

Grammaticalisation of *ʔelhi:n* in Haili Arabic- From Propositional Item to Discourse Particle: Split CP Investigation

Murdhy R. Alshamari

Department of English Language, The University of Ha'il, Ha'il, Saudi Arabia

Abstract—This paper explores the linguistic properties of a discourse variant of the temporal adverb *ʔelhi:n*, used in Haili Dialect of Najdi Arabic (HA). Maintaining the characteristic of co-occurring clause-initially, and examining lexical/discoursal articulated structures, *ʔelhi:n* has developed a conventionalized discourse use, turning its morphology into a discourse particle that expresses a degree of speaker's attitude. *ʔelhi:n* has undergone a process of grammaticalisation, with morphosyntactic consequence: changing its phrasal status to a head one. Evidence supporting this direction derives from intervention effects (Rizzi, 2006)- *ʔelhi:n* inhabits movement of head-items in syntax. The immediate consequence of this morphosyntactic change has direct impact on the syntax of *ʔelhi:n*: occurring clause-initially and its phonology: being unable to bear high tone, unlike its temporal adverb counterpart. Implementing cartographic mechanisms, Rizzi's (1997) Split CP System, and holding to observations that inherently focused material wh-phrase *leif* 'why' merges in a position c-commanded by *ʔelhi:n*, it is established that the discourse instance of *ʔelhi:n* first merges at a discourse head, instantiating a discourse projection, PrtP, whence it semantically wide-scopes the propositional-TP. Constituents preceding *ʔelhi:n* are then argued to move and remerge at some Spec of a discourse phrase, C-TopP (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl, 2007). Mapping the CP-layer of HA, the PrtP headed by *ʔelhi:n* maintains a rigid order in syntax with respect to CP-items, which makes a possible, initial mapping to the left periphery of HA, calling for scrutiny of more structure.

Index Terms—grammaticalisation, split CP, discourse particle, temporality, movement

I. INTRODUCTION

The syntax and semantics of the lexical item representing the temporal interpretation 'at the moment', the cross-linguistic variant of the English instance of *now*, having a discourse semantic import in some contexts, has been intensively investigated, implementing a range of theoretical and formal approaches (Aijmer, 2002; Brinton, 1996). Investigating the semantics of *now*, in particular, corpus of collocations where *now* occurs, Bolinger (1989) argues that *now* in some environments functions as a discourse marker implemented for change of topic in the ongoing discourse. Stenström (1990) establishes that *now* that bears a high tone is evidence that it functions as a temporal adverb, while the instance of *now* without a high tone functions as a discourse particle. Building on the consensus that high tone is a criterion to distinguish the use of *now*, Hirschberg & Litman (1993) investigate the use of *now* using syntactic and prosodic feature-based strategies as a criterion to draw a distinction between the temporal function and the discourse function of *now*. One of the facts their research raises is that discourse *now* maintains low tone that the temporal *now*. Another fact they raise is that, in most, but not all cases, there is a correlation between occurring clause-initially and functioning as a discourse particle. From this, then, it follows that the discourse *now* co-occurs with items expressing past-tense adverbs like *then* (Schiffrin, 1987; Aijmer, 2002). Further, Fraser (1990, p. 388) distinguishes the use of *now* in (1) below from other uses, where he argues that being separated by a phonological pause, *now* in (1) is a separate tone unit, hence a prosodic account to the argument that *now* in (1) is a discourse particle, in particular, Focus marker.

(1) John left. Now, Mary was really frightened.

Aijmer (2002) provides further the data in (2), in which *now* in Speaker B's utterance contains discourse *now*, functioning as a continuation or elaboration of what has just been said about *John* in Speaker A's utterance.

(2) Speaker A. That man speaks extremely good English.

Speaker B. Now he comes from a village in Mongolia.

Recent research on *now* has focused on the grammaticalised status of *now*, arguing that *now* has developed a discourse functional rather than a temporal interpretation. With respect to this, Aijmer (2002), following Bolinger (1989), further maintains that *now* in English has grammaticalised, having a multifunctionality property, in which it has developed a discourse function, in particular, a topic change device. Jarrah et al. (2020, p.6), using a huge range of corpus data, establish that the Jordanian variant of *now*, *ʔilʔa:n* functioning as a deictic temporal adverb, has developed a discourse function, facilitating the speaker-hearer communication, which can bear the meaning of phrases like *at this point/given this*.

This property of *now* seems to be cross-linguistic. For instance, in addition to its function as a temporal adverbial, the French variant *maintenant* functions as a discourse marker that creates a contrast between a previous and a current content of an utterance (Bertin, 2001). Hebrew also manifests this discourse property of *now*. Consider the extract in (3) below, from Gonen et al. (2015, p.73).

