

Pragmaticalisation of the T-marker *qaʕid* in North Hail Arabic: Generative Syntax and Evaluative Morphology

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*The central novel observation of this paper is that the Tense-marker *qaʕid* in North Hail Arabic has developed diminutive, augmentative and nunation morphological patterns, each of which is rooted in the morphological spine of *qaʕid*, expressing a certain discourse interpretation, as an interpretive-interface related consequence. Arguing it has pragmaticalised, a sub-deep type of grammaticalisation, *qaʕid* exhibits the diminutive pattern *qweʕid* when marking DEVALUE information while it displays an augmentative pattern *qwa:ʕid* when marking VALUE information, providing evidence that diminutive and augmentative, in a cross-linguistic manner, don't merely express size, but encode a degree of speaker attitude. Entertaining the Split-CP system and implementing the Criterial approach within generative, minimalist tenets, this discourse function of *qaʕid* is activated, hence, achieved in narrow syntax by movement of the pragmaticalised instance of *qaʕid*, *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid*, to a C-layer in the left periphery, the locus of the relevant discourse value. Further investigations show that *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* are potential host for a nunation marker '-m', which functions as a Focus marker, a discourse feature being spelled out at PF-interface as a nunation marker on *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid*. Moreover, given the morphological templates the pragmaticalised *qaʕid* develops, the research implements a touch of evaluative morphology approach, arguing that the morphological affixes contributing to the diminutivised and augmented forms of *qaʕid* carry an evaluative endowment at the pragmatic interface and attract the stem of *qaʕid* at the morphosyntax interface.*

Keywords: *pragmaticalisation, diminutive, augmentative, nunation, morphosyntax*

1 Introduction

In NHA, progressiveness is marked overtly by the functional marker *qaʕid*, with the syntactic condition that *qaʕid* maintains rigid syntactic order with respect to the perfective lexical verb; *qaʕid* precedes the perfective lexical verb. A set of NHA illustrative examples is given in (1).¹²

(1) a. l-weled **qaʕid** j-emʕi
DEF-boy **PROG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-walk.PRS
'The boy is walking at the moment.'

b. l-bimt **qaʕid-ah** t-emʕi
DEF-girl **PROG-3SG.F** 3SG.F-walk.PRS
'The girl is walking at the moment.'

¹ Thus, *qaʕid* never co-occurs with perfective form of the verb in Arabic, as shown in (i).

(i) *l-weled **qaʕid** mIʕa
DEF-boy **PROG** walk.PST.3SG.M
Intended meaning: 'The boy is walking at the moment.'

² Interlinear glossing for all data in this paper is in accordance with Leipzig Glossing Rules available at <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules>.

- c. l-weled we l-bınt **qaʕıd-i:n** j-emf-u:n
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PROG-PL** 3SG-walk.PRS-3PL
 ‘The boy and the girl are walking at the moment.’

The set of data in (1) shows an expressiveness characteristic of the progressive marker *qaʕıd*, ϕ -agreeing with the subject DP it marks, being morphologically realised as a clitic spelled out on *qaʕıd*, ‘-ah’ in (1b) and ‘-u:n’ in (1c).³⁴ Relevant to the issue this paper takes up and the approach it adopts, i.e., pragmaticalisation within the generative practice, is the observation that *qaʕıd* displayed in (1) has the same morphological (and phonological) form in (2), in which *qaʕıd* functions as a participial, encoding telicity of an action.

- (2) a. l-weled **qaʕıd** ʕala ʔel-kanabah
 DEF-boy **PTCP-3SG.M** on DEF-sofa
 ‘The boy sitting on the sofa.’
- b. l-bınt **qaʕıd-ah** ʕala ʔel-kanabah
 DEF-girl **PTCP-3SG.F** on DEF-sofa
 ‘The girl sitting on the sofa.’
- c. l-weled we l-bınt **qaʕıd-i:n** ʕala ʔel-kanabah
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PTCP-PL** on DEF-sofa
 ‘The boy and the girl sitting on the sofa.’

The variants of *qaʕıd* in (1) and (2) derive from the lexical verb *jaqʕıd* ‘to sit’ (Alotaibli 2019), which becomes prefixed and/or suffixed with certain morphology depending on the ϕ -content of the subject argument, as in (3).

- (3) a. l-weled **ja-qʕıd** ʕele ʔel-kanabah kıl sʕubħ
 DEF-boy 3SG.M-sit.PRS on DEF-sofa every morning
 ‘The boy sits on the sofa every morning.’
- b. l-bınt **ta-qʕıd** ʕele ʔel-kanabah kıl sʕubħ
 DEF-girl 3SG.F-sit.PRS on DEF-sofa every morning
 ‘The girl sits on the sofa every morning.’
- c. l-weled we l-bınt **jaqʕıd-u:n** ʕele ʔel-kanabah kıl sʕubħ
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl sit.PRS-PL on DEF-sofa every morning
 ‘The boy and the girl sit on the sofa every morning.’

³ I follow the theory that Masculine subject DP has null value as a default spell out of its ϕ -feature at PF in Arabic grammar (Ouhalla 1994a,b, 1997, 1999, 2016; Ouhalla & Shlonsky 2002; Alshamari 2017a,b; Alshamari & Jarrah 2022).

⁴ In principle, ϕ -agreement that *qaʕıd* shows is not restricted to the subject DP. The rule is that *qaʕıd* ϕ -agrees with any DP provided that the DP precedes it in syntax. Thus, *qaʕıd* ϕ -agrees with the fronted object DP, which can have topic reading, as in (ii) below.

- (ii) l-bınt **qaʕıd-ah** j-kalim-ah l-weled
 DEF-girl **PROG-3SG.F** 3SG.M-talk.PRS-3SG.F DEF-boy
 ‘The girl, the boy is talking to her.’

