic order to identify grammaticalization. These parameters are of functional nature, as they presume it is the cognitive reevaluation of construction that causes the changes in linguistic units on phonological, morphological and syntactic level. Even though they are structured in a commonly diachronic sequence not all parameters have to be present and be followed by each other with a clear distinction in order to be called a grammaticalization process:

1. **Extension**, *i.e., the rise of new grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation)*. Heine and Narrog (2015) call it the most complex because it involves several linguistic levels. A

³ The description is based on the work of Heine *et al.* (1991).

sociolinguistic level as a group of people must create and take on the new creation or extended version of construction. Pragmatically, the extensions introduce new context(s); and on a semantic level the new context(s) give new or additional meanings.

2. **Desemanticization** (or “*semantic bleaching*”), i.e., loss (or generalization) in meaning content. By extending or shifting the context specific meanings can be lost or lose their specificity. Often, this goes in hand with a “metaphorical process”. A less abstract concept shifts into a more abstract domain, cf. figure 1. In contrast to the development of extension, this restricts the meaning of a construction.
3. **Decategorialization**, i.e., loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized forms. A more detailed list (ibid: 412):
 - a. Loss of ability to be inflected.
 - b. Loss of ability to take on derivational morphology.
 - c. Loss of ability to take modifiers.
 - d. Loss of independence as an autonomous form, increasing dependence on some other constituent.
 - e. Loss of syntactic freedom, e.g., of the ability to be moved around in the sentence in ways that are characteristic of the non-grammaticalized source item.
 - f. Loss of ability to be referred to anaphorically.
 - g. Loss of members belonging to the same grammatical paradigm.
4. **Erosion** (“phonetic reduction”), i.e., loss in phonetic substance. Erosion is connected to “high-frequency use” (cf. Bybee 2003), which is not solely seen in grammaticalization. It can mean the loss of syllables, suprasegmental parts, e.g. stress, tone, intonation. An example from Heine and Reh (1984: 25) for the phonological aspect is from Duala, Bantu:

Proto-Bantu **gide* “finish” > -*gide* as a complementizer > *ide* > *i* > ' (high tone)

PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

Figure 1

As mentioned above, desemanticization does often include a metaphorical process, which shifts the level of abstraction. The path of abstraction shows the loss of concreteness and increase in abstraction. Conceptually, grammaticalization moves along this unidirectional path, that is connected to word classes and constituent types (Heine et al. 1991: 53). *Directionality* is the “tendency to develop in one direction, giving preference to cross-linguistically more natural and common processes”, (Robbeets 2015: 55) and unidirectionality therefore favours one direction. Still in this stage, a form-meaning asymmetry can be observed. The conceptual or semantic shift precedes the change in morpho-syntax (cf. Heine et al 1991; Bybee et al. 1994).

According to Heine *et al.* (1991:78) there are three “variables crucial for understanding grammaticalization”. The first is metaphor, which belongs to the conceptual domain and links it to the grammatical concept. The second is context; in which context the expression has been uttered; and third creativity, which relates the concept to the given context. Speaking of metaphor, there have been basic categories proposed relative to the degree of abstraction, see figure 1.

What is grammaticality? When we speak of grammatical forms and gradual changes of grammatical categories, we first have to define them. Here, we distinguish between four instances of linguistic entities belonging to the family of grammatical forms:

1. grammatical forms with relative phonological and syntactic independence
2. derivation forms, which are part of the lexicon
3. clitics, forms that are linked to another independent form under one accent
4. inflectional forms, which are always dependent and bound, this could be gender, case, number, aspect, tense⁴

⁴ But they do not have to be all of these together.

Figure 2

relates to	PERSON	OBJECT	ACTIVITY	SPACE	TIME	QUALITY
	human noun		dynamic verb			Adj, state verb, ad- verb
	noun phrase		verb phrase			modifier

Figure 2 shows how different constituents and concepts relate to each other. Activity tends to be expressed by a dynamic verb, and often in a verbal phrase. Quality on the other hand tends to be expressed by state verbs, adjectives, or adverbs. Concepts like space and time are less rigid and differ in their relations.

Heine & Reh (1984:57) use the term “split” to refer to forms exhibiting characteristics of different categories to a given time. For example, prepositions that cover space and time (comparable to *portmanteau*, which combines in one morph complex linguistic units, different morpho-syntactic units). “An analysis in terms of discrete metaphorical jumps captures only one aspect of the process. Both discontinuity and continuity, or metaphorical transfer and gradual extension are involved in grammaticalization” (ibid: 68).

We have seen in this section that grammaticalization can be split into different stages. These stages include different concepts and categories. But rather viewing them as distinct from each other, sometimes their overlapping constitutes the grammaticalization process itself. In the next section, we will focus on bringing these stages together.

Grammaticalization as a process

In the following, I will describe the way we look at grammaticalization and how we focus on grammaticalization. Grasping the idea of linguistic change involves the association of movement and finding the language for it. Several terms have been proposed to fit the idea: the term “cline”⁵

⁵ A term introduced in biology and evolutionary theory, describing a “cline” as “[a] gradual variation in the characteristics of a species or population over its geographical range. It occurs in response to varying environmental factors, such as soil type or climate” (Martin & Hine 2015).

(Halliday 1961) or a “gradual transition” (Hopper & Traugott 1993) relating to grammatical categories without a distinct switch from one to another category. Another term referring to the same phenomenon is “grammaticalization chain” (Heine *et al.* 1991: 222ff.): this does not only account of the change along a grammaticalization process but also the endpoint thereof. Thus, our progressive marker can be considered as an endpoint of the development. This is a retrospectively reconstructed view, as we have seen that progressive marker can develop into an indicative marker (e.g., Lebanese Arabic, *ʾana b-rūḥ ʾāl-madrāse* “I go to school”, this has a general reading.).

From a synchronic point of view, we can assess grammaticalization in the light of a certain degree of grammaticality, as I outlined above. As the construction sometimes belongs to different categories and therefore overlaps, the degree of grammaticality reflects the progress along the grammaticalization axes. Taking this point of view, the continuum exists because we can place different constructions on it. But limiting oneself to a synchronic view misses the development of the specific construction.

From a diachronic standpoint, grammaticalization reflects a path a construction might or might not take. Taking the *Uniformitarian Principle* (Labov 1975) as “the present is key to the past” or in the words of Croft (2003: 49) “the rules that govern language structure today are the same that governed language structure yesterday and will be the same that will govern language structure tomorrow”⁶, we can assume grammaticalization played a leading role in the development of our languages in the past and the grammaticalization processes we observe today likewise happened in the past.

Because there is an interplay of synchronicity and diachronicity, Lehmann (2015) has proposed to define grammaticalization beyond the boundaries of binary categories, which is to highlight the ambiguous nature of grammaticalization. Another critique comes from Janda (2001) about the standard conceptualization of grammaticalization; he speaks against a uniform theory of grammaticalization, so denies its own force. He proposes to speak of grammaticalization as different epiphenomena of language change. He supports his claim with the existence of “the very disparateness inherent in this assemblage of phenomena” (ibid: 321) that leads to the more pragmatic idea of co-occurrence of linguistic phenomena from different linguistic domains. Addressing this critique, Haspelmath (2004: 26) states; “[Grammaticalization] is a macro-level phenomenon which cannot

⁶ For a detailed discussion on the *Uniformitarian Principle* in linguistics, its origin from geology and the caution when taking over a concept from another discipline, see Walkden (2019).

be reduced to the properties of the corresponding micro-level phenomena.” While the stand of epiphenomena makes sense and might not change the specific description of the construction change, Kranich (2015) offers a more fine-grained analysis of input and output of grammaticalization processes and shows that developments are indeed dependent on input (and output) leading to the distinction between *primary* and *secondary* grammaticalization.

This distinction of primary and secondary grammaticalization was proposed quite early on in literature by advocates of functional approaches (e.g., Givón 1991). In primary grammaticalization, the source material is of lexical basis which converts into a grammatical output. In secondary grammaticalization, which refers to the earlier introduced “make more grammatical”- type, the source material is already grammatical. In her cross-linguistic comparison of mostly Indo-European languages Kranich (2015) compares different views on how to dissect input and output and provides data that support the formal distinction of a primary and secondary grammaticalization. The semantic and pragmatic processes involved in primary grammaticalization increase *subjectification*, which means “[m]eanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude toward the situation” (Traugott 1990: 500). In contrast, secondary grammaticalization decreases subjectification. We can thus speak of *objectification* or *de-subjectification*, where the speaker’s subjective belief about or the attitude toward a situation decreases or is lost. This can be observed during the change from a highly subjective focus construction, which is highly subjective as the speaker wants to highlight a specific part, to an obligatory construction, which is more dependent on the “objective” and external conditions as time reference and verbal action (Kranich 2015: 178). This correlates with semantic bleaching and obligatorification (cf. Heine and Reh 1984). This is semantically bleached because the additional subjective meaning is lost.

In the case of a progressive aspect marker development, functionally, Kranich (2015:177) proposes the following:

Figure 3

foregrounding marker > optional progressive aspect marker > obligatory progressive aspect marker

We can observe different behaviours during grammaticalization of aspect in regard to the described development of a progressive marker. To understand this, we have to propose a grammatical and a

lexical aspect. I will define them more in detail in the next chapter. There are two counter-acting developments. The functionality of the grammatical aspect gets restricted. This means the marker develops from a free into a paradigmatic marker, therefore included into a paradigm. While the functionality of the lexical aspect increases as the marker opens up to different verbal classes (ibid: 179). For example, the progressive marker that used to be limited to categories of activity, stretches to different verb categories (e.g., state, accomplishment).

So far, I have introduced the term *unidirectionality* and talked about the process. But how can we say it is unidirectional and not developing in both ways? It was Lehmann (1995a [1982]: 16-19) who defined *unidirectionality* as an “universal property of grammaticalization” and coined the term *degrammaticalization*, expressing the possibility of “going-back” on the grammaticalization path or returning to a passed category. It seems that the literature has some divergent notion of the nature of *degrammaticalization* and of the necessity of this term.⁷ In the following, I rely on Haspelmath (2004), who addresses these differences in a concise manner. He shifts the center of focus: instead of saying there is left and right, grammaticalization and degrammaticalization, he asks the question of constraint. “[D]irectionality constraints are among the strongest universals of language change” (ibid: 17), therefore it is more interesting and important to understand the constraints and not to prove the absolute universal of unidirectionality, rather it seems to be more realistic to speak of the statistical universal. Heine *et al.* (1991) call the presence of *degrammaticalization* statistically insignificant. Whereas Lehmann (2015: 193) states, “[T]he thesis of the non-existence of *degrammaticalization* is an empirical hypothesis which has not yet been thoroughly falsified.”

What Haspelmath counts as the reverse of grammaticalization belongs to the level of category change. In his words “antigrammaticalization is intended to cover types of changes, not tokens. [...] e.g., discourse > syntax > morphology” (ibid: 28). Antigrammaticalization is his preferred term to denominate the reversal of grammaticalization. There are few examples of a real reverse grammaticalization, which would involve a gradual reversal.

Ex. 5

Latin rigid prefix *re-* “again” > Italian flexible prefix *ri-* “again”, e.g. *ridevo fare* “I must do again” (Haspelmath 2004: 28)

⁷ It is a very general question at what point the introduction of a term seems necessary, that covers only a few instances and does seem to be systematically linked, rather than being a collection of exceptions.

Example 5 shows that the counter-intuitive development of a rigid prefix into a flexible prefix. On the scale of grammaticality the Latin prefix is more grammatical as it more dependent and integrated into the paradigm.

For a further analysis of unidirectionality, see Haspelmath (2004); Lehmann (1982; 2015). This very short excursion showed that the search for constraints and parallelly, the search for cross-linguistic tendencies is an alternative and interesting approach to grammaticalization.

Motivation for Grammaticalization and its source

What is the driving force behind grammaticalization, what motivates the grammaticalization processes to happen? Heine *et al.* write “Grammaticalization is initiated by forces that are located outside language structure” (Heine *et al.* 1991: 23ff.), it is our cognitive faculties that cause the developments to happen. According to Werner and Kaplan (1963: 403), it is the “principle of the exploitation of old means for novel functions” (in Heine *et al.* 1991: 28). Being creative in applying limited and already existent means to create a new function. Traugott (1980: 54) refers to a “problem solving-mechanism”, which is the epitome of creativity. The interweaving of known and unknown material to express a certain concept in a certain time and need. But this does not explain why certain changes are happening and why certain constructions stay almost the same through time.

Bisang (1998) mentions three factors that guide grammaticalization processes: *pragmatic* in the sense of analogy and reanalysis; *language acquisition* and *sociolinguistics*. I will discuss the sociolinguistic factor in the following subchapter, and I will connect it to the linguistic history of Iraq. While this is a theoretical chapter, I do not see the necessity to refrain from actual data and the linguistic region this thesis is concerned with. Concerning the first factor, analogy manifests in surface change but not rule change; whereas reanalysis results in the change of underlying rules and not in modification of the surface structure (cf. Langacker 1977: 58; Hopper and Traugott 1993). The development of the modern French future tense serves as an example of the successive (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 44):

Ex. 6

cl. Latin [[cantare] habeo]

late Latin [cantare habeo] >

modern French [chant-e-r-ai]

The brackets show the linkage structure of this simplified example. While in classical Latin the construction, which does not express the future tense, rather functions as a deontic as in “I have to sing”, the change from classical to late Latin brings about a reanalysis of the linkage. In late Latin, it has developed into one construction and is not separable into different clauses. The surface manifestation has not change but the function and with it the underlying structure. The equivalent in modern French has changed on a surface level, phonologically and morphologically but not in the sense of rules. This is not limited to grammaticalization and is the focal point of language change. Additionally, it is not outside of language and therefore in the analysis of Hopper & Traugott (1993) not an explaining factor of motivation, rather the explanation of language change in general.

The second factor Bisang (1998) mentions, language acquisition, agrees with a proposed factor of Hopper and Traugott (1993). This is idea that language change in general happens during child language acquisition as the child needs to reinterpret the uttered language by its surrounding. This interpretation of every generation causes language change in general. This is an idea that is strongly present in generative linguistics.

An additional factor is the speaker-hearer communication situation (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 65ff.). This relates to any communication situation and is not limited to language acquisition. While language itself is not goal-oriented this might hold true for the language users. The way we analyse speaker-hearer communication situation shows us the underlying assumptions about communication. Focusing on the hearer and how she reanalyses “correlates with a focus on morphosyntactic changes in grammaticalization” (cf. Langacker 1977). On the speaker’s side, two approaches are observable: the “expressive use of language”, which correlates with “pragmatic enrichment of lexical items” or the “tendency to economize which correlates with a focus on routinization, semantic loss, and frequency”. People in this situation are guided by principles and therefore lead to a possible change in language. Bybee *et al.* (1994: 300) write: “[t]he push for grammaticalization comes from below – it originates in the need to be more specific, in the tendency to inform as much as

possible from the input, and in the necessity of interpreting items in context”. But the question why lexical items and construction become more grammatical is still not fully answered.

