

A Syntactic Account of the Particle *giid-* in Hijazi Arabic

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the particle *giid-* (or *gidd-*) in Hijazi Arabic (HA) within the framework of Chomsky's (1995, 2000, 2001) Minimalist Program and Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis. While another variant has been the subject to numerous studies, this particle remains poorly understood. The current paper proposes that *giid-* (or *gidd-*) has undergone an irregular development from the aspectual *qad* in Standard Arabic. Although the particle semantically parallels *qad* indicating precedence, syntactically, it does not only combine with verbal projections, but also with adjectival and prepositional ones. Also, it interacts with negation in such a way that can freely occur before and after the particle *ma-* unlike *qad* which interacts with *la* but not *ma*. *Giid-* (or *gidd-*) is argued to be an adverb that merges in Spec of AspP, which dominates vPs, aPs or PPs. This paper also provides an account for the fact that *giid-* (or *gidd-*) can occur clause-initially. It suggests, based on the semantic and syntactic properties, that the particle moves as high as Foc(us)P in the CP area. It induces a focal interpretation in the contexts where it occurs and re-merges higher than T(ense)P, Mod(al)P, and Neg(ative)P, but lower than ForceP and Top(ic)P. It is incompatible with focused expressions located in FocP.

Keywords: Syntax, Hijazi Arabic, Particles, Focus, Aspect

1. Introduction

The current paper investigates the particle *giid-* (also pronounced as *gidd-*) in Hijazi Arabic (HA, henceforth) illustrated in (1).

- (1) *giid-ak* *?inta* *mit?xer*.
already-you you late

‘You are already late.’

This particle, to my knowledge, has not been discussed before. Another variant of the same particle, namely *gid*, has been the subject of numerous studies (Al Zahrani, 2013; Al-Azraqi, 2014; Alshammari & Alshammari, 2020; Alhaider, 2021, Al-Azraqi & Alharbi, 2022). *Giid-* (or *gidd-*), which has a stressed (or accented) pronunciation (either with the vowel /i/ being lengthened or the consonant /d/ being geminated), does not show identical usages as the unaccented *gid*. For one, *gid* strictly selects a tensed/perfective verbal complement as suggested by the grammaticality of (2a) versus the ungrammaticality of (2b). *Giid-* (or *gidd-*), on the other hand, freely combines with both verbal and non-verbal phrases as in (3a) and (3b).

- (2) a. *huwwa gid ətʃarraḍ l-l-xaṭar.*
 he already exposed to-the-danger
 ‘He did encounter danger [ever in his life].’
- b. **huwwa gid f-xaṭar.*
 he already in-danger
 Intended to mean: ‘He is already in danger.’
- (3) a. *huwwa giid-u ətʃarraḍ l-l-xaṭar min sanah.*
 he already-him exposed to-the-danger from year
 ‘He has already encountered danger since a year.’
- b. *huwwa giid-u f-xaṭar.*
 he already-him in-danger
 ‘He is already in danger.’

Another difference lies in their relation to the negative particle *ma-*. While *gid-* is strictly lower than NegP as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (4b), *giid-* (or *gidd-*) can be both lower and higher as illustrated in (5b).

- (4) a. *ma gid səmeʕ l-xabar.*
 not already heard.3SM the-news
 ‘He has never heard the news.’
- b. **gid ma səmeʕ l-xabar.*
 already not heard.3SM the-news
 Intended to mean: ‘He has never heard the news.’
- (5) a. *ma kaan giid-u saameʕ l-xabar (laama ʔana gult-alluh).*
 not was already-him heard.3SM the-news when I told-him
 ‘He hadn’t yet heard the news (when I told him).’

- b. *giid-u ma kaan saameʕ l-xabar (laama ʔana gult-alluh).*
 already-him not was heard.3SM the-news when I told-him
 ‘He hadn’t yet heard the news (when I told him).’

A third difference is their (in)ability to form questions. While *gid* can form yes-no questions as in (6a), *giid-* cannot as in (6b).

- (6) a. *gid saafart qatar?*
 ever traveled Qatar
 ‘Have you ever traveled to Qatar?’
- b. **giid-ak saafart qatar?*
 already-you traveled Qatar
 Intended to mean: ‘Have you ever traveled to Qatar?’