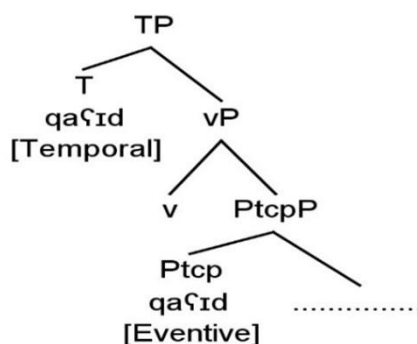
General consensus holds that items with lexical use that develop functional use, getting their lexical meaning bleached off and turning into functional markers, are argued to have been in a phase of grammaticalisation (Biberauer et al. 2014; Hack 2014; Bayer & Trotzke 2015; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017; Trotzke & Mayol 2021). Following recent developments in the theory of grammaticalisation, a functional item, which has grammaticalised from a lexical item, and which further develops discourse marking functions, has been into a further phase of grammaticalisation, namely, pragmaticalisation, where the pragmatic import of the functional item is targeted (Traugott 1995, 2003; Emran & Kotsinas 1993; Aijmer 2002; Roberts & Roussou 2003; Diewald 2011; Bayer 2012). On this basis, it will be argued that *qaʕid* has developed certain discourse values that it assigns to the DP it agrees with. The novelty to be advanced is that the T-functional *qaʕid* can be diminutivised, augmented and nunated, while (i) in each pragmaticalisation case the pragmaticalised T-functional *qaʕid* encodes a certain discourse value and (ii) maintains its T-marking function, a phenomenon that has neither been observed nor investigated yet.

The current paper sets an exploration of the phase of pragmaticalisation the syntactic item *qaʕid* has undergone, scrutinising morphosyntactic properties of *qaʕid*, including diminutive, augmentative and nunation. This will include a Split-CP analysis, given that the variants of *qaʕid* gain further morphosyntactic characteristics being associated to pragmatic marking that they have in the utterance and evaluative morphology, given its puzzling internal morphological structure.

2 Characteristics of the syntax/morphosyntax of the pragmaticalised *qaʕid*

Given the observations and facts above, we stay in abeyance with the theory that the temporal *qaʕid* is an output of a grammaticalisation process that has evolved from lexical item (lexical verb and participial) to temporal functional marker. It is now important to give a hypothesised representation of the syntactic position of *qaʕid*. Thus, given that the lexical *qaʕid* functions as a participial that denotes an eventive state of affairs, we assume that the lexical *qaʕid* merges in the argument structure, the vP domain. The Temporal *qaʕid*, then, is merged at the syntactic position, T, where it marks temporality of the preoperational content with progressiveness value. This line of logic is represented in (4) below.

(4)



The functional temporal instance of *qaʕid* has grammaticalised from the lexical counterpart in the vP domain, undergoing either internal Merge (Roberts & Roussou 2003) or external merge

(Hack 2014), in the sense of Chomsky (2001), to the TP domain, through time. This being in mind, we shall now proceed our argument on the pragmaticalisation of the lexical instance of *qaʕid* in NHA, in which *qaʕid* evolves into a discourse particle. We will thus explore further morphological and morphosyntactic properties it has developed. The upcoming sections will lay the groundwork for showing such morphological/ morphosyntactic characteristics of variant of *qaʕid*.

3 Pragmaticalisation: diminution and augmentation in natural language

Diminutive and augmentative are attested cross-linguistically, patterning lexical categories like noun, adjective and adverb, giving credence to their universality characteristic (Ott 2011; De Belder et al. 2014). As for their semantic distribution, there is consensus that diminutive and augmentative are used to express size or extent, in which diminutive expresses small size or extent while augmentative expresses big counterparts (Jurafsky 1996; Böhmerová 2011). Arabic makes extensive use of diminutive and augmentative morphological patterns (Watson 2006). Investigations on Arabic varieties have centred on the distribution of the syllabification system of the diminutive and augmentative (Ingham 1994; McCarthy and Prince 1990; Watson 2006; Lahrouchi & Ridouane 2016). Surfing the literature, diminutive and augmentative phenomena are argued to be restricted to lexical categories like nouns, adverbs and adjectives (Watson 2006; Taine-Cheikh 2018). The novelty the current paper advances is that diminutive and augmentative pattern with functional items, providing independent evidence from the morphosyntax of the temporal marker *qaʕid*, which shows serious grade of pragmaticalisation, yet, an unobserved, non-investigated phenomenon.

3.1 Diminutivisation in natural language

The received view is that diminutivisation and augmentation in Arabic, in the narrow sense and cross-linguistically in the broad sense, express smallness and bigness, respectively (Watson 2006; De Belder et al. 2014), which seems to be a semantic-oriented view. The insight the current research advances is that, with respect to their semantic/pragmatic distribution, diminutive and augmentative patterns in NHA don't solely express size, but further encode a degree of speaker attitude towards the quality of the entity expressed by the diminutivised item, which suggests that the impact of *qaʕid* has further extended to pragmatics, not only semantics. Thus, diminutive and augmentative morphological skeletons pattern with *qaʕid* with the consequence that discourse is associated with the item marked by the diminutivised and augmented *qaʕid*.⁵

Natural language implements a range of morphological strategies to mark diminution, including suffixation as in German, Czech, Spanish, Modern Hebrew, Turkish and Slovak (Jurafsky 1996; Barbaresi 2003; Böhmerová 2011; De Belder et al. 2014) and prefixation as Modern Greek displays (Efthymiou 2015). Consider the following cross-linguistic data.