(3)

- Speaker A: Aval anaxnu asinu et ze beyaxad
 'But we did it together.'
 Ve-hitya' atsnu etsel orex din ma osim shlav
 'And we consulted with a lawyer what to do at each stage.'
 Kdey sheshu lo yafsid
 'So that he wouldn't lose.'
- Speaker B: ken
 'yes.'
- Speaker A: kdey sheyitxalek be'emet xetsi
 'so that it would really be split 50-50.'
Axshav gam asur haya lanu lehera'ot beyaxad
Now we weren't allowed to be seen together either.'
 Ki hi yaxla lehagid hu bogged bi
 'because she could say he's cheating on me.'
 Vegam hu lo haya mekabel klum
 'and also, he wouldn't get anything'

Gonen et al. (2015) investigate the Hebrew *now* variant, *axshav*, maintaining that it occurs clause-initially in Speaker A's second utterance in (3), functions as discourse marker which helps a discourse shifting device. This, they argue, is associated with two observations; *axshav* is deaccented at the phonological interface and is used at the beginning of a discourse fragment in syntax, where the speaker wants to introduce a new topic to the ongoing conversation.

Given this background on the discourse-related *now*, with special focus on (i) the grammaticalisation status of the discourse-related *now* and (ii) the tendency of the discourse-related *now* to occur clause-initially and (iii) the phonological property of discourse-related *now* not bearing high tone, i.e., discourse-related *now* is deaccented, the current research will be an investigation to the syntactic item *now* '?elhi:n', used in Haili Arabic, spoken in Saudi Arabia. Using generative cartographic assumptions, the current paper will take up the issues stated in (i), (ii) and (iii) into consideration, linking the discourse function of discourse *now*, to its syntactic position and its morphological and morphosyntactic statuses, with an account to its possible grammaticalisation status and discourse interpretation.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 touches upon the syntactic and interpretive properties of '?elhi:n', including its temporal and discoursal marking as well as the syntactic positions it occupies. Section 3 sets an investigation to the morphosyntax and syntax of the discourse instance of '?elhi:n', showing that the discourse instance of '?elhi:n' is an output of grammaticalisation of temporal instance counterpart, highlighting on a set of consequences like developing a head status in syntax, restricting to clause-initial positions and becoming unable to bear high tone. Section 4 provides a cartographic analysis, showing that it merges in a fixed position in a CP-layer, heading PrtP in syntax, with a discourse feature, whence it scopes over the TP it c-commands. Section 5 concludes the paper.

II. SEMANTIC DISTRIBUTION OF ?ELHI:N: TEMPORAL AND DISCOURSAL INTERPRETATIONS

Before taking up the issue highlighted above, the relevant data shall be displayed, which the analyses ahead will address, including some basic assumptions related to marked/unmarked word order in HA, as this will be crucial in terms of sentential and discoursal statuses of the sentences under analysis. To start with, used in its lexical meaning, the linguistic item '?elhi:n' 'now' is categorized as a Temporal adverb, expressing present time, with Temporal value 'at the moment', as in (4) below.

- (4) **?elhi:n** qašid j-esqi Firas ?ez-zerʕ lhaluh
 now Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass alone
 'Firas is watering the grass alone at the moment.'

The proposition expressed by (4), presenting the state of affairs that *Firas is watering the grass* at the utterance time, is discourse-neutral, not being associated to any discourse value, or extra-sentential expression, hence, VSO pattern (Ouhalla, 1994, 1997, 2003, 2016; Shlonsky, 2000' Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002; Jarrah 2017; Jarrah & Abusalim 2021). The subject DP, therefore, being discourse bound, not bearing any information structural value like Focus or Topic, remains at its first merge position, Spec vP, while the lexical verb moves to T due to rich agreement (Ouhalla, 1994, 1997). I therefore represent the scenario in (4) in the schemata in (5) below, in which v, which incorporates V, which in turn contains the lexical verb *jesqi*, moves and re-merges at T (Ouhalla, 1994, 1997), while the Asp-marker *qašid* first merges at T (Chomsky, 1999, 2000, 2001).

- (5) [CP TP **?elhi:n** [TP T qašid v+V j-esqi [vP Firas [VP ?ez-zerʕ]]]]
 AdvP Asp 3SG.M-go.PRS Firas DEF-grass
 'Firas is watering the grass at the moment.'