An ongoing discussion is the source of grammatical meaning and therefore the source for grammaticalization. Following the path of abstraction, much source material belongs to the “basic vocabulary”, a list of basic relation of human experience (Heine *et al.* 1991: 33): This includes body parts (cf. the development of many adpositions), natural phenomena, human items, basic dynamic verbs “to go”, “to come”, posture verbs “to stand”, “to sit”, quantifiers, etc.

While Heine *et al.* (1991:338) argue, “One source concept can give rise to more than one grammatical category”, Bybee *et al.* (1994:11) argue that “it is the entire construction, and not simply the lexical meaning of the stem, which is the precursor, and hence the source, of the grammatical meaning”. This shifts the focus from a verb like “to go” as the possible source for a future tense and a progressive to the specific construction which turns into a future marker in one case, and a progressive in another. In this discussion, the structure of source material affects the view on the output.

Bybee *et al.* (1994: 11) remark further that “constructions undergoing grammaticization usually incorporate certain units that are already grammatical, such as tense or aspect markers and adpositions or case markers, all of which contribute meaning to the construction”. This suggests that the process of grammaticalization can accumulate meaning, considering that tense or aspect markers are already grammaticalized, too, and these grammaticalization paths are distinct in a language due to existing construction structure. The morphology and the application in syntax are forming factors for the grammaticalization process. For them, the combination of source determination and unidirectionality conclude in universal paths (*ibid.* 15).

Grammaticalization and Areal Linguistics - the sociolinguistic factor

A factor in grammaticalization processes which tends to be overlooked or at least underestimated, is sociolinguistics. The social fabric, self-identification using linguistic features, and migration play a role in language change, and hence in grammaticalization. But also, they offer a perspective on

different language developments that might have been differently interpreted. Arabic linguistics has been occupied with the description of the manifold varieties of spoken Arabic, focusing on phonology and morphology, as well as some lexical studies. These dialect studies have mostly been isolated, but could serve as the base for larger, areal investigations.⁸ Recent developments in Arabic linguistics have been focussing on the comparative approach in Arabic sociolinguistics due to the high variation of Arabic varieties (cf. Owens 2018). These varieties might give answers to the question related to the development of Arabic, by showing residue of older stages scattered in areally distributed varieties. Thus, following the *variationist theory* (cf. Labov) for Arabic: “dialects are maintained as linguistic entities by the social configurations which hold together language communities and the geographical boundaries which facilitate their separation.” (Owens 2018: 2). Putting this in the perspective of grammaticalization, if the historical depth of written or documented language data is missing, dialect varieties might reveal different stages of an overlapping language. Owens (2018: 42ff.) adapts the “apparent time” for comparison within one language from sociolinguistics, where inter-generational (G_1 , G_2 , G_3) change is observed, for different manifestations of linguistic features (T_a , T_b , T_c) in the study of linguistic varieties (D_1 , D_2 , D_3). In analogy to the “apparent time”, he calls it “dialect apparent time”.

Figure 4

Apparent time		Dialect apparent time	
$G_1 = 60y$	T_1	D_1	T_a
$G_2 = 40y$	T_2	D_2	T_b
$G_3 = 20y$	T_3	D_3	T_c

Hence, the comparative “are conducted synchronically, but are projected backwards so that each dialect, of key aspects thereof, is interpreted as potentially representing an earlier historical state.” (Owens 2018: 43). Migration entails a diachronic aspect, in a sense of the migrated communities or individuals by preserving or using linguistic material differently than communities, which have not migrated or have been affected by movement. Thus, in areas where written documents are rare,

⁸ VICAV project (2020) is one of the many projects that focusses on the collection of language data from different varieties and the geo-spatial mapping.

which is usually the case, the migration pattern and the linguistic changes can show in linkage how a certain construction evolved, how a certain grammaticalization pattern elaborated.

The key discussion on areally and socially distributed Arabic varieties is the work of Haim Blanc (1964) on *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*, where religious affiliation and therefore constructed identities are geographically bound and represent isoglosses. It is important to note that religious affiliation is not an obligatory marker in different varieties, as Holes (2019) points out that the Coptic communities do not show a similar discrepancy of linguistic features when compared to the Muslim communities in Cairo.⁹ Blanc (1964) shows that the differences between communities of Christian Arabic (CA), Jewish Arabic (JA) and Muslim Arabic (MA) are connected to the invasion and violent destruction of Baghdad in 1258 by Mongolian leader Hulagu Khan, where the Muslim population has been partially eradicated, whereas the Christians and Jews survived and with them the earlier stages of the formally spoken language in Baghdad. The most prominent feature is the distinction between *qeltu* and *gilit*, both referring to the 1st Person Sg. of *qāla* “to say”. *qeltu* refers to the Christian and Jewish Arabic varieties as well to the varieties spoken in Northern Iraq¹⁰; *gilit* was spoken by Muslim communities in Baghdad and Southern Iraq, where it originated from non-Sedentary communities and brought into the capital by several stages of migration. From mid-19th century on, the Ottoman bureaucracy used re-population and *sedentarisation* of Bedouins for balancing power struggles in the central regions (Holes 2019: 68). Today the features of *gilit* variety transferred from a “Bedouin speak” to a “Muslim Majority speak” (ibid: 69), *levelling* out the differences through internal migration and connotation with prestige.

As Magidow (2013: 64) points rightly out, that the linguistic markers act as indices for general identities and are in fact “not linguistic identities per se”. In speech communities, which are best described as a “collection of social networks” (ibid: 56) of close or rather loose-knit networks of people communicating with each other

This serves as a briefly painted picture of the linguistic landscape in Iraq. Two *caveats* are to be considered before moving on. First, due to the constant conflict in Iraq the collected data in the last decades is very limited and often times not gathered in Iraq but from diaspora communities in the

⁹ This refers also and especially to everyday speech, therefore the use of a liturgic language like Coptic is not comparable to the Christian or Jewish Arabic in former Baghdad.

¹⁰ The region has mostly been spared by the destruction Baghdad and Southern Iraq had faced.

US, Israel etc.¹¹ While many linguistic data collections are based on diaspora research, it is worthwhile to point out that these are “quasi-historical” data (ibid: 64). A second caveat emerges from a more theoretical consideration. Trudgill (2011: 168ff.) stresses the point that the development of mass communication and transport systems and hence, the social fabric, affected and accelerated language change and is therefore to be considered when talking about the Uniformitarian Principle.

In the case of the progressive construction in Southern Iraq up to Baghdad this seems to hold true, as we shall see the scattering of this construction, beginning with a highly gender-affected inflection in the sources from Kuwait and Basra, reaching up to Baghdad, where it shows no gender sensitivity anymore.

¹¹ Holes (2019) points out that also the data collection by Blanc was not *in situ* but from Iraqis in diaspora.

Aspect

In the following chapter, I am going to take a closer look at aspect and its crucial role in the understanding of a progressive function. As we will discuss the grammaticalization of a predicate to a specific aspect marker, a clear definition of aspect is a prerequisite for the further analysis. Comrie (1976: 3) calls aspect “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Aspect is not considered an independent category, but rather a sub-component among the broad field of tense, aspect and mood (TAM). For our purpose, our focus will be predominantly on aspect. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the interaction between tense and aspect plays a significant role in the grammaticalization of former aspect to tense systems in Semitic languages (Rubin 2005). First, I am going to define aspect and perfective and imperfective in order to have a clear and consistent terminology for the further discussion. In a next step, I am going to explain grammatical and lexical aspect, while having a typological approach in mind. This leads to the defining of a progressive as an interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect, and the comparative research on progressive. In the following section I am going to look at the development of a progressive construction and how grammaticalization plays into this development, by combining what I discussed in the previous chapter on grammaticalization. The last part is dedicated to the two source concepts of posture and motion.

When we talk about aspect and specific aspect systems in languages, we refer to the grammatical coding of how to view the temporal extension of a situation; the other would be tense. Aspect refers to the inner extension of a situation, showing the state of completion. Completion is known as *perfective*, which is defined as conceiving a situation that is completed in relation to the narrator. The other viewpoint of a situation is called *imperfective*, which is defined as an ongoing situation in relation to the narrator.¹² Modern Spoken Arabic has an *overt* aspect system. Thus, the perfective and imperfective aspect are expressed by different morphemes, which were inherited from an overtly marked aspect system in Proto-Semitic (Bubenik 2017; Suter 2017). In Semitic studies the use of a third aspect, *resultative* or *perfect*¹³, has been discussed, as the transformation of the Semitic verbal system heavily relied on the new usage of former resultative Participles, which

¹² Keeping in mind, when talked about aspect examples of an overt dichotomy of perfective and imperfective are used to explain and define aspect. What I mean by that is, that mostly morphologically marked aspect systems are introduced, instead of enriching the data pool by non-morphological marking.

¹³ Not to confound with the tense Perfect.

developed into the generic past tense. While it supports the explanation of this transformation, I do not think that it adds substantial gain to the schemata. Functions of a resultative can be explained by the interplay of a grammatical and lexical aspect and are mutually excluding. In Modern Arabic the transformation of the proto-Semitic verbal system is encoded with a perfective/ imperfective in connection with a relative past time preference/ relative non-past reference (cf. Rubin 2005).

At least two different viewpoints on aspect and the interplay of the categories have been proposed in the past (Sasse 2001). Some scholars have proposed to consider progressive as one of three subclass within the category of aspect, next to perfective and imperfective. In the following, I will not follow this definition, but rather define progressive as a lexically restricted sub-class of imperfective in connection of lexical aspect. As a preliminary critique one could add that the studies of aspect, and therefore the notion of aspect, was heavily influenced by Slavonic language studies and is still used to argue against some findings in a more theoretical literature. In addition, I rely in several cases on typological findings of language data sets (Dahl 1985; Bybee *et al.* 1994), which stand in opposition to the proposing of (aspectual) categories upon morphological marking in a specific language in the rather theoretical, less cross-linguistic literature. I attempt to combine the typological findings on TAM with a rather functional work by Heine *et al.* (1991) for the selection of my parameters. In the section on Typological findings I will go more into detail about their findings.

Broadly speaking, aspect is the way we look at a situation and how we conceive it; this can be a situation in total, completed and possibly transitioning into another situation, as an on-going situation with reference to its internal structure. Most researchers differentiate between a grammatical aspect and a lexical aspect,¹⁴ too. The former refers to the grammatical marking of a verbal situation and is predominantly divided into perfective and imperfective¹⁵. Perfective is often viewed as a “bounded unit” (Bybee *et al.* 1994), describing an already transitioned verbal situation from the

¹⁴ The grammatical aspect is also referred to as “viewpoint”, “aspect proper”, “perspective point” in literature, as for the lexical aspect, so *Aktionsart*, “sentential aspect”, “verbal character”, aspectual character”, “verb class”, “situation type”, “taxonomic category”, or “event set”, cf. Sasse (2001). Comrie (1976: 6) on the other hand avoids the distinction between the two categories.

¹⁵ Some have proposed to use a third aspect, a resultative or the Perfect aspect, which would include a dynamic and stative reading of a situation. Most scholars’ work rather with this bipartite system of perfective and imperfective. The proposal of even more aspects, e.g. habitual or a progressive, would divide this category even further into smaller units. The question we should ask is if it is beneficial for the understanding of the actual data to propose this diversified system, and more importantly to put a habitual aspect on the same level as an imperfective aspect.

speaker’s point. Whereas imperfective expresses the internal structure of a situation¹⁶. Lexical aspect, also known as *Aktionsart*¹⁷, on the other hand, categorizes verbs and their internal structure of situation description. The widely used categorization for lexical aspect was proposed by Vendler (1957); according to him, four verbal categories constitute the lexical aspect: *state*, *activity*, *accomplishment*, and *achievement*; all four of them are further specified by their affinity to the following three parameters [+/- *static*], [+/-*telic*], and [+/-*punctual*]. *Static*¹⁸ refers if there exist inherently no change to the situation. *Telic* if there is inherently a goal to the predicate. *Punctual* referring to the predication for a single moment of time (Vendler 1967:102). This can be observed best differentiating *accomplishment* and *achievement* verbs. Both are telic and dynamic, but the former takes place over the whole time, whereas the latter verb refers to a specific point. Looking at the examples below, “The fire is melting the ice” if it takes ten minutes or twenty minutes to melt the ice, the melting happened for the specific time. In the case of the achievement “to explode”, one might light up gas, which leads to an explosion. This would refer only to a very specific time of the whole situation of lighting up gas and reaching the explosion.

Figure 5

state	[+static], [– telic], [-punctual]	to be sick, to be dead, to love
activity	[- static], [– telic], [-punctual]	to walk, to swim
accomplishment	[- static], [+ telic], [-punctual]	to learn, to melt, to run a mile
achievement	[- static], [+ telic], [+punctual]	to explode

This strict categorization has been criticized by others, in that other constituents could transfer the verbs into a different category (Croft 2012: 33-45). For example, Croft introduces a force-dynamic dimension into the description of events (situations) to fill this gap in analysis.

¹⁶ Whatever it is that a sentence may describe. Thus, a phrase as described by “She is fast asleep”, can be distinguished from an event, as described by It fell over yesterday; an activity from an accomplishment or an achievement, and so on, in whatever detail may be needed. (Matthews 2014).

¹⁷ *Aktionsart* is probably the most common term for the lexical aspect. The term was coined in a context of strict distinction between grammatical and lexical aspect; especially used to describe the different verbal classes in Indo-European languages, e.g., Old-Indic, and the reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-European, where it had an impact on the verbal derivation. Strunk (1994) differentiated in Indo-European Studies a “verbal character” for in intrinsic aspectuality, and *Aktionsart* for verbal derivation aspectuality (cf. Sasse 2001: 8), as we might see it in the ten verbal classes for the present tense in Sanskrit.

¹⁸ *Dynamic* is also used, if so the plus and minus must be read vice-versa.