- (5) a. syn/ syn-ček Suffixation in Slovak (Böhmerová 2011: 6)
 boy/ boy-DIM
 ‘boy/ small boy’

⁵ See Alshammari and Davis (2019) for work on diminutive and augmentative patterns of lexical related items in northern Hail Arabic within phonological practice.

b. stër-madh
AUG-big/large
'enormous'

Prefixation in Albanian (Štekauer 2015: 48)

c. cítrinos/ ipo-cítrinos
yellow/ yellow-DIM
'low degree of yellow'

Prefixation in Modern Greek (Efthymiou 2015: 64)

The conventional strategy NA grammar uses for deriving and marking diminutive in infixation is one already used in Classic Arabic, derived by the insertion of a vocalic morpheme within the stem of a lexical item (Zewi 2006: 620). The following is a comparative set of data of non-diminutive lexical items with their diminutivised counterparts in NA (the diminutive vocalic morpheme is in bold font).

(6) a. ktab
book
'A book.'

Diminutivised NP (Ingham 1994: 179)

b. ktaertb
book.DIM
'a small book'

(7) a. srejeʃ
fast
'fast'

Diminutivised AdjP (Watson 2006: 196)

b. sweiriʃ
fast.DIM
'a small fast (person/thing etc.)'

Diminutivised lexical categories like nouns and adjectives have been assumed to express semantic/pragmatic categories like APPROXIMATION and VALUE (Watson 2006; Böhmerová 2011). In current research on diminutivisation, there has been the view that diminutivisation encodes a pragmatic value, in which the aspect of quality of smallness associated to the entity being described/modified in the world of knowledge is attenuated (Nieuwenhuis 1985; Dressler & Barbaresi 1994; Efthymiou 2015). As we will see, this holds true for NA. The context in (6) takes place where the speaker describes *a book*, which is small in size, as being of low quality. This holds true in (7), where the speaker describes the modified noun, say *player* that the AdjP *fast* modifies, as being of insufficient speed than expected. In both cases, though, *the book* and *the speed* of the person are devalued. With this being at hand, the next sub-section will address the case of diminutivised *qafid*.

3.2 Diminutivisation of *qaʕid* in North Hail Arabic

Consider the following set of NHA data set in a context where a final game has just ended, and the speakers describe the state of affairs: the leader of the winning team and the leader of the losing team.

(8) Speaker A1: ʃu:f. ʔel-betʕel **qaʕid** j-erfeʕ ʔel-kas
 Look.IMP DEF-champ **PROG.3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS DEF-cup
 ‘Look! The champ is holding the cup.’

Speaker B1: e-ʃu:f. mar ʔel-mahzu:m **qaʕid** j-taxael
 1SG-Look.PRS while DEF-looser **PROG.3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS
 ‘I see. While the looser is imagining he is doing so.’

Speaker A2: *ʃu:f. ʔel-betʕel **qweʕid** j-erfeʕ ʔel-kas
 Look.IMP DEF-champ **PROG.DIM.3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS DEF-cup
 Intended meaning: ‘Look! The champ is holding the cup (the speaker devalues the champ).’

Speaker B2: e-ʃu:f. mar ʔel-mahzu:m **qweʕid** j-taxael
 1SG-Look.PRS while DEF-looser **PROG.DIM-3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS
 ‘I see. While the looser is imagining he is doing so (the speaker devalues the looser).’

Speaker A1’s and Speaker B1’s utterances contain a non-diminutivised form, *qaʕid*, and the clause is well-formed. Though, a constraint holds in Speaker A2’s and Speaker B2’s utterances. Looking into their propositional content, we notice that Speaker A2’s utterance contains the DP *ʔelbetʕel* ‘the champ’, where the diminutive *qweʕid* is not legitimate. In contrast, Speaker B’s contains the DP *ʔelmahzu:m* ‘the looser’, where the diminutive *qweʕid* is legitimate. It is a standard view that semantic categories like VALUE and EVALUATION are associated to diminutivised items (Watson 2006; Böhmerová 2011; Fassi Fehri 2017). This logic explains a property of diminutive *qweʕid* in NHA: marking the item it introduces with what I refer to as DEVALUE. Ungrammaticality of *qweʕid* in Speaker A2’s utterance derives from the fact that the diminutive *qweʕid* marks an entity which receives compliments in discourse, *ʔelbetʕel* ‘the champ’, and thus cannot be conceptually devalued. Grammaticality of the diminutive *qweʕid* in Speaker B2’s utterance follows, where diminutive *qweʕid* marks the entity represented by the DP *ʔelmahzu:m* ‘the looser’, which normally in discourse receives critique, hence, with DEVALUE as semantic import.

This logic lays the groundwork for showing the phase of the linguistic change the temporal marker *qaʕid* has been in. Within the framework of grammaticalisation adopting generative grammar and cartographic approach (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2008; Rizzi 1997, 2006), linguistic items that develop change in form and function, in particular, carrying a degree of speaker’s attitude, are argued to have been in the process of grammaticalisation (Zimmermann 2009, 2011; Coniglio 2008; Hack 2014). We can see that grammaticalisation seems to have targeted the pragmatic component of the item *qaʕid*, in which the pragmatics of *qaʕid* has now gained a semantic feature, DEVALUE, being added to its featural grid, which it assigns to the DP it marks. In more technical terms, what seems to have targeted the temporal

marker *qaʕid* is what is called in the literature as pragmaticalisation (Emran & Kotsinas 1993; Aijmer 2002; Diewald 2011), a sub-process of grammaticalisation. In this respect, I follow the distinction made between grammaticalisation and pragmaticalisation in Aijmer (2002), which considers grammaticalisation as the process where a linguistic item loses some of its lexical meaning and develops functional use, while pragmaticalisation is equal to grammaticalisation plus the gain of a value of Speaker Attitude being encoded in the utterance involving the pragmaticalised item. Consider now the NHA in (1) above repeated below as (9) evidencing diminutive morphological pattern of *qaʕid*.