At first glance, being T-related, the syntactic position the adverb *ʔelhi:n* (what we henceforth term T-*ʔelhi:n*) fills is expected by theory, Spec TP, where tense is expressed, which is also dedicated in syntax for T-related items like Temporal adverbs (and other locative PPs, triggered to move to Spec TP for reasons like [EPP]). Consider the occurrence of *ʔelhi:n* in the data in (6).

- (6) a. **ʔelhi:n** tʔalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
 PRT ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʔaniʃ-uk qebul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 ‘You asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset that you did so).’
 b. ***ʔelhi:n** tʔalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
 now ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʔaniʃ-uk qebul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 Intended meaning: ‘You now asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before.’

Unlike the scenario of (4), the data in (6) demonstrate that the occurrence of the clause-initial *ʔelhi:n* has a discourse function, rather than temporality marking, where evidence is derived from the observation that in (6b) *ʔelhi:n* doesn’t correlate with the propositional deictic expression represented by the lexical past-form verb and the past-T-adverbials *ʔems* ‘yesterday’ and *qebul ʔems* ‘before yesterday’.

Consider now (4), repeated below as (7) with the same syntax, in which *ʔelhi:n* occurs clause-initially, but with entirely different semantic distribution and interpretation.

- (7) **ʔelhi:n** qaʃid j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ lhaluh
 PRT Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass alone
 ‘Firas is watering the grass alone at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’

The interpretive, semantic distribution *ʔelhi:n* adds to the proposition in (7) is no longer temporal, but discourse related, i.e., encoding a certain degree of surprise at something that the speaker doesn’t like, in the sense of Cuenca (2013), which is widely referred to in the literature of discourse particles as *speaker negative attitude towards the proposition* (Coniglio 2008). Under this view, in par with the propositional content of (6) above, the clause in (8) below is therefore a felicitous continuation of the speaker’s discourse in (7), but infelicitous of the one in (4).

- (8) **w** ʔint qil-t rah t-saʃd-uh
 PRT 2SG.M say.PST.2SG.M FUT 2SG.M-help.PRS-3SG.M
 ‘While you said you would help him (I am upset that you haven’t helped him).’

The interpretive property of *ʔelhi:n* in (7), then, is discourse-related (what we henceforth term D-*ʔelhi:n*). This discursal status of *ʔelhi:n* in (7) and also in (6) is further captured by the fact that the clause has a speaker negative attitude discourse particle *wa*, which functions as a discourse-organizer, activated in the second conjunct (continuation) of the clause.

What is more, the syntax of D-*ʔelhi:n* is constrained in that it can only occur clause-initially. With respect to this, consider the clauses in (9), in which the D-*ʔelhi:n* co-occurs with the variant expressing temporality (T-*ʔelhi:n*, henceforth).

- (9) a. **ʔelhi:n (ʔelhi:n)** qaʃid j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ
 PRT now Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass
 ‘Firas is watering the grass at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’
 b. **ʔelhi:n ʔelhi:n** (qaʃid) j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ
 PRT now Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass
 ‘Firas is watering the grass at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’
 c. ***ʔELHI:N ʔelhi:n** qaʃid j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ
 PRT now Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass
 ‘Firas is watering the grass at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’
 d. ***ʔelhi:n ʔelhi:n** qaʃid j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ
 now PRT Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass
 Intended meaning: ‘Firas is watering the grass at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’
 e. **ʔELHI:N ʔelhi:n** qaʃid j-esqi Firas ʔez-zerʃ
 now PRT Asp 3SG.M-water Firas DEF-grass
 ‘It is AT THE MOMENT that Firas is watering the grass (I am upset he is doing so).’

Notice in passing that progressiveness is marked the Asp-marker *qaʃid* can be achieved by the D-*ʔelhi:n* (9a,b). that is, one can do Aspectuality. As we can see, D-*ʔelhi:n* is allowed only clause-initially (9a,b), as the ungrammaticality in (9d) confirms. This restriction, however, can be remedied if and only if one phonological-semantic condition is met: that the item that precedes the D-*ʔelhi:n* be contrastively stressed (9e). Notice also that D-*ʔelhi:n* cannot be stressed by all means (9d). Given these observations and facts, including the fixed positions the D-*ʔelhi:n* and T-*ʔelhi:n* maintain in syntax, the following section will explore such phenomena, addressing the pieces of inquiry raised earlier, recapitulated here: (i) the grammaticalisation status of the discourse-related *now*, (ii) the tendency of discourse discourse-related *now*

‘When are they going to buy a book?’