Additionally, Bar-el (2015) discusses the impact of theoretical assumptions of the verbal classes on the understanding and classification – and their shortcomings – of findings in the field. Standardization like Vendler’s is problematic insofar that it is solely based on English verbs. Even within one language, verbs of one class may behave in ways that elude the strict categorization of the four verbal classes. Bar-el (2015) focuses on the lexical aspect in the context of cross-linguistic variation, which requires a more fine-grained model of verbal classes, based on actual findings from field studies instead of a rigid adherence to mono-linguistic categorization when tackling the aspectual system in a new language. One of the paramount questions she asks is what the distribution of implicature and entailment is in any given language for the verbal classes. It is important because the common definitions are mostly based on an entailment argument, not implicature. Coined by Grice (1975) the term entailment refers to the relationship between a Sentence S and Proposition P. P is true whenever S is true; e.g. S: *I saw my mother and father yesterday.* and P: *I saw my father yesterday.* P is true if S is true. Whereas in implicature Sentence S does not presupposes Proposition P. We may refer from the context that it might, but it does not require it. E.g.: S: *I ate two bread rolls for breakfast.* and P: *I didn’t eat more than 2 bread rolls today.* might be concluded but S does not presuppose P. So, when Vendler (1967) shows that in Skwxwú7mesh (Central Salish, North-West America) in the category *activity*, termination is implicit, and in the case of Hindi (cf. Singh 1999 in Bar-el 2015) in the category *accomplishment*, culmination is also implicit and not entailed. The issue with implicature and entailment is also addressed in Bickel (1997, 2000) and Sasse (1991, 2001), as we shall see.

A glimpse into the Arabic varieties offers us a diverse picture of affinity to verbal classes. Mughazy (2005), who focused on Egyptian Arabic, states: “A cursory look at how the diagnostics developed in this paper apply to other dialects of Arabic suggests that the event descriptions denoted by verbs vary from one dialect to another. From example, the verbs [tā]r “take off” and s[ā]’ “start to drive” are achievements in Egyptian Arabic, but they describe durative events in Moroccan and Lebanese Arabic.” (Mughazy 2005: 170).

In contrast to, Dowty (1979) and Langacker (1987, 1991), have proposed that aspectuality is a unidimensional domain, therefore the distinction between grammatical and lexical aspect is not categorically valid, as the prevalence of a sentence aspect should be stressed. In other words, the aspectual categories should apply to all levels of language (Sasse 2001: 18). The question one could

ask is how they explain the internal shift of a verb if employed by an imperfective or perfective without any other changes in the scope of the analysis.

Another line of thought (cf. Sasse 1991, 2001, Bickel 1997, 2000), understands the interplay of grammatical aspect and lexical aspect¹⁹ as “an operator-operandum” relationship²⁰, where aspect operators select matching elements in an *Aktionsart*, thereby highlighting specific boundaries or phases” (Bickel 1997: 116). Sasse (1991:11) Dabei wurden durch den imperfektiven Aspekt die in der Verbsemantik angelegten Grenzen *unterdrückt*, während sie durch den perfektiven Aspekt *hervorgehoben* werden.» This understanding of aspectuality is subsumed under the name “Selection Theories”, where aspect is again defined by two orthogonal parameters.

In this section we have seen that the understanding of aspect is debated; there is disagreement about (1) a dichotomy between a grammatical and a lexical aspect, and (2) the internal categorization and interplay within those two terms. It is also worth mentioning that not all languages show this ideal dichotomy between morphological and lexical marking but rather different variants of combinational marking. In the next section, we will look further into the categorization of lexical aspect and its language-specific *caveats*.

Lexical Aspect

First, let us define the “operandum”, as it will be used as the base for the analysis in the coming sections. Sasse (1991) proposes a five partite model of lexical aspect. He starts with the assumption «dass das Verhalten von Aspektsystemen auf allen Ebenen (morphologisch, syntaktisch und semantisch) von der lexikalischen Semantik der Sachverhaltsausdrücke (Verba) abhängig ist und nur auf dieser Basis beschrieben werden kann» (Sasse 1991:1). So, in contrast to the one-dimension-theory of aspect, this suggests that a specific aspectual situation can only be understood as the combination of grammatical and lexical aspect and cannot be subsumed under one. What he calls «Sachverhaltsausdrücke» are encoded in our outline as situations. The used term *boundary* refers to “transitions” (Bickel 1997).

¹⁹ Sasse (1991) calls them Aspect1 and Aspect2, the former referring to grammatical aspect, the later to lexical aspect.

²⁰ or “correspondence relationship”, not in the original text.

Figure 6 shows the correspondence between the verbal definition and the symbols of Sasse (1991) and Bickel's (1997) terminology:

Figure 6

Sasse (1991)		Bickel (1997)
Totally stative situations TSTA	a situation without any boundaries	[φ]
Inchoative-stative situations ISTA	entering in and the course of the situation	[$\tau \varphi$]
Action situations AKTI	a situation with the possibility of one or two boundaries	[$\tau \varphi \tau$]
Gradually terminative situations GTER	a situation with the following change of the situation	[$\varphi \tau$]
Totally terminative situations TTER	change of situation only	[τ]

Every situation in the real world has a beginning and an ending, some are rather short, others are long or even infinite. But instead of encoding the actual boundaries, verbal situation descriptions may focus on one or several aspects of the situation. Thus, languages encode a specific perspective on reality, which does not have to coincide with the logical relationship(s) of the world.

The TSTA cover verbs, e.g. “to be”, “to rest”, “to weigh”²¹. The AKTI are also referred to as *processual* in other contexts and are the epitome of dynamic situations. As stated above, the situation does not have to encode both transitions. Furthermore, verbs of the last category, TTER, is sometimes also referred to telic or punctual. In the terminology used by Bickel (1997), these correspond to a combination of φ for phase and τ for transition.

²¹ As I argue that the verbal categorization is language-specific, these examples are meant to refer only to their language, even though there are many overlapping cases across languages.

In the case of AKTI both boundaries are not required to be overtly expressed in all uses of that predicate, rather the grammatical aspect marker might select one over another, which is suited best for the specific context. In Bickel (2000: 7) for Belhare (Sino-Tibetan, Nepal):

Ex. 7

pacis gate na-lamma la um-he-qa, khim-lamma.

25 Datum DEM-MED laufen-PT-EXCL Haus-MED

«Am fünfundzwanzigsten bin ich von hier losgelaufen, von zu Hause weg.»

Ex. 8

abo ηke Belhara phitd-e yeti la umm-hett-i?

nun 1PL.INCL B. überall-LOC was laufen-TEMP-1PL

«Was laufen wir nun überall in Belhärä herum?»

In example 7 verb *la um* “to walk” is perfective and reads as an inchoative “we set off”, whereas in example 8 it is imperfective, as stated in the German translation with *herumlaufen*.

The well-known example in Ancient Greek is used to illustrate another selection process. The Greek verb “to rule, to be king” *basileuō* shows an internal structure [τ φ]. In the Aorist example 9 a), which is a perfective in past tense in Ancient Greek ²², the focus lies on the transition, thus on the possible boundedness of this predicate. Whereas in Simple Past b), which is an imperfective, the phase of “being a king” is expressed, namely an unbounded situation (in Bickel 1997: 123-24).

Ex. 9 a)

e-basileu-s-e

PAST-reign-AOR-3SG

“He became king.”

Ex. 9 b)

e-basileu-e

PAST-reign-3SG

“He was king.”

²² at least for finite verbs

Ex. 9 c)

étē pentēkonta e-basīleu-s-e

year.ACC 50 PAST-reign-AOR-3SG

“He reigned for fifty years.”

In the case of c) the Aorist is employed with a time interval reference of fifty years, that adds another boundary to the predicate. It cannot read as “He became king for fifty years.”

Progressivity

There is an abundant literature on *progressivity* and *progressive*. As I stated earlier, some scholars propose a distinct progressive aspect, in the same line as a perfective or imperfective as a grammatical aspect. I will not follow this distinction and I will argue in line with Bickel (1997, 2000), Sasse (1991, 2001) that progressivity is not inseparable from the interaction of grammatical and lexical boundedness. Binnick (1991: 284) argues that there are several notions on *progressivity*. He names four major ideas behind progressive: I. “durative”, II. “action in progress”, III. “incompletion”, and IV. “progressive of the frame”. Firstly, one issue is the understanding of progressive as simply *durative*. A term whose precise definition is already highly debated; “extension through time”, “continuance”, or “non-completion” are different terms to describe *durative* (Binnick 1991: 284). As he suggests, a durative understanding would fall short in explaining sentences like this “She is always breaking things in the kitchen.” She does not break glasses, plates and cups continuously, but rather in an iterative manner. However, we have to consider that adverbial constructions such as “always” or “from time to time” convey an aspectual reading, too, which is sometimes opposite of or at least different from the predicate in use. Bickel (2000) offers different approach. There, the adverbial constructions select the phasal part of the verbal situation and thus changes the reading of the whole verbal clause.

Secondly, one might assume that the term progressive indicates the basic notion of this function, namely a situation in progression (Binnick 1991: 286). With examples such as “Tom is turning blue”, he shows that one can indeed talk about a progression of situation. However, he also remarks that this mere fact is owed to the verbal type of accomplishment; in our terminology, it would be a gradually terminative situation. One has to bear in mind that his approach is a very formalistic one,

him being a proponent of formal semantics. Further, his analyses rely on examples from exclusively European languages. Secondly, he bases his argumentation merely on a synchronic level and does not provide explanations based on diachrony, therefore disregarding grammaticalization of functions, which can be also said with regards to his counterexample in I.

Thirdly, “incompletion” as the defining trait of the progressive is already used for defining an imperfective. With our reading of a progressive as a under category of imperfective, this is to be expected, but does not define a progressive in a substantive and new way. The fourth notion of progressive follows Jespersen (?) with a “progressive of the frame”, which means that the progressive is used to set another event or situation. Binnick (ibid: 287) disregards that on the basis that there is not always another event or situation, that could be framed.

Binnick’s discussion is in so far valuable as it collects, describes and structures different understandings of the progressive and its core notion. He also shows that theses understandings are limited and cannot describe all the functions of *progressive*. To be remarked is that he heavenly relies on English examples to refute the basic notions of *progressive*. Findings from typological research (cf. Dahl 1985) suggest that the wide range of the English progressive is a very rare phenomenon²³. It should be viewed as an extension of this marking and an increase in its functionality, which are mostly pragmatically motivated. Therefore, an analysis of the different functions of *progressive* with English is interesting regarding the different paths and developments a morphological marking of a progressive can take, but it is not the easiest to describe core functions of *progressive* on a metalevel.

In this section, I showed on the discussion of Binnick how difficult it is to define *progressive* in a clear-cut way, especially when taking language examples to make more general statements. Typology helps us to understand what might be more important to consider when talking about core notions of *progressive*. I will go into this in more detail in the next section on typological observations.

²³ Dahl remarks that the English progressive is the only progressive in his sample, that showed such a huge variety of functions. He includes the following scenario from the questionnaire:

Context: This week I have to go to work early.

Sentence: I RISE at six in the morning (alt: at dawn). (Dahl 1985: 93).

But he also remarks that a lot of his consultants couldn’t understand the intended meaning.

Typological observations about the Progressive

In the last section we have discussed the defining process of *progressive* and I opted for a broader look onto typology. A frequently raised question in typological literature is whether and to what extent the hypothesized cross-linguistic TAM categories coincide with morpho-syntactic marking; mostly addressing the distinction between morphological²⁴ and periphrastic²⁵ marking (cf. Dahl 1985; Bybee 1985; Bybee *et al.* 1994). Typological findings suggest that “certain semantic ranges occur very commonly with grammatical expressions in genetically and areally unrelated languages” (Bybee *et al.* 1994: 2) and that there is a “close connection between the semantics of a TMA category and the ways, in which it tends to be expressed” (Dahl 1985: 185). He also concludes that in his sample of 64 languages, at least 28 showed morpho-syntactic marking for *progressive*, out of which 85 percent use periphrastic constructions. Further, he states that if there is a “perfective-imperfective distinction in a language, the prototypical PROG contexts would be imperfective” (Dahl 1985: 92).

On the other hand, there are some characteristics that sets apart imperfective from progressive. Whereas the imperfective often exhibits a tense constraint, the progressive does not show a general restriction in time reference. There are progressive constructions restricted to a present tense, but his sample does not suggest a strong tendency. Furthermore, it is stated that the progressive is seldom extended to habitual meaning, and that progressive is usually used with stative verbs²⁶ (Dahl 1985:92). Both are reported grammaticalization paths or channels, on which the function of this construction enlarges its functional scope. Bybee *et al.* (1994: 148) expresses this idea in an elaborated way: “We have used the generalization to habitual context and generalization to use with stative predication as the criteria for classifying a gram as present or imperfective, but it is not clear from the data at hand which of these generalizations precedes the other. [...] Thus, at least in the past, the use in habitual contexts precedes the use with statives.” In summary, typology helps to capture the focus by not postulating irrelevant categories. On the other hand, typology is based on

²⁴ In the sense of inflectional marking.

²⁵ In the sense of a construction, cf. French “être en train de”.

²⁶ This is also the canonical distinction between *progressive* and *continuous* (cf. Comrie 1976). Progressive encodes an on-going situation of a dynamic verb, whereas continuous encodes also a stative verb in an on-going situation. But we shall see in another section (?) that, referring to Bybee *et al.* (1994) this categorization is not typologically backed, and is an argument of circularity as many linguists classify the verbs into categories (e.g. stative or dynamic) based on the observation whether they can take a progressive or not.

theoretical assumptions too, and only the interaction between different perspectives allows to employ a fine-grained method.

Developments of the progressive function

Progressives tend to be expressed in periphrastic constructions. These periphrastic constructions can be based on various sources and mental concepts (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002). There is the *communis opinio* that locality plays a paramount role when defining the properties of source material that would eventually develop into progressive constructions. Lehmann (2015: 32), for instance identifies periphrastic constructions with copula and a nominalized verb in a locative dependence as a frequent source for progressive constructions. In a similar way, Heine *et al.* (1991: 36) state: “The locational proposition is employed, for instance, to develop verbal aspects or moods such as progressive or intentional when the constituent slot represented by Y is filled with a nominalized process²⁷ verb”. The underlying structure they propose is “X is at Y.” At first sight, these two proposed source structures feeding into the same progressive construction are mutually exclusive, (cf. Bybee *et al.* 1994: 130):

- a) “X is at verbing.” or “X is in the place of verbing.”
- b) “X sits/ stands verbing.”, generally, a posture verb is employed.

There are at least two issues, one can address. First and more generally, how can we understand the development from a locative to a temporal construction? And secondly, can (and should) we find a common denominator for the two? Typological findings may lead to an enriched understanding of the construction and its statistical distribution. Addressing the first question, grammaticalization theory(/ies) is employed. As we have already seen in the chapter on grammaticalization, there is a debate on the understanding of metaphorical change – as an abrupt transition from one domain into another, or as a gradual change with a layering of different domains or categories. Bybee *et al.* (1994: 133) propose that the original function of a progressive should be “to give the location of an agent as in the midst of an activity”. In opposition, Heine *et al.* (1991) do not assume a metaphorical shift between the expression of location to time since in the expression of location

²⁷ A process verb refers in other places to dynamic verbs; this is added by me.

the expression of time is already given, at least implicitly. Thus, “I am in the place of fishing”, or “I am fishing” simultaneously involves a place and a time reference. The gradual change from both to a solely temporal expression does not require us to assume an abrupt shift of domains. The question whether semantic and logical encoding correspond to each other was disproven by Bickel (2001) who showed that logical implications do not have to be semantically encoded.

