

## **SYNTAX OF SASON ARABIC**

### **A DESCRIPTIVE VIEW**

This paper aims to descriptively account for issues regarding the sentence structure of Sason Arabic (henceforth SA), an endangered dialect of Arabic spoken in eastern Turkey (Jastrow, 2006). Given the data collected in the field work, it has been observed that SA is a pro-drop language in that the subject of a clause does not always have to be realized. Further, Agreement is a very prominent operation in the language where we encounter Subject-Verb Agreement and Clitic Agreement.<sup>1</sup> NPs are not Case-marked in SA. In syntactic environments where we normally find dative-marked NPs in a language like Turkish, we end up having a prepositional phrase such as “mişā Faruk” in SA. Finally, SA does not employ a strict word-order since re-ordering constituents is possible in a clause although all of the six word order possibilities are not obtained and there seems to be some interpretational differences between the attainable options.

There are nine sections in this paper nearly all of which are dealing with simple sentences. Section 1 discusses non-verbal predicates including nominal, adjectival and locative predicates. Locative existential constructions are also presented under this section for convenience although it can be argued that they do not have non-verbal predicates. Section 2 deals with Agreement while Section 3 and 4 describe the structure of the verb phrase and the noun phrase, respectively. Section 5 covers Tense-Aspect-Modality issues, Section 6 negation, and Section 7 question formation. Section 8 presents different word order possibilities for each predicate type in the language and illustrates interpretational differences observed in several structures. The last section summarizes the basic points being made throughout the paper.

### **SECTION 1: NON-VERBAL PREDICATES**

This section deals with the structure of the following non-verbal predicates: nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative predicates, respectively. In such constructions, SA makes use of a copula which is inflected with person, number and gender agreement. The basic order of the constituents in such sentences appears to be SOV, excluding locative predicates since, for instance, the neutral word order our informant adopts when answering the question “Amma kinto?” *Where are you?* is SVO in locative predicates.

---

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion regarding how Agreement works in the language, see Yakut (2013b).

As is mentioned above, SA is a scrambling language allowing several word order possibilities with/without some interpretational differences, implying that SVO word order for nominal and adjectival predicates, SOV word order for locative predicates are also possible. The word order restrictions will be discussed in detail in Section 8.

It should be noted that apart from the basic word order, there is also another asymmetry between locative predicates and the rest of the non-verbal predicates in SA. In nominal and adjectival predicates, we find the same form of copula, “je” for third person singular, “nne(n)” for third person plural subjects. However, in locative predicates the form of the copula changes such that it is “k<sup>y</sup>u” in 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular masculine, “k<sup>y</sup>i” for singular feminine, and “kinno” for the third person plural.<sup>2</sup>

### *Nominal Predicates:*

- Na:na o:ranci kinna<sup>3</sup>  
We student copula-1. PER. PLU.  
*We are (a) student*
- Na:na o:ranci:ja:t kinna  
We student-PLU copula-1. PER. PLU.  
*We are students*
- Songül şivane je  
Songül shepherd copula-3. PER. SING. FEM  
*Songül is a shepherd.*
- Faruk şivan je:  
Faruk shepherd copula-3. PER. SING. MAS.  
*Faruk is a shepherd*
- Aguha:ne o:renci nne(n)  
They student copula-3. PER. PLU.  
*They are students*

### *Adjectival Predicates*

- Ina: mamlu:n kintu  
I happy-1. PER. SING. copula-1. PER. SING.  
*I am happy*
- Ina: mamlu:nin kinto  
You (pl.) happy-2. PER. PLU. copula-2. PER.  
PLU.  
*You are happy*
- Ahma:d kois je:  
Ahmet beautiful-3. PER. SING. MAS. (null)  
copula-3. PER. SING. MAS.  
*Ahmet is beautiful*
- Bint koise je:  
Girl beautiful-3. PER. SING. FEM. copula-3.  
PER. SING.  
*A/The girl is beautiful*

### *Locative Predicates*

- Ina kintu fmæitabi  
I copula-1. PER. SING at-school  
*I am at school*
- Ijen kınno fbejð  
They copula-3. PER. PLU. at-home  
*They are at home*

<sup>2</sup> It will be indicated in the following section that these forms whose phi features specified above are used as auxiliaries for the subjects of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

<sup>3</sup> SA examples are given in the IPA throughout format the paper.