This paper describes the inflected *giid-* (or *gidd-*), leaving a way the uninflected *gid*. It, specifically, focuses on the Arabic variety spoken in the city of Jeddah, Saudi Arabia on the basis of the researcher’s intuition as a native speaker and of 150 HA informants consulted for the grammaticality judgment. It argues that *giid-* (or *gidd-*) is an instantiation of the Foc(us) projection in the sense of Rizzi (1997) which moves there to satisfy some [Foc] feature. While this paper is not diachronic in nature, it detects a development that has taken place in the Standard *qad*. It does not, however, provide any further analysis for the Standard form but a synchronic analysis of the dialectal *giid-/gidd-* in HA.

1.1 Objective and Research Questions

This paper aims at providing a minimalist account of the syntactic category/nature of the particle *giid-* (or *gidd-*). The proposed analysis depends on exploring interpretative and morphosyntactic components embodied in the particle. Hence, the study attempts to answer two research questions:

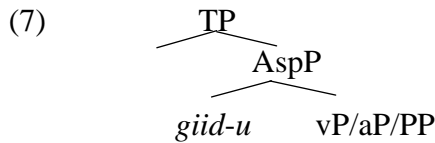
- (1) What is the category of the dialectal *giid-* (or *gidd-*)?
- (2) What is the Merge/Move position of *giid-* (or *gidd-*)?

In turn, I propose that the dialectal *giid-* (or *gidd-*) is derived from the Standard *qad*, yet it is neither identical to *qad* nor to its variant *gid*. Semantically, it resembles both *qad* and *gid*. Syntactically, I claim that *giid-* (or *gidd-*), plus the attached pronoun, functions as an adverb that is base-generated lower than TP in the Spec of Asp(ect)P, which does not only dominate verbal projections vPs but also aPs and PPs. Being focalized, it may undergo movement to [Spec,FocP] overtly, resulting in a clause-initial word order.

2. Methodology

The current paper is an analytical study based on data from the author’s intuition as a native speaker. The data consists of *giid-* constructions, that are checked by 150 HA informants for grammaticality judgment. *Giid-* (or *gidd-*) constructions are accounted for within the framework of Chomsky’s (1995, 2000, 2001) Minimalist Program. Its merging positions are

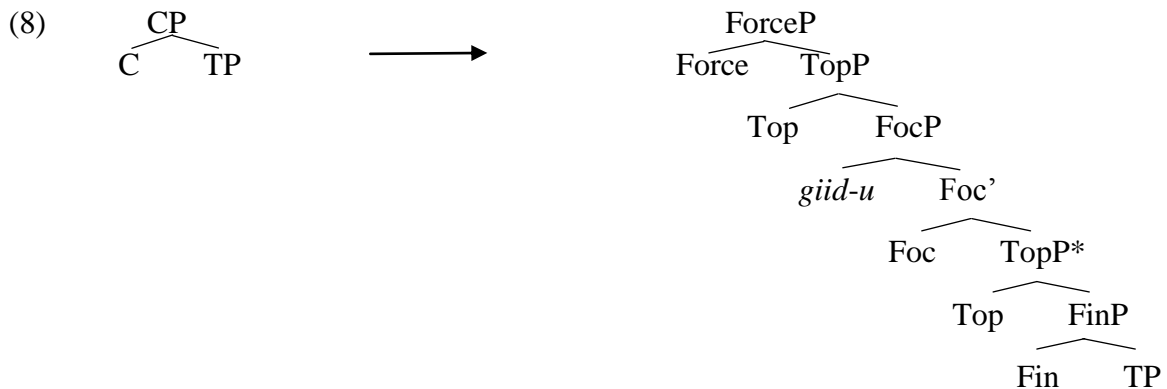
analyzed in accordance with the configurational architecture in (7) for verbal and verbless sentences, where *giid-u* is used for illustration to represent [*giid*+pronoun].



The proposal put forward is that *giid-* along with the pronoun attached to it, together, forms a construct that merges in the Spec of AspP, which dominates vP, aP, or PP. As for its Move to the clause-initial position, the cartographic model adopted is the split CP hypothesis proposed by Rizzi (1997).