However, Bybee *et al.* (1994: 136) conclude that the construction contains overtly or covertly the following constituents:

- 1) an agent
- 2) spatially located
- 3) in the midst of
- 4) an activity
- 5) at reference time

The spatial encoding 2) fades over time or loses on semantic value, while the temporal reference 3) is generalized and takes over the construction.

Returning to the specific construction, 27 languages (of a sample of 76) in Bybee *et al.* (1994:130) show one of the two proposed progressive construction. 21 languages use locative elements, whereas six languages use a “be-auxiliary” construction, such as English or Italian.

In the case of English, it has been shown (reference) that it derived from a “X is AT verbing”; in the case of Italian, the used copula derived from Latin/ Romance “stare”, which means “to stand”. Therefore, they conclude that “progressive involving a stative auxiliary always derives from a construction which originally included an element with locative meaning” (Bybee *et al.* 1995: 131). At the other end of the spectrum, in Chadian Arabic the progressive construction has already copula-like meaning. Rubin (2005:138-139; taken from de Pommerol (1999: 66)) cites:

Ex. 10

al-wilēd gā'id yabki

ART-child PROG PST.cry.3SG.M

“The child is crying.”

Ex. 11

Mūsa gā'id

M. PRTC.sit.3SG.M

“Mousa is there.”

In both sentences, *gā'id* is used, which is analyzed as the active participle of *qa'ada*²⁸ “to sit, to sit down”. In example 10 the most common function is the expression of an on-going situation. In example 11, the reference to sitting is not implicit anymore and describes a momentary existential situation, “to be present, to be there”.

Grammaticalization of posture verbs

This leads to the grammaticalization path of a posture verb to a progressive construction. As we have seen in the previous section, location is the common factor in the development of a progressive construction. Posture verbs offer exactly that. As we have seen in the chapter on grammaticalization, basic concepts of human experience very often serve as source material for grammaticalization paths, due to their high frequency and accessibility.

As we are mostly concerned with the expression of “to sit”, we will not consider other verbs with postural expression. A reminder from Newman (2002: 1) has to suffice when talking about the different semantic implication of posture verbs: “With all three of these [he refers to lying, sitting and standing] postures there is a strong sense of the extension of a state through time and a strong contrast between the spatial configurations involved: a compact shape associated with sitting; an upright, vertical elongation with standing; a horizontal elongation in the case of lying.” Thus, it might be useful to bear the different possibilities tied to the relevant postural position in mind when talking about the grammaticalization of these verbs. There tends to be a semantic residue in linguistic material along the grammaticalization scale (cf. Bybee *et al.* 1994). Especially while seated, one can carry out different activities, such as eating, drinking, using one’s hand in general, and has a medium effort to keep the seating situation going (Newman 2002: 3).

²⁸ Common to Bedouin dialects, the /q/ is pronounced /g/.

If several posture verbs exist to define locative expressions outside of a human experience, then specific verbs are connected to a specific constituent group. In Manam (Austronesian, Lichtenberk 1983: 496; in Newman 2002:10) different subjects employ different posture verbs; higher animals and boats that are seaworthy employ *soaʔi* “to sit”, whereas other objects employ *eno* “to lie” for a locational or existential reference. Another possibility is the distribution upon different human subject referents as the expression of honour.

In our case of grammaticalization into an aspect marker, there are manifold examples on the scale of expressing posture to an on-going activity in a specific posture until to the expression of an on-going activity, which has lost its tie to the specific postural meaning. In Mbay (Nilo-Saharan, Keegan 1997: 67-70, in Newman 2002: 12), the postural verbs *ndi* “to sit” and *dà* “to stand” function as an aspectual marker, but still differentiate the specific posture. These examples already show that different subject referents and a specific posture play into the grammaticalization and should be taken into consideration when comparing posture verbs on the grammaticalization scale.

Additionally, the participle expresses stativity (Eades and Persson 2013) and commonly used in Arabic varieties. The grammatical category does not possess an inherent aspectual meaning, thereby serving as a practical starting point for a grammaticalized progressive modifier.

Grammaticalization of translocative verbs

Translocative verbs or verbs of motion like “to go” and “to come” are another basic source for many grammaticalization chains. Like posture verbs, they convey a fundamental human experience and are highly used in speech. The mental concepts behind these verbs are a change of place (translocative) or - in general - motion. Compared to the postural verbs evolving into a progressive construction, there seems to be a smaller number evolving from translocative verbs into progressive constructions (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 79). Within this category, even less examples are found with the source “to come” than “to go” (Heine and Kuteva: 2002). Examples can be found in Spanish: *venir* + present participle, Tarahumara: verb + *eyena* “to go” Tatar: gerund+ *kil*-“to come”; + *bar*-“to walk”; Turkish: “to go, to walk”> -*yor* present (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 58).

Regarding the source concept, (Bybee and Dahl 1989: 79) proposed that these constructions with a translocative source function as a subtype of the location concept, as “they do in effect specify that the agent is located in the activity”. In other words, the motion aspect may serve as the expression of a continuity.

Methodology

We have seen the theoretical foundation of *aspect* and *grammaticalization* in the preceding two chapters. I followed in these chapters the line of functional linguistics. In this chapter, we will discuss the method of this thesis. The discussion of the progressive construction in Southern Iraq is based on fieldwork and a comparative approach of documented progressive constructions from Kuwait towards Baghdad. The method for dialectal comparison was discussed in the chapter on the sociolinguistic factor. I conducted the fieldwork in Vienna in winter 2018 and made corrections in spring 2020 via Skype.

In the following, I will go into more detail about the nature of fieldwork and the terms *documentation* and *description*. In a second part, I will talk about building a corpus and the specific recording methods for my sample, and the reasons behind my choices. In the last part, I will address desiderata and leave space for reflection on the process of fieldwork and recording, that are informed by the lessons of documentation studies.

Working in the field – theoretical and practical assumptions

Linguistic fieldwork or working in the field serves the general purpose to collect and record linguistic practice and data. The key idea behind it is that language is a skill (cf. Lehmann 2001). This skill is developed and contextualised within or in connection to the linguistic community. As this skill is dynamic and based in daily contact it can only give an account of the time, space, and person it was recorded from. This poses hinderances for every linguist. How will I get the most accurate sample? Can I generalize more accurately from a balanced sample? How many people do I have to interview? These are very practical questions to address before and after the recording sessions.

An important lesson and reminder from the introductions to fieldwork (Bloomaert and Jie 2010) is the fact that life gets into its way. Fieldwork is despite an organized approach and preparation a messy work as it involves people, surroundings, and unforeseen circumstances.

When talking about recording and collecting data two approaches and emerging fields can be differentiated: Language *documentation* and *description*. Documentation is concerned with documenting linguistic and socially linked behaviour in a linguistic community. It tries to represent the language in its form without an analysis - in theory at least. Because it is a representation it is not automatically the object of study for a linguist, but the description is (Lehmann 2001). It serves wider purposes as a platform for further inquiries and communal practices. Often, documentation is linked to communal focuses of endangered languages. This leads for example to a possible different approach of how to present the recordings and make it accessible to the particular language community.

In contrast to documentation, the description should give answers on a general level about the structure of the specific language. This analysis is structured according to the terminology and tools of linguistics and therefore already a production of the linguist. While these two terms can be separated in theory, in practice a linguist might apply both indiscriminately. For example, a phonetic transcription is informed by theoretical ideas of linguistics. How strict is the phonetic transcription and are allophones indicated? Additionally, the usage of glosses and their segmentation is based on grammatical understanding. The Leipzig Glossing Rules²⁹ address these different levels of segmentation, which are related to the purpose of the linguistic research. While the aim of this study is of quite theoretical nature and relies on a language description, we can profit from the ideas of the emerging field of language documentation; for a detailed account see Good (2010).

Bloomaert and Jie (2010: 4) talk about fieldwork as collecting the cultural and linguistic behaviour of people and the structure beneath it. People often do not have an opinion or idea about what guides them in very basic linguistic behaviour. We see that very clearly while observing our own knowledge of our native language. Unless we are trained linguists and even if are, we do not understand and also do not need to understand the underlying structure of our linguistic practice.

²⁹ This is a co-initiative by Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Bernard Comrie, Martin Haspelmath) and by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig (Balthasar Bickel) to codify glossing rules. They are constantly updated in a collaborative and open-source way. They address the interlinear glosses in relation to syntax and semantics.

Therefore, asking about something that is hidden from us might not be the best strategy to understand what it is. For language, that means that the goal is to be found in use, in practice, which is already limited and subjective to the person asked.

As we have seen in the chapter on *aspect* there exists critique from the field about the lacking alignment of theory and of the lessons from the field. The prevalence of English in descriptive linguistics is still an issue that creates biases in theory and the field. Creating a common meta-language is not the problem but supposing that generalizing English or European languages as a universal structure. This belongs to the common discussion on Western biases in linguistics, that results mainly from a deeply rooted bias of *the Other* and comparing and understanding the world according to a Western standard.

The developments in language documentation specially in endangered languages and the evolution of technology led to a diversification of linguistic fieldwork. Audio and visual recording devices can capture more than before and free the act of collecting from the strict reliance on written record. Additionally, the sharing possibilities have increased. Open source and community projects reach more people and live up to the standards of science; in being reproducible.

Building a corpus

The purpose of linguistic collection is a database for the description of the progressive construction. It is presumed that this particular construction exists and has a similar function to the already documented progressives in Mesopotamian Arabic. Building a corpus that gives answers to the function and offers enough data, means to have an understanding of where a progressive could be and is employed in the given language. These assumptions are based on the cross-linguistic generalization of progressive. Typology and the results from different research projects on progressive are the main informants to consider. To build a representative text corpus means to find the balance between being as open as possible and as restrict as necessary. In the first part of this section, I will address the general ideas about a corpus, and in the next section, I will go into more detail on the nexus of a progressive and fieldwork.

Returning to the before uttered question of a balanced corpus, Lehmann (2001: 95) describes several categories to bear in mind when building a representative corpus, cf. figure 7. Five categories

with several specifications: 1) speech act participants, so who is part of the conversation? 2) The context of speech act, answering the questions where, when, how. 3) The task or manner of the speech act: is it formalized or spontaneous? Does it follow a particular structure? 4) The content of the speech act; does it address familiar things or very specific and highly technical ones? 5) The way of communication, is it direct, face to face or via technical transmission?

While it is favourable to fulfil different specifications within a category to achieve a balanced sample, it already serves the purpose of accountability for the linguist.

1. Speech act participants (speaker, hearer, bystander)

Nature (supernatural vs. human being vs. animal vs. none; monolog, dialog, palaver ...).

Social group (sex, age, social status, profession, ethnic affiliation ...).

Roles: symmetric vs. asymmetric (kin, chief vs. citizen ...), intimate vs. stranger.

2. Context of speech act (situation)

Place (church, mill, pub ...).

Time (daytime vs. night ...).

Formality: distance vs. proximity (friendly encounter, work, ritual ...).

Real-life embedding (game, drama ...).

3. Task

Illocution:

narrative (myth, proverb, joke, riddle ...);

instructive (working routine, game instruction ...);

discursive (political/forensic speech, sermon, blessing, curse ...);

interrogative (examination, interrogation ...);

poetic (poem, song ...).

Conventionality:

ritualized (baptism, courtship ...);

conventional (greeting and leave, route directions, official address ...);

creative (event report, dispute, poem ...).

4. Topic

(Traditional/modern; work/leisure, past/future, family/village, mythical figures/persons

/animals/plants ...).

5. Channel

Medium: oral vs. written.

Directness: face-to-face vs. technical transmission.

Figure 7

Based on this extended representation, my corpus will be structured in the following way:

Table 1

Level		Examples
Speech act participant	Human being, fictional characters	Talking about himself, empathizing with fictional characters
Context of speech act	In an apartment, daytime, proximity	We met in an apartment.
Task	Narrative, interrogative	He had to narrate picture stories or was asked about specific topics in his life.
Topic	Description of family, leisure, fictional characters	He described preferred hobbies and activities.
Channel	Oral, face-to-face, recording with a device	We were sitting next to each other, in between the recording device.

On the technical side, I used a Samson recorder, which is easily transportable and often used for recordings of podcasts. It is not too big to be of constant nuisance and might disturb the scene. The recorded data was opened with Audacity. The main reasons were the free access and familiarity with this software.

Practical implications: Free recording, structured questioning, questionnaire, description of specific picture stories

When looking for such a complex category as *aspect* in a certain language, we must ask ourselves how to record sufficient data to make a statement about the progressive construction in this language. The proceeding chapter on *aspect* has shown that aspect is the interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect, of which especially lexical aspect has also to be seen as language-specific and not

universal as semantic representation does not always correspond to the logical representation (cf. Bickel 1997).

I chose a varied recording approach to diversify as possible within the means of the linguistic data set. This includes free recording of the language helper's speech acts. Some topics I proposed, and some topics are chosen by the language helper because he wanted to talk about them. My assumption that these free recordings would not bear any or enough data on progressives has been shown as accurate in my sample as it were mostly narrated stories. Whereas the free recording gave the language helper and me a chance to acquaint ourselves with the recording device.

As a next approach I chose to use a picture story from (Totem Field Storyboards, 2010-2020), which are licenced under the Creative Commons. This is a collection of picture stories with the intention to collect authentic linguistic material and to minimize the influence of English in eliciting linguistic material. The collection addresses firstly the prevalence of written material for language documentation as seen in the use of questionnaires, and secondly the use and influence of English on the material. The usage of the site is very convenient as it is possible to search for tagged stories like *aspect* or *focus* and download the chosen story in a .pdf or the pictures by themselves. It lies in the nature of these stories that they are easier to search for grammatical aspect than lexical aspect. Therefore, it is vital to find a story with potential of a progressive function and to try it out first. After browsing the tagged picture stories, I chose one that required the language helper to express simultaneity. Together, we experienced that the story can show some ambiguity. For a better understanding, we discussed the content in German and afterwards refrain from using another language than Arabic.

The last method concerns the already existing questionnaires in literature. There are two common questionnaires for TAM categories: The Lingua Descriptive Questionnaire (Comrie & Smith 1977) and the Tense and Aspect Systems Questionnaire (Dahl 1985). Comrie and Smith's questionnaire is commonly used for grammar-writing, as the reference grammars by Routledge are based on this questionnaire (Bar-el 2015). In this questionnaire the difference between grammatical and lexical aspect is not taken into consideration, which might be sufficient to describe the overall aspect system but falls short to tackle the progressive, when taken as the interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect. Additionally, Comrie and Smith focus on overtly marked construction, which again is limiting the sample to aspect systems in languages that fall into this category (Bar-el 2015).