With grammaticalisation being taken up as a characteristic of discourse particles, the formal characterization of discourse particles is translated into the fact that discourse particles show decrease in lexical meaning and increase in grammatical meaning (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). As an implication to the semantics-syntax interface of discourse particles, current generative practice on discourse particles argues that a lexical element that undergoes a grammaticalisation process turning into a discourse particle maintains into a syntactic head, with discourse value (Haegeman, 1993; Roberts & Roussou, 1999; Coniglio & Zegrean, 2010; Hack, 2014; Bayer & Trotzke, 2015; Bayer & Struckmeier, 2017; Biberauer et al., 2014). Extending this logic to *D-ʔelhi:n*, the generalization we can now formulate is that that *D-ʔelhi:n* is a grammaticalised form of the *T-ʔelhi:n*; the *D-ʔelhi:n* is a discourse particle that doesn’t move in syntax, being frozen in place where it first merges and which has a discourse feature expressing the structural information UPSET. Having proposed that *D-ʔelhi:n* is characterised as a grammaticalised discourse particle, it is now plausible to implement Rizzi’s (2006) intervention effects to account for the headedness property of the *D-ʔelhi:n*. I elaborate on this issue in the next sub-section.

B. The Syntax of *D-ʔelhi:n*: Headedness Status

Recall in section 2, in (9e) repeated below as (12), that no items, be it lexical or functional, can precede the *D-ʔelhi:n* unless it carries contrastive stress and is introduced by a discourse marker *zad*, functioning as contrastive topic, in the sense of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007).¹

- (12) **ʔELHI:N** **zad** **ʔelhi:n** **qaʕid** **j-esqi** **Firas** **ʔez-zerʕ**
now **CT** **PRT** **Asp** **3SG.M-water** **Firas** **DEF-grass**

‘It is AT THE MOMENT that Firas is watering the grass (I am upset he is doing so).’

In par with the adverb movement in (12), consider the following data, involving movement of the clause internal arguments².

- (13) a. **FIRAS** **zad** **ʔelhi:n** **ʔelhi:n** **qaʕid** **j-esqi** **ʔez-zerʕ**
FIRAS **CT** **PRT** **now** **Asp** **3SG.M-water** **DEF-grass**

‘FIRAS is watering the grass at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’

- b. **ʔEZ-ZERʕ** **zad** **ʔelhi:n** **ʔelhi:n** **qaʕid** **j-esqi-h** **Firas**
DEF-GRASS **CT** **PRT** **now** **Asp** **3SG.M-water-3SG.M** **Firas**

‘THE GRASS, Firas is watering it at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’

- c. ***QAʕID** **zad** **ʔelhi:n** **ʔelhi:n** **j-esqi** **Firas** **ʔez-zerʕ**
Asp **CT** **PRT** **now** **3SG.M-water** **Firas** **DEF-grass**

Intended meaning: ‘AT THE MOMENT, Firas is watering the grass (I am upset he is doing so).’

- d. ***J-ESQI** **zad** **ʔelhi:n** **ʔelhi:n** **qaʕid** **Firas** **ʔez-zerʕ**
3SG.M-water **CT** **now** **Asp** **Firas** **DEF-grass**

Intended meaning: ‘It is WATERING THE GRASS that Firas is doing at the moment (I am upset that he is doing so).’

Deduced from the scenario in (12) and (13) is the fact that the items that move across to the left periphery, crossing *D-ʔelhi:n* to Spec C-TopP- the T-adverb (12), the subject DP (13a) and the object DP (13b), have phrasal status. From this it follows that those items with head status, the aspectual marker (13c) and the lexical verb (13d) cannot. This would follow from the fact that *D-ʔelhi:n* is head, causing intervention effects to movement of the items of the same morphosyntactic status, i.e., inhibiting movement of head items.

Having outlined all the characteristics of that emerge from its interaction of *D-ʔelhi:n* with the clause-internal constituents in the clause, and having determined the categorial status of it, it is now relevant to launch the analysis task, adopting Rizzi’s (1997) split CP system.

IV. CARTOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS: *D-ʔELHI:N* INSANITIES PRTP IN THE CP DOMAIN

The morphological, morphosyntactic and syntactic characteristics of the *D-ʔelhi:n* that we have explicated so far are in line with a widespread assumption in the literature of grammaticalisation approach that items that develop functional properties are, hence, discourse particles, and turn syntactically into heads that instantiate discourse related projection and that the relevant grammaticalised item is the morphological realisation of the relevant discourse feature hosted by the discourse head. In the following subsection, the syntax of the *D-ʔelhi:n* is examine, by adding more articulated material in the clause, attempting to detect the exact position the *D-ʔelhi:n* occupies that could eventually map the left periphery of HA with respect to *D-ʔelhi:n*.