2.1 The Split CP Model

Rizzi’s (1997) split CP hypothesis suggests that the traditional CP is not one projection but, rather, is split into number of functional projections. The topmost projection is ForceP (Force Phrase) headed by Force⁰, which hosts C(omplementizers) such as *that* indicating the clause type: declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative. At the bottom of the structure lies FinP (Finiteness Phrase) headed by Fin⁰, which specifies the clause as ± finite (finite or non-finite), and hosts *for* in English. Sandwiched between ForceP and FinP are two projections: TopP (Topic Phrase) and FocP (Focus Phrase), which host topicalized and focused expressions, respectively. TopP is located higher than FocP yet another TopP can project lower than FocP as indicated by the asterisk in the structure below.



Among the C-related projections, FocP is of crucial relevance to the analysis I propose for the particle *giid-* (or *gidd-*) as indicated in (8). *Giid-* + the attached pronoun is argued to move to the Spec of FocP. Evidence is provided based on the interpretative and morphosyntactic properties associated with this particle.

3. Results and Discussion

This section adopts the structures presented in (7) and (8) in order to account for the categorial nature of *giid-* (or *gidd-*) and its merging (and re-merging) position(s). A clear observation about *giid-* is that it is a dialectal version of the aspectual *qad* in Standard Arabic with /q/ becomes /g/. As stated by Alshammari & Alshammari (2020, p. 36), ‘*q>g* is not uncommon’ in the Saudi dialects, in general, and HA, in specific. A similar phonetic change is practiced in

other words such as *qaal>gaal* ‘said’, *qaraʔ>gara* ‘read’, *qalam>galam* ‘pen’, *qaaruurat>gaaruura* ‘bottle’, etc. Additionally, the semantic and syntactic similarity between *qad* and *giid-* (or *gidd-*) suggests that *qad* is the etymon of *giid-* (or *gidd-*). Semantically, both indicate precedence of the Event time, parallel to English ‘already’ and, syntactically, they combine with perfective verbs. Compare *qad* in (9a) and *giid-* in (9b).

(9) a. *qad waʃal-a munḍu saaʃat-in.*

already arrived-3 since hour-GEN

‘He has arrived since an hour.’

b. *giid-u waʃal min saaʃa.*

already-him arrived since hour

‘He has arrived since an hour.’

However, *giid-* develops in such a way that it, not only combines with verbal projections as in (9b) but also with non-verbal ones as illustrated in (10). These environments are not attested by the aspectual Standard *qad* as in (11).

(10) a. *huwwa giid-u gaari l-kitaak (min gabl ma ʔgul-uh).*

he already-him reading the-book from before when told.I-him

‘He has already read the book (before I told him).’

b. *huwwa giid-u taʃbaan (min gabl lamma nungul-uh l-mustaʃfa).*

he already-him sick from before when moved.we-him the-hospital

‘He has already been sick (before we took him to the hospital).’

c. *huwwa giid-u f-l-bait.*

he already-him in-the-house

‘He is already at home.’

(11) a. **qad huwa qaariʔ-un l-kitaak-a (min qabl-i ʔan ʔuxbera-uh).*

already he reading-NOM the-book-ACC from before-GEN that told.I-him

Intended to mean: ‘He has already read the book (before I told him).’

b. **qad huwa mariiḍ-un (min gabl-i ʔan nanqula-hu ʔilaa l-maʃfa).*

already he sick.NOM from before-GEN that moved.we-him to the-hospital.GEN

Intended to mean: ‘He has already been sick (before we took him to the hospital).’

c. **qad huwa fi l-bayt-i .*

already he in the-house-GEN

Intended to mean: ‘He is already at home.’

In (10), the time of the event/predicate associated with *giid-u* (reading of the book in (10a), being sick in (10b), and being at home in (10c)) precedes some reference time (the time when I told him in (10a), the time when he was taken to the hospital in (10b) and now in (10c)). The ungrammaticality of (11), on the other hand, suggests that *qad* has more limited distribution in comparison to *giid-*.

Additionally, the position of *giid-* with respect to negation develops in a way that makes it located either higher or lower than *ma* as illustrated in (12). *Qad*, on the other hand, does not co-occur with *ma* (neither higher nor lower) as illustrated in (13). It can co-occur with *la*, but only strictly higher than the latter conveying possibility as illustrated in (14).