The questionnaire by Dahl is based on a typological study and “its structure lends itself to field-work” (Bar-el 2015: 85). Its cross-linguistic foundation takes English out as a sole source for structuring questions and addresses therefore biases. Dahl offers instructions for the linguist how to handle the different sections in his questionnaire. Like the other questionnaire, Dahl’s is not suited for the comparison of lexical classes within a given language, as he relies on assumptions on distinction between parameters for lexical aspect, as the *stative* or *dynamic* (Bar-el 2015). Despite the shortcomings the questionnaire by Dahl it is the most detailed account of progressive. For our purpose I translated the questionnaire into German as the language helper is fluent in German.

Reflection

Reflecting on the recording sessions, there are two main points I would like to address. First, the choice of language helper and setting, and second - and in connection to - the existing power structure. The place of recording is often associated with more authentic or less authentic places of the speech act. While this might hold true for conversational speech acts, I cannot think of a place where the answering and translating questionnaires is natural. What might have had a positive impact is an increase in interviewed language helpers.

Concerning the existing power structure, I tried to make the language helper as comfortable as possible and tried to make him understand the idea behind the questionnaire. It became obvious that there is a certain astonishment why someone wants to know everything about the own Arabic variety and is in fact not interested in an “correct” Arabic, which is the individual understanding of prestige and Modern Standard Arabic. Achieving a most spontaneous sample of the language helper without being too persistent can bear some challenges. The disparities between the fluent language helper and the linguist arise too when asking for “grammatically correct” sentences. This might be the case substitution method, where the linguist substitutes parts of a present sentence and asks if the adjusted sentence is still grammatically correct. Mosel (2012) does not recommend the question of “grammaticality judgement” because if something appears and sounds grammatically correct it is not solely tied to grammatical reasons, the existing power structure plays into this too. Few times the language helper still made a distinction between the “correct” language use and the use of the “street” even though we had been focussing solely on Iraqi dialect. Additionally, in case

of ambiguity, I tried to ask the language helper about possible distinctions, or I tried to substitute the construction. At first, he accepted the substitution and only after hesitation and repetitive questioning he admitted that the construction would in fact not work. This is a case of different prioritization and miscommunication. The language helper placed more weight on the fact of being understood than uttering sentences that seem natural to him.

We have discussed the theoretical and practical assumptions of fieldwork and building a corpus. Despite preparations and best practices working with language helpers is always a challenge and sometimes not as linear as assumed. In the next chapter, I will dive into the collected data.

Data

I am going to display in this chapter the collected material for the discussion that is going to follow. This concerns only the speech acts recorded in Vienna. The first part contains a transcription of the recording session of the picture story “Lakka and the ghosts”. The transcription stays in one block, the translation follows. I will pick the specific construction for the discussion in the next chapter and gloss the particular sentence. The second part contains a full written documentation of the questionnaire by Dahl and possible answers the language helper gave. This part was recorded in two sessions. Both of them took around 90 minutes and the section heads indicate the time on the recording. The first audio quality has been less clear and was difficult to transliterate. The language helper was consulted again to match the recordings.

The language helper was at the time of recording 20 years old and had been living in Vienna for two years. He is originally from Diwānyyah in Southern Iraq. He was going to high school in Vienna and had a high command of German. We could clarify uncertainties in German or Arabic. He agreed orally to be recorded and allowed the usage of his recorded speech.

Picture Story “Lakka and the ghosts”

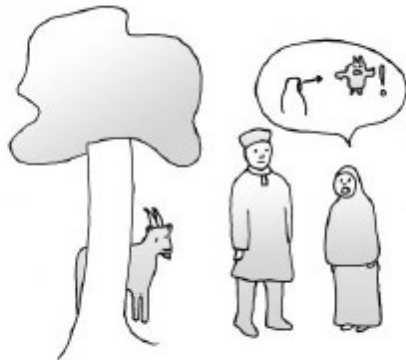


Figure 8 Portraying one of the pictures

Transliteration 2:20

1. *yōm min əl-ayyām cānat mar'a cəbīra tətla' la-barra u-ğāy ššūf ġinn da'a ššūf ġinn.* 2. *rāḥət ġumla ayyām mar'a wara šağara. rāḥət wara šağara. cān shagha[?] inn.* 3. *ba'dēn lamma šağat [?] dba'wue hāda ġinn ba'dēn wēn rāḥat? rāḥat li-ğām'a.* 4. *fa-lamma rāḥat li-ğām'a rāḥat li sulaymān. əl-imām li bi-ğām'a bişallī* 5. *fa-silət [?] əl-imām gilit-lə ta'al āni cān əššūf ġinn wara šağra hāy. (3:01)*

6. *mumkin taqra' ənti taqra' ayy quraniyya maṭalan ḥattā rūḥ aḡ-ğinn aw ḥəci. yatla'* 7. *āni məḥtāğa musā'dak. aw mumkin tigdar ssā'ədnī.* 8. *mumkin tiḡt wāyyi wara šəğra itšūf itšūf hāda ġinn āni d/taşawfak iyya āni.* 9. *fa-l-imām gāl-ha eh āni mā 'əndī muškla. āni raḥ aḡuye? wiyyāč.* 10. *raḥ ašūf'aḡilla. raḥ ašūf aḡ-ğinn. (3:33) aw nrāḥ aḡt w-sā'adič u-raḥ ənšūf aḡ-ğinn āni w-ənti.* 11. *fa-lamma rāḥaw wara əš-šəğra yuşufuna ġinn.* 12. *fa-l-imām mustağrab cān gullha haḍa mū ġinn. haḍa ... hāy cānat ššūf xarūf* 13. *gilat lā āni ḡāy ašūf ġinn, mā ḡāy ašūf xarūf. (3:58)*

14. *fa-lamma rāḥaw...ba'dēn gillha mumkin 'əndik muškila wu tiḡt wa naḥna mā ḡāy šūf ayy ġinn.* 15. *āni ḡāy ašūf bas bas xarūf wara əš-šəğra.* 16. *fa-ba'dēn fa-ba'dēn rāḥaw humma ...* 17. *fa-ba'dēn rāḥaw əl-imām la-l-ğām'a u-hiyye rāḥat li-l-b'ēt.* 18. *fa-lamma rāḥat li-l-b'ēt rāḥat li-gədd rāḥat daxlat il-maṭbax aw 'afwan daxlat əl-ğurfə māl ən-nōm māləthe.* 19. *fa-lamma rāḥat l-ğurfə māl ən-noom ligətə [?]... fathatə liwa əl-komēdiə ma'a-l-malābis fa-cān ha/əmma tšūf iḡ-ğinn hiyya.*

(4:53) 20. *fa-rəğ'at marra tāniyya li-l-imām cānat tgulla tgulla yā imām yā ašūf ġinn.* 21. *haḍa ġinn mawḡūd bi-lēil şuft-a marra tāniyya bi-lēil bi-l-komēdie ma'a-l-malābis aw əl-kontor ma'a-l-*

malābis. 22. Fa-ba'dēn cān hiyya tgūl fa-gālha gālha āni raḥ arūḥ ašūf aḡ-ḡinn əli bi-l-kantor ma'a-l-malābis tgūl 'aliyya 23. fa-gāt (fakrt?) ok ta'al fa-rāḥū huwwa wa-hiyya fa-wuqfwa baw'a staḡrab marra tāniyya li-aš-šēx fa-gālha mā šūf malābis āni mā ḡāy ašūf ḡinn ḡāy ašūf malābis istaḡrabat hiyya ḡəl ašūf aḡ-ḡinn ḡāllha lā ənti ḡalṭāna māku šī māku ḡinn aku malābis fa-rāḥaq iš-šēx u-riḡa' riḡa' marra tāniyya li-l-ḡām'a (5:54) riḡa' marra tāniyya li-l-ḡām'a fa-ba'dēn ba'dēn rāḥat li-l-b'ēt rāḥat li-l-b'ēt ṣadiqatha 'afwan ngūl maṭalan ḡirānha rāḥat li-ḡirāna wa-šāfat ... fa-cānat marra čəbīra mawḡūda bi-l-b'ēt fa-kamān hiyya fāḡi'at aṭawwur marra tāniyya ənno haḍa ḡinn fa-hīya xāfat ḡiddan xāfat u-raḡa'at marra tāniyya ilmən marra tāniyya li-l-imām fa-sa'ilatah gad la-imām ḡāy ašūf ḡinn ḡāy ašūf ḡinn bi-l-b'ēt ma'a iḡ-ḡirāna rāḥat āni tazūr ḡirāna u-ligat ḡinn fa-gālha ok āni 'am ḡāy wiyyāč māku muškila fa-lamma rāḥat li-l-b'ēt fa-šawafha li-l-imām (6:48) gālha mā ḡāy ašūf aḡ-ḡinn ḡəṭla ayya ayya marra čbīra māku ḡinn mawḡūd bi-l-b'ēt fa-staḡruqū humma fa-iš-šēx istaḡra'? mumkin 'əndič muškila wa ḡi šī wa mumkin 'əndič inti muškila naḍārič mumkin muškila bi-'ayūnič . ḡālət mumkin āni mā a'rif mumkin 'əndī muškila bi-'ayūnī. fa-axadha gulha əmšī arūḥ wiyyāč arūḥ li-l-abū il-'ayūn wu abū il-naḍarāt arūḥ arūḥ l-abū l-naḍarāt u-mumkin huwwa yusā'adna (7:32). u-ani raḥ aḡīb-li ḡa naḍḍārāt

Translation

1. Once, there was an old woman who went outside and was seeing a ghost ... saw a ghost. 2. She went a few days [later] behind a tree. ??? 3. and then when this ghost then where did she go?
4. She went to a mosque, when she went to the mosque, she went to Sulayman, the imam in the mosque to pray. 5. She asked the imam and said: I was seeing a ghost behind this tree.
6. Maybe you recite you recite any Quran verse for example until the ghost comes or speak! He stands up: 7. I need your help. Or maybe you can help me. 8. Maybe you can come with me behind the tree and observe this ghost I will show it to you. 9. The imam said to her: yes, I have no issue and I will come with you. 10. I will observe this emergency. I will observe the ghost. or we will go and I help you and we will see the ghost, you and me. 11. when they went behind the tree to observe the ghost. 12. then the imam was surprised and he was saying to her: this is not a ghost. What I was seeing was a sheep. 13. She said to him: I am seeing a ghost; I am not seeing a sheep.

14. And they went... afterwards he said to her: maybe you have a problem and come [because] we are/ I am not seeing a ghost. 15. I am seeing only a sheep behind the tree. After they left, they left, the imam to the mosque and she went to home. And when she went home, she went only ??? to the kitchen, I am sorry to her bedroom. and when you went to her bedroom, she opened the drawer of the sideboard for cloths and there she was seeing the ghost.

The woman returned again to the imam and she said to him: Imam, I am seeing a ghost, this ghost is there in the night. I saw it a second time in the night in the drawer with my cloths in. Then she was saying to him. He said to her: I will go and see the ghost in the drawer. She says: Fast?? ...Ok. Let's go. He and she got up ...and was surprised... again to the old man and he said to her: What I see are cloths. I am not seeing a ghost; I am seeing cloths. she was surprised she said: I see the ghost.

He said to her: No, you are mistaken. There is nothing. No ghost, there are cloths. The old man rahaq and returned again to the mosque. He returned again to the mosque and after that she went to the house, to the house of her friend, I am sorry let's say her neighbour, to the house of her neighbour and saw. There was an old woman in the house and she out of a sudden saw again that this ghost and she was very scared and feared and returned again to the imam to the mosque and asked him, the imam, [and said] I am seeing a ghost in the house with/ of my neighbour. I went to visit my neighbour and met a ghost. He said: Ok, I am coming with you, no problem. When she went to the house, she showed it to the imam. He said to her: I am not seeing the ghost. Tell me her this is an old woman and there is no ghost in this house. They left and the sheikh left...

Maybe you have a problem and there is something ?? and maybe you have an issue with your glasses maybe you have an issue with your eyes. She said: Maybe, I don't know, maybe I have an issue with my eyes. So, he started and said to her: I will go with you to the eye doctor and the optician. and maybe he can help us, and I will bring you glasses.

Questionnaire on the Progressive Aspect

The questionnaire has been answered in two sessions, the corresponding time stamps are given for each section. Sentences marked with * have been consulted over Skype and differ from the first recording. I have not transcribed all the answers the language helper gave but rather limited the

corpus to the most relevant translations for the study of the progressive construction. Excluded from my understanding of relevancy are unfinished sentences due to trial and error by the language helper, preliminary sentences that have been self-corrected by the language helper, as well as repetitions and sentences that are too far away from the scope of the particular expressed function.

Over the course of the recordings, we sometimes altered the subject referent, depending on the imagining of the context. The target predicate for a possible progressive is indicated in an uninflected form and in capitalized letters. This is a practice; I took over from the original questionnaire. Also, in leading the conversation with the language helper and afterwards the presentation of the data, I tried to conserve as much as I could from the original recording and setting with the language helper. This means that some of his answers do not correspond completely with the English sentences. Discrepancies between the English input and the Arabic output are flagged and shortly commented. The direct translation will be used in the discussion chapter. I deliberately chose to leave it rather input-output-based.

Different reasons contributed to that; we used German as a starting point after I rendered the construction into the German equivalent. Despite the specific aim of these sentences to search for progressive reading it still required to describe a context. In order to create a more effective environment for the language helper, I decided to translate the example questions and the orally given context settings into German. These descriptions were ad-hoc and in their nature subjective to my understanding of their meaning. For a longer discussion on subjectivity and the limitations of the used methods, confer the chapter on methodology.

Tentative definition

S01- /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ann; the answer is: - Ann is near me... / ...

She WORK [right now]

hīya hissa mašgūla bi-š-šugəl,

hīya tištiḡəl

hīya ḡāy tištiḡəl

hīya gā'da tištiḡəl

S02- A: What does Ann do every Saturday morning?

B: She CLEAN THE HOUSE / READ

kull sabət Ann tnaḍḍif il-b'ēt

kull sabət Ladina taqra il-kitāb

S03- [Last night at 8 o' clock,] when John came, Ann still WORK

əl-bārḥa sā'ca tṡmāniya bi-l-l'ēl iḡi Johann wa Anna li-l-ḥad al-ān tištigil.

S04- Last year we [usually] CLEAN THE HOUSE on Saturdays [now we do it on Thursdays]

əl-sana li rāḥat 'ādatan mā naḍḍaf al-b'ēt kull sabət lākin hassa ənnadḍuf kull xamīs

S05- Last summer, John VISIT us three times

qabl aš-šayf yazurnā johan tlēt marrāt³⁰

bi-š-šayf zarnā johann tlēt marrāt

Transitive verbs and valency

=== /Somebody on the phone wants to know about John; the answer is: - John is near me... /

S06- ... He CLEAN a gun

*hūwa ḡāy inadḍuf musaddas³¹**

S07- ... He READ a newspaper

hūwa ḡāy yiqra' ḡarīde

S08- ... He BUILD a shelter [for the dog]

*hūwa ḡāy yibnī makān li-l-kl'ēb³²**

S09- ... He SING a song

*hūwa ḡāy yaḡnī³³ uḡnīya**

S10- ... He GIVE a present to his sister

hūwa ya'nty əxta hadīya

S11- ... He TELL a story to his sister

³⁰ Input and output differ, the output means “Before the summer, Johann (will) visit us three times.”