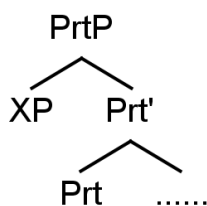
A. *D-ʔelhi:n* First Merges in a CP-Layer

¹ Merger of *zad* in (12) and its lack in (9e), while in both cases the dislocated AdvP *ʔELHI:N* is contrastively stressed, might be due to the assumption that in (9e) expresses Contrastive Focus rather than Contrastive Topic.

² The contrastively stressed items are here argued to function as contrastive topic, which in syntax need to move to the left periphery, to the Spec position of C-TopP headed by the CT particle *zad*, following Alshamari and Holmberg (2019a, b).

Following Munaro and Poletto (2003, 2005), who propose that the grammaticalised discourse particle *po*, discussed in sub-section 3.1, instantiates a particle phrase, which they notate as *PrtP*, with the head *Prt* (cf. Bayer & Trotzke, 2015), represented in (14) below.

(14)



This state of affairs has been widely entertained. Following this generative cartographic enterprise, for instance, Paul (2009) assumes a CP-position for the grammaticalised discourse particle *ou*, encoding speaker/hearer's attitude 'warning a reminder'. Given this line of logic and the assumptions formulated above, it is now argued that the D-*ʔelhi:n* heads a discourse phrase, *PrtP*, taking semantically wide scope over the clause it is merged in. Consider (6a), repeated below in (15) but containing a wh-phrase *leif* 'why' splitting off D-*ʔelhi:n* from the propositional-TP.

- (15) **ʔelhi:n leif** tʰalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
PRT why ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʰaniʃ-uk qeʃul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday

'Why did you asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset you did so).'

It should be stressed here that D-*ʔelhi:n* maintains a fixed relative order with respect to *leif*; *leif* cannot precede D-*ʔelhi:n*. though, If ever postulated, if this happened, the occurrence of D-*ʔelhi:n* could have had only temporal interpretation, hence, the occurrence of *ʔelhi:n* would have been an occurrence of T-*ʔelhi:n*, never an occurrence of D-*ʔelhi:n*, as the data in (16) below demonstrate (of course we cannot think of an instance of D-*ʔelhi:n* following *leif*, since D-*ʔelhi:n* cannot bear high tone D-*ʔelhi:n*).

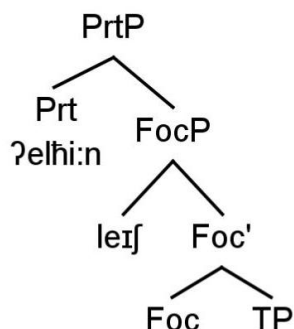
- (16) a. **leif ʔelhi:n** tʰalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
why T ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʰaniʃ-uk qeʃul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 'Why did you asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset you did).'
- b. **leif ʔELHI:N** tʰalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
why T ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʰaniʃ-uk qeʃul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 'Why did you asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset you did).'
- c. ***leif ʔelhi:n** tʰalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
why PRT ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʰaniʃ-uk qeʃul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 Intended meaning: 'Why did you asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset you did so).'
- d. ***leif ʔELHI:N** tʰalab-t-uh xidmah ʔems
why PRT ask.PST-2SG.M-3SG.M help yesterday
 w hu tʰaniʃ-uk qeʃul ʔems
 while he ignore.PST.3SG.M-2SG.M before yesterday
 Intended meaning: 'Why did you asked him for help yesterday while he ignored you the day before (I am upset you did so).'

It is now time to lay the theoretical groundings of the facts raised in (16) in the sub-section below. Then, some implications and further consequences being imposed on the theory we follow here will be formulated.

B. Cartographic View on D-*ʔelhi:n*: Rizzi's (1997) Split CP

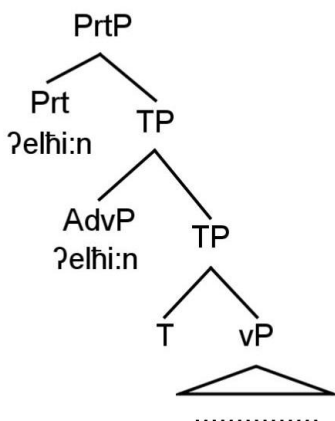
Given that a wh-phrase is inherently focussed (Rizzi, 1997) and using *leif* as a diagnostic in the spine of the structure to detect the syntax of D-*ʔelhi:n*, we can notice that the D-*ʔelhi:n* surfaces to the left, being c-commanded by, the wh-phrase *leif*, which in Najdi Arabic moves to Spec FocP (Ouhalla, 1997; Alshamari, 2017a,b), an observation which provides empirical evidence that the D-*ʔelhi:n*, being split off the TP domain, is at a CP-layer. I represent this scenario in (17) below.