- (9) a. l-weled **qweʕid** j-emʕi
 DEF-boy **PROG.DIM-3SG.M** 3SG.M-walk.PRS
 ‘The boy is walking at the moment (the speaker devalues the boy).’
- b. l- bint **qweʕid-ah** t-emʕi
 DEF-girl **PROG.DIM-3SG.F** 3SG.F-walk.PRS
 ‘The girl is walking at the moment (the speaker devalues the girl).’
- c. l-weled we l-bint **qweʕid-i:n** j-emʕ-u:n
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PROG.DIM-PL** walk.PRS-3PL
 ‘The boy and the girl are sitting on the sofa (the speaker devalues the boy and the girl).’

The instances in (9) represent the pragmaticalisation effects on *qaʕid* where *qweʕid* now marks a discourse value, DEVALUE, expressing Speaker Negative Attitude, in addition to progressiveness information. The impact of *qweʕid* now is that it marks the subject DP with a degree of speaker’s negative attitude, a property of discourse particles (Bayer & Trotzke 2015; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017). Comparing (1) to (9), we can formulate the generalisation that *qaʕid* has developed a diminutivised sense, with the morphological alternation being spelled out as *qweʕid*, resulting in its involving the vocalic morpheme *wei/jei* having replaced the default underlying morpheme *a*. Taking it up within morpho-syntax-pragmatics interface, i.e. LF-interface (Chomsky 1995 et seq), this diminutivisation has the consequence that the semantic interpretation of the DP with which *qweʕid* agrees is discourse-anchored. That is, the entity expressed by the subject DPs in (9) and the clause-initial moved object DP in (10b) below are being devalued on the part of the speaker; the speaker devalues the entity represented by the relevant DP. This would mean that *qweʕid* has now developed a discourse feature, in addition to the temporal feature marking tense, as represented in (10).

- (10) a. l-weled **qweʕid** j-a:kil ʔel-fatʕi:rah
 DEF-boy **PROG.DIM-3SG.M** 3SG.M-eat.PRS DEF-pie
 ‘The boy is eating the pie at the moment (the speaker devalues the boy).’
- b. ʔel-fatʕi:rah **qweʕid-ah** j-a:kil-ah l-weled
 DEF-bread **PROG.DIM-3SG.F** 3SG.M-eat.PRS-3SG.F DEF-boy
 ‘The pie is being eaten by the boy at the moment (the speaker devalues the pie).’

The diminutivised *qweʕid* marks the DP it agrees with what is widely known as speaker negative attitude (Coniglio 2008). In this respect, I proceed to elaborate on more properties of *qaʕid*, discussing more of the consequences of its pragmaticalisation phases.

3.3 Augmentation of *qaʕid* in North Hail Arabic

A few criteria have been implemented to express augmentation in the literature. Modern Greek is one language that marks augmentative by suffixation, using absolute superlative suffix (Efthymiou 2015: 61), as in (11) below.

- (11) *γlicí/ γlicí-tatos*
 sweet/ sweet-AUG
 ‘most sweet’

The strategy NHA uses to form augmentative is inserting of a long vowel ‘-wa:-’: into the stem of the item, immediately following the constituent-initial consonant (Assuwaida 1997). Consider (12), a North Hail Arabic augmentative for *bait* ‘house’, from Assuwaida (1997: 65).

- (12) *bwa:t*
 house.AUG
 ‘big house’

Consider now the set of data we discussed earlier in (8) reproduced in (13) below with an augmentative pattern of *qaʕid*.

- (13) Speaker A1: *ʃu:f. ʔel-betʕel qaʕid j-erfeʕ ʔel-kas*
 Look.IMP DEF-champ **PROG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS DEF-cup
 ‘Look! The champ is holding the cup.’

Speaker B1: *e-ʃu:f. mar ʔel-mahzu:m qaʕid j-taxael*
 Look.PRS while DEF-looser **PROG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS
 ‘I see. While the loser is imagining he is doing so.’

Speaker A2: *ʃu:f. ʔel-betʕel qwa:ʕid j-erfeʕ ʔel-kas*
 Look.IMP DEF-champ **PROG.AUG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS DEF-cup
 Intended meaning: ‘Look! The champ is holding the cup (the speaker devalues the champ).’

Speaker B2: **e-ʃu:f. mar ʔel-mahzu:m qwa:ʕid j-taxael*
 Look.PRS while DEF-looser **PROG.AUG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-wear.PRS
 ‘I see. While the loser is imagining he is doing so (the speaker devalues the loser).’

The scenario in (8) above has established that the diminutive *qweʕid* is compatible when marking a DP whose entity is a candidate for receiving critique *ʔelmahzu:m*, but not compliments like *ʔelbetʕel*, hence, *qweʕid* encodes speaker’s negative attitude, which means *qweʕid* carries a semantic feature DEVALUE. This logic explains the opposite scenario displayed in (13), where the augmentative *qwa:ʕid*, with VALUE feature, is legitimate when

marking *ʔelbetʔel*, candidate of compliments, but not *ʔelmahzu:m* candidate for critique. Consider now the NHA data below involving the augmentative form of *qaʕid*.

- (14) a. l-weled **qwa:ʕid** j-emʕi
 DEF-boy **PROG. AUG-3SG.M** 3SG.M-walk.PRS
 ‘The boy is walking at the moment (the speaker values the boy).’
- b. l- bmt **qwa:ʕid-ah** t-emʕi
 DEF-girl **PROG.AUG-3SG.F** 3SG.F-walk.PRS
 ‘The girl is walking at the moment (the speaker values the girl).’
- c. l-weled we l-bmt **qwa:ʕid-i:n** jemʕ-u:n
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PROG. AUG-3PL** walk.PRS-PL
 ‘The boy and the girl are walking at the moment (the speaker values the boy and the girl).’