³¹ *Musaddas* meaning “revolver”.

³² Input and output differ, the Arabic version uses “dog” in the plural.

³³ One would suspect *yḡanni*.

*axta ġāya tiḥčna al-qussa*³⁴

Object incorporation

=== /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ann; the answer is: - Ann is near me... /

S12- ... She PEEL potatoes

hīya itgaššir poṭ'ēta

hīya ġāya itgaššir poṭ'ēta

S13- ... She PEEL the potatoes

hīya ġāya itgaššir al-poṭ'ēta.

S14³⁵- ... She PEEL six potatoes

hīya ġāya itgaššir sitt poṭ'ēta

S15- ... She PEEL all the potatoes

hīya ġāy itgaššir kull il-poṭ'ēta

S16- ... She CHASE chickens [out of the house]

hīya ġāy ətniš diġāġ

S17- ... She CHASE two chickens [out of the house]

hīya ġāy ətniš diġāġt'ēn

S18- ... She WRITE her thesis [I think she will never finish]

*hīya ġāy tiktib li-l-maġistēr mālətha mā raḥ txalləs bāčir.*³⁶

Causative verbs

=== /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Ted; the answer is:/

S19- She HAVE his hair CUT [right now]

*Hūwa ġāy iḥallaq ša'ra / hūwa ġāy izāyy ša'ra*³⁷

S20- He MAKE the child EAT the porridge [right now]

³⁴ Input and output differ, in the Arabic output the sister is the subject: “His sister is telling the story (to him)”.

³⁵ In the original version, S13 exists twice but no S15.

³⁶ Input and output differ, “never” was transferred into “not tomorrow”.

³⁷ Input and output differ, the Arabic version means “He is having his hair cut.”

*hūwa ḡāya isawwī akl lēya li-l-ṭīfl.*³⁸

Motion verbs 26:30

=== /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Julie; the answer is/

S21- She GO OUT [right now; do you want me to hold her back?]

hīya ṭalʿat barra

hīya ḡāy itbaddil u-rah ṭīṭlaʿ [she is dressing herself and is on the move]

S22- Well, [right now] she FLY to New York / Moscow [you can call her tomorrow at her hotel]

hīya msāfra li-New York

Phasal verbs 29:00

=== /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Fred; the answer is: -Fred is near me, ... /

S23- ... he BEGIN to peel the potatoes [right now]

hūwa bidʿa yigaššir potʿēta

S24- ... he FINISH repairing the lamp [right now]

hūwa xallas li-taslīx iš-šaraʿ

S25- ... he BEGIN a language drill [right now]

hūwa bidʿa iḡtimāʿa taʿlīm bi-l-madrassa

S26- ... he FINISH a language drill [right now]

hūwa (hassa) xallis il-iḡtimāʿa

S27- ... he CONTINUE the storytelling [right now]

hūwa yikammil³⁹ al-quṣṣa/ al-ḥači

hūwa ḡāy yikammil al-ḥači

³⁸ Input and output differ, very likely due to the translation triangle into German and Arabic, “he is making porridge for the child.”

³⁹ There seems to be a misunderstanding in the language transfer. *Kammal* means “to finish”. As outlined above, I will leave this example in this section, but will not use it in the discussion and conclusion as an example for continuation.

Postural verbs 54:30

S28- /Somebody on the phone wants to know about Mary; the answer is/ [Right now] She SIT in the kitchen/yard

Hīya gā⁴⁰da bi-l-maṭbax.

Hīya ḡāy tig⁴⁰id bi-l-maṭbax.

S29 A: I need my blue shirt right now; where is it?

B: It HANG on the nail

hūwa mu⁴¹allag bi-dalag⁴¹

Non-durative verbs 59:00

S30- I took the photo exactly while John THROW the stone against the window

āni axadət aṣ-ṣūra⁴² u-johan šomarha ‘ala/min aš-šabbak

āni axadət aṣ-ṣūra u-johann ḡāy yišmur əl-haḡar

S31- [Right now] The climber REACH the top of the mountain

al-mutasalleq wuṣal qimmat əl-ḡabal.

al-mutasalleq raḡ yūṣal qimmat əl-ḡabal.

al-mutasalleq ḡāy yūṣal qimmat əl-ḡabal.

S32- The pardon arrived just while the captain GIVE the sign to the firing squad

[too complicated]

Non-intentional verbs 1:14:40

S33- [Look, there he goes again!] George inadvertently INSULT his neighbour with his silly questions. [He really cannot understand the situation].

georg ḡāy yihimm ḡirānha bas bidūn qasl.

S34- [Incredible! Listen to him now! With his words] Philip unconsciously ADMITS the guilt

[too complicated]

⁴⁰ The first sentence seems to be a default version; the second sentence bears strong emotions e.g., anger or a special activity in the kitchen.

⁴¹ *dalag* means originally “Pfosten”, not “nail”.

⁴² Unidiomatic expression, but this was the transfer of the language helper, and as all the examples not directly informed by the English version, rather the German translation of the example sentences I have provided.

Non-agentive, intransitive processes 1:17:45

S35- [Look at John, on the sofa!] He DREAM of his girlfriend

hūwa ḡāy yihlam min ḥabībta

S36- [Look out of the window now!] The sun SHINE

*aš-šams ṭāli'a**

S37- The water BOIL [shall I make tea?]

al-katlī li-fō / al-katlī ḡāy li-fō⁴³

S38- [Look, what a shame!] The apples ROT on the tree

aṭ-ṭuffāḥ ta'fun/ ḡāy tita'fun bi-š-šiḡra

Stative verbs 1:21:35

S39- [Now, unexpectedly,] Peter KNOW the answer

Peter yi'ruf il-iḡāba, Peter hissa iddakkir al-iḡāba⁴⁴

Peter ḡāy iddakkir al-iḡāba

S40- [Now, unexpectedly,] Tess LIKE the music

musīqa ya'ḡbatnī

S41- The mountain SURROUND the plain

ḡāyab al-ḡibāl huwāl sabaḥu

Copular verbs 1:24:30

S42- [What a wonderful present!] You BE very KIND, now!

ohh ladina 'aḡatīnī, inti kulliṣ ḥabāba laṭīfa

S43- /John has made a negative comment on Ann's hair-style; Ann says with a tone of surprise/

You BE RUDE this evening

inti čənət la'ṭm.⁴⁵

⁴³ Different verbal construction, not with “to boil” but with “be up”.

⁴⁴ I have included the translation of the non-mandatory and only context setting first phrase whenever the language helper translated it as well, especially when it can be read within one sentence.

⁴⁵ “This evening” has been omitted in the transfer.

Remoteness / invisibility

=== /on the phone/ A: Is Ann with you right now?

S44- B: No, she DANCE [in the next room]

lā, hīya ġāy tirqus

*hīya u-sadīqatha yirəqsan bi-l-ġurfa*⁴⁶

ġāy / ġāyāt yirəqsan

S45- B: No, she PLAY CARDS [in the next room] === /on the phone/ A: Is Ann at home right now? -B: No, ...

hīya ġāy til'ab waraq.

S46- ... she SHOP. She left one hour ago

hīya rāḥat tsawwag.

*qabəl sā'a rāḥat tmšī tətsawwag.*⁴⁷

hīya ġāy titsawwug min sā'a rāḥat

S47- ... she PLAY CARDS in the club [as usual]

hīya ġāy til'ab waraq bi-l-klūb.

Durative adverbials

S48- [Yesterday, during my sleep] Ann PLAY for 2 hours all by herself

əl-bārḥa āni nā'ima u-bi-l-nafs al-waqət Ann til'ab al-waḥadha til-muddat sā'at'ēn

*āni čənət nā'ima u-Anna čānat/ ġāy til'ab.*⁴⁸

S49- [During the whole time of the class/prayer] Ann TALK to her neighbour [in fact, she carried on even afterwards]

Ṭūl əl-waqət ad-darəs Anna təhčī wīya ġirānha.

⁴⁶ This does not correspond to the example sentence. In order to receive more information of plural referents I have asked him to provide me with a changed plural reading as well.

⁴⁷ The second version was preferred by the language helper.

⁴⁸ The specific time reference was omitted.

*Ṭūl əl-waqət darsat u-hačat wīya ġirānha.*⁴⁹

S50- [During the whole time of the class/prayer] Ann TALK to her neighbour [but as soon as that was over, she suddenly became very silent]

hīya čānat tudrus u-mā xallas ad-dars səktat.

lamman xalas waxt⁵⁰ ad-darəs Anna siktat mā təḥčī baʿd ġirānha.

Anna təḥčī wīya ġirānha.

S51- [Moment by moment] The policeman TAKE NOTES of what the speaker said

Ṭūl əl-waqət kull əl-hačī aš-šurṭa yiktbuh.

*āni aḥčī u-šurṭī yiktib / ġāy yiktib.*⁵¹

S52- He continually FORGET people's names

Hūwa (ġāy) dāʾiman yinsī asmāʾ an-nās

*inta ġāy tinsī ismī (dāʾiman)*⁵²

inti nisʾētī ismī.

hūwa čān dāʾiman yinsī ismī.

Graduality adverbs 16:20

S53- The level of the water INCREASE slightly since yesterday

əl-māy šwayy min əl-bārḥa ġāy yaʿla/ yikbar

əl-māy šwayy šār ʿālī min əl-bārḥa.

əl-māy min əl-bārḥa ġāy yišīr ʿālī

S54- [When I arrived] the situation already IMPROVE little by little

lamma āni/ min āni wašalət əl-waḍʿa (ġāy) yithassan akṭar u-akṭar

lamma(n) wasalət əl-waḍʿa thassan akṭar u-akṭar

⁴⁹ Different verbal structure from the first sentence.

⁵⁰ Correctly *waqt*.

⁵¹ Input and output differ; “moment by moment” was transferred into “the whole time”, also ad-hoc change of subject referent in the second sentence. There, the language helper would not use “the whole time”.

⁵² The second sentence conveys strong emotion, especially anger or an ironical use.

S55- [When I arrived] the snow COVER gradually the land

lamman āni wasalət at-ṭaləḡ šwayya šwayya ḡaddē əl-baləd/ əl-mantəqa

at-ṭaləḡ ḡāy yigaddī ...[or ḡā'id]

Impr. *čān yigaddī*⁵³

Imminential meaning 31:33

S56- [Hurry up!] The train LEAVE

istḡil al-qitār raḡ yirūḡ/ raḡ yinṭaliq

*ḡāy yinṭaliq*⁵⁴

S57- The old man DIE [but finally they found the right medicine]

*ar-raḡāl al-čibīr ḡāy yimūt bas ligēna əl-ʿilāḡ əṣ-ṣaḡīḡ*⁵⁵

ḡā'id yimūt

ar-riḡāl čān yimūt bas ligēna...

Temporariness 38:00

S58- Ann STAND in the doorway, [right now]

Anna wāḡfa bi-l-madxaḡ

S59- The statue STAND in the garden [for the summer]

al-tinṭāl wāḡif bi-l-ḡadīq/ga

S60- [Think! While we are here talking about our matters] the earth TURN around the sun

iḡnā (ḡāy) niḡčī ʿāl-muškilatna wu-d-dinyā iltafat ʿāš-šams/ ḡāy tiftar ʿāš-šams

S61- The boss TYPE his own letters, while the secretary is ill

⁵³ After explicitly asking for a past reading, the language helper offered this phrase, but was not too sure about its correct usage.

⁵⁴ The language helper referred to it as “*Strassensprache*” or if someone would observe the train leaving. The former description is not taken as an objective denomination but rather to show that there is a specific understanding and attribution of this construction in this context.

⁵⁵ Input and output differ, in the Arabic version subject referent is in first person plural.

*al-shīf / al-mudīr (ḡāy) yiktib risāla ʔl-anno l-sikritēra iḡāza/ marīḍa*⁵⁶

Backgrounding 43:37

S62- It was a bright summer day. The bees HUM, the birds SING, the cows GRAZE in the green-field. Suddenly, the earth opened and the devil came out

*čān yōm šayfa mušraq u-d-ḡabān mazūz / yiftar fogāna, wa-ṭuyūr təḡanī wa-baqar čān
/ḡāy yākul hašīš u-faḡʔa fiṭḥat al-arḍ/ fiṭḥat u-šaṭīn ṭəlʕa barra/ daxal*

Habitual (and quasi-habitual) 55:50

S63- At that time, he GO to dance every Saturday.

haḡa-l-waqət kull sabət hūwa yarūḥ yurgus

S64- If you insist on calling me Fred, you INTRUDE in my private life.

lamman inta təgullī/ tnādinī Fred inta (ḡāy) tədaxal xusūsiyātī

S65- As soon as you start asking what is the use of education, you ABANDON the basic assumptions of any true culture
[too complicated]

Futurate meaning 1:04:44

S66- Ann LEAVE tomorrow

Anna rāyḥa bāčir

S67- Ann LEAVE in a minute

Anna rāyḥa baʕd daqīqa

S68- John GET MARRIED tomorrow. Who BE his witness at the wedding?

Johann raḥ yizzawwaḡ bāčir. Minu šāhid ʕala zawāḡah?

S69- Who BE captain of the team tomorrow?

Minu kaptin ʔl-farīq bāčir?

⁵⁶ This example works in Arabic as well with a time reference of two weeks illness.

Sequence and coordination of events 1:07:30

S70- Yesterday, while Ann READ in her room, Martin PLAY in the courtyard === /What did Martin do yesterday evening?/

*əl-bārḥa Anna təqraʔ bi-l-ḡurfatha u-Martine yilʕab bi-l-ḥadīqa.*⁵⁷

əl-bārḥa Anna cānət / gāʕda təqraʔ u-Martin gāʕid yilʕab

S71- He STUDY, he READ the paper, he EAT, and then he GO to bed

šənu cān yisawwī Martin əl-bārḥa bi-l-lʕəl? Hūwa cān yitʕallam/ yidrus, hūwa cān yiqraʔ ḡarīda hūwa cān yākul hūwa rāḥ li-frāša.

S72- He STUDY from 2 to 6, he READ the paper from 6 to 7, he EAT from 7 to 8, and then he GO to bed

Hūwa cān yitʕallam min as-sāʕa tniʕn li-s-sāʕa sitta hūwe cān yiqraʔ əl-ḡarīda min əs-sāʕa sitta li-s-sāʕa sabʕa hūwa cān yākul min as-sāʕa sabʕa li-s-sāʕa tmāniya baʕdʕen rāḥ as-sarīra.