(17)



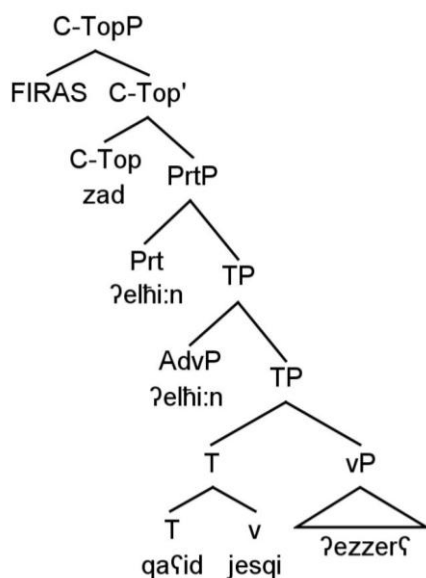
Further, given the facts and assumptions provided so far that *D-?elhi:n* is derived from of and a grammaticalised discourse particle form of the *T-?elhi:n* adverb counterpart, and following the consensus that discourse particles are immobile in syntax (Struckmeier, 2014; Struckmeier, 2017; Alshamari, 2017a,b), I follow Hack's (2014) argument that discourse particles first merge at CP, not involving internal movement. Hence, *D-?elhi:n* first merges at the PrtP in the CP domain of HA syntax. Given this logic, (9) above, which witnesses an occurrence of *D-?elhi:n* c-commanding an occurrence of *T-?elhi:n*, is represented in (18) below.

(18)



In par with this logic, the instances of the contrastively stressed constituents that precede *D-?elhi:n* in (13), re-merging at the Spec position of the C-TopP head, morphologically realised as the discourse particle *zad* which is endowed with the contrastive topic feature [C-Top], in a Spec head configuration Ouhalla (1997) following Chomsky (1995). I represent the case of the subject DP in (13a) in (19) below.

(19)



This means that D-*ʔelhi:n* has its fixed position in syntax with respect to the other discourse items in the CP-layer, whence it semantically wide-scopes over the proposition expressed by the TP. TP-internal constituents that appear preceding D-*ʔelhi:n*, including the instance of T-*ʔelhi:n*, turn out to have moved for another pragmatic interpretation. As the scenario in (19) shows, there is good evidence to believe that the other pragmatic interpretation the moving items receive is C-topic, where evidence is provided by the fact that they bear contrastive stress and the fact that they seem to hold a spec head relation with the C-Topic particle *ʔad* (Alshamari & Holmberg, 2019a,b). In all the cases we have scrutinized, this means that if a constituent moves out of the TP that happens to have been wide-scoped by D-*ʔelhi:n*, this constituent, derivationally speaking, would have been narrow-scoped by D-*ʔelhi:n* as part of the propositional content expressed by the whole TP, before movement was initiated. Movement processes, intervention effects and immobility of the D-*ʔelhi:n* but lack of this immobility with respect to the T-*ʔelhi:n* all invoke inquiries about what governs the rules in universal grammar across language, in terms of movement theory and discourse particles literature. This of course triggers further investigations on hopefully new set of data.

V. CONCLUSION

In this paper, it is argued that the discourse particle D-*ʔelhi:n* is derived from the temporal counterpart adverb variant, having undergone a grammaticalisation process, with the consequence that it has developed a discourse value, encoding a certain speaker attitude. Examining the left periphery of HA and scrutinizing more articulated discourse-related structure, it is shown that D-*ʔelhi:n* merges clause-initially, has developed a head status, is not candidate for bearing high tone at the PF-interface, contra the characteristics of the its temporal adverb counterpart. Using the occurrence of a wh-phrase *leif* ‘why’, which occupies Spec FocP in Rizzi’s (1997) CP-system, it is shown that the D-*ʔelhi:n* first merges at a fixed CP-layer, heading a PrtP, and is immobile in its syntactic position, whence it semantically wide-scopes over the propositional-TP domain. From the syntactic behaviour of the TP-internal constituents that appear past D-*ʔelhi:n*, which all bear constative stress, it appears that these constituents move out of the TP domain after TP, containing the TP-internal constituents, has been widely-scoped by D-*ʔelhi:n*, the moment at which the TP-internal constituents move to get a contrastive topic interpretation, at the Spec of C-TopP headed by the C-Top marker *ʔad*.

