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Morpho-syntactic Features of Mahri Language in Yemen: An Ethno-narrative Study

Field of Study: **Syntax**

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ABSTRACT

Due to the requirement of UNESCO (1993) which recommended by adopting the ‘Endangered languages Project’, the current study aims at analyzing the morpho-syntactic features of Mahri language. The tribal language of the minority group people in Yemen, this language deliberately receives a great deal of ignorance which may lead to the extinction of this oral heritage, Simeone-Senelle (1997) and Rubin (2010). Certainly, this research report is limited to demonstrate the interface between morphology and syntax, focusing on how the formal features in a language are embedding in words, creating relationship among phrasal structures and affecting the typological word order of the sentences. To relate Mahri with the ideology and the sociocultural contexts in a society, this report conducts two methods the narrative approach and ethnographic approach, where the native speaker researcher randomly selects the naturalistic data and sentential structures from typical written texts precisely, storytelling and lyric poems. Establishing Chomsky’s X-bar Theory as the study analytical tool, the results show that indeed Mahri is highly morphological language which composes different types of agreement features such as gender, number and person features and in addition to syntactic features which represent by nominative, accusative, dative and genitive cases. Regarding to the fact that there is no asymmetry between subjects and predicates, it is found that the syntactic word order in Mahri language is deemed to be optional. Overall, the findings of the study are hoped to contribute and add new facts to the missing linguistic knowledge in field of linguistics and Semitic studies which Mahri is a single branch of this largest group in Western Asia.

ABSTRAK

Menurut keperluan UNESCO (1993) yang menyarankan supaya ‘Projek Bahasa-bahasa Terancam’ dipelopori, matlamat kajian ini adalah untuk menganalisis ciri-ciri morfo-sintaksis dalam bahasa Mahri. Bahasa puak yang ditutur oleh kumpulan minoriti di Yaman ini sangat kurang menerima perhatian yang mungkin boleh membawa kepada kepupusan warisan lisan ini, Simeone-Senelle (1997) dan Rubin (2010). Laporan penyelidikan ini semestinya terhad kepada pemaparan ruang hubung antara morfologi dan sintaks, bertumpu kepada ciri-ciri formal dalam bahasa yang tersirat dalam perkataan, yang membentuk perhubungan antara struktur frasa serta mempengaruhi turutan perkataan secara tipologi dalam ayat. Untuk mengaitkan Mahri dengan ideologi dan konteks sosiobudaya dalam masyarakat, laporan ini menjalankan dua kaedah: pendekatan naratif dan pendekatan etnografi, yang mana penyelidik ini yang juga penutur asli bahasa ini telah memilih data dan struktur ayat sebenar secara rawak daripada teks bertulis yang tipikal, khususnya cerita dongeng dan puisi lirik. Dengan menggunakan teori X-bar oleh Chomsky sebagai alat analisis kajian ini, hasil penyelidikan menunjukkan bahawa bahasa Mahri sangat bersifat morfologi yang terdiri daripada pelbagai jenis ciri-ciri kesesuaian seperti jantina, angka dan manusia selain ciri-ciri sintaksis yang diperlihatkan melalui kasus nominatif, akusatif, datif dan genetif. Menurut hakikat bahawa subjek dan predikat tiada simetri, telah didapati bahawa turutan perkataan sintaksis dalam bahasa Mahri dianggap sebagai pilihan. Secara keseluruhannya, hasil kajian ini diharap dapat menyumbang serta menambahkan maklumat baru kepada kekurangan dalam ilmu bidang linguistik dan kajian Semitik yang mana Mahri merupakan satu cabang daripada kumpulan terbesar di Asia Barat.

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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE MOST GRACIOUS AND MOST MERCIFUL

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Dedication: *This research report is dedicated to the soul of my mother who passed away since I was an infant May God bless her and all my family.*

الأهداء: الى روح أمي رحمها الله

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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

word	Chomsky's copying and deletion theory, equivalent to Trace in GB theory
1/2/3	first/ second/ third person
\bar{A}	A-bar
$\bar{\bar{A}}$	A-double-bar
A/AP	Adjective/Adjective Phrase
acc.	Accusative Case
AGR/ $\text{AGR}\bar{\bar{R}}$ / AGRP	Agreement/ $\text{AGR}\bar{\bar{R}}$ -bar/Agreement Phrase
ASL	Ancient South Languages
Pro/BRO	small pro/ big pro= Null constituent [\emptyset]
C/CP	Complementizer/ Complementizer Phrase
CORD/CORDP	Co-ordinated/ Co-ordinated Phrase
cp.	Common Principle
D, Det/DP	Determiner/ Determiner Phrase
dat.	Dative Case
def.	Definite Article
Deg	Degree
dua.	Dual
EF	Edge Feature
EPP	Expanded Projection Principle
EME	Early Modern English
f.	Feminine

Foc/ Fo \bar{c} / FocP	Focus / Foc-bar/ Focused Phrase
fut.	Future
gen.	Genitive Case
HMC	Head Movement Constraint
Indef	Indefinite Article
Inf.	Infinitive
Imperf	Imperfective
LF	Logical Form
LI	Lexical Item
m.	Masculine
ML	Mahri Language
Mo/MoP	Mood/ Mood Phrase
MP	Minimalist Program
MSAL	Modern South Arabian Language
MSE	Modern Standard English
\bar{N}	N-bar
$\bar{\bar{N}}$	N-double-bar
N/ NP	Noun/ Noun Phrase
Neg	Negative
nom.	Nominative Case
OVS	Object, Verb and Subject word order
\bar{P}	P-bar
$\bar{\bar{P}}$	P-double-bar

P/ PP	Preposition/ Preposition Phrase
Perf	Perfect
PF	Phonetic Form
P&P	Principle and Parameter theory
PRN	Pronoun
PS	Proto-Semitic
Q/QP	Quantifier/ Quantifier Phrase
s.	Singular
SA	Standard Arabic
SD	Structural Description
Spec	Specifier
SVO	Subject, Verb and Object word order
T/ \bar{T} / TP	Tense/ T-bar/Tense Phrase
UNESCO	United Nations, Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
\bar{V}	V-bar
$\bar{\bar{V}}$	V-double-bar
V/ VP	Verb/ Verb Phrase
VOS	Verb, Object and Subject word order
VSO	Verb, Subject and object word order
\bar{X}	X-bar
X/ X-bar/XP	Minimal Projection/ Intermediate Projection/ Maximal Projection

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The introductory chapter provides the background to the current study. The background introduces the topic of the study by giving information about the development of generative linguistics, its definition and regular stages. This chapter also highlights the background to the group of Modern South Arabian Languages (henceforth MSAL), where the target language, Mahri¹ is one of which. It tries to provide information about their genetic idea, geographical position and the socio-cultural background of native speakers. On the other side, this chapter reveals the relationship of MSALs to their counterparts within the wider Afro-Asiatic family and Semitic group. The introductory chapter also sets out the problem statement and the objectives with the associated research questions that the research seeks to address. It also provides the significance, limitations as well as the theoretical framework which guides the researcher to analyze the data collection.

¹ The word Mahri typically comes from the name of the province [Mahra] in easternmost place between Yemen and Oman. The word itself also refers to Mahra tribes (القبائل المهرية) which distribute elsewhere. In some publications the written form of this language was replaced the vocalic sound /ə/ to /e/ and become [Mehri] which makes it phonologically different from its genetic foundation.

1.1 Background to the study

The current study aims at investigating synchronically some of morpho-syntactic features of one of the varieties of Modern South Arabian languages, particularly, the Mahri Language (ML). Mahri is an old oral Pre-Islamic language spoken in the easternmost area of Yemen. It is the minority language of the specific group of people who settle in Yemeni governorate called Al-Mahra near to the border line of Oman. This under-documented language has considered an endangered language due to the great influence of Arabic on its speakers and in addition to other social and political issues.

1.1.1 The development of generative linguistics

In line with Chomsky's generative framework which considered the grammar of any natural language as the result of the integration among three basic components, namely, morphology, syntax and semantics in human mind/brain, it is possible to conceptualize generative linguistics as the principle school of thought among others in the field of linguistics. Generative linguistics focuses on the knowledge of language and its acquisitions wherein the faculty of language is identified as the cognitive device which may distinguish human language from other animal artificial languages, Chomsky (2005). In long time ago, generative grammar was simply defined as the group of rules which systematically assign the structural description of a language, (Chomsky, 1965). Based on this definition, the speaker of specific natural language internalizes the tacit (subconscious) knowledge of any spoken language in his mind, in logic, all speakers embed set of rules and principles in their mental state which directly make them use and spell words and sentences that never heard or used before. Closely related to this, Radford (2009a in Chomsky 1986a: 19-56) stated that Chomsky drew a

clear distinction to distinguish the Competence of the native speaker's knowledge about language from his Performance using the actual language. Specifically, Chomsky defined the knowledge of language which inherited in speaker's mind as Internalized language 'I-language', whereas the actual application of words and sentences is so called Externalized language 'E-language'. In essence of this, Universal Grammar (UG) can be explicated as the primary system that holds set of principles and rules which consider as the basic elements of all human languages, whether those languages are oral or written ones. Regularly, generative linguistics has taken its development through different steps and stages as seen in table (1.1) which adopted by (Jubilado, 2010).

Table 1.1: The development stages of generative linguistics

Year	Publications	Modules or Theories
1957	Syntactic Structure	Transformational Grammar
1965	Aspect theory of syntax	Standard Theory and Extended Theory 1970
1981	Lectures of Government and Binding Theory	The X-Bar Theory
		The Theta Theory
		The Case Theory
		The Binding Theory
		The Movement Theory
-1993 -1995	-Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory -Minimalist Program	Minimizing the structural derivation considering Economic Conditions (EC).

Thus, where the majority of studies tackled the linguistic phenomena of written languages, specifically those languages like English, Arabic, French etc. which are widely used in world, this research takes its authentic duty to study the grammatical competence of the spoken language which known as a minority language of a group of people in Yemen, in essential meaning, this study focuses on analyzing language from a particular view of the tacit knowledge (I-language) that internalizes within the speakers' mind, describing the embedded features within this language.

1.1.2 The genetic affiliation of Mahri and the other MSALs

In addition to Mahri the rest of other languages which spoken in two particular domains, Yemen and Oman are known as Modern South Arabian Languages (MSAL), namely, this group includes Mahri as the target language of this study and the *Soḳotri*² language, the *Jibbali*³ language, the *Ḥarsusi*⁴ language, the *Baṭhari*⁵ language and the *Hoboyt*⁶ language. All these languages are affiliated to the wider language group called Semitic which itself is the branch of the larger group called Afro-Asiatic family that includes different languages as shown in this figure which adopted by (Hetzron, 1997):

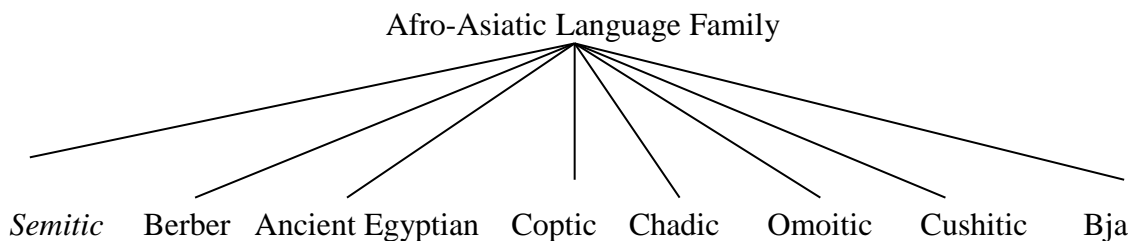


Figure 1.1: Afro-Asiatic language group

² **Soḳotri language** اللغة السقراطية: The language which spoken in the Archipelago of Soḳatra in Yemen with the speakers of 100,000 (Rubin, 2010), mainly, this language occurred in Yemeni-governed island called Soḳatra that located in Indian Ocean.

³ **Jibbali language** اللغة الجبالية: It is spoken in the Westernmost Mountains of Dhofar in Oman; the speakers were estimated to be ranged from 30,000 to 50,000 (Simeone-Senelle, 1997) & Rubin (2010).

⁴ **Ḥarsusi language** اللغة الحرسوسية: It is the language which is spoken in the central area of Oman in a place called Jiddat Al- Ḥarasis, (Simeone-Senelle 1997 attributed Johnstone's notion 1977), where the total number of Harsusi speakers is around 700.

⁵ **Baṭhari language** اللغة البطرية: The language that spoken by Baṭaḥra tribes who live in Dhofar, Oman with around 300 speakers, regarding the close similarities in lexical items, Rubin (2010:7) stated that Ḥarsusi and Baṭhari are the closest languages to Mahri which may be considered as the dialects of that language.

⁶ **Hoboyt language** اللغة الهوبية: It is the creole language that is spoken by people who live in the border line in both sides of Yemen and Oman. This language is just as the mixture of two languages Mahri and Jibbali. According to Simeone-Senelle (1997) Hoboyt has the lowest number of speakers when it compare to other counterparts in MSAL group.

1.1.2.1 Semitic languages

Considering of the foregoing figure, Semitic languages group is a separate branch of the wider Afro-Asiatic family, the Semitic members are usually classified into East Semitic and West Semitic (Versteegh, 1997:12) and (Hetzron, 1997). These two branches are subdivided to different languages as seen in figure (1.2):

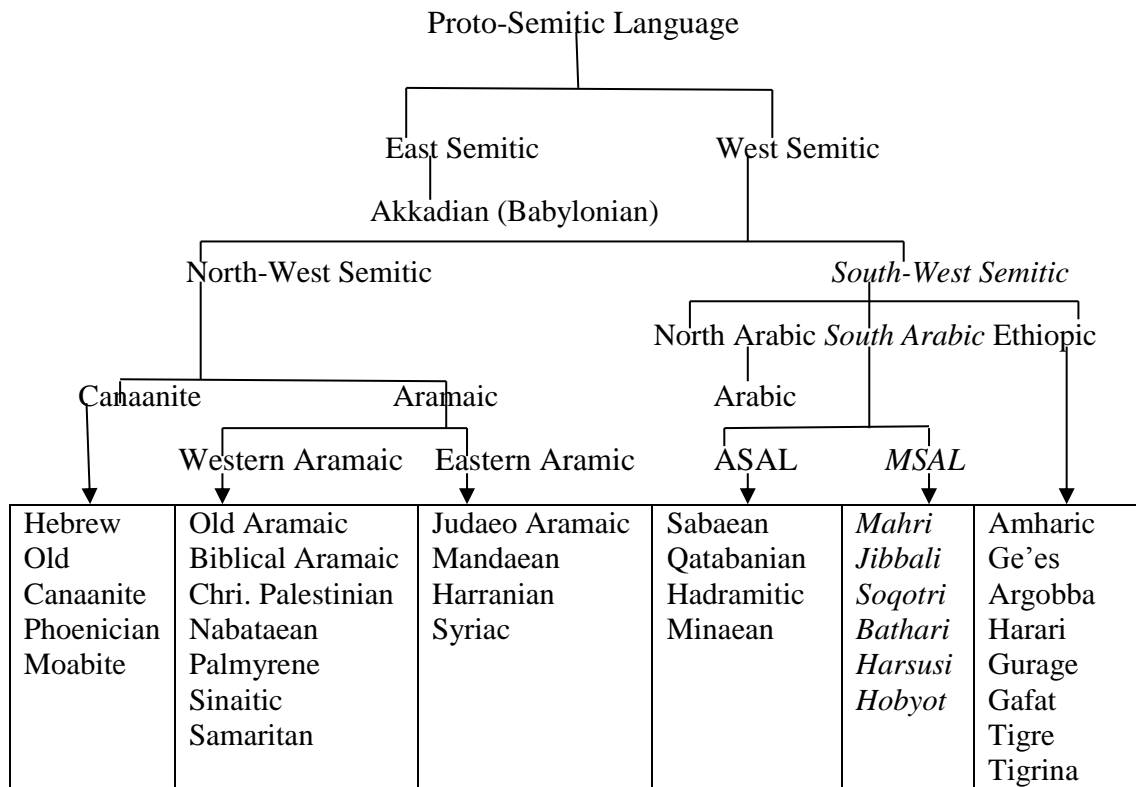


Figure 1.2: Semitic language family

1.1.2.2 The position of ML in Semitic

In relation to above proper classification of the Semitic group, it is possible to demonstrate that the exact position of Mahri within MSALs group is closely related to the South-West Semitic. It was assumed that the *Ṣayhadic*⁷ languages or sometimes known as Ancient South Arabian Languages (ASALs) which represented by the dead

⁷ **Ṣayhadic languages** اللغات الصيهادية: In the present-day country, Yemen, between the early 1st millennium BC until the emergence of Islam, there was an old languages which spoken by people there. These languages were used different types of terms ASL (Ancient South languages), ESL (Epigraphic South Languages and Ṣayhadic languages, Weninger *et al* (2011: 1042). The term Ṣayhadic actually refers to the desert which located between Yemen and south of Saudi Arabia, the historical place where the first finger of the old south Arabia cultures emerged.

languages that spoken in Yemen, such as *Sabaeen*, *Qatabanian*, *Hadramitic* and *Minaean* are the ancestors of the Modern South Arabian Languages, (Bergsträsser & Daniels, 1983). This assumption was attributed because both groups belong to the South Arabia. They maintain the trio Proto-Semitic phonemes (s, š, š), both groups display universal rules such as the use of internal plurals and the broad use of identical lexical items. Aside from this belief, (Robin, 2010) subdivides the group of West-Semitic into three subgrouping branches; MSAL, Ethio-Semitic group and Central Semitic groups, where the primary division of Central Semitic is branched into three subgroups; Arabic, ASAL and Northwest Semitic. He asserted that the group of ASAL could not be the ancestor of MSAL, because the innovation form of indicative *yaqtulu* 'to kill' did not exist in the former one. Likewise, (Simeone-Senelle, 1997) claimed that due to the phonological inventories of MSAL which comprise alveolar and lateral fricatives, it is assumed that these languages might be the closest members to the Proto-Semitic. Accordingly, regarding to the best understood information and to the availability of certain facts, the figure (1.3) illustrates another reading of subdivision to Proto-Semitic language, (Robin, 2010):