Imperative 1:13:10

S73- [For goodness sake,] WORK when the boss comes back!

allāh ištaḡli rəḡʕa əl-mudīr

S74- /Mother to daughter, whom she wants to punish/ You NOT GO to that party!

inti mā trūḥīn li-l-ḥafla.

Passive 1:17:02

S75- [Come in, please!] The meal BE SERVED [right now]

*taʕāl li-dāxil/ idxul əl-akl raḥ yinzil*⁵⁸

alternative: The bridge BE BUILT.

*al-ḡisər ḡāy yinbinī**

⁵⁷ Not with perfect tense, but the second and third option with *cānət* and *gāʕda* is possible.

⁵⁸ Language helper rather hesitant with usage of *ḡāy*, it can be used in a very narrow sense of a progressive, meaning right now.

Negation 1:20:20

S76- The boss was angry, because John not WORK when he came in

lamman daxal əl-mudīr waʿağ/ insaʿağ li-anno johann mā ġāy yištuġul

S77- [Let's go out,] it not RAIN now

taʿāl raḥ ənruḥ li-anno l-maṭar (ġāy) yūgaf/ mā ġāy tunṭur

S78- [This is disgusting:] it is 8.30 and the train not yet LEAVE

āni minzʿəğ šārat əs-sāʿa tmāniye u-nuṣ əl-qitār baʿda mā ġāy

Modal verbs 1:24:40

S79- Tom must FEED the animals [I guess]

āni aʿtaqid/ aṭunn hūwa (ġāy) yuʿnī akl la-l-ḥayawānāt

S80- Ann should TEACH now [I guess]

aṭunn Anna ġāy/ ġāya tunʿī darəs hassa.

Anna u-Ladina ġāy/ ġāyāt yanʿtan darəs.⁵⁹

Temporal location of the event 1:27:30

S81- [I am so tired:] I BAKE all day since I got up this morning⁶⁰

āni taʿbān min aṭ-ṭabəx

āni aṭbax tūl əl-yōm min gaʿdət min ən-nōm

min əş-şobəḥ āni čənət aṭbax

āni gaʿdət əş-şobəḥ u-rəḥət aṭbax

āni gaʿdət əş-şobəḥ u-tūl əl-yōm aṭbax.

min gaʿdit min an-nōm āni aṭbax

min əş-şobəḥ āni čənət aṭbax

S82- When John came home yesterday, he was very tired because he WORK hard all week

⁵⁹ Changed the subject referent into plural, the almost default masc. sg. and fem.pl. are possible in the second sentence.

⁶⁰ Input and output may differ, I left the rather explorative style.

*lamman ʔiǧī l-bārḥa Johann li-l-bʿēt u-čān kulliṣ ʔaʿbān li-ann (hūwa)(ḡāy [or] čān)
yištuǧul ʔūl əl-usbuʿa u-šugla kulliṣ ʔaʿb*

S83- If you come at 8 o' clock, I still COOK [Come a little later, please]

iḍa tiǧī as-sāʿa ʔmāniyya āni lissa aṭbax

āni baʿdnī aṭbax

Discussion

As we have seen in the chapter on grammaticalization and sociolinguistics, a very deep historical analysis is not possible as written documents and later on recorded documents of spoken varieties are rare. It is still a worthwhile endeavour to map out the existing accounts of spoken varieties, especially in the South of Iraq. In the following, I will base the discussion on collected and described data Diwāniyyah.

Recalling the outlined hypothesis in the beginning of this thesis, so we have the following hypothesis to consider in this chapter:

1. The observed progressive construction is part of a more extensive grammaticalization path.
2. The observed progressive construction will be between the morphological markings of the progressive construction in Basra and Kuwait, and the progressive construction in Baghdad. Therefore, it will show less morphological markings than the progressive construction in al-Basra and Kuwait, but more morphological markings than in Baghdad.
3. The functions of the observed progressive construction will be on a continuum between the progressive construction in al-Basra and Kuwait, and the progressive construction in Baghdad. Therefore, it is assumed to show in case of a higher grammaticalization also a higher functional abstraction.

Addressing these hypotheses, H1 and H2 can be answered partially or fully based on morphological data, which is easier to compare among different language descriptions. H3 on the other hand, has the disadvantages of different language descriptions, which make it more difficult to compare them, but I count the different “behaviours” regarding lexical aspect as a development related to the grammaticalization process, as discussed in Ch. 1, section on grammaticalization process.

Progressive in Diwāniyyah

The collected data speaks for the preference of the *ḡāy*-construction for expressing a progressive, instead of the *ḡā'id*-construction that is more common in the greater Iraq area.⁶¹ Even though after inquiry the latter can be used, the spontaneous sample of the picture story shows no trace of the latter construction. In this sense, the data from Diwāniyyah shows more similarities with the linguistic data from Basra (Mahdi 1985: 218) than the central dialects. He outlines in his dissertation project that there exist different constructions to express a progressive function. In contrast, Camilleri and Sadler (2020:8) explain the *ḡāy*-construction as the product of “erosion along with other phonological processes” out of *ḡā'id*. What goes against this understanding is the gender and number marking in the following examples (ex. 12 and ex. 13). Following the outlined model in this paper, an erosion would have rendered it into a shortened version and after that reinstated the gender and plural marking. This seems within the boundaries of this present sample rather counter-intuitive.

Ex. 12

ḡāy (/ḡāyīn) yli'ḡbūn
PROG PROG.PL.M IPRF.play.3PL.M
“They are playing.”

This examples already shows the variability in number referring to the subject of the sentence. Either a formal 3rd person singular or 3rd person plural is compatible with the subject in plural. We are going to see a parallel variability in our sample.

Ex. 13 [=S80]

Anna u-Ladina ḡāy / ḡāyāt yan'ḡtan darəs.
A. and-L. PROG PROG.PL.F IPRF.give.3PL.F lesson
“Anna and Ladina are teaching now.”

⁶¹ For a more representative judgement, a larger number of language helpers would be needed.

Interestingly, the language helper offered the less marked option of a formally 3rd person singular masculine or the overtly marked option for feminine plural because the subjects are two women and in Iraqi Arabic it is common to mark the feminine plural at the verb. Through the whole corpus the feminine versions of the progressive construction, which still exist in the mind of the speaker, are sparsely used and only after second inquiry. Further, there is a tendency to pronounce -a as /ə/ at the end of several words without the indication of a feminine. When asked about the possibility of a *ǧāy* in a given sentence, the language helper often referred to it as *ǧāya*.

Morphologically, the forms are very parallel to the forms from Basra or Kuwait. There is still an understanding of gender marking at the progressive construction even though it seems to be non-obligatory and particularly in spontaneous speech rarely used. The formally 3rd person singular masculine is the preferred construction for any subject referents. In the terms of grammaticalization, decategorialization seems to happen. The tendency for loss of inflection is existent but not applied thoroughly. Another take on decategorialization is the choice of referent of the progressive construction. So far, we have seen only human subject referents. Example 14 has an inanimate subject:

Ex. 14 [=S38]

aṭ-tuffāḥ ǧāy titaʿfun bi-š-šigra

ART-apple.PL PROG IPRF.rot.3PL.F in-ART-tree

“The apples are rotting on the tree.” [Look, what a shame!]

As we have seen in the chapter on grammaticalization, the progressive construction can coexist with the original material in a given language. Both progressive constructions are grammaticalized from high-frequency verbs. In the following example, we see the verb “to sit”, answering the question what she is doing now:

Ex. 15 [=S28a]

hīya gāʿda bi-l-maṭbax

PRON.3SG.F PTCP.sit.3SG.F in-ART-kitchen

“She is sitting in the kitchen”

Ex. 16 [=S28b]

hīya ḡāy tigʿid bi-l-maṭbax.

PRON.3SG.F PROG IPRF.sit.3SG.F in-ART-kitchen

“She is sitting in the kitchen.”

We have already seen in the example of “to travel” that the participle active of an intransitive verb can express durativity, so example 15 does not surprise. Example 16 on the other side, expresses the same objective situation but puts an emphasis on the woman’s action. This could mean that her sitting sparks negative emotions of the narrator or her action is out of character. This shows signs of a pragmatic usage of the progressive.

With regards to a possible erosion, the present corpus does not show any evidence of this late state of grammaticalization. This is in all probability related to the already mono-syllabic construction, which are naturally more resistant to erosion. In the Kuwaiti sample, al-Najjar (1991:672) displays an emerging erosion of *ḡāʿid*, that differs from other erosions we see in Central Iraq (e.g. in Mosul *qad*, in Baghdad *da*):

Ex. 17

Maryam gaʿ taktib maktūb.

M. PROG IPRF.write.3.SG.F letter

“Maryam is writing a letter.”

Al-Najjar remarks that this example was taken from fast paced and informal conversations, exactly such contexts where you expect to see a more convenient and therefore shortened use of the progressive construction. Thus, even in this material, that is more than 30 years old, two “stages” of the grammaticalization process are present, it is to assume that this development has further widened.

Referring to the usage of the progressive construction, we will look closer at the interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect. In example 13, we saw the verbal phrase *inʿaṭā darās* “to give lesson, to teach” that could employ the progressive construction because the verbal action can go on over

a longer period with boundaries at the beginning and end [$\tau \ \phi \ \tau$]. In our next example, we have again the verb *in'aṭā* “to give” but this time with the object *hadīye* “a gift, present”.

Ex. 18 [=S10]

hūwa ya'nṭy əxt-a hadīya,
 PRON.3SG.M IPRF.give.3SG.M. sister-poss.3SG.M gift
 “He gives a present to his sister.”

In example 18, it is not permissible to use a progressive as the verbal action “to give a present” [τ] because it is a change of situation where the act of “giving” is not marked with a progressive. These two examples show the importance of larger construction and context.

When we look at boundaries of verbal actions it is interesting to know if they are encoded differently if the actual boundaries are apparent. We can see this in the following examples. The predicate has the potential to be read for a longer time as “to peel” takes some time and effort. “To peel” has also included a real end after peeling off the whole skin. It is therefore permissive to assume the following structure: [$\phi \ \tau$]. Effort and time are encoded in ϕ and the transition of to being completely peeled is in τ .

Ex. 19 [=S12]

hīya ḡāya itgaššir poṭ'ēta
 PRON.3SG.F PROG.F IPRF.peel.3SG.F potato.PL
 “She is peeling potatoes.”

Ex. 20 [=S13]

hīya ḡāya itgaššir al-poṭ'ēta
 PRON.3SG.F PROG.F IPRF.peel.3SG.F ART-potato.PL
 “She is peeling the potatoes.”

Ex. 21 [=S14]

hīya ḡāya itgaššir sitt poṭ'ēta
 PRON.3SG.F PROG.F IPRF.peel.3SG.F 6 potato.PL
 “She is peeling six potatoes.”

Ex. 22 [=S15]

hīya ḡāy itgaššir kull il-poṭēta
PRON.3SG.F PROG IPRF.peel.3SG.F all ART-potato.PL
“She is peeling all the potatoes.”

Example 19 and 20 differ from each other in the definitiveness of the object. In the former the potatoes are introduced into the context; in the latter they are already known. Example 19 is the epitome of focusing on the verbal action “peeling” and of the φ -part as we are not saying anything about the termination of the action. Example 20 has an apparent termination in the action. The potatoes are introduced into the context and their number or amount is known therefore there is an apparent termination of the verbal action. As soon as the potatoes are peeled the action is finished. Example 21 shows that even better, the number of potatoes to peel is six. This is an obvious and expressed boundary. By still using a progressive construction, the φ -part of the verbal action is focused.

Let’s think about the whole action in another way, by counting the potatoes we repeat the action of peeling six times. As most of us would peel one potato until we don’t see any obvious spots and leftover skin and turn to the next potato. How the sentence manifests itself in this example, we could think about an on-going action, an iterative action but also resultative one. The result of six peeled potatoes can be in focus as well.

If we look onto example 22, “she is peeling all the potatoes” the resultative part is even more apparent. In present time, all the examples seem to express a continuity of action and therefore using a progressive construction. The different implementations of objects change something on the expression of the action and still, all examples can use a progressive. For a discussion on resultative leads us to the question how the examples and especially the last two are expressed in past tense.

Ex. 23

hīya gaššarat kull il-poṭēta
PRON.3SG.F PRF.peel.3SG.F all ART-potato.PL
“She peeled all the potatoes.”

Ex. 24

āni daxələt u-hīya čānat itgaššir kull il-poṭēta
 PRON.1SG PRF.enter.1SG and-PRON.3SG.F COP.PST.3SGF IPRF.peel.3SG.F all ART-potato.PL
 “When I entered, she was peeling all the potatoes.”

Here, we are hit by the interplay of aspect and tense. In modern Arabic varieties, we see the tendencies to move from an aspect-tense-system to a tense system with residues of aspect. If I want to express something in the past, I usually use the past tense (perfect). We see this in example 23. Without a contextual framing and emphasis on the length of the verbal activity, the past (perfect) is the preferred choice. If I want to express a continuous action in the past, I can use a past marker *čān* + present tense (imperfect). The present tense is an imperfective in aspect. This can be understood as the parallel constructions in different time. As the imperfect can be read as an imperfective in present tense, it can be read as imperfective in past tense with the right past marker beforehand. Additionally, in Arabic there is the *ḥāl*-construction. This expressed a coordinated event where the second phrase can be expressed in an imperfect as an imperfective irrelevant to time reference. The question is now if it is possible in these coordinated sentences to use instead of an imperfect/imperfective the progressive imperfect.

Ex. 25 [=S62]

čān yōm šayfa mušraq u-d-ḏabān mazūz, wa-ṭuyūr təḡanī
 PST day summery shining and-ART-bee.PL PTCP.sum.M and-bird.PL IPRF.sing.3SG.F
wa-baqar čān/ḡāy yākul hašīš u-faḡʿa fithat al-arḏ
 and-cow.PL PST/PROG IPRF.eat.3SG.M grass and-suddenly PRF.open.3SG.F ART-earth
u-šaṭīn ṭəlʿa barra
 and-satan PRF.come_out.3SG.M out
 “It was a bright summer day. The bees are humming, the birds are singing, the cows are grazing in the greenfield. Suddenly, the earth opened and the devil came out.”

The first phrase sets everything in past: “it was a bright summer day”. After the time setting the background action can be expressed in simple imperfect/imperfective and are still read in the past. *wa-ṭuyūr təḡanī* “the birds sing/ the birds are singing” is the expected construction in this sentence. *wa-baqar čān/ḡāy yākul hašīš* “the cows are eating grass” show that both constructions to express

a continuous situation are possible to use. The first is best explained by the new positioning and revalidating the past tense reference of the sentence. The latter with *ğāy yākul* is interesting because it would mean that this progressive construction can also be used in a past reading and be treated as a gateway for more default past readings without a past setting in the beginning.