As can be seen in (14), *lweled* ‘the boy’ is being valued, assigned values like wisdom, braveness, strength and so forth, by means of being marked by *qwa:ʕid*.

Having discussed how diminution and augmentation are expressed and derived on the temporal functional item *qaʕid*, it is now relevant to take up the issue that more articulated structure is associated to the diminutivised and augmented *qaʕid*, with a further discourse feature being encoded at the syntax-pragmatics interface. The next section is dedicated to this issue.

4 Further characteristics of diminutivised and augmented *qaʕid*: nunation phenomenon

Nunation is an Arabic morphosyntactic phenomenon in which a nunation maker, with its pragmatic function as marker of ‘Specification’, is spelled exclusively on indefinite nouns (Ouhalla 1997: 9-30).⁶ The condition of indefiniteness of the nunated noun and Specification marking of the nunation marker explain the Arabic grammar condition that a nunated indefinite noun be followed by modifying constituents. Hence, a nunation marker cannot show up clause-finally (Jarrah & Zibin 2016), as in the following Najdi example to which NHA belongs (Ingham 1994: 49).^{7,8,9,10}

⁶ Other categories that host a nunation maker include adjective and demonstrative, which will not be discussed here for the sake of space.

⁷ I refer the reader to Ingham (1994) for more elaboration on types of categories hosting nunation.

⁸ Using Minimalist considerations apparatuses (Chomsky 1995 et seq), Jarrah & Zibin (2016) establish that a nunation marker functions as a linguistic device triggering further information to be added to modify an entity expressed by an indefinite noun.

⁹ Following Jarrah & Zibin (2016), within generative-syntactic lens, the complementary distribution between the definite marker and the nunation maker is ascribed to the fact that they both compete for the D head of the functional DP projection, i.e., one but not both can occupy the vacant D.

¹⁰ Using theoretical apparatuses (Chomsky 1995 et seq), Jarrah and Zibin (2016) establish that a nunation marker functions as a linguistic device triggering/allowing further information to be added to modify an indefinite noun. Hence, a nunation marker cannot show up clause-finally.

- (15) a. wāhd-**m** min ar-rabuṣ PP modifier
 one-NUN of DEF-group
 ‘one of the group’
- b. bi:t-**m** kɪbi:r AdjP modifier
 house large
 ‘a large house’
- c. kalmit-**m** ga:l-o-ha-li Relative clause modifier
 word-NUN said-they-it-to.me
 ‘a word which they said to me’

This is extended to NHA. A nunation marker only spells on an indefinite noun (16a) that cannot be stranded unspecific/unmodified (16b).

- (16) a. *ʔel-bi:t-**m** kɪbi:r
 DEF-house-NUN large
 Intended meaning: ‘A large house.’
- b. *bi:t-**m**
 DEF-house-NUN
 Intended meaning: ‘A large/big/small...etc. house.’

Pursuing our issue, interestingly, further to their expressing of DEVLAE and VALUE, diminutivised and augmented forms of *qaṣid* are potential host for nunation, as in (17) and (18) below. In this case, *qweṣid* and *qwa:ṣid* mark the DP with FOCUS with a flavour of contrastiveness; hence, the DP they mark is interpreted as new, non-presupposed information (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002) that is being Contrasted against alternatives, i.e., Contrastive Focus, which (CF) (Ouhalla 1997; È Kiss 1998), the pragmatic context in which the speaker selects the referent entity out of a possible closed set of alternative entities in discourse (Krifka 2007; Chocano 2012).

- (17) a. L-WELED **qweṣid-m** j-emʃi
 DEF-boy **PROG.DIM-3SG.M-NUN** 3SG.M-walk.PRS
 ‘The boy is walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent boy and devalues him plus he excludes other alternatives).’
- b. L-BINT **qweṣid-aht-m** t-emʃi
 DEF-girl **PROG.DIM-3SG.F-NUN** 3SG.F-walk.PRS
 ‘The girl is walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent girl and devalues her plus he excludes other alternatives).’
- c. L-WELED we L-BINT **qweṣid-i:n-m** jemʃ-u:n
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PROG.DIM-PL-NUN** walk.PRS-PL
 ‘The boy and the girl are walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent boy and girl and devalues them plus he excludes other alternatives).’

- (18) a. L-WELED **qwa:ʕid-m** j-emʕi
 DEF-boy **PROG.AUG-3SG.M-NUN** 3SG.M-walk.PRS
 ‘The boy is walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent boy and values him plus he excludes other alternatives).’
- b. L-BiNT **qwa:ʕid-aht-m** t-emʕi
 DEF-girl **PROG.AUG-3SG.F-NUN** 3SG.F-walk.PRS
 ‘The girl is walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent girl and values her plus he excludes other alternatives).’
- c. L-WELED we L-BiNT **qwa:ʕid-i:n-m** jemʕ-u:n
 DEF-boy and DEF-girl **PROG.AUG-PL-NUN** walk.PRS-PL
 ‘The boy and the girl are walking at the moment (The speaker confirms the referent boy and girl and values them plus he excludes other alternatives).’

In the scenario in (17) and (18), the entities expressed the argument DPs, the boy (18a) and the girl (18b) and the boy and the girl (18c), are interpreted at the LF-interface as being selected out of/contrasted against a set of alternatives entities. This logic establishes a crucial link between the DPs being spelled out with contrastive stress and *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* being nunated.^{11,12} In the syntax of (17-18), there is insufficient reason to assume that the DPs here are located in the propositional-TP domain. Taking contrastive stress as property of Contrastive Focus (CF) in natural language (Ouhalla 1997), and that constituents marked with CF move to the left periphery to receive CF-interpretation (Ouhalla 1997; Bianchi et al. 2016) and provided, as we see, that the DPs in (17-18) are contrastively stressed, it can on empirical grounding be argued that they move to the Spec of a C-layer, a contention supported by the condition that in such cases, *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* be nunated.