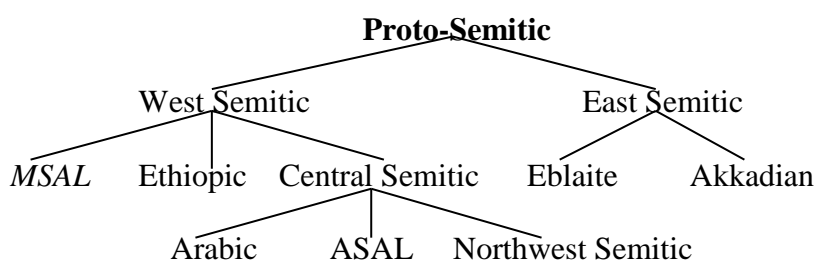


Figure 1.3: Proto-Semitic languages

1.1.2.3 The background of ML and its speakers

In the South of Arabian Peninsula, particularly, in the Sultanate of Oman and the Republic of Yemen, live some 200000 Arabs whose native languages are not Arabic, but one of the MSALs. The significance of the word Modern is typically referred to 9th century, the golden time of the recent discovery and emergence of those languages and their speakers. In obvious speaking, this word does not reflect the poor background and history of MSAL. Evidently, the fact was clearly attributed by Kitchen et al (2009), who employed the Bayesian computational phylogenetic techniques to analyze Semitic lexical items and examining alternative hypotheses of Semitic background, accordingly, they illustrated this assumption; despite the early emergence of MSAL in general and specifically Mahri, which characterized by Proto-Semitic features, it was believed that the evolution of these languages may be known as the reflexive mirror of an Early Bronze Age of Semitic language. Since the central topic of this study is focused on providing an academic literature and analyzing the morphological and syntactic features of Mahri regarding to the requirement of UNESCO, it is possible to illustrate that Mahri is considered as the most widespread language among others. It is spoken by Mahra tribes (nearly about 100000 speakers) and some tribal ethnic groups which distributed in south of Oman and east of Yemen, in a particular consideration; the original geographical origin is located in Yemen, specifically, this language can be found in the far eastern governorate called Mahra, on the coast, between the border of Oman and the eastern bank of 'Wadi Masilah' near to 'Hadhramawt' the largest province in Yemen. In the North-West of Yemen, Mahri is spoken as far as '*Thamoud*', on the border of the '*Rub' al-Khali*' (the widest desert between Saudi Arabia and Yemen), (Simeone-Senelle, 1997). However, the following map shows the exact location of the whole Modern South Arabian Languages:



Figure 1.4: Map of modern south Arabian languages, source: Simeone-Senelle (1997, p.381)

Despite the minority of ML, the native speakers of this language made up three dialects. According to these previous studies; Johnstone (1987), Simeone-Senelle (1997) and Rubin (2010), the linguistic diversity of Mahri is typically divided into these two dialects (*Mehrīyāt*) the variety Mahri spoken west ‘Ras Fartik’ (the biggest mountain in Mahra) and the variety called (*Mehrīyōt*) spoken in the eastern area of Mahra, Sharqiya. Unlike this view, the researcher as the native speaker can substitute the linguistic diversity of Mahri into three general dialects such as (*Māṣḩāṣīyāt*), literally means ‘Mashrqiya’ or ‘the eastern dialect’ spoken in the eastern area called ‘Ḥawf’, (*Māṣrbīyāt*) means ‘Maghrbiya’ or ‘the western dialect’ that spoken in western area called ‘Kāṣin’ or ‘Qshin’ in Arabic, the ancient capital of Mahra, and (*Bdāwyōt* or *Nagdīyāt*) which refers to the dialect of Bedouin speakers who live in desert, the northern area near to the ‘*Rubṣ al-Khali*’. In case of observing that there is some of urbanization among the groups, most of the Mahri people remain semi-nomadic, they are involved in fishing and some sort of pastoral occupation such as breeding camels, cows and goats. In addition to this, some Mahri people are traders who provide different types of cars and other products from the surrounding countries in Arabian Peninsula, trying to sell and distribute them in Yemen. In the areas of ‘*MārṢayt*’ 100 kilometers

north from the capital city of Mahra, Al-ghayḍa, ‘*Həbrōt*’ among the desert and ‘*Qshin*’ in the west, some Mahri people cultivate palm trees and some of agricultural professions.

1.2 Problem statements

Since (Crystal, 2000: 21) defines the moribund languages as the languages which have only the handful of excellent native speakers left, mostly those who are very old, the current study aims to fill the linguistics gap, analyzing the typological structure of a minority spoken language. According to some specific problems, the researcher is motivated to write about this language in order to preserve its properties and relate it to other members of Semitic languages. Based on many conferences which conducted in America and Europe, and addition to a lot of publication which appeared to tackle the problem of language death, in (1992), there was a gathering held in Quebec, the place where many of linguists from all over the world put the issue of language endangerment on the top of agenda. They issued the following resolution which (cited in Crystal, 2000, p.VII):

“As the disappearance of any one language constitutes an irretrievable loss to mankind, it is for UNESCO a task of great urgency to respond to this situation by promoting and if possible sponsoring programs of linguistic organizations for the description in the form of grammar, dictionaries and texts including the recording of oral literatures, of these unstudied or inadequately documented endangered and dying languages”.

A year later in (1993) the UNESCO replied when the General Assembly adopted the “Endangered languages Project” and issued a report revealing the organization great concern:

“It is certain that the extinction of languages is progressing rapidly in many parts of the world, and it is of the highest importance that the linguistic profession realize that it has to step up descriptive efforts”.

(Cited in Crystal, 2000, p.VII)

Obviously, ML and its corresponding languages are really endangered languages. This fact was confirmed by a lot of linguists and scholars, namely, Johnston (1987), Simeone-Senelle (1997), Alfadly (2007) and Rubin (2010). To put this in a concrete discussion, the following barriers encourage me as a native researcher of ML to explore the endangerment of this minority language:

- 1- The circumstances of immediate threats to the physical safety of speakers, (Crystal 2000) and (Hannan, 2007 cited in Denison1977:21) “languages die, not from the loss of rules but from the loss of speakers”, essentially, the death of the old Mahri speakers who had sufficient knowledge in ML considers as the first threat that makes this language to be in danger.
- 2- The economic factors which force native speakers to migrate their original place to different countries and addition to the political issues which represents by negative attitudes of regime in a country toward the minority languages. This means ML receives ignorance of teaching in the overall community of Yemen.
- 3- The socio-cultural: with respect to the fact that all people in Yemen are Arab and Muslims, it is possible to find some social cases which force Mahri people to get married from outside Mahri tribes. This type of interaction between people is typically termed as ‘Exogamy’ that generates influential speakers, who shifted their mother tongue to Arabic or substituted some historical Mahri items by Arabic words.
- 4- The convergence between languages: As it known that ML is a minority, this dramatically is affected by the dominant language (Arabic) and other surrounding languages, basically this sort of language contact makes ML to be at risk.

5- Mahri language is still virgin: which means so far it does not receive much academic linguistic analysis, especially from its own native speakers.

According to above mentioned problems, this study attempts to provide the descriptive analysis of the language. Based on analyzing written texts, this study will be established by adopting the recent approach among the field of linguistic. Namely, the X-Bar theory as the analytical tool, this study aims to contribute and share knowledge of the moribund language in order to maintain its properties.

1.3 Objectives of the study

In accordance to the aforementioned problems, the researcher progressively aims at achieving these three objectives:

- 1- *Morphological Features*: To analyze the typical features within a language, this study basically attempts to demonstrate the embedded morphological features in lexical categories which represented by interpretable features (gender, number, person and tense aspects)
- 2- *Syntactic Features*: To explore the syntactic relationship among constituents within phrasal constructions, this will be done by explaining the hierarchical structure of lexical and functional phrases in a language, and considering the agreement features between constituents in Mahri phrasal structures.
- 3- *Typological Structures of Sentences*: To examine the competing proposals of syntactic word order which language can be exhibited, the researcher aims to specify the syntactic positions of the subject as well as describing the sentential agreement and the impact of features in sentences.

1.4 Research questions

To employ the fundamental objectives of the study, the current research is quite limited to seek answers for the central three research questions below:

- 1- *What are the Morphological features of Mahri discourse?*
- 2- *What is the syntactic relationship among phrasal structures?*
- 3- *What extent do the formal features affect the typological order structures in Mahri?*

1.5 Scope and limits of the study

With relation to above mentioned objectives, this study conveys the morho-syntactic analysis of the endangered language, Mahri. By employing the themes of the Minimalist Program (MP), the core subject of this study concerns to analyze regularly the lexical feature Nouns (N), Verbs (V) and Adjective (A), and then it will be dealing to tackle the phrasal structures and the typological order of the language. Dealing with Mahri lexicon and computational component of grammar, the type of analyzed data of this study is narrative that is by adopting particular written texts and randomly selecting the target structures which reflect the socio-cultural practice of Mahri speakers such as using the naturalistic linguistic items (kinship terms, animals, emotional terms, etc.) which directly refer to the surrounding cultural context of Mahri language.

1.6 Significance of the study

In the pursuit of academic wisdom, this study is done for the advanced and contribution to the study of Semitic linguistics. Particularly, in the field of generative grammar, this study is organized through the discussion of the language using the recent

Chomsky's X bar theory. Since ML is poorly studied, this study serves as one of the references for this under-documented language. This study also lends a hand for the students and the researchers who want to write on Mahri and its counterparts within MSAL group. With the analysis of Mahri grammatical features, the lexical categories, phrase structures and sentence structures, the predictable findings of this study are hoped to contribute to the growing body of the research on getting an adequate knowledge about morphological and syntactic properties of ML, as well as relating this language to other counterparts in a Semitic family group.

1.7 Theoretical background

1.7.1 The Insights of Minimalist Program

Minimalist Program (MP) is the recent academic literature of (Chomsky, 1995). It is the latest version of progression for the previous theories, it concerns to overcome the problematic issues in linguistic system, for example, previously the concepts of principles and parameters theory assumed that the full interpretation of syntactic structures was naturally represented by adopting the modal structure in figure (1.5):

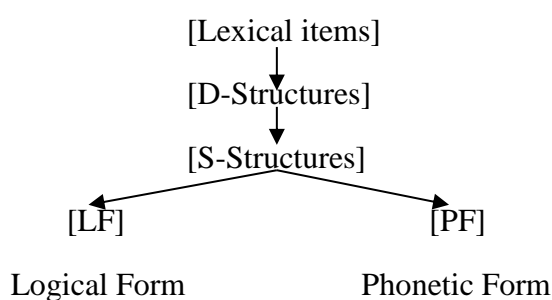


Figure 1.5: Levels of grammar within (P&P)

In Principle and Parameter theory (P&P), the grammar has been assumed to use two external interface levels, namely, logical form (LF) which represented the meaning and the phonetic form (PF), the sequence of sounds of the structure, and the internal level, the D-structures that represents the hidden information of the structures, these three

levels are linked by a unique level in the representation of the S-structure, (Cook & Newson, 1996: 313). Away from the Deep structure and Surface structure which cannot be generalized to some languages, for instance the languages which do not require any movement operations of the wh-expressions. Thus, the (MP) comes to minimize the grammar into two basic interface levels as seen in figure (1.6)

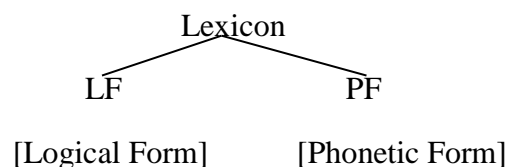


Figure 1.6: The Chomsky's representation of grammar

Accordingly, via the computational system which presents in human mind the external phase of the language [PF] 'physical sounds' is connected with the internal phase [LF] 'abstract meaning' of the language, (Zwart, 1998). That means any natural language can be understood according to the cognitive system in humans' mind which can be interpreted the grammatical sentences from those which have mismatch in their structures. More specifically, for the sake of structural representation, Chomsky (1995) used the X-Bar Theory, the theory which presents that all sentences are projections of diverse lexicons as seen the figure (1.7) below:

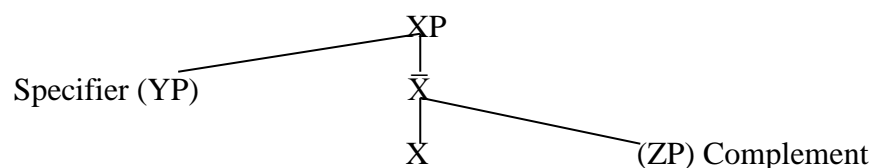


Figure 1.7: The representation of X-bar theory

In accordance to above, the X-bar theory constrains every phrasal structure in any languages, this theory holds the idea that each phrase composes the head (X) that projects to maximal projection (XP), this maximal projection might be Lexical/Substantive Categories, (VP), (NP), (PP) and (AP) or Functional Categories, (CP), (TP), (AGRP) etc. The optional specifier (YP) has the syntactic relations, being the sister to the Intermediate Projection (\bar{X}) which in turn dominates both the Minimal

Projection, the head (X) and its complement (ZP). According to (Adger, 2002: 28), the ‘grammatical categories’, particularly, the substantive categories such as nouns (N), verbs (V), adjectives (A) and prepositions (P) bear morpho-syntactic features. Similarly (Radford, 2009b: 281) asserted that the ‘formal features’ play the significance role to relate morphology and syntax. However, the features specification of the lexical categories is presented in the following table:

Table 1.2: Features specifications of lexical categories, (Adger, 2002:28)

LI No.	Lexical Categories	Feature Specifications
1	Noun	[+N, -V]
2	Verb	[-N, +V]
3	Adjective	[+N, +V]
4	Preposition	[-N, -V]

Based on Chomsky’s framework, (Jubilado, 2010) summarizes the mechanism work of Minimalist Program by adopting figure (1.8):

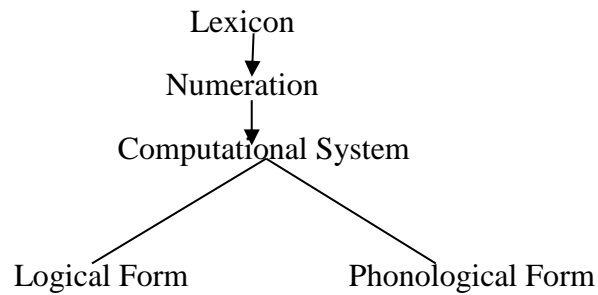


Figure 1.8: Minimalist Program

To provide answer to the underlying question ‘how is the structures that constitute [LF] and [PF] representations constructed?’ (Cook & Newson, 1996: 319), the above structure regulates the process of how the structural description [SD] is formed, this process starts by selecting the lexical items from lexicon, this lexical array is often called Numeration than the computational system attempts to build up sentence via Merge and Movement ‘spell out’ operations leading to the full interpretation sentence

which has [LF] and [PF] components. To set things up, consider the Mahri sentence in line 50 of folklore story ‘Bā Nuwās and the bean’ Appendix B:

1- nəhah ġalkāya hūk mən lē
 we find-1cp.p-fut for-you PCL cow
 ‘We will find a cow for you’

A- Merge Operation:

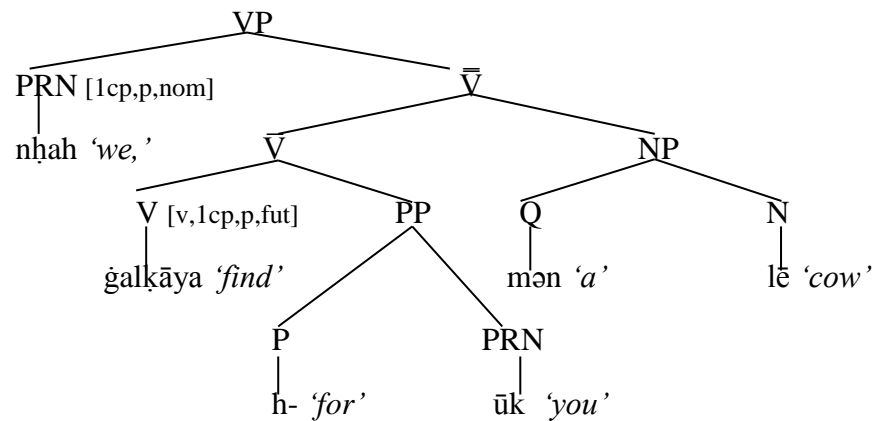


Figure 1.9: The representation of merge operation

- a- Lexical Array/Numeration [nəhah, ġalkāya, hūk, mən, lē]
- b- Select the non-lexicalized (P) [h-] ‘for’ and (PRN) [-ūk] ‘you-2ms’
- c- Merge them together and getting (PP) [hūk] ‘for you’
- d- Select the (V) [ġalkāya] ‘to find’ ignoring the embedded feature which inserted within it.
- e- Merge (V) [ġalkāya] ‘to find’ with (PP) [hūk] ‘for you’ forming (V-bar) [ġalkāya hūk] ‘find for you’
- f- Select (Q) [mən] ‘a’ and (N) [lē] ‘cow’
- g- Merge them together and forming (NP) [mən lē] ‘a cow’
- h- Select (V-bar) [ġalkāya hūk] ‘find for you’ and (NP) [mən lē] ‘a cow’
- i- Merge them together forming (V-double-bar) [ġalkāya hūk mən lē] ‘find for you a cow’
- j- Select (PRN) [nəhah] ‘we-1cp.p.’
- k- Merge (PRN) [nəhah] ‘we-1cp-p’ with (V-double-bar) [ġalkāya hūk mən lē] ‘find for you a cow’ forming maximal internal (VP) [nəhah ġalkāya hūk mən lē] ‘we look for you a cow’

In this basic structure, it has observed that the transitivity of the (V) [ġalkāya] ‘find’ c-commands two argument structures, namely (PP) [hūk] ‘for you’ has the theta grid ‘Benevactive’ and (NP) [mən lē] ‘a cow’ which bears the theta grid ‘Theme’. On the

other side this (V) specified and merged with (PRN) [nḥah] ‘we-1cp-p’, being the ‘Agent’ of the action and has the nominative case which fully agrees with (V).