REFERENCES

- [1] Aijmer, K. (2002). *English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus*. Amsterdam. The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- [2] Alshamari, M. (2017a). *Topic particles in the North Hail dialect of Najdi Arabic*. Doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University.
- [3] Alshamari, M. (2017b). A feature-based analysis of the syntax of the clause-initial particle *ʔedi* in North Hail Arabic. *Poznan Studies in Contemporary Linguistics*, 53(3), 305-344.
- [4] Alshamari, M. & Holmberg, A. (2019a). *Topic particles, agreement and movement in an Arabic dialect*. In 42nd GLOW (Generative Linguistics in the Old World) Conference. Newcastle University.
- [5] Alshamari, M. & Holmberg, A. (2019b). *Topic particles, agreement and movement*. In LAGB (Linguistics Association of Great Britina). Queen Mary University of London.
- [6] Bayer, J. (2012). From Modal Particle to Interrogative Marker: a Study of German *denn*. Functional Heads. *The Cartography of Syntactic Structures*, eds. L. Bruge, A. Cardinaletti, G. Giusti, N. Munaro & C. Poletto, 13–28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [7] Bayer, J. & Trotzke, A. (2015). The derivation and interpretation of left peripheral discourse particles. In Josef. Bayer & Roland. Hinterhzl & Andreas. Trotzke (eds). *Discourse-oriented syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 226: 13-40.
- [8] Bayer, J & Struckmeier, V (ed.). (2017). *Discourse particles: Formal approaches to their syntax and semantics*. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG, 2016.
- [9] Bertin, A. (2001). Maintien:uncasdegrammaticalisation? *Lang.fran aise* 130, 42--64.
- [10] Biberauer, T. and Sheehan, M. (2011). ‘Introduction: particles through a modern syntactic lens’. *The Linguistic Review* 28: 387-410.
- [11] Biberauer, T, Haegeman, L. & Kemenade, A. (2014). Putting our heads together: towards a syntax of particles. *Studia Linguistica* 68: 1-15.
- [12] Bolinger, D. (1989). *Intonation and its uses. Melody in grammar and discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- [13] Bring, D & Katharina, H. (2001). The syntax and semantics of focus-sensitive particles in German. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 19: 229-281.
- [14] Brinton, L. (1996). *Pragmatic Markers in English. Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- [15] Cardinaletti, A. (2011). German and Italian modal particles and clause structure. *The Linguistic Review* (28/4): 493–531.
- [16] Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- [17] Chomsky, N. (1999). Derivation by phase. MIT, *Department of Linguistics*. Vol. 18: 1-52
- [18] Chomsky, N. (2000). ‘Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework’. In H. Lasnik, R. Martin, D. Michaels and J. Uriagereka (eds) *Step by step. essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- [19] Chomsky, N. (2001). ‘Derivation by phase’. In M. Kenstowicz (ed) *Ken Hale. A Life in Language*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 1-52.
- [20] Coniglio, M. (2008). Modal particles in Italian. *Working Papers in Linguistics*. 18: 91-129.
- [21] Coniglio, M. & Zegrean, Iulia. (2010). Splitting up Force, evidence from discourse particles. *Linguistics* 20: 7-34