The pragmatic distribution of the temporal *qaʕid* has been examined and it has been shown that *qaʕid* has developed a range of discourse marking functions, which are associated with morphological and morphosyntactic patterns, including diminutive, augmentative and nunation, *qweʕid-(m)* and *qwa:ʕid-(m)*. These patterns are shown to have shades of pragmatic impact. On the basis of this, it is argued that *qaʕid* has pragmaticalised, turning into a discourse particle, a syntactic category that has recently been widely investigated within the generative framework of grammar and pragmaticalisation. In the next section, I discuss the operating mechanics for deriving the *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* in addition to the nunated instances *qweʕid* and *qwa:ʕid*. For this, I implement the Cartography approach, in terms of Split CP model of grammar (Rizzi 1997), which situates discourse-related items, heads and phrases, in the CP domain, as well as the Criterial framework (Rizzi 2006) which argues that items move in syntax to the CP domain in order to satisfy a criterion (Rizzi 2006), where a criterion is a scope-discourse feature on a C-head, which requires that a constituent be in a Spec head relation with this feature (Chomsky 2000; Bošković 2007; Holmberg & Roberts 2018; Holmberg et al. 2019).

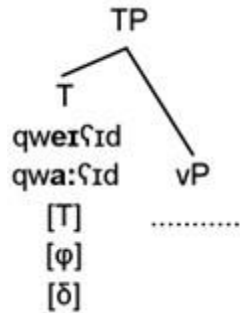
¹¹ See Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) for the issue that Contrastive stress also shows up on Contrastive Topic, which they argue is high-tone.

¹² The DPs cannot be spelled out with neutral tone, i.e., Low-tone (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) when is nunated.

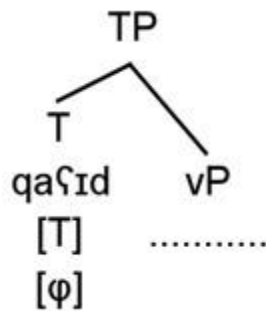
syntax of the pragmaticalised *qaʕid* by adopting these two views within current standards of Split CP *ala* Rizzi (1997).

We have generalised that the diminutivised and augmentative forms of *qaʕid* have a discourse feature, in addition to agreement features and tense feature, as shown in (21), compared to the bare *qaʕid* which exhibits a purely temporal use in (22).

(21)



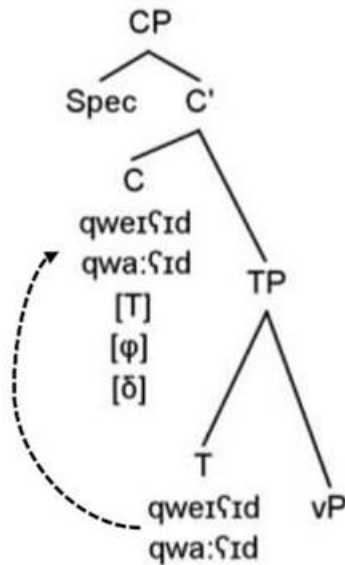
(22)



Assuming they have pragmaticalised into a discourse particle, it can be proposed that diminutivised *qwerʕid* and augmentative *qwa:ʕid* are located on a C-layer, following research which argues that items with discourse functions merge or remerge at the C-domain (Struckmeier 2014; Bayer & Trotzke 2015; Bayer & Struckmeier 2017). Implemented in the Split CP model of grammar *ala* Rizzi (1997), and the *Move* analysis, it can be further assumed that *qwerʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* move out of their first merge position, T, to a C-head, where this movement is motivated on the grounds that *qwerʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* have a discourse feature (Bošković 2007; Holmberg et al 2017), as schematised in (23).¹⁴

¹⁴ It's assumed in the grammaticalisation literature that items developing discourse and functional have a headedness status in syntax, not a phrase (Roberts & Roussou 2003).

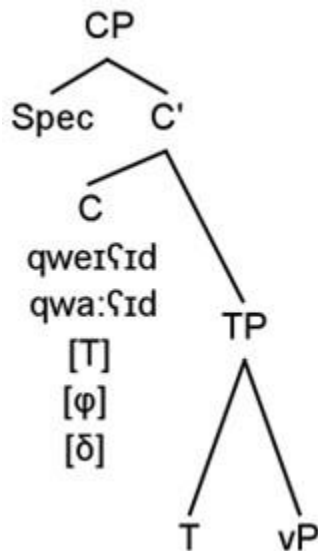
(23)



Under this *Move* analysis, *qweiʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* would have moved to the relevant head with VALUE/DEVALUE feature, depending on its discourse endowment in the CP domain, the syntactic vicinity of discourse.¹⁵

By contrast, *Merge* (Roberts & Roussou 2003) argues that a grammaticalised item starts life first merging, in a C-domain, a view going in par with economic assumptions (Chomsky 1995) on the grounds that *Merge* is preferred over *Move*, the latter being costly. Under this *Merge* analysis, *qaʕid* would have been first merged in the relevant C-head, as represented in (24).

(24)



However, *Merge* analysis is problematic as it poses a crucial LF-interface issue: If *qaʕid* was first merged at a C-head, it would not have been on T at any step of the derivation, begging the question as to how would *qaʕid* have picked its [T] feature, which is the only interpretable

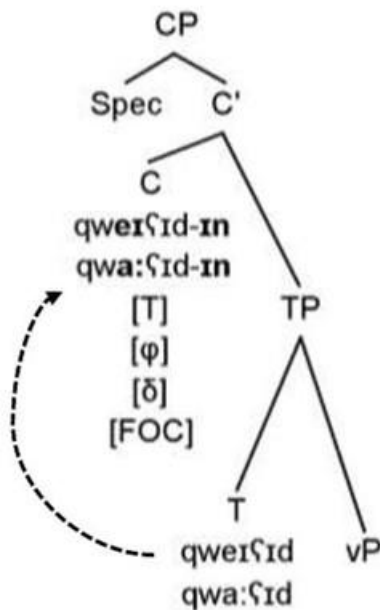
¹⁵ The notation *T* is for tense, *φ* for agreement and *δ* for discourse, following notational conventions.

feature on it (Chomsky 1995), without having been on T head at the earliest step in the syntactic derivation?