B- Movement Operation:

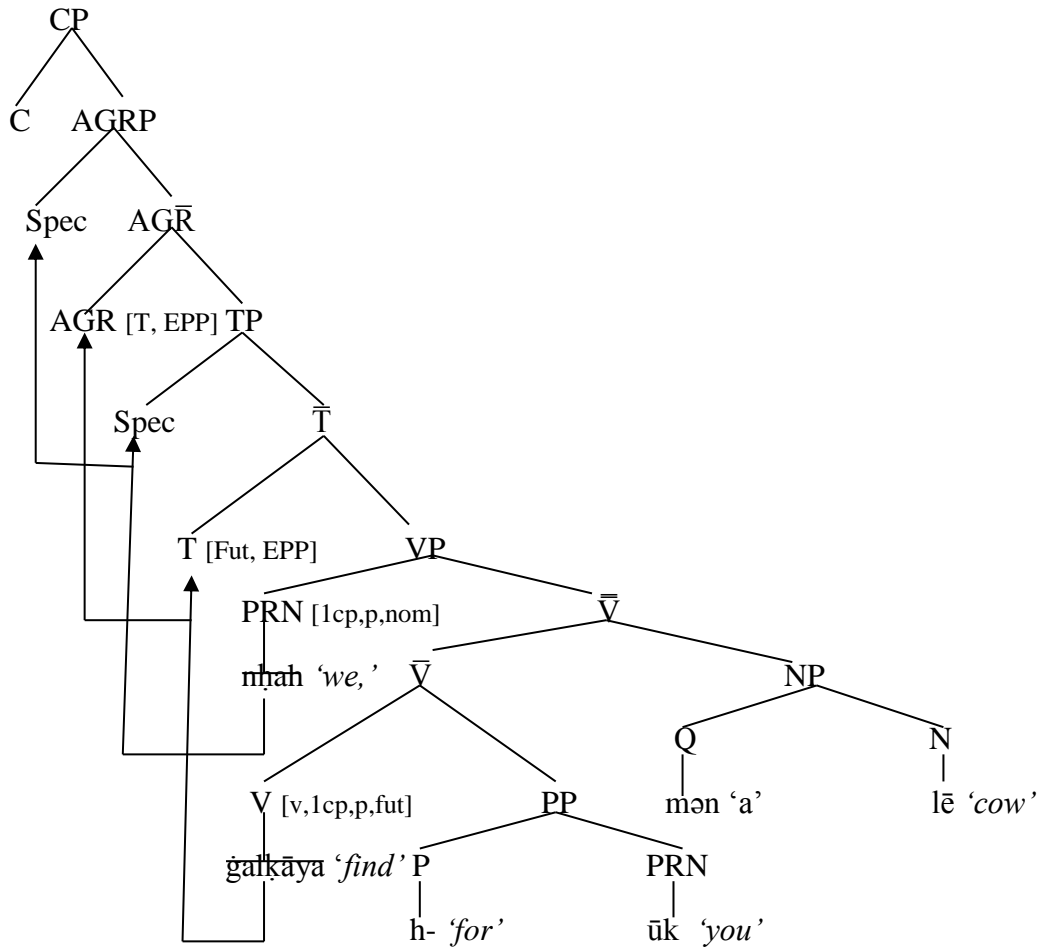


Figure 1.10: The representation of spell out or movement operation

As noticed in merge operation the internal verbal projection [ḡalkāya hūk mən lē] ‘find for you a cow’ is located as the fundamental root of the sentence, where there is still some features which require checking, essentially the agreement features which are overt and visible in [PF] and aspect feature ‘will’ which assumes to be covert and invisible to [PF], namely, these features are embedded within (V) [ḡalk-āya] where the suffix [āya] represents agreement features and abstract will represents aspect feature, being ‘we will find’. In (MP), the visible features are strong which derive overt

movement and the inaudible features are usually weak that derives covert movement, (Chomsky, 1995). Under this umbrella, the internal basic (VP) will be split out into further projection via head movement and A-movement operations, basically to check the null (T) the (V) will be covertly raised to (T) position then subsequently it will be moved overtly to check the agreement features in the (AGR) position, this type of movement is called head movement, moving the constituent from head position to another head position. Since (T) bears Extended Projection Principle [EPP], the A-movement is recognized by moving overtly the external argument the (Spec-VP) to the (Spec-TP) and then to the (Spec-AGRP), forming two types of functional phrases (TP) and (AGRP) where their external subjects often have the nominative case. The (AGRP) also can be merged with null (C) which forces the meaning of declarative sentence (CP), getting the full interpretation sentence with [LF] and [PF] components.

1.7.1 The definitions of main formal syntax concepts

To clear, this section presents alphabetically the definitions of the common jargons or principles in formal syntax. These principles become the main part of this study which gives the direction to analyzing data collections:

Case Theory: it deals with assignment of abstract case which can be morphologically marked such as nominative case, accusative case etc., (Chomsky, 1981: 6)

Copy and Deletion Theory: It is the recent Chomsky's theory which means Trace 't' in Government and Binding theory (GB). This theory actually estimates that there is a full copy of single item or maximal projection to another position in syntactic structure, where the original occurrence of that constituent remains null and inaudible as seen here '*I moved PP to school*' the verbal complement

PP ‘*to school*’ moved to the Spec-C in CP and its original position remains null
‘*to school, I moved PP ~~to school~~*’, Radford (2009a 155-156).

Extended Projection Principle [EPP] and *Edge Feature* [EF]: [EPP] requires a subject for the sentence by extended X-bar projection to merge with external NP/DP, more than this, it is defined as the case marker which specify the nominative case of the subject (Cook & Newson, 1996: 180) and (Adger 2002: 172), whereas the ‘*Edge Feature* [EF] permits raising the verbal complement to the Spec-C in CP without feature matching’ (Chomsky 2005: 19), for example the PP ‘*to school*’ in ‘*to school, I moved PP ~~to school~~*’, which moved to Spec-C could not be considered as the subject which must has the nominative case.

Full Interpretation: the two components Logical Form or abstract meaning [LF] and Phonetic Form or visible sounds [PF] are connected to each other in a language, (Cook & Newson, 1996: 180 in Chomsky 1986: 98)

Interpretable Features and Uninterpretable Features: the features which effect on semantic interpretation, such as gender, person, number and tense features are known as Interpretable Features, whereas features which play significant role on the build of syntax and do not effect on the semantic interpretation such as case assignment are called Uninterpretable Features, (Adger 2002: 19)

Merge operation: An operation by which two constituents are combined together to form a single larger constituent, (Radford, 2009a: 393)

Movement operation: An operation by which (a copy of) a constituent is displaced from one position in a given structure and comes to occupy another position in the structure, (Radford, 2009a: 393)

Numeration: a set of lexical items selected from the lexicon which is starting to build structures, actually it can be used in merge operation, (Cook & Newson, 1996: 322)

Projection Principle: A projection is a constituent containing a head word, for example the N ‘*teachers*’ is the head of the maximal projection NP ‘*teachers of syntax*’. The projection principle subdivided into three projections *Minimal Projection*= single words which cannot be branched such as N ‘*teacher*’, P ‘*of*’ and N ‘*syntax*’. *Intermediate Projection*= more than words less than phrases, it also called X-bar projection as seen in this example ‘*is studying*’, where there is some words need to be merged. Once the intermediate projection merged with a subject it can be called *Maximal Projection* as shown in ‘*he is studying*’, (Radford 2009a: 400-401)

Strong and Weak Features: The Strong Features known as those morphological features which appeared within predicates either T or V, for example in V [galk-āya] ‘*we will look*’ the morphological features [–āya] are clearly visible which represent agreement features like common gender, plural number and first person ‘*we*’. On the other side, the Weak Features known as any morphological features which abstractly embedded within predicates, for instance in our example the aspect feature ‘*will*’ is invisible or null, for this case that feature is so-called weak feature, Chomsky (1995) and Zwart (1998).

Theta-Theory: the theory which concerned with the assignment of thematic roles such as agent, theme etc. (Chomsky, 1981: 5-6)

Theta-Criterion: each argument structure bears only one theta role and each theta role has only one argument structure, (Chomsky, 1981: 36)

Theta grid: part of lexical entry of a predicate which bears thematic structures such as agent, theme, experiencer etc. (Cook & Newson, 1996: 164)

X-bar Theory: Is a pure syntactic theory which always represents by using tree diagram to show the hierarchical relationship between constituents in a target phrase, actually this theory subdivides each phrase into three levels (1) Minimal Projection (2) Bar-level or what so called Intermediate Projection (3) Maximal projection (Adger 2002), as seen in this structure:

Level Three:	XP	Maximal Projection
Level two:	\bar{X}	Intermediate Projection
Level one:	X	Minimal Projection

1.8 Summary of the chapter

In relation to the core topic of the study, the researcher has explained the genetic affiliation of Mahri and the other languages of MSAL group within the Afro-Asiatic and Semitic languages, mentioned the background of the language and its speakers, explored the insights of generative linguistics, tackled the problem statement, the objectives limitations and significance of the study. Finally in this chapter he explicated the theoretical framework of the Minimalist Program [MP] as the analytical tool of the study and defined the common concepts in formal linguistics.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

While the limitations of this study is analyzing a set of morpho-syntactic phenomena (morphology and syntax interface) in a particular endangered ML, this section attempts to synthesize previous literatures from two basic angles; firstly, with a particular references to generative linguistics, the researcher attempts to conceptualize an obvious picture of the target concepts and theories, by demonstrating cross-linguistically the central focus of the study which is the morphological and syntactic features in any natural languages. Secondly, respecting to the challenges of finding many relevant studies in ML the researcher linguistically bridges the relationship in linguistic features between Mahri and the rest language members in Semitic family.

2.1 Overview of morpho-syntactic features

Overall, the sentential propositions build upon lexical items (lexicon) that consist of certain morphological forms due to the mapping or agreement relation which relate purely to morphological properties, as shown in the following English examples:

- 1(a) the teacher manipulates syntax
- (b) the teacher manipulated syntax
- (c) *the teachers manipulate-s syntax.

Noticeably, the suffixed morphemes [-s, -es, -d, -ed] are not used in arbitrary system. They systematically exhibit the agreement and morphological processes between constituents, specifically in samples (1a, 1b) the agreement and tense features [-s] and [-ed] are visible to [PF] 'script' which closely related to the abstract meaning of sentences in humans' mind [LF], a contrary is found in sample (2c) which there is a

mismatch between [LF] and [PF] because the sequence of sounds in that script do not reflect the abstract meaning of the sentence, (Cook & Newson, 1996). These types of agreement and tense features have the crucial work to shape predicates in different ways in order to agree with its external subject. Hence, such kinds of linguistic properties are logically termed as Morpho-Syntactical Features, because they interface two linguistic components, morphology and syntax.

The morpho-syntactic features can be explicated as the basic building blocks of syntax, they are the core elements which determine the shape of words in any syntactic representation, either the phonetic representation or the semantic representation, (Adger, 2002). He defined the morphological features as the ‘interpretable features’ which have great effects on semantic interpretation by interfacing meaning with the syntactic structures, besides, he classified the ‘uninterpretable features’ as the features which can play the significant role of building the theory of syntax, for example the categorial selectional features which must need to be checked, as seen in (VP) ‘*teach syntax*’ the (V) ‘*teach*’ bears interpretable feature being (V) and uninterpretable feature (N) which requires the (N) ‘*syntax*’ to be its complement or the direct object, assigning the accusative case. Throughout the discussion of the morpho-syntactic features in different languages, Adger stated the following important feature (ibid, 2002: 41) which presented in table (2.1) below:

Table 2.1: The most important features in any natural language Adger (2002)

Kind of Feature	Features
Tense	[past]
Number	[singular] [plural]
Person	[1], [2]
gender	[masculine], [feminine]
Case	[nom], [acc], [gen]
Category	[N], [V], [A], [P]

To relate above with this study, the researcher hopefully aims to elicit from the target narrative sentential structures the specific interpretable and uninterpretable features in ML, studying how those features present the full interpretation of semantic and phonetic representation in a language.

Based on Chomsky's strength metaphor in [MP], (Radford, 1997: 226) categorized 'strong and weak features', in this essence, he made a distinction between features in Early Modern English (EME) and Modern Standard English (MSE). He got this fact, the finite (T) in (EME) carried strong agreement features via the relatively rich agreement features which appeared within verbs, as demonstrated in the following Shakespearian English which there is three present-tense inflections, such as the suffix [-st] represents the second person singular and the suffixed [-s] and [-th] represents the third person singular, whereas in the present-day English the only present-tense inflection is found as the third person singular [-s]. Accordingly, Radford believed that the (V) which bears the strong agreement features is strong enough to move to the (T) position within functional tensed projection (TP) and the (V) which has weak agreement features is weak to move to further head projections. Similarly in (2009a: 132), he supported his assumption by providing evidence from the 'Elizabethan English', showing the movement of how the (V) 'know' subsequently moves from the (V) to (T) and from (T) to (C) forming the following interrogative sentence:

2- [CP[C Know] [TP you [T ϕ] [VP not [V know] the cause]]]

According to the principle of Head Movement Constraint [HMC] in [MP] the movement is only possible between the given head and the head of its complement, (2004: 133), he presumed that the strong null (T) in Elizabethan English directly attracted (V) to adjoin it as well as the strong null interrogative feature forced (T) to move to (C) position, forming the interrogative (CP) 'Know you not the cause'

Closely related to the target ML, the studies like Mahfoudhi, (2002), Abdel-Hafiz, (2005), Soltan, (2007), Aoun, Benmamoun and Sportiche, (2010) and Ouhalla, (2011) were all attributed the fact of the default of agreement features in specific circumstances of the standard Arabic language (SA), the dominant language in Mahri society of Yemen and others surrounding Arab countries, they elicited that in SA, there is an agreement asymmetry as pointed in the set examples which adopted by (Abdel-Hafiz, 2005) in (3):

Based on such kind of examples, they asserted that in the (VSO) word order, the (V) partially loses the number agreement feature, namely, the dual and plural features, whereas in (SVO) word order the (V) is in fully agreement with its external subject. In accordance to [MP], the strong features derives an overt movement and the weak features generates a covert movement, they assumed that with respect to the visible features to [PF], the null finite (T) in (SVO) is considered to be strong that derives the visible movement of (V) and (Spec-VP), on the other side, the null (T) in (VSO) is weak which covertly derives the movement of uninterpretable features (Spec-VP) to the [LF] being null subject in (TP) and (AGRP) structures. However, under the shading of the agreement features in SA, the researcher in this study gets knowledge to examine to

what extent the formal features in [PF] of Mahri sentential constructions have the vital role to make variant numbers of syntactic word orders in a language.

The analysis of the typical nature of Arabic imperfective paradigms was conducted by (Benmamoun, 1999), in this case, he argued that in SA, the widest language spoken in Semitic group, the imperfective form has a default in bearing tense feature, basically he found that the imperfective form is widely distributed when it compares to the perfective form in that language. Getting the result that in a contrast to the perfective form which assumed to be strong, the imperfective paradigm in (SA) is in weak condition, partly because of the widely distribution in a language and partly related to poor temporal information which it can bear. In his study, he also explored the nature of negative tensed feature in SA, reaching to a clear syntactic fact of the particle negations which inherently have temporal information which indicate the exact tense, present, past and future. Following his contribution, this study is focused to check the tense features of imperfective and perfective forms as well as the tensed negative feature in ML. To do so, the researcher attempts to use different samples from oral texts and using his knowledge as the speaker of the target language, he tries to distribute these samples and lexical items in various structures, aiming to get the result of tense feature in ML either embedded within predicates or has a separate particles which carry the temporal background of the sentential structures.

Traditionally, it was assumed that the inaudible subject or what so-called (*pro*) is clearly specified via agreement features but the agreement features do not assign the uninterpretable features, Holmberg (2003 and 2005), deriving the evidences of null subject constructions from Finnish language, he came out with these two hypotheses (A) Agreement is interpretable in null subject languages, and (*pro*) constituent is therefore redundant (B) null subjects are identified but being inaudible pronouns that assign values to the uninterpretable features of Agreement. From this point of views,

this study takes into account the null subject constituent in ML, where the researcher attempts to tackle the distribution of (*pro*) constituent within different narrative sentential constructions. He also attempts to scrutinize the interpretable agreement features of null subjects in various syntactic positions and checking to what extent do those missing items can assign the uninterpretable features of Agreement in ML.

2.2 Overview of correlation of Mahri and Semitic family

The term ‘Semitic’ is conventionally known as the adjective that describes a group of languages which spoken in western Asia, Moscati, et al (1969: 3). It is assumed that, these languages are characterized by a common elements and features in their linguistic components, namely, phonology, morphology and syntax. The questions underlying, what is the significance of the genetic relationship among Semitic languages? In a contrary, if Semitic members are affiliated to the same Proto-language, why do some specific languages differ from others in terms of specifying their own properties?

To answer above questions, (Faber, 1997), who used the traditional methods of comparative linguistics in his study about Semitic languages claimed that the similarities between Semitic groups serves as the evidence of genetic correlations among languages, while the differences are typically referred to the mutual convergence and language contacts, which dramatically leads to the variation and language change. This type of linguistic diversity is apparent in ML and other Semitic groups, where the target minority language agrees with a particular language in some linguistic features and differs in others. To get evidences that ML is related to the group of Semitic, the researcher demonstrates the close relationship in some linguistic features between the

target language Mahri and its counterparts in Semitic family that is by considering the following core components in language:

2.2.1 Phonology

Since the focus of the study does not cover the phonological issues, it is worthwhile considering the similarities of sound features within Semitic languages. Generally, the most common feature that relates all languages in Semitic members is described as a consonantal languages feature, (Watson, 2002). Mainly she demonstrated that the usage of vowels is really limited by speakers. In that sense, the only three short vowels [a, i, u] and their long counterparts are used between consonants as a vocalic system to generate different types of words which will be mentioned in second subsection. According to Weninger et al (2011: 54), the traditional classification of the Proto-Semitic [PS] consonantal system is actually composed of ‘29’ phonemes, as appeared in table (2.2) below:

Table 2.2: Traditional reconstruction of (PS) consonantal system

	Obstruent Stops			Resonant Fricatives					
	+voce	emphatic	–voice	+voce	emphatic	–voice	+voce	emphatic	–voice
bilabial	p		b				W		m
dental	t	ṭ	d					r	n
interdental				ṯ	ṯ̣	d			
hissing				s	ṣ	z			
hushing				š	ṣ̣				
lateral				ṣ̣				l	
palatal								y	
velar									
uvular	k	ḳ	g	ḥ		ḡ			
pharyngeal				ḥ				ʕ	
laryngeal		ʔ		h					

Previously, (Simeone-Senelle, 1997) discovered the consonantal system of the overall languages in MSALs, where ML is one of which, she stated that the phonological

system in MSAL group is the closest one among other Semitic members to the canonical reconstructed system of (PS), and hence, she revealed the following features which are represented by ML:

- 1) The Proto-Semitic voiced, voiceless and emphatic triads are all still represented in MSALs.
- 2) ML preserves the trio of proto-Semitic sibilants (*s*, *š*, *ṣ*) rather other Semitic languages. This logically illustrates the evidence that, this language is assumed to reflect the proto-features of Semitic languages.