(12) a. *ma kaan giid-u waşal.*

not was already arrived

‘He had not yet arrived.’

b. *giid-u ma kaan waşal.*

already not was arrived

‘He had not yet arrived.’

(13) a. **ma qad waşal.*

not already arrived

Intended to mean: ‘He has not yet arrived.’

b. **qad ma waşal.*

already not arrived

Intended to mean: ‘He has not yet arrived.’

(14) a. *qad la y-şilu l-ʔaan.*

may not 3-arrive now

‘He may not arrive now.’

b. **la qad y-şilu l-ʔaan.*

not may 3-arrive now

Intended to mean: ‘He may not arrive now.’

As for its categorial nature, there is a reason to treat *giid-* as an adverb, modifying different types of constituents, which is a property of adverbs (see Cinque, 1999). Besides perfective verbs vPs (9b), the fact that *giid-* can also modify (or combine with) non-perfective eventive participles aPs as in (10a), adjectival aPs (10b), and PPs (10c) constitutes one piece of evidence

that *giid-* is an adverb. If *giid-* is an assertive head, it would have a strict selectional restriction like *gid*, which only selects a verbal complement:

- (15) a. *gid waṣal min saafa.*
 already arrived since hour
 ‘He has arrived since an hour.’
- b. **huwwa gid gaari l-kitaak (min gabl ma ?gul-uh).*
 he already reading the-book from before when told.I-him
 Intended to mean: ‘He has already read the book (before I told him).’
- c. **huwwa gid taṣbaan (min gabl lamma nungulu-uh l-mustašfa).*
 he already sick from before when moved.we-him the-hospital
 Intended to mean: ‘He has already been sick (before they took him to the hospital).’
- d. **gid f-l-bait.*
 already in-the-house
 Intended to mean: ‘He is already at home.’

Another piece of evidence that *giid-* is an adverb is that it acts as an optional adjunct. It is partly similar to the English counterpart *already*, whose contribution is minimal as noted by Cinque (1999) and, therefore, it occupies a phrasal position in a lower TP (TP_{anterior} in Cinque’s term) c-commanded by the highest T. The examples from Cinque (ibid, p. 94) illustrate this contribution.

- (16) a. Haven’t we already met?
 b. Last Christmas, hadn’t they already met?

The examples in (16) ‘mean the same as “Haven’t we met?” and “Last Christmas, hadn’t they met?” with the added presupposition that the encounter is located before some reference time (= now and last Christmas, respectively)’ (Cinque, ibid, p. 94). Likewise, the contribution of *giid-* seems marginal. Compare (17a) and (17b).

- (17) a. *kaan xaraj.*
 was left
 ‘He had left.’
- b. *kaan giid-u xaraj.*
 was already-him left
 ‘He had already left.’

In (17b), *giid-u* adds presupposition that the Event time precedes the Reference time although this presupposition is available even without *giid-u* in (17a). Such a minimal modification indicates that *giid-* is, like the English *already*, an adjunct that adds extra information and can be deleted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.

It is worth noting that *giid-* is syntactically a phrase rather than a head. This is because it has a bound morphological nature with a pronoun attached to it. This pronoun is non-nominative similar to the genitive pronominal cliticized onto the preposition and the accusative one cliticized onto the verb. Table 1 below illustrates the attached non-nominative forms boldfaced (the preposition *min* ‘from’ and the verb *šaaf* ‘saw’ are used for the sake of comparison).

Table 1. Bound non-nominative personal pronouns

	<i>giid-</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>šaaf</i>
1 st SG	<i>giid-i/giid-ani</i>	<i>min-i</i>	<i>šaaf-ni</i>
1 st PL	<i>giid-ana</i>	<i>min-ana</i>	<i>šaaf-ana</i>
2 nd SG MAS	<i>giid-ak</i>	<i>min-ak</i>	<i>šaaf-ak</i>
2 nd SG FEM	<i>giid-ik</i>	<i>min-ik</i>	<i>šaaf-ik</i>
2 nd PL	<i>giid-akum</i>	<i>min-akum</i>	<i>šaaf-akum</i>
3 rd SG MAS	<i>giid-u</i>	<i>min-u</i>	<i>šaaf-u</i>
3 rd SG FEM	<i>giid-aha</i>	<i>min-aha</i>	<i>šaaf-aha</i>
3 rd PL	<i>giid-ahum</i>	<i>min-ahum</i>	<i>šaaf-ahum</i>

The bound pronoun on *giid-* is coindexed with the subject as illustrated in (18).