This puzzle motivates entertaining the alternative *Move* approach for the derivation of *qweɪɪɪd* and *qwa:ɪɪd*, where they would have first merged at T, the point of derivation at which they pick their [T] feature.

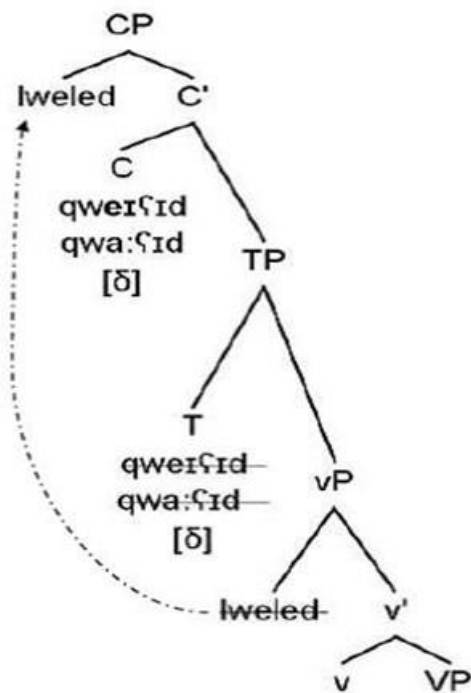
Having assumed that *qweɪɪɪd* and *qwa:ɪɪd* move to a C-layer in the left periphery with VALUE/DEVALUE features, it follows that nunated *qweɪɪɪd* and *qwa:ɪɪd* move, where their movement triggers to re-merge at Foc in CP domain.

(25)



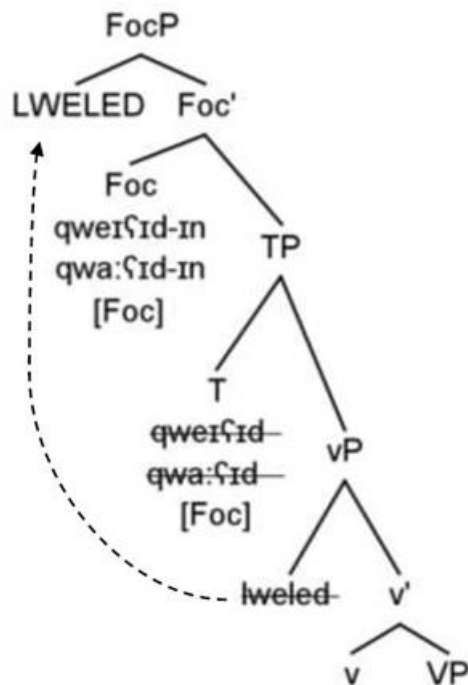
Merger of *qweɪɪɪd* and *qwa:ɪɪd* and the nunated counterparts at a C-head, be it via the mechanism *Move* or *Merge*, can be captured further by the fact that the marked DPs are interpreted with the relevant value, VALUE/DEVALUE and CF. In association with this, it is worth highlighting here that the marked DPs must be clause-initial, which suggests that they might have to move. For this, I peruse a Criterial approach (Rizzi 2006), which argues that a moving item moves to the CP domain to what Chomsky (2000) calls scope-discourse position, where a criterion, in a C-head, is a requirement that the relevant constituent be in a Spec head relation of agreement with respect to the relevant feature on the relevant C-head (Rizzi 2006). So, a C-head is instantiated with a discourse feature, then, it attracts *qweɪɪɪd* or *qwa:ɪɪd*. As a result, the C-head with an instance of [δ] interpreted as VALUE or DEVALE needs a constituent to re-merge at its Spec to satisfy a criterion, which could also be Focus, Topic or Question (Rizzi 2006: 4). Under this view, the subject DP (and the object DP) moves and remerges at the Spec position of C-head spelled out as *qweɪɪɪd* or *qwa:ɪɪd*, as illustrated in (26).

(26)



This line of analysis extends to the syntax of nunated *qweɪɸɪd* and *qwa:ɸɪd* occurrences, which move to the head Foc of FocP in the sense of Rizzi (1997). This movement, derivationally, is followed by movement of the relevant marked DP, being triggered by the Focus Criterion on the C-head (Rizzi 2006: 4). This is represented in (27) below.

(27)



This can well be captured by the observation that the relevant marked DP is contrastively stressed, hence Contrastively Focused, a reading requiring the DP to undergo syntactic movement in overt syntax to meet the CF criterion in the C-domain.¹⁶

Having laid out the cartographic account for the phenomenon of pragmaticalisation of *qaʕid* within generative lens, it is now relevant to present an alternative proposal that views the phenomenon through its internal-external structural nature, based on evaluative morphology. This proposal is motivated on the grounds that evaluative morphology has significantly been a sophisticated technique implemented in linguistics research for analysing cases of diminutive and augmentative patterns as morphological categories cross-linguistically. This is given in the next section.

6 A further account: evaluative morphology

Evaluative morphology is categorised as a theoretical framework within morphology component of grammar that establishes an interface between a lexical item along with its morphological grid and its expressiveness, i.e., the semantic-pragmatic features that it might carry in certain contexts, hence, the discourse-interpretive property of a lexical item in the world of knowledge, and this establishment is achieved via the morphological process affixation that applies to the stem of the lexical item, resulting in the semantics and pragmatics of the evaluative affixes encoding an interpretation associated with extra-linguistic discourse values (Stump 1993; Jurafsky 1996; Bauer 1997; Prieto 2005; Štekauer 2015; Grandi 2015; Körtvélyessy 2015; Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015).