2.2.2 Morphology

Naturally, the group of Semitic languages is presented the system of consonantal roots (mostly triconsonantal), Moscati, *et al* (1969). Essentially, each word is derived and associated with the basic original members of that root. In essence of this view, (Daya, Roth & Wintner, 2008) tackled the phenomenon of word formation in Semitic languages, Specifically Arabic and Hebrew. They suggested that the words in Semitic are typically known as the convergence of two morphemes; root and different types of patterns. Structurally, root meant the basic three consonants and patterns defined as the attached affixal vowels to the original root. Considering this root in Arabic [k-t-b] ‘to write’ by attaching and inserting various patterns to that root, it will be derived different types of words as in: [kataba] ‘wrote’, [kutiba] ‘written’ [kitabata] ‘writing’, forth. Similarly, (Rubin, 2010) based on the Johnston’s (1987) referential literature in Mahri which considers as the most comprehensive book that discusses the grammatical features and lexicon in ML, explored that the verb stem in Mahri is typically consists of three non-syllabic [CCC] as in [katūb] ‘wrote’, [kītab] ‘be written’, [ktūbat] ‘writing’

etc. Summing up, the derivation process in Semitic has three patterns 1) suffix pattern, 2) prefix pattern, and 3) infix pattern.

2.2.3 Syntax

Due to the closest relationship between the morphological and syntactic issues in any natural language, the central focus of this study precisely comes to outline how the two components are interrelated to each other in ML. This relationship was investigated by (Noyer and David, 2005) who provided the so-called theory of morphology/syntax interface, in this theory they showed how the internal structures of words involve with rules to derive syntactic structures which represented by phrases and sentences. Likewise, the syntax and morphology in Semitic languages are quite complex, partly because of its richness, and partly because of the powerful agreement rules which depends on specific features. For instance, in the observation of Amharic syntax, the second most-spoken language in Ethiopia, it can be found that the formal prefixing and suffixing features often indicate nominal agreement and aspectual tense, (Yimam, 2006). Considering the evidence of imperfect stem [s-b-r] '*break*' in Amharic language which is inflected by changing the fricative hissing consonant /s/ to the fricative interdental consonant /t/ being [t-b-r] '*break*' in ML, Yimam demonstrated that the internal or external incorporation of nominal affixes with predicate where the agreement features person, number and gender are usually positioned in pre or post affix, getting the full interpretation sentence which has close connection between the abstract meaning to [LF] and the visible sounds to [PF], as seen in table (2.3):

Table 2.3: Agreement features in Amharic language, Yimam (2006: 196)

Sg.	1c	ʔī-sābr	‘I break’	Pl.	ʔī-n-sābr	‘we break’
	2m	tī-sābr-	‘you break’		tī-sābr-u	‘you break’
	F	tī-sābr-i	‘you break’		tī-sābr-u	‘you break’
	2m	yī-sābr-i	‘he breaks’		yī-sābr-u	‘they break’
	f	tī-sābr-	‘she break’		yī-sābr-u	‘they break’

In the same process, the imperfect of ML is attached by a set of formal agreement features to the appropriate verbal base, Rubin (2010). For example, the identical verb [t-b-r] ‘break’ has adjoined with semi-agreement features, forming the internal verbal projection where the (V) is the constituent which determine the semantic and grammatical properties of the projection and this (V) specified its (NP) complement and nominal or pronominal subject which can be overtly or covertly presented to the [PF] of the structure, as shown in this table:

Table 2.4: Agreement features in ML

sg.	1c	ə-tōbr	‘I break’	Pl.	nə-tōbr	‘we break’
	2m	tə-tōbr	‘you break’		tə-təbr-əm	‘you break’
	F	tə-tībr	‘you break’		tə-təbr-ən	‘you break’
	3m	yə-tōbr	‘he breaks’		yə-tābr-əm	‘they break’
	f	tə-tōbr-	‘she break’		tə-təbr-ən	‘they break’

Considering the above agreement features, it is possible saying Mahri and Amharic share a special verbal paradigm that consists of triple consonantal system as the root and specific patterns or features which create the Spec-Head relation between external subjects and predicate. Traditionally, it was presumed that the basic word order of Semitic languages is obviously connected to a distinction of two structures and clausal types, nominal and verbal clauses which depends on the presence or absence of a finite predicate, (Simpson, 2009), More specifically, he argued that the varieties word order in different Semitic members is closely related to the interaction of features which

combined the argument structure of that language and affected by functional features which its constituents bearing.

2.3 Summary of the chapter

This chapter in general has presented the overall review of the morpho-syntactic features. It also has explained how the basic components in any natural language interface with each other to form well grammatical sentences. In order to give a reader clear picture of what exactly means the morpho-syntax, the researcher attempted to rationalize this study by illustrating general definitions of morpho-syntactic features, strong and weak features and the phenomenon of null subject. Then according to the fact that there are poor sufficient studies concentrated on analyzing ML, the researcher in the current study described the linguistic views of the target language from the window of its relationship with other group of languages in Semitic family.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.0 Introduction

While the approach of ethno-narrative logically deals with relating two strategies the ethnographic and narrative methods, where both methods conducting to provide hermeneutic of narrative stories, using in a specific society, Hansen (2006), this study focuses on analyzing morpho-syntactically the sentential constructions which adopts from written texts in particular books of Mahri, precisely storytelling and lyric poems. It highlights the inventory features within this language. Basically, the researcher in order to provide answers to the research questions attempts qualitatively to re-construct around 40 syntactic structures as well as some lexical items from written data sources which previously adopted by Samuel Liebhaber,⁸ (2011) and Janet Watson,⁹ (2012).

Probably, after segmenting and codifying the target structures from these texts, the process of analysing data in this study will be establishing the Minimalist Program as the researcher's theoretical framework. More specifically, the analysis of data collections will be accomplished by employing X-bar theory which representing with using phrase structure's rule or what so-called tree diagram.

⁸ The assistant professor of Arabic and Comparative Semitic in Middlebury College, USA who discussed the structure of Mahri poetry in his book 'The Dīwān Of Ḥājj Dākōn a Collection of Mahri Poetry'

⁹ The professor of Arabic linguistics and the associate head of (research & innovation) in the school of languages, Salford University, UK, she interests in Semitic language studies where one the newest of her publications is 'The Structure of Mehri Language' which deals with describing the deferent dialects of the language.

3.1 Research design

To relate language with ideological and cultural phenomena, this study qualitatively projects two interrelated approaches, the narrative approach and the ethnographical approach. According to (Hansen, 2006), the narrative research is known as the collection and the analysis of different organizational texts with the purpose of making inferences about the organizational life. He also defines the ethno-narrative approach as the integration of both concepts the text and the context, where the text is a visual materials such as storytelling which represented by life history stories, folklore, personal life stories etc. whereas, the context is interpreted as the wider object which surrounds texts. Namely, the context reflects the tacit meaning which covers a particular text, for example telling a story about goats, this story definitely has a larger context which abstractly forces the speaker to tell such kind of story. Basically it reflects the socio-cultural life of that speaker. Based on this, we can prescribe the narrative as the organizational script 'text' while the ethnographic approach generates the conceptual meaning about that script. From this perspective, the researcher named this research as the ethno-narrative study which has the crucial aim to investigate the way of using language and the primarily culture of language speakers. In essential meaning, the determination of analyzing any language cannot be dealt away from the reflective culture of that language, but in other words, it should be based on the ethno-pragmatic and socio-cultural contexts.

3.2 Type of data collections

Having discussed the general concepts which specified the theoretical design of this project, it must be known that this study does not have any potential aims to describe the socio-culture phenomena of the target language and its speakers, but rather for the sake of evidence and for describing the morpho-syntactic structures of ML, the researcher selects particular texts (see appendices A & B written texts in Mahri) which comprise the naturalistic data, these texts are represented by obtaining the following types:

3.2.1 Storytelling

Within narrative research, the story considered as the most powerful vehicle to explore the constructions of literary texts, (Koch, 1998). However, as the linguistic researcher, it is likely to observe that the typical story involves specific events, particular characters as well as embedded context which force the storyteller to convey this story. The storytelling can register the personal experience, the past events and reflects the social-cultural of the speakers in a particular domain. Consequently, this study captured ‘5’ different stories which adopted by (Watson, 2012), these stories were categorized via their content into these two types:

1) Folklore: the traditional stories which are genetically addressed by regular generations, as seen in [Bā Nuwās and the bean in Appendix B]. This dramatic story is well-known by all Mahri speakers which still uses every time and in every place in Mahra district. The name of the character ‘*Bā Nuwās*’ is actually taken from the historical names of the old Yemeni leader called ‘*Dhu Nuwās*’. This story shows the thematic significance of how the greedy people have a strong desire for wealth.

Linguistically, this story is full of syntactic and morphological issues which require more explanations.

2) Ethnography: the stories that concern to present in detail the intent of the everyday life and social practice, for example [goat story, the camel beauty competitions, sea story, father story and pilgrimage story] are all types of stories which the social life stories and the history life information were presented. Basically the stories like goat story and the camel beauty competitions have the direct meaning of reflecting the pastoral occupations of Mahri people, whereas the sea story, the father story and pilgrimage story show the life practice of preferring traveling and some ideological phenomena.

3.2.2 Lyric poems

From *'the Dīwān of Ḥājj Dākōn'*¹⁰ a Collection of Mahri Poetry' which edited by (Liebhaber, 2011), the researcher adopts '10' Mahri poems, where he randomly selects the typical structures which reflect the objectives of the study. All *Ḥājj Dākōn's* poems are romantic or emotional ones which identified as the self-personal experiences that demonstrate his attitude toward the beauty of the surrounding life, each one of these poems has a deep context which demands poet to translate his feelings to concrete situations. The types of vocabulary used in *Ḥājj's* poems are naturalistic data, these data may be considered as the historical lexical items in ML, for example in (Appendix B poem 7', the poetic stanza 'hēt wkōh brēk ezēhī...' 'why are you in a dust cloud') composes a word like (ezēhī) 'dust cloud', this word actually is rarely used in the

¹⁰ Ḥājj bir ṣlī bīr Dākōn is the native poet speaker (b.1968 kīšn, al-Mahra) who has the capability to produce either Mahri or Arabic language poetry, Liebhaber (2011).The word 'bir' in Mahri means 'the son of' for example the researcher's name is interpreted as 'Sṣayd bir Saṣd'.

modern Mahri language, especially with young speakers who substituted it by many equivalent words from Arabic such as ‘ghbar’ or ‘ġjjaj’, like which Mahri language seems to be at risk of extinction.

3.3 Procedure of analysing data

Throughout data collection and without reorganizing the presented corpus, it is not logically possible to recognise the central focus of the study (*morpho-syntactic features of Mahri*). Thereby, the researcher establishes the following techniques which will make the process of text easier to be analysed.

3.3.1 Coding and segmentation

In line with (UG) which says languages are same in basic principles and different in their parameters, it is important to present written texts by obtaining two criteria; first, Coding and Transcribing the sounds of data and structures by using these phonemes [k, ʃ, z, ʒ, s, h, etc.]. In the second criterion the researcher attempts to segment the target structures into three levels, level one shows the transliteration of sentential constrictions in Mahri, level two represents the literal translation of the constituents and the third level gives the gloss or the full interpretation in English, the following example describes the representation of how the sentential structures in Mahri is formulated:

- | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1-Transliteration: | ħā-ībīt | rhīmat |
| 2-Literal Translation: | f.s-the-camel | fs-beautiful |
| 3-Gloss: | ‘beautiful camel’ | |

3.3.2 Elicitation

After the texts have been coding and segmenting, the researcher proceeds to elicit and translate the ideas and themes from written texts. Essentially, to avoid any possible lingering confusion of first language, the researcher as the native speaker of ML is capable to elicit the primary sources and translate them according to tense aspects. This means that the researcher knows the distribution of the language that will help him to determine the target features and inflectional morphology as well. Once data were clearly formulated, the sentential structures will be analysed according to Minimalist Program, Chomsky (1995) that is by adopting the X-bar theory as the analytical tool to provide the structural description of the constructions. For doing so, the researcher must follow the following procedures in analysing the morpho-syntactic features of a language:

- 1) Identify the various types of interpretable features in a language
- 2) Justify and provide evidence of language distribution to support the stratification of features in a language and the relationship between constituents in phrasal structures.
- 3) Establish how the types of word structure order in a language were affected by formal features.

3.4 Sample of data collections

To make this matter clear, the following two samples show how the structure-dependency is addressed in Mahri literatures by addressing the relationship between constituents and their exact position within sentences. At this point, the purpose of

establishing this approach is inevitably gives the researcher assistance to provide linguistic analysis for the overall oral texts.

Sample one: Lyric Poem adopted by Samuel Liebhaber (2011)

Title: Ḥōm l-ektēb ḥaṭ (I want to write line/message)

1- Ḥōm l-ektēb ḥḥaṭ we-l- 'ōnī rseūl

[1m,s. want] [to-write Inf.] [Indef- line acc.] [and -to-hire Inf.] [Indef-messenger acc]

Gloss: 'I want to write a line ## # and hire a messenger'

2- Ke-lyē-d yeḡḥīm w-šīthem dhūl

[With-those-who] [3m.p. travel Imperf.] [and-3m.p. have Imperf.] [permission acc.]

Gloss: 'with those who travel ### and have entry visa/permission'

3- w-hōh dfōn heh meṣrūf-eh w-nawl

[and-1m.s. I] [1ms.pay.fut.][3m.s.him.acc][expenses-his and-cost]

Gloss: 'I will pay him ### for all his costs and the cost of shipping'

4- w-zōyed hnī hēl zebeṭ kbūl

[and- any more from me] whatever [3m.s. take. Imperf.] [is acceptable]

Gloss: 'and any more from me ### since whatever he takes is acceptable'

5- 'ér hōh meṣṣəḡeyb l-ādēd de-ḥlūl

[PCL 1ms.I] [1ms, worry Imperf.] [in Prep.-every gen.- time]

Gloss: 'I have been worried ### in every time'

6- w-aḡarbes lé šnēt we-dhūl

[and- 3f.s.know. Imperf.] Neg. PCL [sleep and- moment of peace]

[3f.s. give birth Perf.] [3f.s.Ind-goat nom.] [and-3f.s. has Perf.]

škol ḥōṭar w-arīḏ /

[fp. twins. acc] [Ind-m.s. male acc.] [and m.s. Ind-female kid Mas. acc]

/wa-ttawyan šēr wa-ḡalaf /

[and-3f.p. eat Imperf.] [hey and.-pellets acc.]/

wa-sēn bark ḥawš / wa-kalaynī

[and-3f.p. they nom.] (are) in [def-yerd dat.] / and-in the evening

taškūfan bark a-šā ygaṣ / ḥāmay

[3f.p. sleep Imperf.] in [def- shed dat.]/ [3f.s. mother-my nom.]

tkōfal lisan bark a-šā ygaṣ

[3f.s. lock Imperf] them-acc. in [def- shed dat.]/

Gloss: 'My mother was suckling the small goat kids. Today a goat gave birth and had twins, a male and a female kid. They eat hay and pellets. They are in the yard and in the evening they sleep in the shed. My mother locks them in the shed.'

3- tatawyan šēr k-ašōbah wa-k-a-ḡasrawn/

[3f.p. Eat Imperf] [hay acc] [in Prep.-the- morning] [and-the evening]

mākanī ṣalaf tatawyan ār k-a-šōbah ṭawr /

but PCL [pellets nom.] [3fp. eat Imperf.] PCL [in Prep.-the-morning] once/

ḥāmay ṭhōlab ṭawr k-ašōbah

[3f.s. mother-my nom.] [3f.s. milk Imperf.] once [in Prep.-the morning]

wa-ṭawr bi-ḥallay/

and-once [at-night]/.

Gloss: 'They eat hay in the morning and evening, but pellets they just eat once in the morning. My mother milks once in the morning and once at night..'

4. šīn wḵōn-bark āšrayn u-xaymah / aw-šalāṭayn /

[cp. Have Imperf.] around PCL [twenty-and-five] [or- thirty]

Gloss: 'We have around twenty-five, or thirty, or around thirty..'

5. hām sēh šarrayt yaxah

If [3f.s.she] (is) [fs. *şarrayt* (give few milk) –acc] [means]

tnōka *ba-şxōf* *ār-mat* *hlab-š*

[3f.s. give-Imperf] Func PCL-milk -acc] when PCL. [2f.s. milk -Imperf]

tēs *tnōka* *ba-şxōf* *şaynat al-şaynat /*

her-acc. [3f.s. give-Imperf] [Func PCL-milk-acc] [drop-by-drop]/

tnōka *mākan* *hām sēh* *rafxayt*

[3f.s.give -Imperf] a lot of PCL if she (is) [f.s. *rafxayt* (give much milk) –acc]

bi-şxōf *mēkin* *ṭawr ṭād/*

[Func PCL-milk -acc] [a lot of PCL] in one go./

Gloss: 'If she is *şarrayt* that means she gives milk, when you milk her, she gives milk only drop by drop. But if she is *rafxayt* she gives a lot of milk in one go.'