- Faruk k<sup>y</sup>u fstanbul  
Faruk copula-3. PER. SING. MAS in-İstanbul  
*Faruk is in İstanbul*
- İ:sanað kinno fo:de  
People copula-3. PER. PLU. in-room

#### LOCATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS<sup>4</sup>

The basic word order in locative existential constructions seems to be a topic for further research. Even though our informant seems to highly prefer SVO in affirmative sentences where the existential predicate “ifi” is between the location and the subject, in negative existential constructions this word order is frequently altered into SVO. At this point, we assume that the basic word order is [PP V NP] in such constructions. Other word order patterns will be discussed in Section 8.

- F1 banyo ifi sinnawr  
In bathroom exist cat  
*There is a cat in the bathroom*
- F1o:de ifi: i:sanað  
In room exist people  
*There are people in the room.*
- Fode masa mikfi  
In room table exist-PAST-3. PER. SING. MAS.

#### SECTION 2: AGREEMENT

Agreement in SA has two reflections in the language, one of them being subject agreement in terms of person, number and gender (first persons being excluded from gender) which is marked on the copula in non-verbal predicates as is illustrated above, on the verbal predicate in present simple tense forms, and also on the auxiliary in the imperfective aspect. There are some idiosyncrasies regarding the agreement paradigm in the language, for a detailed account of which readers are referred to Yakut (2013b).

- (1) Ina doktor kintu  
I doctor copula-1. PER. SING.  
*I am a doctor*
- (2) Into tıfıqizo  
You-PLU run-2. PER. PLU  
*You run*

---

<sup>4</sup> Due to the incomplete data with regard to the possessive existentials, we will focus only on locative existentials in this section.

(3) Inte kinte tifqıze

You-SING. FEM. aux-2. PER. SING. FEM. run-2. PER. SING. FEM.

*You are running*

(4) Ijen ams faqazo

They yesterday run-PAST-3. PER. PLU.

*They ran yesterday*

The second reflection of the agreement operation in SA is via Clitic agreement which seems to be replacing the overt personal pronouns with the relevant clitic forms, and Clitic-Left-Dislocation (henceforth CLD) which involves preposing a constituent (full NP) associated with the post-verbal position, thus rendering SVO order to SOV. The dislocated constituent, occurring clause-initially corresponds to a clitic pronoun with which it shares person, number, and gender features (Anagnostopoulou, E. 1997)<sup>5</sup>. Since it is a word-order changing process, its effects to the interpretation of the clause will be discussed in Section 8 in detail.

(5) a. Iju k<sup>ɨ</sup>u: idur Int

He-MAS aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. look for- 3. PER. SING. MAS. You-MAS

*He is calling me.*

b. Iju k<sup>ɨ</sup>u: idurej

He-MAS aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. [look for- 3. PER. SING. MAS. clitic You-MAS]

*He is calling me.*

c. Into kinto tiduro Ijen

You-PLU. aux-2. PER. PLU. look for-2. PER. PLU. them

*You are calling them.*

d. Into kinto tiduruwen

You-PLU. aux-2. PER. PLU. [look for-2. PER. PLU. clitic-3. PER. PLU.]

*You are calling them.*

(6) a. Faruk bint ma k<sup>y</sup>u idu:ra

Faruk girl a aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. look for-3. PER. SING. MAS. clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.

*Faruk is looking for a specific girl.*

---

<sup>5</sup> Co-editor, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Henk van Riemsdijk and Frans Zwarts (Eds.). *Materials on Left Dislocation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (1997)

### SECTION 3: THE VERB PHRASE

The verb phrase consists of a verbal head, its complements and modifiers. The internal structure of a verb depends upon transitivity of the verbal head itself. This section covers intransitive, transitive, causative, passive and reflexive constructions in SA. The basic word order in sentences with verbal predicates seems to be SVO since the answer to the question “İşine sa:r?” *What happened?*, for instance, is given in SVO word order.<sup>6</sup>

#### *Intransitive verbs*

An intransitive verb does not have any object, yet in SA those verbs (unaccusatives and unergatives) can take cognate objects as is illustrated below.