- (18) a. *l-walad_i giid-u_i səmeʕ l-xabar.*
 the-boy already-him heard.3SM the-news
 ‘The boy has already heard the news.’
- b. *l-bənt_i giid-aha_i səmeʕ-at l-xabar.*
 the-girl already-her heard.3SF the-news
 ‘The girl has already heard the news.’
- c. *l-ʔawlaad_i giid-ahum_i səmeʕ-u l-xabar.*
 the-boys already-them heard-3P the-news
 ‘The boys have already heard the news.’

Giid- cannot be thought of as an assertive head *gid* + the closest pronoun cliticized on it because the closest pronoun has a nominative form as shown in (19a). Accordingly, it would wrongly predict that pronoun cliticized on *giid-* is nominative as shown in (19b):

- (19) a. *kaan huwwa saafar.*
 was he traveled
 ‘He had traveled.’
- b. **kaan giid-huwwa saafar.*
 was already-he traveled
 Intended to mean: ‘He had already traveled.’

Also, the nominative pronoun can co-occur with *giid-* but not with *gid* as illustrated in (20a) and (20b), respectively.

- (20) a. *kaan giid-u huwwa saafar.*
 was already-him he traveled
 ‘He had already traveled.’
- b. **kaan gid huwwa saafar.*
 was already he traveled
 Intended to mean: ‘He had already traveled.’

In (20a), *giid-u* and the perfective verb can be separated by the subject pronoun unlike *gid* in (20b) which must strictly be adjacent to the verb. If *giid-u* is the assertive head *gid*, we would expect that both have similar syntactic behaviors contrary to the fact.

Therefore, I argue that *giid-* (or *gidd-*) is a phrasal adverb that is base-generated lower than TP, given that it follows the tense marker *kaan* ‘was’ in (17b). More specifically, it merges in the Spec of a more relative time projection (i.e. AspP) that orders the Event time with respect to the Reference time. Based on the fact that *giid-* does not only combine with vPs but also aPs as in (21a) and (21b) and PPs as in (21c), it can be postulated that AspP where *giid-* resides does not only dominate vP but also aPs and PPs. (22a), (22b), and (22c) represent the merging position(s) of *giid-* in (17b) above, (21b&c), and (21d) below in which [*giid-*+ pronoun] follows the tense marker *kaan* ‘was’.

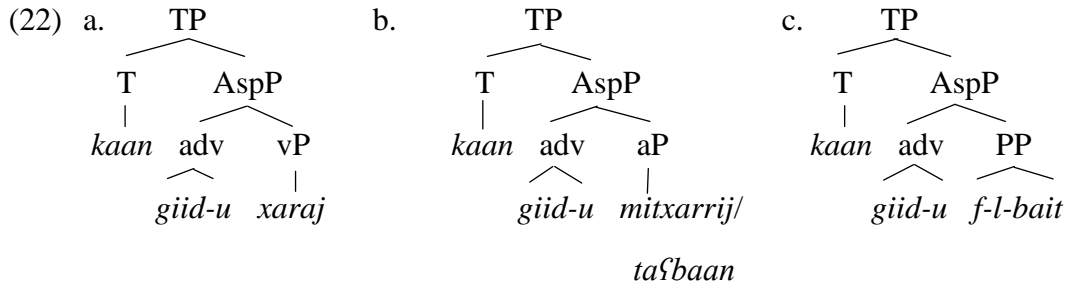
- (21) a. *kaan giid-u mitxarrij (lamma ?ana gaddamt f-l-jaamfa).*
 was already-him graduated when I applied.I in-the-university
 ‘He had already graduated (when I applied for the university).’
- b. *kaan giid-u ta?baan (lamma nagal-uu-uh l-musta?fa).*
 was already-him sick when moved-they-him the-hospital

‘He had already been sick (when they took him to the hospital).’