6. *wa-hām* *bīs* *krūn* *lā*

Func PCL-if [3f.s.has -Imperf] [m.p. horn -acc] [Neg PCL]

tkūn *karḥayt /* *bīs*

[3f.s. call Imperf] [fs. *karḥayt* (without horns)-acc]/ (if) [f.s. has-Imperf]

krawn *tk ūn* *baʔlīt* *krū n /*

[m.p. horn-acc] say [f.s. call -Imperf.] [f.s.gen-with PLC] [m.p. horns horn-gen.]

bās -min ḥārawn *bīsan* *krūn* *lā*

some [f.p. goat -nom] [f.p. have - Imperf] [m.p. horn -acc] Neg.PCL

tkūn *karwaḥtan /* *wa-bāš* *bīsan*

[3f.s. say -Imperf] [f.p. without horns -acc]/ some [f.p.have-Imperf]

krawn *tkūn* *bātī* *krūn /*

[m.p. horn -acc] [3f.s. say -Imperf] [f.p. gen-with PCL] [m.p. horn-gen]

Gloss: 'If she hasn't any horns, she is [called] *karḥayt*. [If] she has horns, she is [said to be] with horns [*baʔlīt krūn*]. Some goats don't have horns and are [described as] *karwaḥtan*. Some have horns and are said to have horns [*bātī krūn*].'

7. *wa-titiḳkan* *ḥmuh* *ḥā-rawn /*

[3f.p. Drink – Imperf] [water acc] [f.p. dif-goat-nom]

wa-ḥāmay *tagšōn* *minsēn /*

[3f.s. mother-my -nom] [3f.s. like - Imperf] [f.p.them acc-]

Mākan-moh hōh la aḡsōn minsēn lā

But PCL [1f.s. I] Neg.PCL [1f.s. like -Imperf] [f.p.them Pl-acc] Neg PCL

wabḡōž ḥawkāṭ-san

[f.s. Hate-Imperf] [look-their- acc]

Gloss: '*Goats drink water. My mother likes them., but I do not like them and hate their look*'

3.4 Summary of the chapter

This chapter presents the knowledge about the research design, systematically, this chapter has formulated in three points; Firstly, the researcher provides the information about the theoretical design of the study providing the definitions of narrative approach and ethnographical approach and explicating the reasons of naming this study as the ethno-narrative. Secondly, describing the type of data conducting in this study. Finally, the most important point that has been mentioned in this chapter is presenting techniques and procedures to which possible the data should be analyzed. Next chapter will present the complete analysis of data and attempts to provide answers to the proposed research questions.

CHAPTER 4: RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

Commonly, the major grammatical operations in all languages are simply built upon basic blocks which linguistically deemed as the universal categories, this chapter presents the analysis of configuration and typological structures of data collection in ML. This chapter is actually restricted to analyze single lexical items which randomly selected from narrative texts and around ‘40’ sentential structures which presented in (Appendix A, the table of data collections). All these data will be discussed from particular references of the three research questions, systematically, section (4.1) the research question ‘*one*’ provides the descriptive linguistic analysis for the grammatical categories, namely, nominal category, adjectival category, verbal category and prepositional category in a language. The potential purpose of this section also aims at explicating the embedded interpretable features in speakers’ mental state (gender feature, person feature, number feature and tense feature) which can be inherited among nouns, verbs and adjectives. In section (4.2) the research question ‘*two*’ tackles the interaction among constituents. It explores the syntactic relations between predicate or head word and its participants in sentential constructions. Last but not least, the impact of formal features on the typological structures in ML is obviously shown in section (4.3) the research question ‘*three*’, this section outlines the alternative syntactic structures of language, examining the effect of formal features on the variety of word orders in a language.

4.1 Research question one

As reviewed earlier, the common feature that recognizes Semitic languages is the fact of sharing the consonantal root in their word formation, previously, the grammarians' view in Arabic suggested that the construction of Semitic lexicon typically composes of (*hurūf ʔuṣūl*) the radical consonantal sounds as the root form and in addition there is (*hurūf az- zawāʔid*), the sounds which is inserted and added to the consonantal root of the word, they are always vocalic sounds or the combination of vowel with other consonants. Further in Semitic, there is also another category which so-called (*hurūf al-badal*), the sounds which can be substituted for one of the consonantal root or for one of the vocalic sounds, as seen in this word from Arabic (*qāla*) 'he said', where the [ā] substituted the radical sound [w], (Lancioni & Bettini, 2011). Following this line, the researcher in this part attempts to provide answer to the proposed research question 'one' which says '*What are the Morphological features of Mahri discourse?*'

Based on written texts, it is found that the substantive categories in ML is considered as one of the most focal point in the study of the configuration of the language, however, the way of discovering the inventory features of the target language is obviously depended on analyzing morphological, syntactic and some semantic properties of the Lexical Items (LIs). Thus, to answer this question, it is noteworthy to analyze the derivational or the inflectional properties of (LIs) and its distributions within sentential structures.

4.1.1 Nominal category

Nouns in ML are defined as the large membership which includes proper nouns (human, places, things) and common nouns (concrete nouns and abstract nouns). Mostly, Mahri nouns inherit interpretable features which have an effect on the semantic interpretation of the category such as gender and number features. From this perspective, it is useful to demonstrate the distinctive features among typical nouns that are by revealing the affixation within (LIs). Considering table (4.1), the sample of common nouns in Mahri which randomly selected from written texts, the nominal categories are discussed according to the existence of morphological features which can be embedded within words and create meaning changes.

Table 4.1: Sample of Mahri common nouns

LI NO	Mehri Nouns	Distinctive Features	Gloss	Source
1	ǵaǵnōt	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘girl’</i>	Bā Nuwās and the bean
2	hām	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘mother’</i>	Goat story
3	hayb	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘father’</i>	Father story
4	maḥḥəlīk	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘human’</i>	Lyric poem
5	rōram	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘sea’</i>	Sea story
6	nhəlīt	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘date palm’</i>	Lyric poem
7	harōm	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘tree’</i>	Father story
8	dəǵrīt	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘bean’</i>	Bā Nuwās and the bean
9	səlmed	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘blanket’</i>	Pilgrimage story
10	šxōf	[-animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘milk’</i>	Goat story
11	ǵārēḍ	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘goat male kid’</i>	Goat story
12	lē	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘cow’</i>	Bā Nuwās and the bean
13	rīkēb	[+animate], [-abstract]	<i>‘riding animal’</i>	Father story
14	šawḵ	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘desire’</i>	Lyric poem
15	mhawges	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘thoughts’</i>	Lyric poem
16	ffəwod	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘soul’</i>	Lyric poem
17	ḵdēr	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘stature’</i>	Lyric poem
18	hess	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘feelings’</i>	Lyric poem
19	mēd	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘mental’</i>	Lyric poem
20	ǵāǵēb	[-animate], [+abstract]	<i>‘love’</i>	Lyric poem

Table (4.1) composes the primarily sample of distinctive features in Mahri nouns, they have classified according to whether being animate and abstract. Respecting to these two features, the icon [-/+] is actually referred to the presence or the absence of the

feature in an individual (LI). Each one of above words can be also classified to further features including agreement feature or what so called interpretable features which substitute the semantic interpretation of a category.

In table (4.1), the (LI1) and (LI 2) talk about the human beings. In the context of Mahri dialects, the plural feature of (LI 1) [f.s. ǧaǧnōt] '*girl*' is formed as [f.p. ǧaǧnawtan or ǧaǧ-ōtan], similarly (LI 2) [f.s. ḥām] '*mother*' indicates a particular group of human which carries the grammatical feature gender female, of which the antonym is (LI 3) [m.s. ḥayb] '*father*' that carries the grammatical feature gender male, the plural form of (LI 2) [f.s. ḥām] '*mother*' is always suffixed [f.p. ḥām-ōtan], whereas the majority of masculine nouns in Mahri can be pluralized via vocalic sounds change, the proper example of this phenomenon is in (LI 3) [m.s. ḥayb], where the vocalic diphthong sound [ay] changes to [ō] in [m.p. ḥōb], this type of grammatical feature is linguistically called internal or sometimes broken plural which is known as the universal principle in all Semitic languages. In a contrast to this, the (LI 4) [maḥḥəlīk] '*human*' is the referential expression which represents generic term covering the characteristics of humanness in all human beings; this word pluralizes by changing [ī] to [ū] producing new expression with slightly difference in meaning [cp.p maḥḥəlōk], the identical word to this is the word which known as [cp.s. mnādēm or bnādēm] '*human*', this word is limited to indicate human beings, excluding the members of animal kingdom. Unlike the aforementioned word, the term [mnādēm] inherits only singular number and both masculine and feminine gender. The (LIs) group (5 to 10) is all terms which refer to inanimate and concrete concepts. They are constructed by nature. Specifically, (LI 5) [f.s. rōram] '*sea*' is a free morpheme which can be pluralized by adding the bound morpheme [-at] to indicate collective entities, [f.p. rōrm-at]. The same story is repeated with (LI 6) [f.s. nḥəlīt] '*date palm*' the referential object that represents a specific kind of tree, the following derivational form [f.p. nīḥāl-tan] or

sometimes [nĕħəl] bearing the plural number and maintaining its gender feature. In the oppose meaning, (LI 7) [m.s. harōm] ‘tree’ with plural [m.p. harmīt] differs in gender feature from its equivalent word [f.s. šğrēt] ‘tree’ which pluralizes as [f.p. šğər]. Likewise, (LI 8) [f.s. dəğrīt] ‘bean’ bears the number and gender features being singular and feminine, but in the case of deriving plural, the gender feature is substituted to be masculine, [m.p. dəğər]. (LIs 9-to-10) are inanimate objects, where the (LI 9) [m.s. səlmēd] ‘blanket’ is the term that refers to the instrumental object which can be used in persons’ daily life, this term includes two interpretable features, gender feature and number feature, those features still preserving in the new derivational form [m.s. səlmōd or səlmēd-at]. Since (LI 10) [m.s. šħōf] ‘milk’ refers the set of mass nouns in a language, it can be assumed that the majority of mass nouns in Mahri are considered as the terms which precisely have singular number and masculine gender, as seen in sentence (1) of (Appendix A, table of data collections):

1- *q̄ōmäh*¹¹ *šħōf* *māt̤k*
 [m.s. this] [m.s. milk] (is) ‘tasty’
 ‘This milk is tasty’

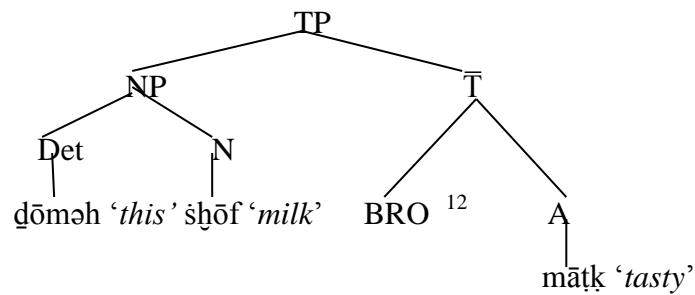


Figure 4.1: Agreement features in mass noun [šħōf] ‘milk’

¹¹ Like Arabic the demonstratives in Mahri is categorized into two classes, near and far. The near demonstratives are known as [ms. *q̄ōmäh*, fs. *q̄īmäh*, ‘this’ and [cp. *ʔlyōmah* ‘these’], whereas the far demonstratives are defined as [ms. *q̄ākāmäh*, fs. *q̄īkāmäh* ‘that’ and cp. *ʔālākāmäh* ‘those’], (Rubin A. 2010; 42)

¹² The icon BRO in Minimalist Program indicates the Null constituent which composes grammatical and semantic properties but lacks in phonetic features, (Radford, 2009a)

(LIs 11, 12 and 13) are nominal categories which represent the sample of living beings, particularly specific nouns which related to animal kingdom, the (LI 11) [m.s. *fārēd*] ‘*two week male goat*’ is the term that has a distinctive features masculine gender and singular number which can distinguish it from its antonym [f.s. *ḥōṭər*] ‘*two weeks female goat kid*’, naturally, the word [*ḥōṭər*] is feminine but grammatically it functions as masculine, in actual sense, the speakers of ML usually say the structure as in sentence (2):

Considering (NP) [ʔrbōt ḥīṭār] ‘*four small goats*’ the head noun [ḥīṭār] ‘*two week goats*’ completely agrees with its numeral modifier [ʔrbōt] ‘*four*’ in masculine gender and plural number feature. Similarly, the word [m.s. drhīs] and [m.p. drhōs] ‘*two month goat*’ are genetically feminine but they considered as being masculine. The (LI 12) [f.s. lē] ‘*cow*’ is precisely defined as the r-expression of a particular member of animal kingdom, this term has singular number and feminine gender, aside from this, the plural derivational form of [lē] is termed by using this form [m.p. lēhaytan] which has plural number and masculine gender, for example saying *[šəhlīt lēhaytan] ‘*three cows*’ is

semantically wrong, because it is better to make a valence between the numeral modifier and the following head noun, for this case, the correct construction should be as in sentence (3) below:

3- šəʕtūt¹³ lēhaytan
 [m.p. three] [m.p. cow]
 ‘three cows’

(LI 13) [cp.s. rīkēb] ‘riding animal’ covers all riding animals; which supposed to be [bêr] ‘male camel’, [bīt] ‘female camel’, [hāyr] ‘male donkey’, [hērīt] ‘female donkey’ or [fərhayn] ‘male or female hours’, mainly, it can be pointed that the term [rīkēb] has singular number and both masculine/feminine gender. The plural form is derived from the base form by substituting the vocalic sound [ē] to [ō] [cp.p rīkōb] maintaining all types of gender feature. (LIs 14 to 20) are all abstract nouns which represent feelings, ideas, attitudes, qualities or thoughts. The abstract nouns in Mahri are the terms which can be derived from the verbal nouns. The majorities of abstract nouns inherently have singular number and masculine gender feature. In the case of (LI15) [mhawges] ‘thoughts’ and (LI18) [hess] ‘feelings’ they have grammatical plural feature and masculine gender.

Since it is known that Arabic exhibits non-lexicalized concepts by adopting affixes to make a distinction between singular, plural and dual number features in sentential structures (Abdel-Hafiz, 2005) among others, the process of forming dual feature in ML is the mixture of using lexicalized and grammaticalized concepts, where the dual marker [–ī] is suffixed to nouns and then followed by the numeral constituent 2.

¹³ Usually the numeral system in ML uses a particular numbers from 1 to 10 which inherently have **gender feature** and **number feature**, in case of using them in sentential structures, there must be fully agreement between the head noun and its precedent quantifier number. Historically, the old generations speakers in Mahra prefer to repeat the same numbers to express 11, 22, 33 etc. but there also should be some kind of valence among the combination of numbers as seen in this ššrīt-wə-ṭāṭ ‘m. Eleven’ šūsər-wə-ṭīt ‘f. Eleven’ and so forth.

In table (4.1), all (LIs) excluding abstract nouns which inherently have singular number, specifying the dual number by regulating the following forms (4) and (5):

5- rōram-ī t̥rayt
[f.dua. sea-dua. Marker] [f.dua. two]
'two seas'

Table 4.2: Independent Mahri pronouns

To sum up this part, it is worthy to demonstrate that the (LIs) in table (4.1) are distinguishing in a particular types of features, namely, [-/+animate], [-/+abstract], [+/-male] and [-/+singular and dual]. Regarding to the broad use of nominal categories in ML, it seems to me that there are unlimited rules which can make clear distinctions among (LIs) in terms of possessing their properties which can be represented by exhibiting specific features. Morphologically, except of dual number the rest of agreement features in nouns can be infixed or suffixed to the typical nouns. Namely, they considered to be grammaticalized concepts, which appear to the [PF] ‘words’ and

connected to the [LF] ‘meaning’ of a language in persons’ cognitive system, as seen in [rīkēb] ‘*riding animal*’ and [rīkōb] ‘*riding animals*’, where the vocalic sounds [ē] and [ō] have great function to relate sign with its meaning.

4.1.2 Adjectival Category

Like adjectives in Arabic Language, the Mahri adjective is just as a lexical category which convey the descriptive content or the functions of (LIs) by either attributive or predictive models, in the attributive model the adjectives usually modify nominal categories by signifying their noun features [+N], consider this sample of sentence (6) in (Appendix A):

6- š-ay ġūr/gūr šōḥ
 [1m.s. have] [m.s. slave] [m.s. big]
 ‘*I have big slave*’

Sentence (6) shows that the post-position adjective [šōḥ] ‘*big*’ which functions as the modifier has the crucial role to assign and modify nominal concrete noun [ġūr/gūr] ‘*slave*’. This adjective inherently has singular number and masculine gender features, as well as embedded the accusative case being the complement of the head verb in tense projection (TP). The second type of adjectival category is known as the predictive model, in this case the adjective comes to assign the [+V] categorical feature in verb-less sentences as it shown in sample sentences below (7) and (8):

7- ḥō-ğūr rḥīṣ
 [m.s. dif-slave] (is) [m.s. cheap]
 ‘*The slave is cheap*’

8- hēt zəḥket-k lūl
 [2f.s. you] [f.s. smile-suf.] (is) [f.s. pearl]

'Your smile is a pearl'

Sentence (7) typically represents the functional projection, namely (TP). Like Arabic, Mahri sometimes lacks in possessing the verbal copulas or the phonetic feature of copula constituents which is semantically and grammatically presented in the sentential structure, in this case, the adjective [rḥīṣ] *'cheap'* functions as the predicative or the complement of that null (missing) copula, having the same properties of the external subject [ḥō-ḡūr] *'the slave'* which represented by singular number and masculine gender feature. Considering the following structure on sentence (8), it can be assumed that nominal categories may function as the adjectives to modify the antecedent category.