(7) a. Ina asse

I laugh-1. PER. SING.

*I laugh*

b. Ina za:ke asse

I smile laugh-1. PER. SING.

*I laugh a smile*

(8) a. Ina faqastu

I run-PAST-1. PER. SING.

*I run*

b. Ina faqız faqastu

I running run-PAST-1. PER. SING.

*I run a running*

#### *Transitive verbs*

Transitive verbs have at least one object. In 9 (b) below, you see that a transitive verb in SA can also take a cognate object in addition to its independent object.<sup>7</sup>

(9) a. Int kint tıqri kita:b

You<sub>MAS</sub> aux-2. PER. SING. MAS. read-2. PER. SING. MAS. book

---

<sup>6</sup> which indicates that SA is a head initial language when one considers the constituent structure in verbal predicates.

<sup>7</sup> Independent in the sense that it is the internal argument of the verb but it does not have the same semantic relationship with the verb stem as the cognate object has. One can read any object which is legible and yet, one cannot “writing read”.

*You are reading a book*

b. Ina karu aqri kita:b

I reading read-1. PER. SING. book

*I read a book*

### ***Transitivity and Voice***

This part of the discussion deals with Causative and Passive constructions which change the Voice of a given verb in a language. The kinds of strategies SA adopts to accommodate these operations is explained in detail. s

### **Causatives**

SA utilizes several means to express causation. In (10), the second consonant of the verb root is geminated, which functions more or less a predictable rule applying to a number of verbal roots. (11), however, indicates a lexical causation phenomenon with the verb “to kill”. (12), on the other hand, is an example of a different causation operation which forms a complex sentence by making use of the verb “a:ðil” *to give* as the matrix verb inflected with agreement morphology, and a de-verbal form which expresses what the causee needs to do. The whole sentence can be paraphrased as “The causer gives the job of X to the causee”. Finally, in (13) we see a periphrastic construction, again a complex sentence, similar to the English “make someone do something” constructions. SA employs the verb form “to do” and causativize it by geminating the final consonant, thus ending up having “sätte”.<sup>8</sup> This causativized verb is then complemented with an embedded clause via the complementizer “le”. Notice that the causee, “Faruk” is expressed both with the Referential NP, and with the clitic attached to the preposition, as in “fiju”.

(10) a. Büşra k<sup>y</sup>i tbækkyiu Faruk

Büşra aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. [make-cry-3. PER. SING. FEM clitic-3. PER. SING. MAS.] Faruk

*Büşra is making Faruk cry*

b. Faruk Büşra k<sup>y</sup>u ize:ga

Faruk Büşra aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-laugh-3. PER. SING. MAS. clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.]

*Faruk is making Büşra laugh*

(11) Ayşe bocega:ð qaðalede:n

Ayşe insects [kill-PAST-3. PER. SING. FEM clitic-3. PER. PLU.]

*Ayşe killed the insects*

---

<sup>8</sup> The forms are inflected with Past Tense morphology.

(12) Ina beyt mışa Büşra adi:tun nazzif<sup>9</sup>

I house for Büşra [give-PAST-1. PER. SING. clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.] cleaning

*I gave Büşra the job of cleaning*

(13) Büşra (mişa) Faruk satte fi:ju le ja:γEs hađija

Büşra (for) Faruk [make-PAST-3. PER. SING. FEM on-clitic-3.PER. SING. MAS.] that *pro*-3. PER. SING. MAS. buy-3. PER. SING. MAS. present

*Büşra made Faruk buy a present.*

### Passives

The passive verb is morphologically marked with the prefix, “in-” in SA. Unlike Turkish but like English, unergative and unaccusative verbs cannot undergo passivization process, indicating that there is no impersonal passive construction in the language as is exemplified in (15). SA makes use of “ne:s”, *person* to express the same meaning in impersonal passive constructions.