- c. *kaan giid-u f-l-bait (lamma ?ana wa?alt).*

was already-him in-the-house when I arrived

‘He had already been in the house (when I arrived).’



In addition to the position(s) in (22), *giid-* seems to re-merge in another position clause-initially:

- (23) a. *giid-u kaan wa?al (lamma ?ana jiit).*

already-him was arrived when I came

‘He had already arrived (when I came).’

- b. *giid-u kaan mitxarrij (lamma ?ana gaddamt f-l-jam?a).*

already-him was graduated when I applied.I in-the-university

‘He had already graduated (when I applied for the university).’

- c. *giid-u kaan ta?baan (lamma nagal-uu-uh l-musta?fa).*

already-him was sick when moved-they-him the-hospital

‘He had already been sick (when they took him to the hospital).’

- d. *giid-u kaan f-l-bait (lamma ?ana wa?alt).*

already-him was in-the-house when I arrived

‘He had already been in the house (when I arrived).’

It is logical to treat *giid-* in (23) to be the result of a Move operation to some left-edge position prior to *kaan* rather than to treat it as a base-generated adverb in the left-periphery. One reason is that there is no corresponding change in the meaning between the post-*kaan giid-u* in (21) and the pre-*kaan* counterparts in (23). If both were base-generated, we would expect two different meanings as the case with the Standard *qad*. The pre-*kaan* is a Mod *qad*, which means ‘indeed, and parallels the English emphatic ‘did’ while the post-*kaan* is an aspectual *qad*, which means ‘already’ (Fassi Fehri, 2012). The difference is illustrated in (24) below.

- (24) a. *qad kaan-a waṣal-a.* (Fassi Fehri, ibid, p. 105)
 indeed was-3 arrived
 ‘He had indeed arrived.’ <Mod *qad* meaning ‘did’>
- b. *kaan-a qad waṣal-a.* (Fassi Fehri, ibid, p. 105)
 was-3 already arrived
 ‘He had already arrived.’ <Asp *qad* meaning ‘already/just’>

The pre-*kaan giid-u* in (23) cannot be a Mod, given that it can co-occur with modals as illustrated in (25a). When fronted, *giid-* occurs prior to the modal as illustrated in (25b). Although (25b) is a marked order, it is not ungrammatical.

- (25) a. *iḥtimaal ykuun giid-u saafar.*
 may was already-him traveled
 ‘He may have already traveled.’
- b. *giid-u iḥtimaal ykuun saafar.*
 already-him may was traveled
 ‘He may have been traveling.’

Based on the word order, *giid-u* moves higher than ModP (or EMod, in Al Zahrani’s (2013) term) which lexicalizes epistemic modals such as *iḥtimaal* ‘may’, *yuḥtamal* ‘may’, *yimkin* ‘may’, etc. As for its landing site, *giid-* seems to move even higher than NegP, which dominates TP in verbal sentences (Al Zahrani, 2015). The fronted *giid-* moves to a position prior to *ma-* as in (26b) but not following it as in (26c):

- (26) a. *ma kaan giid-u gaatεf t-zaakεr.*
 not was already-him issued.3SM the-tickets
 ‘He hadn’t issued the tickets yet.’
- b. *giid-u ma kaan gaatεf t-zaakεr.*
 already-him not was issued.3SM the-tickets
 ‘He hadn’t issued the tickets yet.’
- c. **ma giid-u kaan gaatεf t-zaakεr.*
 not already-him was issued.3SM the-tickets
 Intended to mean: ‘He hadn’t issued the tickets yet.’

It can be argued then that *giid-* moves above NegP and (probably) as high as the C-zone. Yet, this position cannot be C, given the possibility to co-occur with a complementizer like *innu* ‘that’:

(27) *ħassibt ʔinnu giid-u kaan xaraj.*

thought.I that already-him was left

‘I thought that he had already left.’

The fact that *giid-u* follows *ʔinnu* ‘that’ in (27) can be explained by adopting Rizzi’s (1997) split CP hypothesis where the topmost ForceP is the projection that lexicalizes *ʔinnu* ‘that’ (see Alazzawie, 2018). *Giid-u* ‘already’ must be located lower than ForceP.