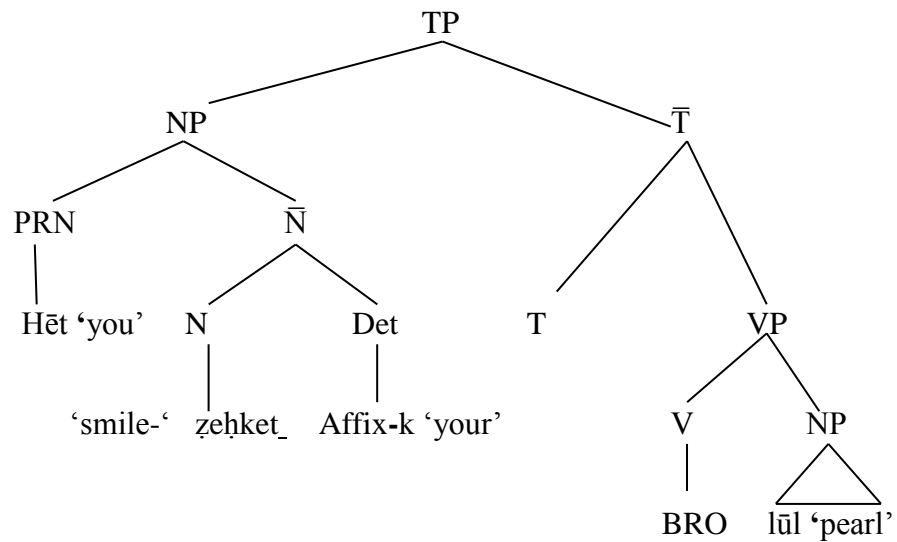


Figure 4.2: Agreement features in predictive category [lūl] *'pearl'*

Regarding to the way of thinking which has been used by the poet in Mahri written text, the (NP) [lūl] *'pearl'* functions as a typical adjective which may mean [rḥīmat] *'beautiful'* to describe the beautiful smile of his beloved. From this essence, we can observe that the interpretable features in the predictive constituent is really as the reflexive mirror of those in the head noun [zəḥket] *'smile'* in (NP), the nominal projection which stayed as the specifier of the head missing verbal copula in the

maximal projection (TP). Looking at this sample in sentence (9) the predictive constituent is represented by adjectival category [ṭwayl] ‘tall’ that modifies the first member of genitive phrase [nḥarīr] ‘nose’.

9- a-nḥarīr ḍə-ḥəy-bīt ṭwayl
[m.s. def-nose] [Prep-dif-camel] (is) [m.s. tall]
‘The tall nose of the camel’

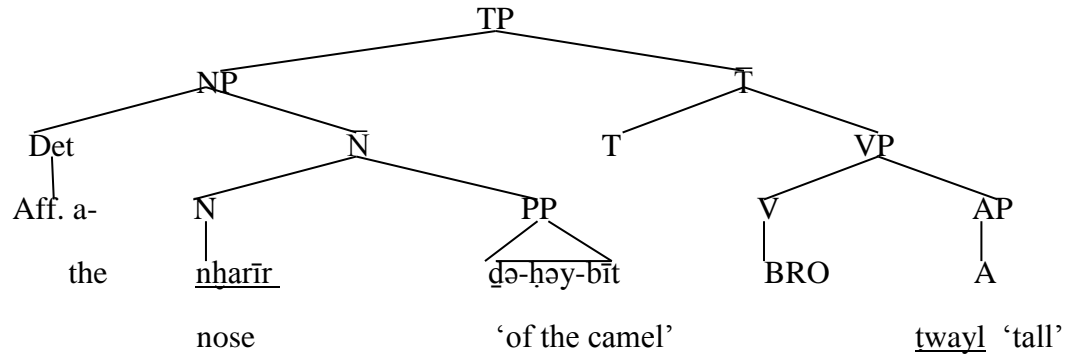


Figure 4.3: Agreement features of predictive [ṭwayl] ‘tall’

The singular masculine adjective [ṭwayl] ‘tall’ in above functional phrase (TP) [a-nḥarīr ḍə-ḥəy-bīt ṭwayl] ‘the tall nose of the camel’ agrees with the first member of the genitive phrase [nḥarīr ḍə-ḥəy-bīt] ‘nose of the camel’, similarly, this predictive adjective reflects singular number and feminine gender features in the precedent noun.

To close this part, table (4.3) presents the samples of Mahri adjectives which collected from written texts with their derivational process and features classifications.

Table 4.3: Sample of Mahri adjectives

LI NO	Singular			Plural			Gloss
	Mas.	Fem.	template	Mas	Fem	Template	
1	rḥīm	rḥīm-ət	CCīC-ət	rīḥōm	rīḥām-tan	CīCāC-tən	Beautiful
2	kōməḥ	kāmḥ-ət	CāCC-ət	kāmḥ-īn	kāmḥōt	CāCC-ōt	Ugly
3	rḥīṣ	rḥīṣ-ət	CCīC-ət	rīḥōṣ	rīḥāṣ-tən	CīCāC-tən	Cheap
4	ṭəfēl	ṭəfl-īt	CəCC-īt	ṭfwəl	ṭfl-ōtən	CCC-ōtən	Lame
5	ḡīd/gīd	Ḡīd-ət	CīC-ət	ḡīyəd	-	CīyəC	Good
6	məšrh	məšrət	maCCəC	məšērh	-	məCēCC	Generous
7	ḥōwar	ḥawr-ōt	CaCC-ōt	ḥāwr	-	CāCC	Black
8	fārʕ	-	CāCC	fwərʕ	-	CwəCC	Smart

The analysis of the adjectival category in ML taking into account the morphological and syntactic properties, then it discovered that the adjectives in Mahri inherently have singular and plural number features as well as masculine and feminine gender features. Apart from nominal category, the dual number feature is banned in Mahri adjectives. Generally, the most common adjectives in ML have distinct features. They display morphological operations by substituting or deleting/adding some vocalic sounds within radical consonants to determine features as seen in (LI 2) [m.s. ʔōməḥ] ‘ugly’ the vocalic sound [ō] has been changed to [ā] and then suffixing with [–ət] producing new word which is semantically different [f.s. ʔāmḥ-ət]. In some exceptional cases, adjectives have distinct features in number but similar features in gender, as it shown in (LIs 5, 6 and 7) when they have common gender feature in the plural. In a contrary, the (LI 8) [m/f.s/p. fārʕ] ‘smart’ specifies a common number and gender features. Considering (LI 7) [ḥōwar] ‘black’, the adjectival category in ML is not limited with attributive and predictive types, rather, it can be classified also to Diminutive and Elative adjectives (Watson, 2012: 107-108), the diminutive adjectives which known in Arabic as [ʔafāt at-taṣḡīr]¹⁴ are used to convey the slight degree of the basic meaning of the adjective, for example to say [ḥawārīr] or [məḥwīrīr] ‘black’ means to describe a particular object by minimizing the root meaning of ‘blackness’ as seen [a-ḡayg ḥawārīr] ‘the not fully black man’. Specifically, the diminutive adjectives in Mahri inherently have distinct features in singular but common features in plural, the following constructions show the distinction features of the base form [ḥōwar]: [m.s. ḥawārīr/ məḥwīrīr], [f.s. ḥwarrōt/ məḥwarrōt], [cp.p. ḥwarrawtan/ məḥwarrawtan] ‘black’. Furthermore, the Elative adjectives in Mahri is recognized by adding the pre-affixation pattern [a-] to the three consonantal root adjectives with some changing in the

¹⁴ ʔafāt at-taṣḡīr صفات التصغير

vocalic sounds such as [rḥīm] ‘nice’ [arḥām] ‘nicer’ and [rḥīṣ] ‘cheap’ [arḥāṣ] ‘cheaper’ in the following (9) and (10) sentences :

10-əḥmēd arḥām mən əʕlī

əḥmēd (is) [m.s. nicer] than Ali

‘Ahmed is nicer than Ali’

11-ḥəy-bīt dīməh də-arḥāṣ mīn həbēʔr kal

m.s. dif-camel this (is) [m.s. cheapest] than camels all

‘this camel is the cheapest’

In relation to the focus of the question, the Elative adjectives in above sentences do not have any distinction in features, this means the comparative adjective [arḥām] ‘nicer’ can generalized for both paradigms singular and plural, finally, in sentence (10) the superlative adjective is prefixed by this pattern [də-] and then followed with comparative adjective to become [də-arḥāṣ] ‘the cheapest’

4.1.3 Verbal category

Like other Semitic members, the verbal paradigms in ML are generally rooted from the three basic consonantal systems which are classified to trilateral (three consonantal root), quadrilateral (four consonantal roots) and sometimes rarely used quinqueliteral (five consonantal roots), Rubin (2010). Phonologically, it can be found variant numbers of the derived verbal stems which specified by insertion vowels or adding suffix or prefix patterns. Closely respect to the manner of affixation (Watson, 2012) made clear distinction among verbs. She categorized the verbal system in ML into two major groups the true verbs as she said are the verbs which inflect for the following interpretable features person, number, gender, mood voice and aspects, and the future participle which inflect only number and gender features. Considering the verbal stem [k-t-b] ‘to write’ in this Mahri poetic stanza [ḥōm l-ktēb ḥātt] ‘I want to

write a letter' (Appendix B) as shown in tables (4.4) and (4.5) below, I attempt to explore the nature and the role of two verbal paradigms in ML, namely, perfective and imperfective verbs. With closer look to the types of features which can be inherited in verbal categories these two tables explicate the affixations markers of typical features in two paradigms.

Table 4.4: Sample of Mahri perfective form

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix	Sentential form
1	S	m/f	-k	katab-k	I wrote <i>1m/fs</i> .
2	=	m	-k	katab-k	You wrote <i>2ms</i> .
2	=	f	-š	katab-š	You wrote <i>2fs</i> .
3	=	m	-ū-	Katūb	He wrote <i>3ms</i> .
3	=	f	-ūt	katab-ūt	She wrote <i>3fs</i> .
1	Dual	m/f	-kī	katab-kī	We wrote <i>1m/f du</i> .
2	=	m	-ki	katab-kī	You wrote <i>2mdu</i> .
2	=	f	-ki	katab-ki	You wrote <i>2fdu</i> .
3	=	m	-oh	katab-oh	They wrote <i>3mdu</i> .
3	=	f	-ōtē	katab-ōtē	They wrote <i>3fdu</i> .
1	Plural	m/f	-an	katūb-an	We wrote <i>1m/fp</i> .
2	=	m	-kam	katab-kam	You wrote <i>2mp</i> .
2	=	f	-kan	katab-kan	You wrote <i>2fp</i> .
3	=	m	-am	katūb-am	They wrote <i>3mp</i> .
3	=	f	-ū-	Katūb	They wrote <i>3fp</i> .

Table 4.5: Sample of Mahri Imperfective form

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix	Sentential form
1	Singular	cp	a-	a-kūtab	I write <i>m/fs</i>
2	=	m	t-	t-kūtab	You write <i>ms</i> .
2	=	f	t-	t-kītab	You write <i>fs</i> .
3	=	m	ya-	ya-kūtab	We write <i>ms</i> .
3	=	f	t-	t-kūtab	We write <i>fs</i> .
1	Dual	cp	na-	na-kūtab	We write <i>m/fdu</i> .
2	=	m	ta----- oh	ta-katab-ōh	You write <i>mdu</i> .
2	=	f	ta----- oh	ta-katab-ōh	You write <i>fdu</i> .
3	=	m	ya-----oh	ya-katab-ōh	We write <i>mdu</i> .
3	=	f	ya-----oh	ya-katab-ōh	We write <i>fdu</i> .
1	Plural	cp	na-	na-kūtab	I write <i>m/fp</i> .
2	=	m	ta-----am	ta-katab-am	You write <i>mp</i> .
2	=	f	ta-	ta-katab-an	You write <i>fp</i> .
3	=	m	ya-----am	ya-katūb-am	They write <i>mp</i> .
3	=	f	ta-----an	ta-katūb-an	They write <i>fp</i> .

Having considered the constructions of verbal paradigms in above tables, it is possible to determine that the perfective form in ML is obviously suffixal, using certain patterns to recognize person and number features, except the form of (3m.s.) and (3f.p.) which grammatically embedded features without any markers to the [PF]. While the imperfective form in table (4.5) has the prefixal patterns which usually mark person features and the suffixal forms which specify number features, for sure, the dual feature in imperfective paradigms is recognized by attaching the suffix pattern [-ōh] (abbreviated from the number ‘2’ [trōh] in Mahri) to the (2/3m/f) person feature, whereas the suffix (-am) used to mark (2/3m.p) gender feature and [-an] used to specify (2/3f.p) gender feature.

4.1.3.1 The syntactic distribution of verbal paradigms in ML

Sharply contrast to the perfective form, the imperfective paradigm is widely distributed in sentential structures. Considering the trilateral verb [š-š-m] ‘to sell’ which adopted from ethnographic father story, the indicative paradigm is used in the context of present tense matrix sentence (12a), while both indicative and subjunctive forms are used with modals in (12b-to-g) and with auxiliary verbs in (12h and 12i):

(12) a- ya-ššum

3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He sells/ he is selling’

b- kīs-ah ya-ššum

fut PCL-3m.s. 3m.s. sell–ind/subj.

‘He will sell’

c- mēd-ah ya-ššum

3m.s. fut PCL 3m.s. sell –ind/ subj.

‘He will sell’

d- mḥaṭṭar-menḥ ya-ššum

3m.s. mod PCL 3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He may sell’

e- hōgs-beḥ ya-ššum

3m.s. mod PCL 3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He may sell’

f- dāṣmlk-teḥ ya-ššum

3m.s. mod PCL 3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He may sell’

g- ḥōm l-ššum

1m.s. want to 3m.s. sell –subj.

‘I want to sell’

h- d-īššum

be-3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He is selling’

i- bār wīḳ? d-īššum

past PLC be-3m.s. sell –ind.

‘He was selling’

As seen in above distributions of the imperfective form, we can illustrate that with regards to particular particles used in ML, the imperfective form is specifically split out into further features mood and aspect features. However, avoiding these conceptual particles and closely related to the focal topic of the research question (1.3.1) explicating the typical morphological features of the language, it is important now to proceed along concrete path investigating how the (VP) in ML is split out into further aspect features, (Radford, 2009a in Chomsky 1995: 355), the following syntactic structure of sentence (12b) shows the empirical work of subdividing (VP) to mood feature:

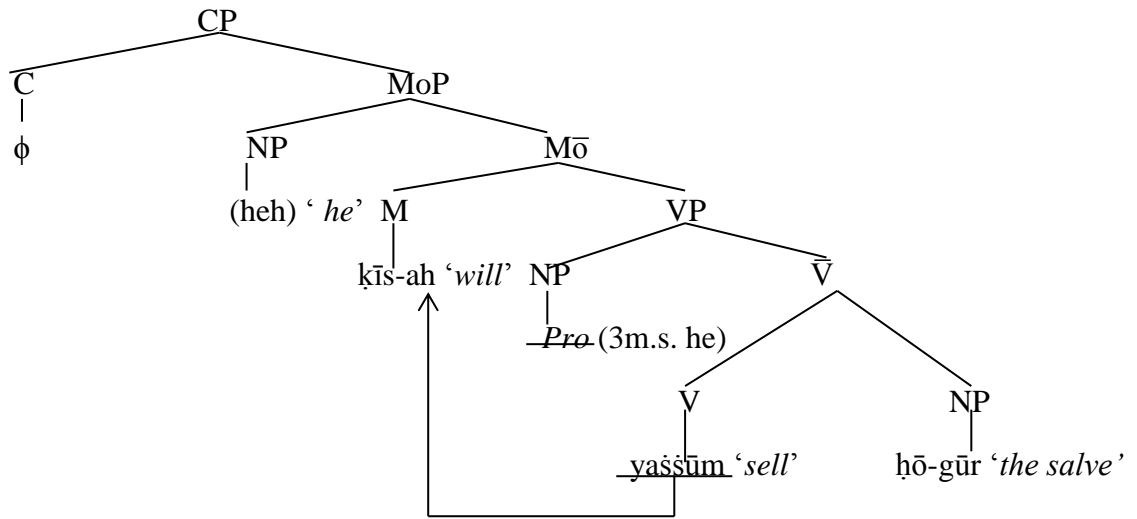


Figure 4.4: Split out of (VP) to modal feature [kīs] 'will'

In above sentence the accusative object (NP) [ḥō-gūr] 'the slave' directly merges with transitive (V) [yaššūm] '3m.s. sell.ind' forming intermediate projection (V-bar) [yaššūm ḥō-gūr] 'sells the slave'. This in turn merges with external null subject or small (*pro*) (which its grammatical features have embedded within predicate) forming internal (VP) [*pro* yaššūm ḥō-gūr] '(he) sells the slave'. Since the main sentence composes the modal [kīs-ah] 'will' which phonetically appeared in [PF], the head (V) will raise to adjoin it forming intermediate projection (Mo-bar) [kīs-ah *pro* yaššūm ḥō-gūr] 'will sell the slave', regarding to the fact that the intermediate projection is somehow incomplete and according to [EPP] feature in finite (T) which says each phrase must have a subject, the features of small (*pro*) subject is covertly moved to be the subject of (MoP) forming [*pro* kīs-ah *pro* yaššūm ḥō-gūr] '*pro* will sell the slave'. Finally the maximal projection (MoP) merges with null compemeter (C) forming the declarative sentence (CP). According to this evidence, it is clear now that with regards to the embedded grammatical aspect features, the verbal phrase (VP) in ML could spell out to form various types of functional phrases, which will be discussing next sections.

Moving to the syntactic distributions of the perfective form, it is found that the perfective paradigms in ML is in strong feature, that means the perfective form is

usually limited with the expression of the complete actions that occurred in a particular past time, which logically opposed to the imperfective paradigms where the tense feature within verbs is in weak condition because they heavily depend on different particles which represent the temporal features. Subsequently, the only two samples in sentence (13a, 13b) show the less distribution of the perfective form in ML:

13- a-ḥaybī ṭmūl ṭayantha

3m.s.father-aff nom. 3m.s. perf. close p.eye-aff acc.

'My father closed his eyes'

b- ḥaybī bār ṭmūl ṭayantha

3ms.father-aff nom. PCL 3ms. perf. close p.eye-aff acc.

'My father had/has closed his eyes'

Both sentences in (12) convey this message, the action has already done in a past tense context either by using the optional particle [bār] *'had/has'* or not. Namely, this particle is more conceptual than functional because it does not compose any temporal features as those in imperfective forms. This fact is attributed when we consider the passive voice sentences in Mahri. We can find that the same particle is used to express the passive feature as seen in this sentence:

14- ṭayant-ha bār ṭaymīl

Eyes-his were closed-pas

'His eyes were closed'

In this sentence we assumed that the particle [bār] *'voice'* is extremely depended on its complement (V) which is passive voice, thus if we canceled the [bār] particle from the construction, the sentence will be somehow meaningless. This leads to the fact that the particle [bār] in perfective form is weak, whereas in Passive form is strong, where removing it makes mismatch in the sentence.