(14) a. Ina qraftu ala cam

I break-PAST-1. PER. SING. this glass

*I broke this glass*

b. Cam inqaraf

Glass broken-PAST-3. PER. SING. MAS.

*The glass was broken*

(15) a. Fxasta:ne nes mi:fqe:s

In-hospital one NEG-run-3.PER. SING. MAS.

*One does not run in the hospital*

b. Ali tre:x xraba:ge. Nes ivir fi ja

This road rough-copula-3. PER. SING. FEM. Person fall-3.PER. SING. MAS. on-clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.

*This road is rough. One falls in it.*

The agent of the action in the passive structure can be a person or an inanimate object such as wind. SA introduces both of them in a by-phrase.

- MıFaruk ala cam inqaraf

By-Faruk the glass broken-PAST-3. PER. SING. MAS.

*The glass was broken by Faruk*

- Cam mıfirtına inqaraf

---

<sup>9</sup> “mişa Büşra” for *Büşra* is a prepositional phrase in SA. Prepositions follow their complements in this language, as is the case in English.

Glass by-wind broken-PAST-3. PER. SING. MAS

*The glass was broken by the wind*

### **Reflexive and Reciprocal Constructions**

SA does not make use of explicit morphology to transform a verb into a reflexive or reciprocal form. Reflexive-Reciprocal constructions are rendered by transitive verbs being followed by the reflexive pronoun “roi” *self*, or the reciprocal pronoun “ba:z” *each other* bearing person, number and gender agreement morphology (which is probably attached to the stem as a clitic form).

(16) a. Into tiduro ro:ken

You-PLU look for- 2. PER. PLU. self- 2. PER. PLU.

*You look for yourselves*

b. Na:na nidur ba:zna

We look for- 1. PER. PLU. each other- 1. PER. PLU.

*We look for each other.*

### **SECTION 4: THE NOUN PHRASE**

Since there is no Case marking in SA, overt NPs are either bare or inflected with agreement morphology in relevant constructions in the language. An NP can be modified by an indefinite determiner “ma” *a* as in 17 (a), by a numeral like “arba” *four* as in 17(b), and by an adjective like “koi” *beautiful* as in 17 (c). (18), however, illustrates the combination of a determiner or a numeral plus an adjective modifying the same noun, “atsu:ra” *bird*.

(17) a. bint ma:

girl a

*A girl*

b. habbitæin atse:vir

piece-two bird-PLU

*two birds*

c. Bint koise

Girl beautiful-3. PER. SING. FEM

*Beautiful girl*

(18) a. Kælb ma: bor

dog a grey

*A grey dog*



- b. Sirisaβu atse:vir su:d  
 three-piece bird-PLU black  
*Three black birds*

Given the examples above, it can be argued that the word order in an NP is more or less similar to the word order in a VP such that the head noun precedes its modifiers. However, there is an asymmetry between the indefinite determiner “ma” and the numerals which function as a unit with the word “habbe”. While the determiner follows the noun, numerals with “habbe” precede it. Thus, we end up with the following word order in an NP: [[Numeral+*habbe*] [Noun] [Determiner, *ma*] [Adjective]]. Notice that numerals and indefinite determiner are mutually exclusive in a single NP.

### SECTION 5: TENSE ASPECT AND MODALITY

As far as the current data shows, the structures of Present and Past Tenses are going to be analyzed in this section. SA employs a rich morphological system to express Tense on the copula in non-verbal predicates, on the verbal root in verbal predicates and also on the auxiliary in imperfective aspect of the verbal predicate.

19 (a) gives us the present form of the copula which is inflected with the relevant agreement morphology while 19 (b) indicates the past form of the copula. In (20), we see the present form of the verb “cry”. Both (a) and (b) can be used to express the imperfective aspect, however, (b) is more frequently used. (21) indicates the past form of the same verb. Due to the data restrictions, we have not yet discovered the imperfective form of the past tense.

- (19) a. Faruk raxu je

Faruk sick-3. PER. SING. MAS. copula-3. PER. SING. MAS.

*Faruk is sick*

- b. Faruk (ams) raxu k<sup>y</sup>a

Faruk (yesterday) sick-3. PER. SING. MAS. copula-PAST-3. PER. SING. MAS.