What gives credence to the argument that *giid-* is located in FocP, in specific, are the interpretative and distributive properties connected with the particle. The first property is related to the [Focus] interpretation. In the context where it appears, *giid-* is a corrective reply that contrasts with previously stated information as illustrated in (28) and (29).

(28) CONTEXT: two friends discussing the time when Zaid arrived

Speaker A: *zaid waşal s-saaʕa ʔarbaʕa.*

Zaid arrived the-hour four

‘Zaid arrived at four.’

Speaker B: *laa, giid-u kaan waşal s-saaʕa ʔarbaʕa.*

no already-him was arrived the-hour four

‘No, he had already arrived at four.’

(29) CONTEXT: two friends discussing the time when Zaid arrived

Speaker A: *zaid kaan waşal s-saaʕa ʔarbaʕa.*

Zaid was arrived the-hour four

‘Zaid had arrived at four.’

Speaker B: *laa, ma kaan giid-u waşal zaid s-saaʕa ʔarbaʕa*

no, not was already-him arrived Zaid the-hour four

(bas waşal baʕda-ha b-nuş saaʕa).

but arrived after-it by-half hour

‘No, Zaid had not yet arrived at four (but he arrived half an hour later).’

In both (28) and (29), *giid-u* is typical for such an answer to be continued by a sentence beginning with the corrective negative word *laa*. This context according to Zimmermann (2007) is an indication that *giid-u* is a corrective focus expression. It is used by Speaker B to present new corrective/contrasting information that is not given/mentioned previously by Speaker A. In the positive utterance (28), *giid-u* is the contrastive time earlier than four o’clock that Zaid had arrived (while Zaid is expected to come later). In the negative utterance (29), it is the contrastive time earlier than four o’clock that Zaid had not arrived (while Zaid was expected to

arrive earlier). From contexts (28) and (29), it is apparent that *giid-u* is endowed with some [Foc] interpretable feature contrasting another information. Because [Foc] is the locus of FocP, it is reasonable to assume that *giid-u* moves overtly or covertly there for feature valuation.

The second property is its distribution in relation to focused expressions. *Giid-* is incompatible with two focused expressions. One of such expressions is the *wh*-word, which is assumed to move overtly to the specifier of FocP (Rizzi, 1997; Zubizarreta 1998; Szendrői 2004; Alazzawie, 2018). As illustrated in (30), *giid-* cannot tolerate *wh*-words:

- (30) a. **mita giid-ak garait l-xabar?*
 when already-you read.2SM the-news
 Intended to mean: ‘When have you ever heard the news?’
- b. **giid-ak mita garait l-xabar?*
 already-you when read.2SM the-news
 Intended to mean: ‘When have you ever heard the news?’

The ill-formedness of (30a) and (30b) indicates that *giid-ak* neither moves higher nor lower than FocP, which is the same position that *mita* ‘when’ moves to. Another focused construction that *giid-* cannot tolerate is the fronted nominal, which bears a contrastive stress, as illustrated in (31).

- (31) CONTEXT: two friends discussing about winning a prize

Speaker A: *šuft l-walad l-šabqari illi faaz b-l-jaaʔiza?*
 saw the-boy the-genius that won by-the-award
 ‘Did you see the genius boy who won the award?’

Speaker B1: **bent giid-ani šuft mu walad.*
 girl already-me saw.I not boy
 Intended to mean: ‘I have already seen a girl, not a boy.’

Speaker B2: **giid-ani bent šuft mu walad.*
 already-me girl saw.I not boy
 Intended to mean: ‘I have already seen a girl, not a boy.’

As shown in (35), *giid-ani* ‘already’ cannot co-occur with the focused nominal *bent* ‘girl’ (neither before nor after). Because the nominal *bent* ‘girl’ is indefinite, it cannot be considered as a contrastive topic as topics are strictly definite in Arabic (see, e.g. Fassi Fehri, 1993; Soltan, 2007; Alshboul et al., 2011). The fact that *giid-ani* ‘already’ cannot co-occur with focused expressions constitutes evidence that both are in the same projection given that there is only one FocP in Rizzi’s (1997) split CP structure.