4.1.3.2 The syntactic distribution of tensed negative

It is clear that the negative feature in Arabic is strong because it contains aspect features. It actually headed negation phrase which located between (TP) and (VP) and the most potential information are composed within negative particles rather than typical verbs, for example [lan] (indicates future), [ma] (indicates past) [laa] (indicates present) etc. as shown in this structure which adopted by Benmamoun (1999):

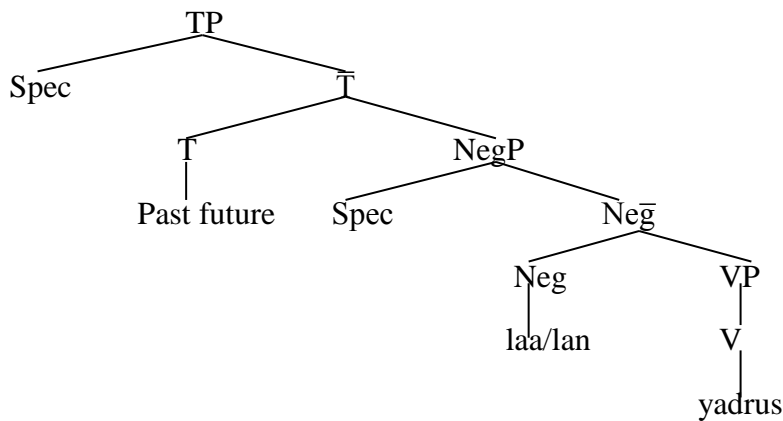


Figure 4.5: Syntactic structure of Arabic negation feature

Aside from this view, the negative feature in ML is deemed to be in weak condition; essentially it does not comprise any potential information. All the temporal features are embedded with verbs, which morphologically are inserted within the typical negative particle [allā] ‘not’ producing this discontinuous morpheme [al---la] as in sentences (14a to e):

15 a- al nūkaḥ lā

neg. 3m.s. come perf. neg.

‘(he) did not come’

b- al-ḥūm l-ṣūkaḥ lā

neg. 1m.s. want to-sleep subj. neg.

‘I do not want to sleep’

c- al-ḵīs lghūm lā

neg-fut PCL 1ms.travel subj. neg.

‘I will not travel’

d- abdan al- aḵbōl lā

neg. 1m/f.s. accept ind. neg.

‘I will not accept’

e- al-hēh ḵṣayr lā

neg. he short neg.

‘he is not short’

Throughout the above syntactic distribution of tensed negative in ML, it is possible to observe that the discontinuous morpheme of Mahri negation [al---lā] is assumed to be weak, because it does not mark any tense features as seen in Arabic, the most temporal information is grammatically embedded with a particular type of predicates, for example, regarding to the insertion of perfect form in (15a) [al nūkaʕ lā] *‘he did not come’* the tense feature should be in past, while in (15c) [al-kīs lghūm lā] *‘I will not travel’* the future particle [kīs] specifies the mood feature of the sentence. With regards to (15e) the verb-less sentence [al-hēh ḵṣayr lā] *‘he is not short’*, arguably, even the verbal category is null; the typical tense feature can be understood from the nature of the context, as demonstrated in these [al-hēh ḵṣayr lā anṣrōmh] *‘he is not short now’* the adverbial category [anṣrōmh] *‘now’* obviously guides us to understand that the feature should be in present tense, beside this, the attachment of the particle [bār wīḵʔ] as in [al-hēh bār wīḵʔ ḵṣayr lā] *‘he was not short’* is considered as the evidence of the tense feature is in past tense. Summing up, the tense marker is dependable particle in Mahri sentential constructions. It does not contain any grammatical features which guide to a particular tense.

4.1.4 Prepositional category

Prepositions are a lexical category which generally identifies location in time and place of an entity (Jubilado, 2010). In short, the prepositions generally possess temporal, directional and location information. Comparing to the aforementioned lexical categories, the prepositions in ML do not inherit any agreement features except the non-lexicalized preposition [k-] which occurred before nominal, whereas its corosponding [š-] prefixed the promominal. All prepositions can enter to the syntax either by lexicalized being full word which preceeds nouns or non-lexicalized terms as the prefixes. They always come before their complement; however, the more general view to be drawn from this is considering table (4.6) the typical classification of Mahri sample prepositions which taken from different place of narrative texts:

Table 4.6: Classifications of Mahri prepositions

LI NO	Lexicalized prepositions	Gloss
1	bād	after
2	bak /bark/brēk	in, inside, among
3	ḍār/ḍēr	by /on
4	bhāwēl /fanawhān	in front of before
5	nəḥāl(ī)	under
6	mənsēr/sēr	behind
7	tē	until up to
8	təwōlī	to, toward to
9	mən	from
10	mən- sēr	after
LI NO	Non-Lexicalized prepositions	Gloss
11	b-	In, at, with, for, on
12	l-	for, to
13	h-	for, to
14	k-/š-	with

The overall meanings of Mahri prepositions are distinguished regarding to the nature of context in a sentence, and for example let us consider the interpretations of (LI 9) [mən] ‘from’ in Mahri the following two poetic stanzas in ML which represente by sentence (16, 17) of (Appendix A):

16-ḥōm l-ḥkā bṣār-ī mən ezeyne-h w-zeḥket-h

1m.s.want-imperf. to- quench-inf eye-Aff Prep.from beauty-Aff and-smile-Aff

'I want to quench my eyes from her beauty and smile'

17-Ġābēm ġōlī leġtīr mən eḳemmet-h

3m.p.let-imperf. darling-Aff speak-subj. Prep.from mind-Aff

'(You) let my darling speak from her mind'

In (16) the transitive verb [ḥōm] 'want' assigning three theta roles, namely [NP] null subject as a <Recipient> , (TP) l-ḥkā bṣār-ī 'to quench my eyes' as a <Theme> and (PP) [mən ezeyne-h w-zeḥket-h] 'from her beauty and smile' as a <Source>. Specifically, (P) [mən] 'from' headed the prepositional phrase [PP] as the third argument structure which involved with (V) [ḥōm] 'want' , this will be clear by considering figure (4.6) below:

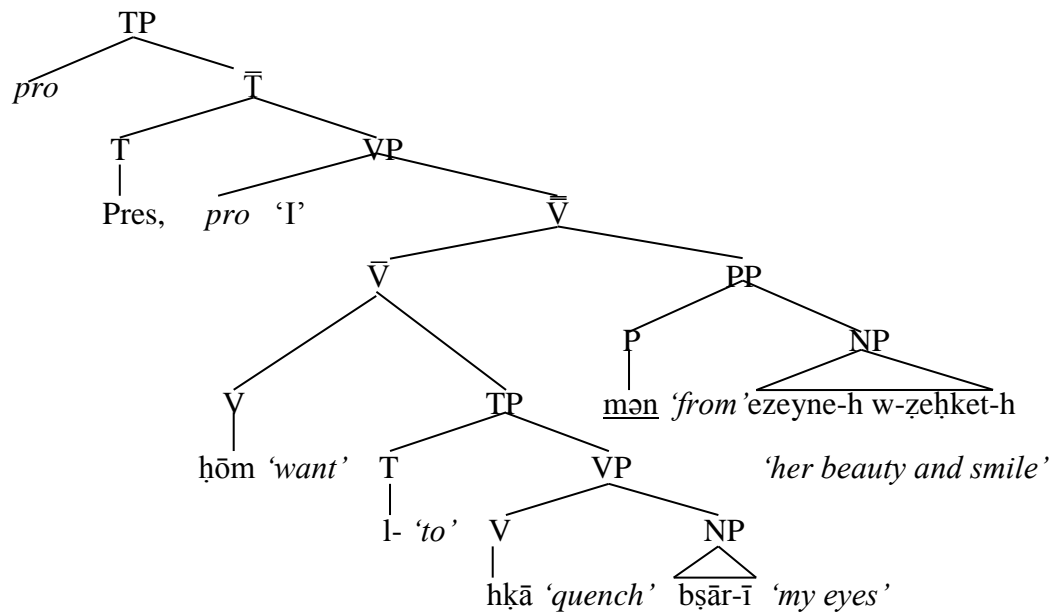


Figure 4.6: Syntactic structure of P [mən] 'from' as a source argument

Considering the (P) [mən] 'from' in sentence (17), this preposition functions as the locative modifier adjunct which considered as the head of (PP) [mən eḳemmet-h] 'from her mind', this (PP) called adjunct because it does not 'receive theta roles', (Adger 2002: 89). In essential meaning the (PP) containing (P) [mən] 'from' has not any

role to involve with transitive verb [gābēm] ‘let’ which assigns null subject as <Recipient> who receive the command and the internal finite clause (TP) as the <Theme>, for clear the syntactic process is adopting by using Figure (4.7):

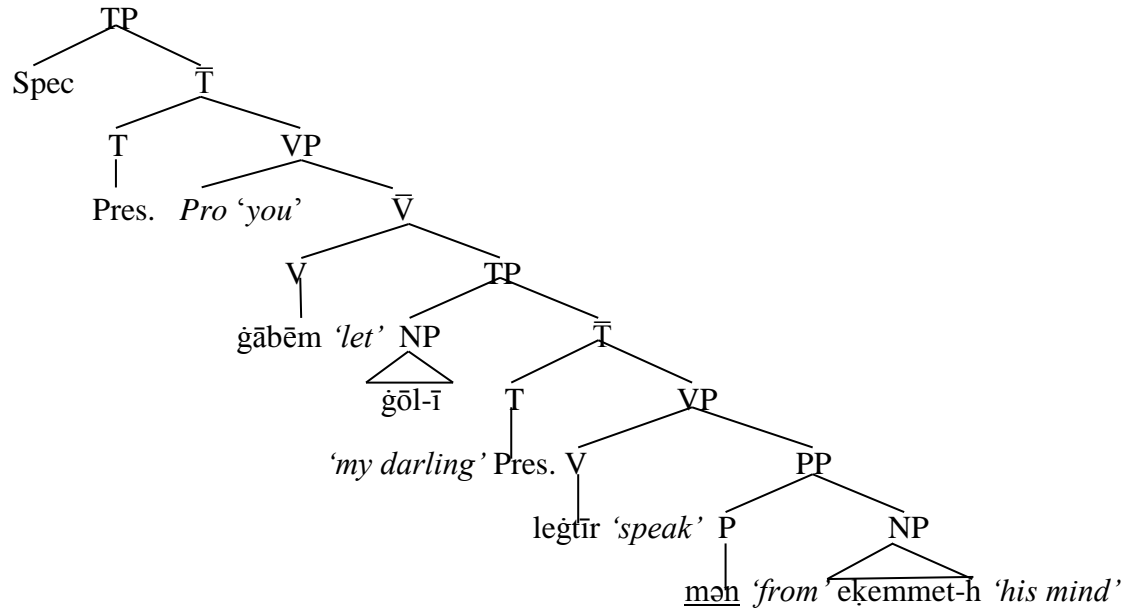


Figure 4.7: Syntactic structure of P [mən] ‘from’ as an adjunct

In this part, it has been discussed the typical morphological features which inherited within lexical categories, thus, the results represent as the following:

- 1- Nouns: exhibit (masculine and feminine) *gender*, (singular, plural and dual) *number* and (first, second and third) *person* features.
- 2- Adjectives: exhibit only (masculine and feminine) *gender* and (singular and plural) *number* features.
- 3- Verbs: compose all types of agreement features like nouns as well as having various numbers of *aspect* features.
- 4- Prepositions: mostly remain free from any agreement features.

Based on these features, the second part of this chapter shows how those features involve together within lexical and functional constituents to create phrasal structures.

4.2 Research question two

Since it has been discussed the remarkable morphological features in ML, agreement and aspect features, this part attempts to tackle syntactically the issue of c-selectional features (categorial selectional features), namely the phrasal structures. This issue has the crucial point to determine via Projection Principle (a constituent composing a head word which has the vital work to shape its grammatical and semantic properties) whether the specific lexical item that composing particular features is able to select another participant and forming larger phrasal structures. Apart from the fewer descriptive studies of this language, Semeone (1997), Rubin (2010) and Watson (2012) who elucidated ML, the researcher in this section theoretically by using X-bar principle attempts to provide a concrete discussion for the second research question ‘*What is the syntactic relationship among phrasal structures?*’

Basically, this part tries to discuss how the interactions among constituents and the c-selectional features displaying in ML, that is by taking into account the Head Hypothesis (the head category is identified as the key word to the determination of semantic and grammatical properties of a constituent) and Binary Hypothesis each nonterminal node in a syntactic structure is binary branched, Radford (2009a). Considering the preceding facts, the X-bar format is used to describe the representation of phrasal structure in any natural language where Mahri is among of which.

4.2.1 The Mahri noun phrase

Like any language, the constituent that bears nominal feature is determined as the head of (NP). It specified the grammatical and semantic properties of that maximal projection. In terms of X-bar format, the nominal head in ML is considered as the compulsory constituent whereas the specifier and the complement of that projection are deemed to be optional, observing the sample of (NP) constructions in figuration (4.8) of sentence (18) in (Appendix A), it is found that the (NP) in Mahri can be either single word or having specifier which may be pre or post-position and complement which consist of referential expressions to the head (N).

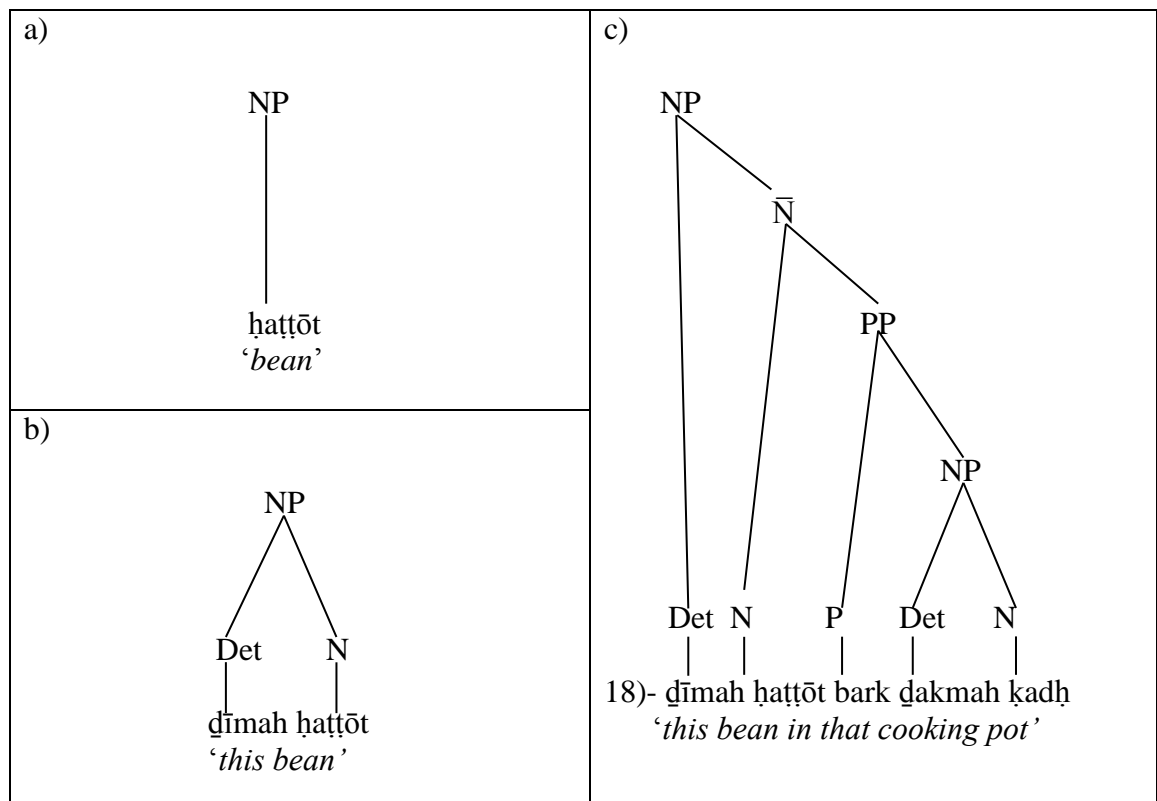


Figure 4.8: the formation of Mahri (NP)

Starting from basic, the tree diagram (4.8a) shows that the maximal projection (NP) is basically dominated only one concrete lexical item (N) [ḥaṭṭōt] 'bean' which itself inherits interpretable features, feminine gender and singular number, and uninterpretable features, namely to be in nominative case, accusative case, dative case

or genitive case according its position in a sentence. The sample (4.8b) illustrates that the combination between (D) [f.s. *ḍīmah*] ‘*this*’ and the head (N) [f.s. *ḥaṭṭōt*] ‘*bean*’, normally, to create a balance between modifier and head (N), both (LIs) must agree in morphological features, in this sample we found that both words are feminine gender and singular number. The syntactic relation between these two constituents is being sisters, where (N) [*ḥaṭṭōt*] is the head and determiner [*ḍīmah*] is the specifier which can be a complement also by following (N) as in [*ḥaṭṭōt ḍīmah*]. Moving to the third sample in (4.8c), the maximal projection (NP) is composed the following X-bar format:

$$XP \longrightarrow YP \text{ and } \bar{\bar{X}}$$

$$\bar{\bar{X}} \longrightarrow X \text{ and } ZP$$

In this format, (XP) represented (NP), (YP) is the specifier, (X) is the head (N) and (ZP) is the complement. Accordingly, the syntactic relation among these constituents is classified in this way; the head (N) [*ḥaṭṭōt*] merged with its sister complement (PP) [*bark ḍakmah ḳadh*] ‘*inside that pot*’ (which itself is the result of merging head (P) [*bark*] ‘*inside*’ and masculine gender and singular number (NP) [*ḍakmah ḳadh*] ‘*that pot*’) forming the intermediate projection (N-bar) [*ḥaṭṭōt bark ḍakmah ḳadh*] ‘*bean inside that pot*’, which subsequently merged with determiner (D) [*ḍīmah*] ‘*this*’ forming higher/maximal projection (NP) [*ḍīmah ḥaṭṭōt bark ḍakmah ḳadh*] ‘*this bean in that cooking pot*’. All samples in (4.5a-c) contain simple word or larger than single word to form nominal phrase. Like any Semitic languages (NP) in Mahri can be the subject, object, oblique or predicate of the verb-less sentences. Other examples of (NPs) can be simply found in the following parts.