*Faruk was sick (yesterday)*

- (20) a. Inte tipke

You-SING-FEM cry-2. PER. SING. FEM.

*You cry/ You are crying*

- b. Inte kinte tipke

You-SING-FEM aux-2. PER. SING. FEM. cry-2. PER. SING. FEM.

*You are crying*

- (21) Inte bigi:te

You-SING-FEM. cry-PAST-2. PER. SING. FEM.

*You cried*

With respect to expressing modality, we have observed one instance of deontic modality, which is Imperative structures.

(22) a. Bage!

Cry-2. PER. SING. FEM.

*Cry!*

b. Ze:g!

Laugh-2. PER. SING. MAS.

*Laugh!*

## SECTION 6: NEGATION

In SA, the negative particle (m-,ma:~,mI-,mo-) always precedes the functional items such that in non-verbal sentences and locative existentials, it immediately precedes the free form of the copula, and the existential predicate “ifi” as in (23)<sup>10</sup>, in verbal sentences either it directly attaches to the verbal stem or it immediately precedes the verbal stem, or the auxiliary as in (24).

(23) a. Aguha:ne o:ranci manne

Those student NEG-copula-3. PER. PLU

*Those are not students.*

b. Ina mamlu:n ma kintu

I happy **not** copula-1. PER. SING.

*I am not happy*

c. Fo:de i:san ma: fi:

in-room person not exist

*There is not a person in the room.*

(24) a. Ina za:ke mosse

I smile NEG-laugh- 1. PER. SING.

*I don't laugh*

b. Ina Xaðu ma Xiði:tu

I walk **not** walk-PAST- 1. PER. SING.

---

<sup>10</sup> In third person singular and plural forms, it is not possible to separate the copular form from the negative particle, probably due to the fact that the latter carries the relevant agreement morphology.

*I didn't walk*

c. Agiha:ne ma: k<sup>y</sup>i tixđi

That not aux-3. PER. SING. FEM walk-3. PER. SING. FEM.

*That (girl) is not walking*

In negating imperative constructions, a totally different form of negation, namely, “la” is employed in SA.

(25) a. La tisse!

No laugh.2. PER. SING. MAS.

*Don't laugh!*

## SECTION 7: QUESTIONS

Questions in SA are formed either by a rising intonation on a declarative sentence, which forms **yes-no questions**, or by using a **wh-phrase** where wh-phrases are *işine* “*ande*” *who/what*, “*işax*” *when*, “*(f)ande şax*” *what time*, “*foişine*” *for what reason*, “*mamma*” *from where*, and “*atey*” *why*.

(26) Int kınt fstanbul?

*'Are you in İstanbul?'*

(27) a. Agaha:ne işine şireb?

That what drink. 3.PER. SING. MAS.

*'What does he drink?'*

b. Ande içax içi?<sup>11</sup>

Who when come-3. PER. SING. MAS.

*'Who comes when?'*

## SECTION 8: WORD ORDER AND INTERPRETATIONAL DIFFERENCES

In SA, word order is variable although not all of the word order possibilities are available in the language, implying that there are some syntactic restrictions operating in SA. Changing the order of the constituents in a clause has some informational structural effects such that it distinguishes new information from old information, focus from topic, or it might express specificity for dislocated NPs. Below is given different word order possibilities with each predicate type relevant for our discussion.

### *Non-verbal predicates*

---

<sup>11</sup> Notice that the default agreement marker for the question words such as “*Ande*” or “*İşine*” occupying the subject position is third person singular masculine.

In non-verbal predicates excluding locative predicates, our informants report that they do not get any meaning differences between the basic SOV order and the SVO order below. Recall that the basic word order is SOV in non-verbal predicates, and the negated copula always comes at the end as in 28 (c) and (d).