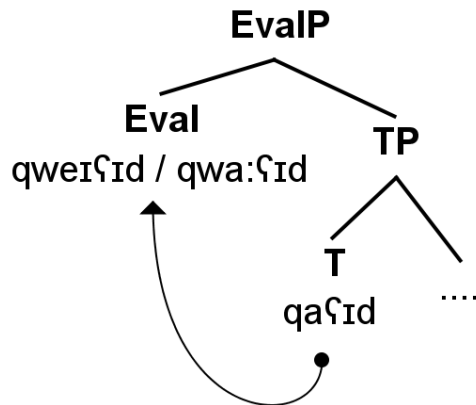
In this respect, evaluative morphology has long been locus of research on evaluative affixes. Amongst the core morphological templates the evaluative morphology approach has extensively investigated are the diminutive and augmentative patterns (Jurafsky 1996), demonstrating a range of principles that have since been central to practice in the research on affixation in general and to diminutive and augmentative morphological patterns in particular. One novelty within evaluative morphology is the assumption that diminutive and augmentative forms are not only used for encoding the formal semantic notion size but could further extend to encode discourse values like emotion, endearment and approval (Bauer 1997). That is to say, diminutive and augmentative affixes can express, and are endowed with, discourse values, or what in the generative practice is referred to as peripheral expressive domain, going exactly in par with Szymanek's (1988) term 'expressive periphery' or Carstairs-McCarthy's (1992) 'expressive morphology'.

The structural position of the evaluative affixes has also been locus of research within evaluative morphology (Štekauer 2014) and that the position might be well associated with the evaluative features the relevant affix carries (Beard 1995; Bauer 2004; Fortin 2011; Grandi 2015; Körtvélyessy 2015). Along this line of logic and in association to the topic of the current paper, it is important to highlight one crucial principle advanced by Scalise's (1984) generative account that the semantic import of the stem to which an evaluative affix expressing diminutive and/or augmentative attaches is changed, while its structural categorial status remains unchanged. In association to this, it could be a feasible step to follow the general consensus

¹⁶ This can be viewed within checking/valuing theory, where the DP moves to check/value the [CF] on the C-head (Ouhalla 1997).

within evaluative morphology (Beard 1981) that evaluative affixes merged in a domain termed EvalP. Under this view, it could be said that the head Eval of this evaluative phrase EvalP has the evaluative affixes inherent to it as a morphological realisation, here being the diminutive affix *wei* and the augmentative affix *wa:*, which then attract the diminutivised/ augmented constituent to it, as roughly represented in (28).

(28)



The syntactic position EvalP is the domain to which the stem *qaʕid* moves, to pick up the evaluative affixes, be it diminutive *wei* or the augmentative affix *wa:* encoding the intended evaluative value.

7 Theoretical implications

The contribution of this research might have an implication for the theory of grammaticalisation, in particular, pragmaticalisation, adopting the theoretical mechanisms implemented in the theory of generative grammar. This lies in the issue that temporal items that show signs of serious pragmaticalisation not only develop discourse functions, as extensively discussed in the literature (cf. Hack 2014), but also keep maintaining the Tense feature they had had before entering the phase of pragmaticalisation, a state of affairs which requires some further considerations with respect to the universality of the pragmaticalisation phenomenon and the theory of feature and feature valuation within current practice of generative practice.

8 Conclusion

This research has advocated the thesis that the North Hail Arabic instance of T-marker *qaʕid* has pragmaticalised, in the sense that it marks discourse values. The mechanism of this discourse function is characterized in the way that each of these discourse values is associated with a skeleton of the morphological structure of *qaʕid*. It is shown that when *qaʕid* is diminutivised, being spelled as *qweiʕid*, it assigns the DP it ϕ -agrees with a degree of DEVALUE information, while it assigns DEVALUE value when it is spelled as *qwa:ʕid*, being augmented. Having demonstrated these phenomena, it is shown that *qweiʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* encode Speaker Attitude pragmatic endowment, in which the speaker delivers negative or positive attitude, respectively, towards the entity expressed by the marked DP. Implementing the strategies of

the articulate Split-CP system proposed in Rizzi (1997), it is argued that *qwerʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* move to a C-head, where information structure is expressed, endowed with speaker attitude information in the sense of Paul (2009). Displaying nunation, *qwerʕid* and *qwa:ʕid* are argued to mark FOCUS, hence, their head-movement to Foc of FocP in the left periphery, where the DP they mark is accommodated in the C-field and is interpreted as CF. The DPs the pragmaticalised *qaʕid* φ -agrees with are shown to be clause-initial, which are argued to move to the Spec position of the relevant C-head, triggered by a criterion (Rizzi 2006). Furthermore, using the techniques of evaluative morphology approach, it is shown that the morphological affixes resulting in diminutivisation and augmentation of *qaʕid* each has an inherent discourse value, expressing evaluative information as a consequence of affixation as a morphological process, allowing for the assumption that the evaluative affixes, the diminution and the augmentation affixes, start life in a head notated as Eval, where they attract the stem of *qaʕid* and where *qaʕid* picks them.

Abbreviations

AUG	Augmentative
CF	Contrastive Focus
DEF	Definite
DIM	Diminutive
Eval	Evaluative
F	Feminine
FOC	Focus feature
M	Masculine
NUN	Nunation marker
PL	Plural
PROG	Progressiveness
PRS	Present Tense
PRT	Discourse Particle
PST	Past Tense
PTCP	Participial
SG	Singular
T	Tense feature
φ	Agreement feature
δ	Discourse feature

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