- [22] Cuenca, M. J. (2013). The fuzzy boundaries between discourse marking and modal marking. Discourse markers and modal particles. *Categorization and description*, 66-2, 191-216.
- [23] Frascarelli, M. and Hinterhölzl, R. (2007). Types of topics in German and Italian. In S. Winkler and K. Schwabe (eds.) *On Information Structure, Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 87-116.
- [24] Fraser, B. (1996). *Pragmatic markers*. *Pragmatics* (6), 167--190.
- [25] Gonen, E., Livnat, Z., & Amir, N. (2015). The discourse marker axshav ('now') in spontaneous spoken Hebrew: Discursive and prosodic features. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 89, 69-84.
- [26] Hack, F. M. (2014). 'The Particle Po in the Varieties of Dolomitic Ladin--Grammaticalisation from a Temporal Adverb into an Interrogative Marker'. *Studia Linguistica* 68: 49-76.
- [27] Haegeman, L. (1993). The interpretation of the particle da in West Flemish. *Lingua* (55) 90:111--128.
- [28] Hirschberg, J. and D. Litmann. (1993). Empirical studies on disambiguation of cue phrases. *Computational Linguistics* 19: 501--30.
- [29] Holmberg, A, Michelle, S & Jenneke VDW. (2019). Movement from the double object construction is not fully symmetrical. *Linguistic Inquiry* 50(4). 677--722.
- [30] Holmberg, A. (2020). On the bottleneck hypothesis of Verb Second in Swedish. In *Rethinking Verb Second* (pp. 40-60). Oxford University Press.
- [31] Jarrah, M. (2017). *Subject extraction in Jordanian Arabic* (Doctoral dissertation, Newcastle University).
- [32] Jarrah, M, Harb, M. (2021). Grammatical Encoding of Discourse Structure: A Case Study of Arabic Discourse Particle Tara. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 119: 83-104.
- [33] Jarrah, M & Alshamari, M. (2017). The syntax of the evidential particle jikil in Jordanian Arabic. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*, 29, 29-56.
- [34] Jarrah, M. (2019). Record your Agree: A case study of the Arabic complementizer ?inn. *Journal of Linguistics*, 55(1), 83-122.
- [35] Jarrah, M., & Abusalim, N. (2021). In favour of the low IP area in the Arabic clause structure: Evidence from the VSO word order in Jordanian Arabic. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 39(1).
- [36] Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. (2003). Sentential Particles and Clausal Typing in the Veneto Dialects. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 13:127--154.
- [37] Munaro, N. & Poletto, C. (2005). On the diachronic origin of sentential particles in North-Eastern Italian dialects. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 28(2):247--267.
- [38] Ouhalla, J. (1994). 'Verb movement and word order in Arabic', In D. Lightfoot and N. Hornstein (eds). *Verb Movement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [39] Ouhalla, J. (1997). Remarks on focus in Standard Arabic. In M. Eid and R. R. Ratcliffe (eds). *Perspectives on Arabic linguistics X: papers from the Tenth Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 9-45.
- [40] Ouhalla, J. (2003). *Functional categories and parametric variation*. Routledge.
- [41] Ouhalla, J. (2016). Root-extraction: Roots, verbs and nouns 'need' in Arabic. *Brill's Journal of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics*, 8(1), 200-222.
- [42] Ouhalla, J., & Shlonsky, U. (2002). *Themes in Arabic and Hebrew syntax* (Vol. 53). Springer Science & Business Media.
- [43] Paul, W. (2009). 'Consistent disharmony: sentence-final particles in Chinese'. *Cambridge Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 5: 1-24
- [44] Poletto, C. & Zanuttini, R. (2003). Making Imperatives: evidence from Central Rhaeto-Romance. *The Syntax of Italian Dialects*, ed. C. Tortora, 175--206. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [45] Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (ed). *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 281-337.
- [46] Rizzi, L. (2006). On the form of chains: Criterial positions and ECP effects. *Current Studies in Linguistics Series*, 42, 97-134.
- [47] Roberts, I., & Roussou, A. (1999). A formal approach to "grammaticalization". *Journal of Linguistics*, (55) 1: 871-905.
- [48] Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [49] Shlonsky, U. (2000). 'Remarks on the Complementizer layer of Standard Arabic'. In J. Lecarme, J. Lowenstamm and U. Shlonsky (eds). *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar: Papers from the Third conference on Afroasiatic Languages, Sophia Antipolis, France, 1996*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- [50] Stenström, A.-B. (1990). Lexical items peculiar to spoken discourse. In Svartvik (ed.). 137--175. *The London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English: Description and Research*. Lund." (1990).
- [51] Struckmeier, V. (2014). Ja doch wohl C? Modal Particles in German as C-related elements'. *Studia Linguistica* 68: 16-48.
- [52] Trotzke, A., & Mayol, L. (2021). Catalan focus markers as discourse particles. *Journal of Linguistics*, (57) 4. 1-35.
- [53] Traugott, E.C. (1995). *The role of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization*. Paper given at ICHL XII, Manchester.
- [54] Van Baar, T. (1996). Particles. In Devriendt, B., Goossens, L. and J. van der Auwera (eds). *Complex structures: A functionalist perspective*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 259--301.
- [55] Zimmermann, M. (2011). 'Discourse particles'. In C. Maienborn, K. von Heusinger and P. Portner (eds). *Semantics: An international handbook of natural language meaning*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 201Degand, Liesbeth and Simon Vandenberg: 2012-2038.

Murthy R. Alshamari is Assistant Professor of Theoretical Linguistics at the Department of English Language, The University of Ha'il, Ha'il, Saudi Arabia. He's obtained PhD in Theoretical Linguistics, Chomskyan theory of syntax from the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, UK in 2017. Areas of interest subsume Minimalist practice of the generative framework of syntactic theory and Cartography approach to clause structure. Within strategies of these approaches, Murthy's research contributions involve the syntax of discourse particles and Topics Typology, with respect to interface theory and agreement and movement as well as grammaticalisation as properties of natural language. Some of his contributions on the syntactic theory have been presented at world

leading conferences, including (42nd GLOW, Generative Linguistics in the Old World 2019), LAGB Annual Meeting (QMU, 2019) and CamCoS 9 New (Cambridge Comparative Syntax in Newcastle, 2021).Contact: mr.alshamari@uoh.edu.sa