(28) a. Ina kintu o:renci

*I am a student*

b. Ina kintu mamlu:n

*I am happy*

c. Ina kintu o:ranci, o:retman **ma: kintu**

*I am a student, not a teacher*

d. \*Ina kintu o:ranci, **ma: kintu** o:retman

*I am a student, not a teacher*

e. \* Kintu ina ...

f. \* Ams kintu raxuwe, lo:me ma: kintu raxu

*Yesterday I was sick, today I am not sick.*

In locative predicates, the basic word order is SVO where constituents preceding the copula are interpreted as old information, and those following the copula are interpreted as new information, as is illustrated in (29). However, 29(f) illustrates that when contrasting a PP constituent, we might end up having SOV word order (with the contrastive stress on “fstanbul”).

(29) a. Ina kintu fi:finversta

*I am in the university*

b. Fo:de(old info.) kinnu i:sanað (new info.)

*People are in the room ( not some others).*

c. I:sanað (old info.) kinnu fo:de (new info.)

*People are in the room (not somewhere else).*

d. Kinnu fo:de, i:sanað (afterthought).

*They are in the room, people.*

e. Fo:de kinnu, i:sanað (specific)

*They are in the room, the people*

f. Ina fstanbul kintu, Ankara ma: kintuf

*I am in İstanbul, not in Ankara*

In locative existential constructions, we are faced with the same situation such that SOV word order is attested in contrastive focus situations as in (a) and (b) while both (c) and (d) are attested in negative forms.

(30) a. I:san fo:de fi ma fi?

*Is there a person in the room or not ?*

b. F1 ode masa mafi ,sandalye ifi

*There is no table in the room, there is a chair.*

c. Fo:de ma:se ma: fi

*There is no table in the room.*

d. Fo:de ma: fi ma:se.

*There is no table in the room.*

### *Verbal Predicates*

As is mentioned above, the basic word order in verbal clauses is SVO, with the possibility of variance which has interpretational differences, particularly the specificity of the preposed constituent. (31) indicates that the auxiliary cannot follow the verbal stem. In (32), we see that for the preposed object there is a clitic attached to the verbal stem and the dislocated NP can come before or after the auxiliary (32 (a) and (b) respectively).

(31) \*Ina afqes kintu

*I am running*

(32) a. Na:na kinna nɪqri laga kita:b (**specific**)

*They are reading that book.*

b. Na:na kinna (l)aga kita:b nɪqriju (**specific**)

*They are reading that book.*

c. Ina (l)ala kita:b kintu aqriju (**specific**)

*I am reading this book*

d. Ina kintu a:duru, doktor (**afterthought**)

*I am looking him, a specific doctor*

e.\* Ina kintu a:duru doktor

*I am looking a specific doctor*

If the NP is already specific as in 32 (a), word order change does not have any effects on its specificity. Since it is preposed in 32 (b), the clitic corresponding to the NP appears on the verbal stem.<sup>12</sup> Notice that 32 (e) is ungrammatical since there is a clitic, and yet there is no dislocation. A further remark with such constructions is that objects can also be dropped in addition to the subjects in SA if the object clitic is overtly realized on the verbal stem.

### *Causative Constructions*

This part of the discussion deals with different word order possibilities with the first type of causative formation where the second consonant of the verbal stem is geminated. There seem to be two basic word orders with the causative verb, “make somebody read”, as is given below. 33 (a) is similar to double object constructions in English while 33 (b) is more like a dative construction.

- (33) a. O:retman k<sup>y</sup>i tıqarri Faruk lala kita:b  
 Teacher aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. Faruk this book  
*The teacher is making Faruk read this book.*
- b. O:retman k<sup>y</sup>i tıqarri lala kita:b mişa Faruk  
 Teacher aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. this book for Faruk  
*The teacher is making Faruk read this book.*

Although the causee of the causativized transitive verb can be realized as “mişa Faruk” as in 34 (b), when an unergative verb is causativized, the causee cannot be a PP, but an NP.

- (34) a. Faruk k<sup>y</sup>u ifaqgez el kelb  
 Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. make-run-3. PER. SING. MAS. the dog  
*Faruk is making the dog run*
- b. \*Faruk k<sup>y</sup>u ifaqgez mişa el kelb  
 Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. make-run-3. PER. SING. MAS. for the dog  
*Faruk is making the dog run*

Below is given the possible and impossible word order patterns for the causativized transitive verb, “to read”. The examples indicate that in double object constructions in SA, one cannot reverse the order of the causee and the direct object as in 35 (a). Moreover, it is not possible to prepose the causee “Faruk” to the preverbal position without a clitic marking on the verb as in 35 (b) and (c) respectively.