Similarly, we can observe in the picture story

Ex. 26

yōm min əl-ayām cānat mar'a cəbīra tətla^ʕ la-barra u-ğāy
 day from ART-day.PL COP.PST.3SG.F woman old.SG.F IPRF.go_out.3SG.F to-out and-PROG
tšūf ğinn
 IPRF.see.3SGF ghost
 “Once, there was an old woman who went outside and was seeing a ghost.”

The narrative element *yōm min əl-ayām* and the copula in past tense are setting the time. The following actions are expressed in present tense (imperfect). The punctual verbal action of “going out” is in simple imperfect and a possibly longer verbal action of “seeing a ghost” is expressed with the present progressive. By using the progressive construction, the length and perspective on the two verbal actions are differentiated. Without the time setting and the narrative character of the examples we would rather see the tendency for *cān* + present tense (imperfect) as in the following examples:

Ex. 27 [=S70]

əl-bārha Anna cānat/ gā^ʕda təqra^ʔ bi-l-ğurfat-haa u-Martin
 yesterday A. PST/ PROG.3SG.F IPRF.read.3SG.F in-ART-room-POSS.3SG.F and-M.
(gā^ʕid) yil^ʕab bi-l-ħadīqa.
 PROG IPRF.play.3SG.M. in-ART-garden
 “Yesterday, while Ann was reading in her room, Martin was playing in the courtyard.”

Ex. 28 [=S71]

hūwa cān yit^ʕallam/ yidrus, hūwa cān yiqra^ʔ ğarīda
 PRON.3SG.M PST IPRF.study.3SGM PRON.3SGM PST IPRF.read.3SG.M. newspaper
hūwa cān yākul hūwa rāḥ li-frāša.

PRON.3SG.M PST IPRF.eat.3SG.M PRON.3SG.M PRF.go.3SG.M to-bed

“He was studying, reading [the] paper, eating and then he went to bed.”

Ex. 29 [=S72]

hūwa ċān yitʿallam min as-sāʿa tniʿēn li-s-sāʿa sitta hūwa ċān

PRON.3SG.M PST IPRF.study.3SG.M from ART-hour 2 to-ART-hour 6 PRON.3SG.M PST

yiqraʾ al-ġarīda min as-sāʿa sitta li-s-sāʿa sabʿa

IPRF.read.3SG.M ART-newspaper from ART-hour 6 to-ART-hour 7

hūwa ċān yākul min as-sāʿa sabʿa li-s-sāʿa tmāniya baʿdʿēn

PRON.3SG.M PST IPRF.eat.3SG.M from ART-hour 7 to-ART-hour 8 after

rāḥ as-sarīra

PRF.go.3SG.M ART-bed

“He was studying from two to six, he was reading the paper from six to seven, he was eating from seven to eight, and then he went to bed.”

All these three examples give answer to the question “what did they do yesterday?” What we can conclude from these examples is that the expression of a continuous action in the past is usually encoded by *ċān* + present tense (imperfect). In example 28, we have a sequence of actions in the past without an overt time structure. In example 29, the time structure is given by the timetable-esque narration. All three predicates in the present tense can take a the *ġāy*-progressive in present tense. The present construction acts as a parallel structure to the progressive in present tense. Example 27 shows us that there is some room for interpretation. The overt marking of past tense by *al-bārḥa* “yesterday” leaves room for choosing one of the two possibilities. *Anna ċānət təqraʾ bi-l-ġurfatha* “Anna was reading in her room” leans more to the past tense reading and is the expected choice. *Anna ġāʿda təqraʾ bi-l-ġurfatha* shows that the tense marker is already enough to read the whole sentence as past. And therefore, a formal present tense progressive construction is permissible.

Ex. 30a [=S48]

al-bārḥa āni nāʿima u-bi-l-nafs al-waqət Ann

yesterday PRON.1SG PTCP.A.sleep.SG.F and-in-same ART-time A.

tilʿab al-waḥadha til-muddat sāʿatʿēn

IPRF.play.3SG.F ART-alone till-time hour.DU

“Yesterday, Yesterday, during my sleep Ann was playing for two hours all by herself”

Ex. 30b [=S48]

āni čənət nāʿima u-Anna čānat/ ġāy tilʿab

PRON.1SG COP.PST.1SG PTCP.A.sleep.SG.F and-A. COP.PST.3SG.F / PROG IPRF.play.3SG.F

“While I was sleeping, Anna was playing.”

These examples have to be seen in the context of sufficient past marking and the knowledge of speaker and hearer that this action took place in the past. With this formal ambiguity, this could lead to a widening of the *ġāy*-progressive in non-present tense contexts. Typology shows that time reference often restricts progressives (Dahl 1985:92). Arabic dialects are interesting subjects to study because of the interrelationship of tense and aspect especially in non-present tense. It would be worthwhile to study these tendencies to asymmetry in Arabic varieties; for a detailed comparative study on progressives cf. Hanitsch (2019). Unrelated morphologically to our progressive construction, but still interesting, is the example al-Najjar (1991: 671). If this shows an interference with Fuṣḥā because of *kān* or maybe not, this kind of modification namely PAST + PROG + IMPERFECTIVE is not found in the data set on the progressive in Diwāniyyah.

Ex. 31

sāmi kān gāʿid yigra yōm dagg il-ġaras

s. PST.3SG.M PROG.SG.M IPRF.read.3SG.M when PRF.ring.3SG.M ART-bell

“Sami was reading when the bell rang.”

Not only because our source concept of the progressive construction is a motion verb, but also because in general, verbs of motion tend to behave differently, being expressed by a simple imperfective or a participle as we see in example 32 and 33 respectively. Example 32 a) and b) show the two possibilities coding the fact of being on the verge of going out. Either in a perfective, expressed in past; or embedded into another action and the motion with the future marker *rah*.

Ex. 32a [=S21]

hīya ʔalʕat barra
PRON.3SG.F PRF.go_out.3SG.F outside

“She has just gone out.” [right now; do you want me to hold her back?]

Ex. 32b [=S21]

hīya ġāy itbaddil u-rah tiʔlaʕ
PRON.3SG.F PROG IPRF.change.3SG.F and-FUT IPRF.go_out.3SG.F
“She is changing [her] clothes and is going out.”

Ex. 33a [=S56]

istʕil al-qitār rah yinʔaliq
IMP.hurry.2SG.M ART-train FUT IPRF.leave.3SG.M
“Hurry up! The train is leaving/ going to leave.”

Ex. 33b [=S56]

istʕil al-qitār ġāy yinʔaliq
IMP.hurry.2SG.M ART-train PROG IPRF.leave.3SG.M
“Hurry up! The train is leaving.”

The language helper assessed the situation in 33 as ambiguous. Reading 33 a) refers to a future action, expressed by the future modifier *rah*. The translation of example 33 b) is according either the moment when the speaker sees the train leaving from the station or so-called *Stassensprache* (“langue of the street”).

Ex. 34 [=S22]

hīya msāfra li-New York
PRON.3SG.F PTCP.travel.3SG.F to-N.Y.
“She is [right now] travelling to New York.”

Procházka and Batan (2015: 462) remark that the participle in Šāwi dialects (cf. Behnstedt 1997) is used in translocative verbs to code the “state of being in transition between start and arrival”, while focussing on the imminent arrival. Example 32 b) shows that a future action will not be expressed with a progressive but the future modifier.

With phasal verbs that have an inchoative or terminative function, we observe again the interplay of a differing aspect-tense relationship. They have a prominent role in the expression of aspect, especially in translation, as the boundaries are dominantly indexed by verbs and therefore very apparent when learning Arabic for a non-Semitic speaker. But, not every phasal verb is treated the same. The lexical aspect of each phasal verb dictates its usage. Even with the intention to express an ongoing situation, *bidʿa* “to start” is expressed in the past indexing the perfective aspect. This goes not in hand with the progressive construction *ġāy*. In the case of *xallas* “to finish”, the opposite boundary is focused: the termination. This stands in opposition to the expression of continuity and the *ġāy*-construction is not applicable.

Ex. 35 [=S23]

hūwa bidʿa yigaššir poṭēta
 PRON.3SG.M PRF.begin.3SG.M IPRF.peel.3SG.M potato.PL
 “He started peeling potatoes.”

Ex. 36 [=S24]

hūwe xallas li-l-taslīx iṣ-šaraʿ
 PRON.3SG.M PRF.end.3SG.M to-ART-INF.repair ART-lamp
 “He finished repairing the lamp.”

In example 37 on the other hand, *kammal* “to finish” does also possess this boundary and is read in an imperfective way. Therefore, it can take on the progressive *ġāy*, expressing an ongoing situation. The language helper opted for the simple imperfective construction as well.

Ex. 37 [=S27]

hūwa ḡāy yikammil al-ḥači
PRON.3SG.M PROG IPRF.finish.3SG.M ART-speech
“He is finishing the storytelling.”

The next example shows the linguistic expression of gradual change by verb and qualifier. Due to the ongoing character of the verbal situation the progressive construction can be used in this context.

Ex. 38a [=S53]

al-māy šwayy min al-bārḥa ḡāy ya^ʕla/yikbar
ART-water a_bit since yesterday PROG IPRF.get_bigger.3SG.M
“The level of water is increasing slightly since yesterday.”

Ex. 38b [=S53]

al-māy šwayy šār ʿālī min al-bārḥa.
ART-water a_bit PRF.become.3SG.M ADJ.high.SG.M. since yesterday
“The level of water has increased slightly since yesterday.”

Ex. 38c [=S53]

al-māy min al-bārḥa ḡāy yiṣīr ʿālī
ART-water since yesterday PROG IPRF.become.3SG.M ADJ.high.SG.M
“The level of water is increasing since yesterday.”

Example 38 b) and c) portray the intersection of progressivity and a resultative reading expressed with past tense (perfect). Both focus on different parts of the activity. 38 b) focuses on the result and using a perfect; example 38 c) focuses on the activity, expressing it durativity by the progressive.

So far, we have elaborated the different lexical aspects and modifiers. Let us come back for a moment to the syntactical scope of the progressive. The collected data shows that constructions with modal verbs do not have an impact on the use of the ḡāy-progressive. Also, passive sentences

(ex. 39) or negative sentences (ex. 40) *per se* do not impact the use but rather are dependent on the lexical aspect and modifier.

Ex. 39 [=S75]

al-ğisər ġāy yinbinī

ART-bridge PROG IPRF.PASS.build.3SG.M

“The bridge is being built.”

Ex. 40

āni mā ġāy ašūf ġinn ġāy ašūf malābis

PRON.1SG NEG PROG IPRF.see.1SG ghost PROG IPRF.see.1SG cloth.PL

“I am not seeing a ghost; I am seeing clothes.”

Two obvious restrictions in the usage of the *ğāy*-construction are sentences with stative verbs (ex. 41) and constructions with a frequent activity that is not coded into the verb (ex. 42 a) and b)).

Ex. 41 [=S39]

Peter yiʿruf al-iğāba

P. IPRF.know.3SG.M. ART-answer

“Peter knows the answer [now, unexpectedly].”

Ex. 42a [=S47]

hīya ġāy tilʿab waraq bi-l-klūb.

PRON.3SG.F PROG IPRF.play.3SG.F card in-ART-club

“She is playing cards in the club [as usual].”

Ex. 42 b [=S02]

kull sabət Ladina taqra al-kitāb

every Saturday L. IPRF.read.3SG.F ART-book

“Every Saturday Ladina reads the book.”

While example 42 a) answers to the question “what is she doing right now” and the questioned person knows that this activity is a frequent and repetitive activity; example 42 b answers the question what she is doing every Saturday. Both examples are a frequent and repetitive activity with verbs of no marked boundaries, but they highlight different readings.

I have tried to show the usage of the progressive function and coming with it the different factettes of the *ḡāy*-construction in the Arabic variety of Diwāniyyah. While the construction shows in general a wide syntactic scope it is restricted to several verbal groups. Furthermore, the construction must be viewed in the (fluent) asymmetry of present and past tense. The past modifier *ĉān* stands regularly in opposition to *ḡāy* but depending on the temporal adverbials in the complete sentence they can be replaced by each other.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have tried to show the distribution of the *ḡāy*-construction and its use as a progressive in the variety of Diwāniyyah in the framework of grammaticalization. Especially in the proposed and verified grammaticalization paths of a restrictive progressive into a habitual, that could evolve into a present simple marker. The region of Iraq - and in a wider sense - the Syro-Mesopotamian region has different manifestations of these grammaticalization paths. While the progressive modifier might vary in its material source, the function and developments are similar. The collected data has shown that anterior grammaticalization processes have happened in the formation of the progressive modifier and in the overtaking of verbal groups with different lexical aspect. This is subsumed under the term of decaterialization. Due to time restrictions, the full distribution and crossing of all TAM-categories could not be explored. But the described interplay of tense and aspect in narrated discourses and the parallel use of the progressive and the past modifier as described in the former chapter could serve with their ambiguity as a new way of transgressing the present tense barrier; as it has been shown in the examples of Kuwait (al-Najjar 1991).

Comparing the variety of Diwāniyyah to the other documented varieties in Southern Iraq and of Baghdad, shows that it behaves very similarly to the variety of Basra, in functionality and in relation to the material source of the construction. In beginning, I had assumed that the

grammaticalization path of the progressive would be manifested in the formants of *gā'id* (< “sitting”) in a north-facing grammaticalization movement. The collected data tended to *ḡāy* but showed in functionality the same development in the grammaticalization process. More research on the distribution of *ḡāy* would be needed to decide closeness to the *gā'id* and other recurring progressive modifiers. This also relates to the more general question on the distribution of posture and motion concepts for a progressive construction.

Outlook & Desiderata

The following suggestions are not exhaustive and mirror mostly my own observations and concerns I came across while tackling the question of existing data and regarding data collection of Iraqi varieties. In general, the region of Southern Iraq and beyond would benefit from more detailed language collections and the availability of free data sets. This intertwines with the usage of more diverse methodology tools, incorporating also specific techniques in language collection. While I tried to use a more diverse approach, at the end I still relied heavily on the questionnaire on progressive as I realized that the free recording did not lead to sufficient material within the temporal and scope limitations. This is mainly due to the small sampling. The picture story has shown better results in relation to the number of accounts of the progressive construction in a relatively small sample. The limitations there consisted of the recurring usage of the same verb modified with the progressive. Thus, the interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect could be evaluated only in a very limited way. On the other hand, the picture story created its own natural context and is less recipient to the interpretation of the questioner. Whereas the questionnaire introduced a very limited context for each sentence; or it was very time consuming to construct a context for a balanced questioning.

As the interplay of grammatical and lexical aspect are part of the grammaticalization path, the methodology must reflect on this and take the interplay into account.

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