A further distributive property in support of *giid*-’s Move to FocP is its position in relation to aboutness-shift Topics. The expression *binnisba li-* ‘as for’ is usually used to mark a topic as illustrated in (32).

(32) CONTEXT: two friends discussing about applying for the nationality

Speaker A: *ʔana gaddamt ʕala l-jensiyya wo baʕdaha saafar-t ʔadsus.*

I applied on the-nationality and then traveled-I study.I

‘I applied for the nationality, then I traveled to study.’

Speaker B: *wo ʕakl-ak tʕaʕalt.*

and seem-you got busy

‘And it seems that you got busy’

Speaker C: *binnisba li-l-jensiyya fain waʕalat?*

as for to-the-nationality where reach

‘As for the nationality, at which stage did it reach?’

Speaker A starts the conversation by discussing the nationality that he applied for. As the conversation continues and drifts away to another topic which is about studying, Speaker C uses the expression *binnisba li-* ‘as for’ to revive the original topic which is about the nationality. *Binnisba li-* ‘as for’ + DP *l-jensiyya* ‘the nationality’ merges as high as TopP above FocP, where the wh-word merges as indicated by Speaker C’s utterance. It cannot merge in the lower TopP as suggested by the ungrammaticality of (33) below.

(33) **fain binnisba li-l-jensiyya waʕalat?*

where as for to-the-nationality reach

Intended to mean: ‘As for the nationality, at which stage did it reach?’

As for the particle *giid-*, it is strictly lower than *binnisba li-* ‘as for’ + DP as illustrated in (34).

(34) a. *binnisba li-l-jensiyya giid-u zaid gaddam ʕalai-ha*

as for to-the-nationality already-him Zaid applied on-it

‘As for the nationality, Zaid already applied for it.’

b. **giid-u binnisba li-l-jensiyya zaid gaddam ʕalai-ha*

already-him as for to-the-nationality Zaid applied on-it

‘As for the nationality, Zaid already applied for it.’

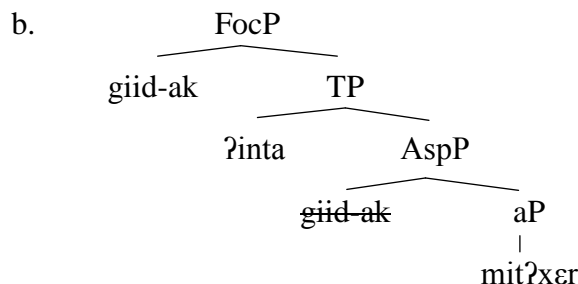
The grammaticality of (34a) versus the ungrammaticality of (34b) suggests that the focalized *giid-u* moves as high as FocP, which is lower than TopP, but cannot move higher than TopP.

Based on the semantic and syntactic properties, it can be postulated that *giid-* moves to the Spec of FocP in Rizzi's (1997) C split structure, given the argument that *giid-* is phrasal in nature. Sentence (1), repeated here in (35a), can be represented in (35b).

(35) a. *giid-ak ?inta mit?xer.*

already-you you late

'You are already late.'



4. Conclusion

In this research, I have investigated the particle *giid-* (or *gidd-*) 'already' in HA as a dialectal variant of the Standard *qad*. I argue that this particle has undergone a development from the aspectual *qad*, which means 'already'. While the dialectal *giid-* (or *gidd-*) remains to, semantically, indicate precedence, it syntactically develops in such a way that combines with verbs as well as other categories including adjectives/participles, and prepositions. *Giid-* (or *gidd-*) is proven to be a phrasal adverb that is base-generated in the Spec of AspP. It is also argued to have another position clause-initially. Based on the semantic and distributive properties of the particle, I argue that this position is FocP. Semantically, it has a [Focus] interpretation. Syntactically, it moves higher than TP, ModP, and NegP, but lower than both ForceP and TopP, and it is incompatible with focused expressions. This research is a call for more studies to investigate the particle *qad* from a cross-dialectal approach. One limitation of the current study is that it does not investigate the micro-parametric variation of the particle. Another limitation is related to the development that this particle has undergone. While it is suggested here that *giid-* is developed from the Standard *qad*, more research is required to trace the development.

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