- (35) a. \*Oratman k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqari kita:b Faruk

---

<sup>12</sup> It is not always the case that there is a clitic marking on the verb in preposing constituents. See the example (36).

Teacher aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. book Faruk

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

b. \*Oratman Faruk k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqari kita:b

Teacher Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. book

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

c. Faruk o:retman k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqarriu kita:b

Faruk teacher aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. [make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. clitic-3. PER. SING. MAS] book

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

When we come to the dative constructions, it is again observed that when the PP is preposed and the relevant clitic is marked on the verb, we have a grammatical sentence and can even drop the dislocated PP.

(36) Oratman (miša Faruk) k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqarriu kita:b

Teacher for Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. [make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. clitic-3. PER. SING. MAS]

book

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

In contrast to 35 (b), in dative constructions when the causee is preposed without a clitic marking on the verb, the sentence is not ungrammatical as in 37 (a). Furthermore, 37 (b) indicates that both the causee PP and the object NP can be preposed without any clitic attached to the verbal stem. However, it should be noted that the dislocated PPs cannot be dropped in either case.

(37) a. Oratman miša Faruk k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqari kita:b

Teacher for Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM. book

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

b. Oratman miša Faruk kita:b k<sup>y</sup>i tiqqari

Teacher for Faruk book aux-3. PER. SING. FEM. make-read-3. PER. SING. FEM.

*The teacher is making Faruk read a book*

As is explained above, SA makes use of CLD where the corresponding clitics of the dislocated (i.e., preposed) arguments are marked on the verb, and it is not possible to have both the clitic and the constituent in the post-verbal position if it is not separated by an intonational break implying an “afterthought” as in 38 (a). With a neutral stress in 38 (b), we can again drop the preposed constituent “Büşra”.

(38) a. Faruk k<sup>y</sup>u izzega \*(,) Büşra.

Faruk aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. [make-laugh-3. PER. SING. MAS. clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.] Büşra

*\*Faruk is making her laugh Büşra.*

b. Faruk (Büşra) k<sup>y</sup>u izzega

Faruk Büşra aux-3. PER. SING. MAS. [make-laugh-3. PER. SING. MAS. clitic-3. PER. SING. FEM.]

*Faruk is making her laugh.*

## SECTION 9: CONCLUSION

The field work which has been done up until now has uncovered such properties of SA as is listed below.

- SA is a pro-drop language like Turkish unlike English such that the subject of a clause does not have to be overtly realized. Whether there are any syntactic constraints on this property is a topic for future research.
- SA is an Agreement prominent language where the noun head in an NP, the verb head in VP, copula and the auxiliary bear person, number and gender agreement morphology.
- In SA, Agreement functions at least in two ways, one being subject-predicate agreement and the other is verb-object (or more appropriately “non-subject”) agreement via clitics.
- Clitics are marked on the verb corresponding to an NP or a pronominal absent in the structure. Or they appear as a result of preposing a conventionally post-verbal constituent. When there is a clitic attached to the verbal stem, the associated NP cannot stay in the post-verbal position without an intonational break for us to interpret it as afterthought. However, it is not always the case that for every preposed constituent the clitic associated with it has to be marked on the verb.
- SA does not exhibit a strict word order pattern even though there are some restrictions on which pattern can be realized in the language. It is reported that in simple sentences with nominal and adjectival predicates, different word orders do not pose any interpretational variation, however, in other instances there is a distinction between pre-verbal constituents and post-verbal constituents in terms of “given” versus “new” information.

Considering all of these properties above, it can be argued that inflectional morphology in SA has a very prominent role in the syntactic operations taking place in the language. However, it is too early to make such conclusions since this language needs further investigation to determine what kinds of evidence it presents for the structure of UG, and in what terms it differs from other dialects of Arabic so that it can be classified accordingly in the theory of language typology.