4.2.2 The Mahri verbal phrase

The head of (VP) is normally verbal (LI), the three format can be composed within (VP) are the specifier, the verbal head and the complement. While the verbal head is obligatory the specifier and the complement are optional, this means context meaning of the verbal head in (VP) requires it to select any types of complements; (NP/DP/AP/CP) or non-finite tensed phrase (TP), and the specifier might be overt or covert nominal and pronominal phrase as seen in these set of examples ‘19-27’ which taken from narrative texts and presented in (Appendix A):

19- darhīs-ī mōt
3m.s. two month goat-aff. nom. 3m.s. die perf.

'My two month goat died'

mōt ‘to die’: V: [NP] Theta grid: <Theme>

20- ḥām-ay thaḡawm ḥīṭār
[3f.s. mother-aff nom] [3f.s. suckle-perf] [m.p. two weak goat-acc]
‘My mother was suckling two weak goats’
thaḡawm ‘to suckle’ : V: [NP1, NP2], Theta grids: <Agent, Theme>

21- dīmah ībīt rḥīmət
[f.s. this f.s.indef-camel-nom] be [f.s.bautiful-acc.]
'this camel is beautiful'

Verb-less sentence no theta role is assigned

22- hābū yəḥğəwǧ-am dār hībēr
[3m.p. people-nom] [3mp.used going pilgrimage imperf] Prep. [f.p. camel-dat]
‘People make pilgrimage by riding camels’
yəḥğəwǧ-am ‘to make pilgrimage’ :V: [NP, PP], Theta grids: <Agent, Instrument>

23- syūran bark hā-rawn
[1cp. go perf] Prep [f.p.def-goats-dat]
‘We went among the goats’

Syūran 'to go': V: [NP, PP], Theta grids: <Agent, Locative Goal>

- 24- ḥām-ay təğzōn mən ḥā-rawn
 [3f.s.mother-aff-nom] [3f.s.like-Imperf] PCL [f.p.dif-goats acc.]
'My mother likes the goat'
 təğzōn 'to enjoy/like': V: [NP1, NP2], Theta grids: <Experiencer, Theme>
- 25- azāmm-əh darhīs
 [2cp. give Imperf-3ms.-aff him acc] [m.s. indef-two month goat-acc.]
'Give him a two month goat'
 azāmm 'to give': V: [NP1, NP2, NP3], Theta grids: <Agent, Benefactive, Theme>
- 26- ʕəmōr hōh š-ay dīmah ḥəttōt
 [3m.s. say perf.] [1ms.I] [1ms.have] [f.s. this fs.bean-acc]
'(He) said that I have this bean'
 ʕəmōr 'to say': V: [NP, CP], Theta grids: <Agent, Theme>
- 27- ḥōm l-ktēb ḥātt
 [1m.s. want-imperf.] [to-write subj] [indef-letter-acc.]
'I want to write a letter'
 ḥōm 'to want': V: [NP, TP], Theta grids: <Agent, Theme>

In accordance to the universal principle in generative grammar Theta-Criterion/Θ-criterion which says each argument composes one and only one theta role, and each theta role is assigned one and only one argument, Chomsky (1981:36), all above verbal phrases will be analyzed by considering the context nature of predicate and how many participants which involved and merged with it. To start with (19) [darhīs-ī mōt] *'My two month goat died'*, the verb [mōt] *'to die'* is a intransitive which has only one argument structure (NP) [darhīs-ī] *'my two month goat'* having the theta grid <Theme> which resembles the agent role, bearing the nominative case assignment, figure (4.9) explicates that under the dominance of (VP), the verb [mōt] *'to die'* agrees and projects the external subject (NP) [darhīs-ī] *'my two month goat'* in singular number and masculine gender:

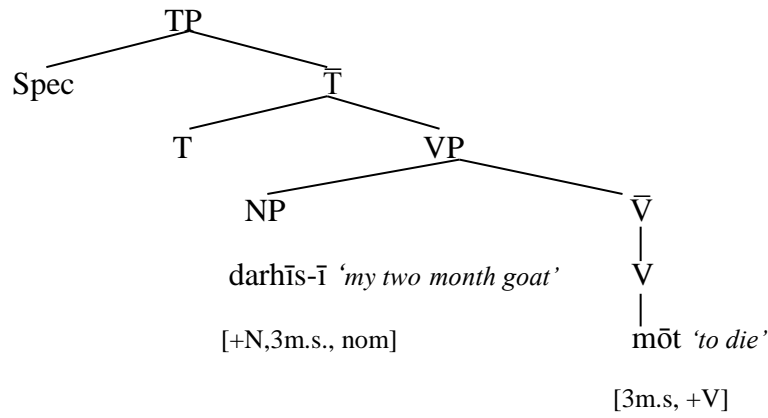


Figure 4.9: darhīs-ī mōt 'My two month goat died'

In (20) [ḥām-ay thaḡawm ḥīṭār] 'My mother was suckling two week goats' the transitive verb [t-haḡawm] 'to suckle' c-commands and merged with (NP) [ḥīṭār] 'two week goats' as its internal object which bears the theta role <Theme>, and then it specified and merged with external argument [ḥām-ay] 'my mother' which functions as the <Agent> of the suckling action, considering the similar singular number and feminine gender features, it seems to be like that the external subject and the target predicate are in full agreement as noticed in figure (4.10):

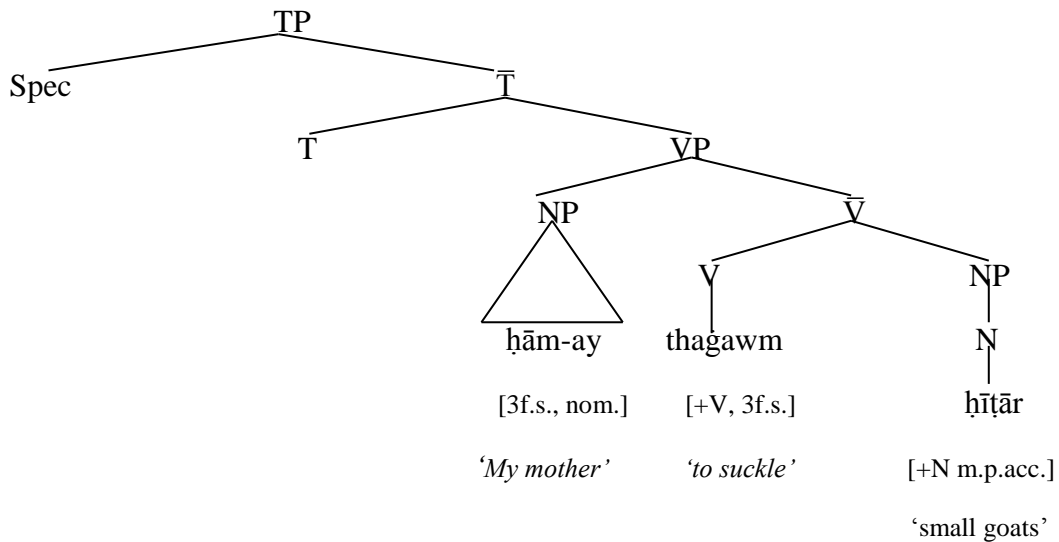


Figure 4.10: (VP) [ḥām-ay thaḡawm ḥīṭār] 'My mother was suckling two week goats'

In (21), the verb-less sentence [ḏīmah ībīt rḥīmət] 'this camel is beautiful' the (A) [rḥīmət] 'beautiful' functions as the predictive adjective which merged with non null

verbal cupola and forming T-bar [ϕ rḥīmət] ‘*is beautiful*’. The intermediate projection (T-bar) is expended to merge with (NP) [ḏīmah ībīt] ‘*this camel*’ (which itself is the result of merging (D) [ḏīmah] ‘*this*’ with [N] [ībīt] ‘*camel*’ having the identical features singular number and feminine gender) forming verb-less sentence [ḏīmah ībīt rḥīmət] ‘*this camel is beautiful*’. In this sentence, the (A) [rḥīmət] ‘*beautiful*’ bears referential features of the external subject [ḏīmah ībīt] ‘*this camel*’ being feminine and singular features, see this figure below:

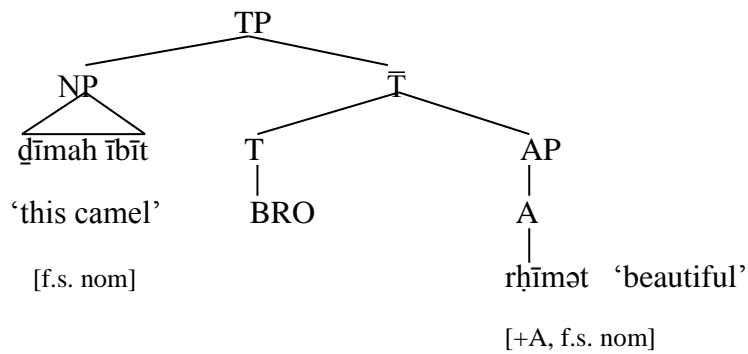


Figure 4.11: [ḏīmah ībīt rḥīmət] ‘*this camel is beautiful*’

In the case of (22) [hābū yəḥḡəwḡam ḏār hībēr] ‘*People (go to pilgrimage) by riding camels*’, the specific Mahri transitive verb [yə-ḥḡəwḡ-am] ‘*go to pilgrimage*’ performs the way of how people used to do in going to ‘Mecca’¹⁵, however, this verb selects two kinds of participants, namely (PP) [ḏār hībēr] ‘*by camels*’ (which itself is the combinations of (P) [ḏār] ‘*by*’ and its (N) complement [hībēr] ‘*camels*’), this (PP) functions as the direct object which has only one theta role <Instrument>. Besides this, this verb selects its nominal phrase (NP) [hā-bū] ‘*the people*’ sharing the same properties being plural number and masculine gender. This [NP] locates as the external subject of the predicate [yəḥḡəwḡam] having only one theta role as the <Agent> who do the performance of doing pilgrimage, for concreteness consider the following structure in figure (4.12):

¹⁵ The holy place for Muslims locates in Saudi Arabia.

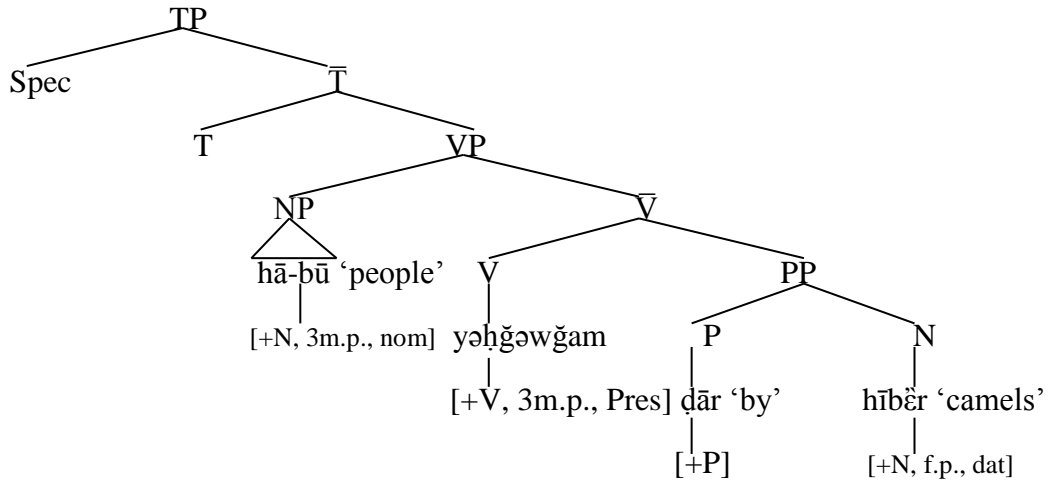


Figure 4.12: [hābū yəḥḡəwḡam ḏār hībēr] 'People make pilgrimage by riding camels'

Regarding to sentence (23) [syūran bark ḥā-rawn] 'we went among the goats' the transitive verb [syūr-an] 'to go' is a perfect paradigm which grammatically embedded common features of plural number and (m/f) gender, being 'we went'. Logically, this verb has the complement (PP) [bark ḥā-rawn] 'among the goat' (which itself is the result of merging the head (P) [bark] 'among' and the combination of prefixed definite article [ḥā-] with [N]rawn 'goat'). Semantically, this internal object [PP] composed the theta role <Locative Gole>. On the other side the [syūran] 'to go' has its external argument which is the <Agent> of the action. This agent is phonetically missed and considered to be the null subject of the sentence, as shown in figure (4.13):

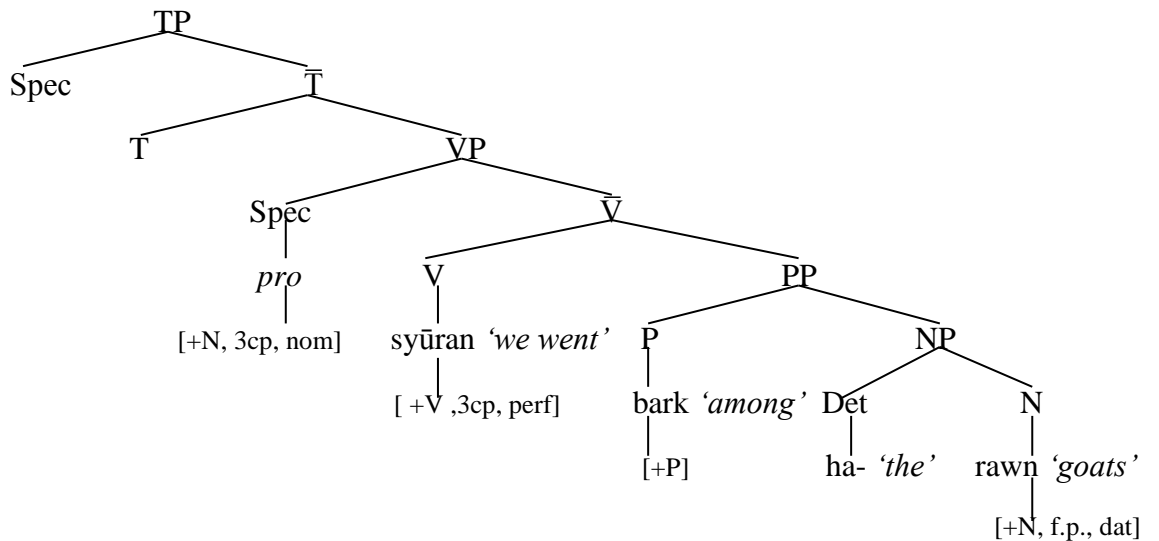


Figure 4.13: [syūran bark ḥā-rawn] 'we went among the goats'

The transitive verb [tə-ğzōn] ‘to like/enjoy’ in sentence (24) [ḥām-ay təğzōn mən ḥā-rawn] ‘my mother likes the goats’ expresses specific attitudes or emotions towards a particular objects. Syntactically, this verb regulates two arguments structures; firstly, it specifies and merged with (QP) [mən ḥā-rawn] where the functional particle (Q) [mən] merged with (NP) [ḥā-rawn] ‘the goats’ which is the result of merging (D) [ḥā-] ‘the’ and head (N) [rawn] ‘goat’. Mainly, this internal argument represented the theta role <Theme>, the entity which receives likeness. Furthermore, the transitivity meaning of the verb requires it to merge with (NP) [ḥām-ay] ‘my mother’ functioning as the <Expreincer> theta role which refers to the person who performs or spreads such kind of emotion. The experiencer or the external subject of the sentence [ḥām-ay] ‘my mother’ is in fully agreement with the predicate [təğzōn] ‘to like’ that is by possessing identical features such as singular number and feminine gender, to put this in a concrete picture consider figure (4.14) below:

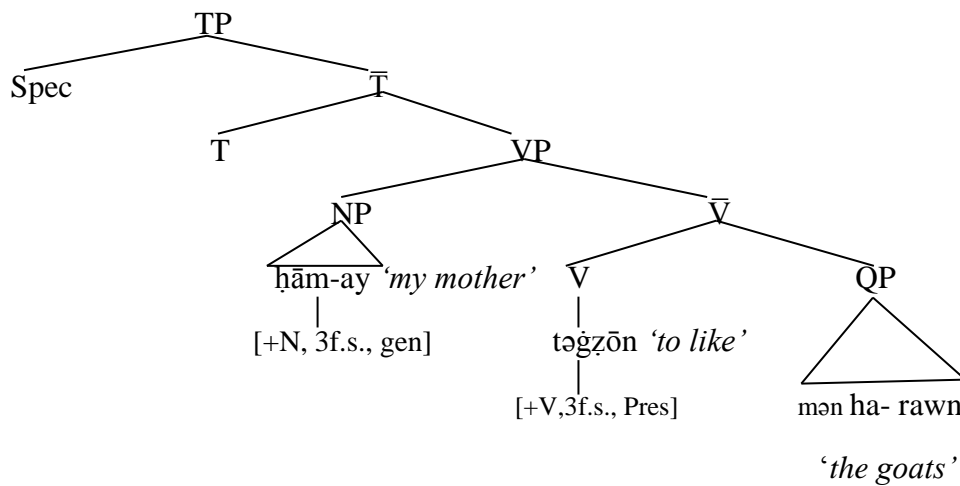


Figure 4.14: [ḥām-ay təğzōn mən ḥā-rawn] ‘my mother likes the goats’

In sentence (25) [azāmm-əh darhīs] ‘give him a goat’ the three-place predicate [a-zāmm] ‘to give’ indicates the process of giving something to someone. It merged with non-lexicalized accusative pronoun [–əh] ‘him’ assigning the theta role <Benefactive>, the person who receives a specific entity. Then it specified and merged with (NP) [darhīs] ‘a goat’ which has the theta grid <Theme>. Since the sentence is imperative,

the <Agent> of this sentence is null which is grammatically embedded with verb having the same features being plural number and common in gender, the figure (4.15) shows the syntactic representation of this sentence:

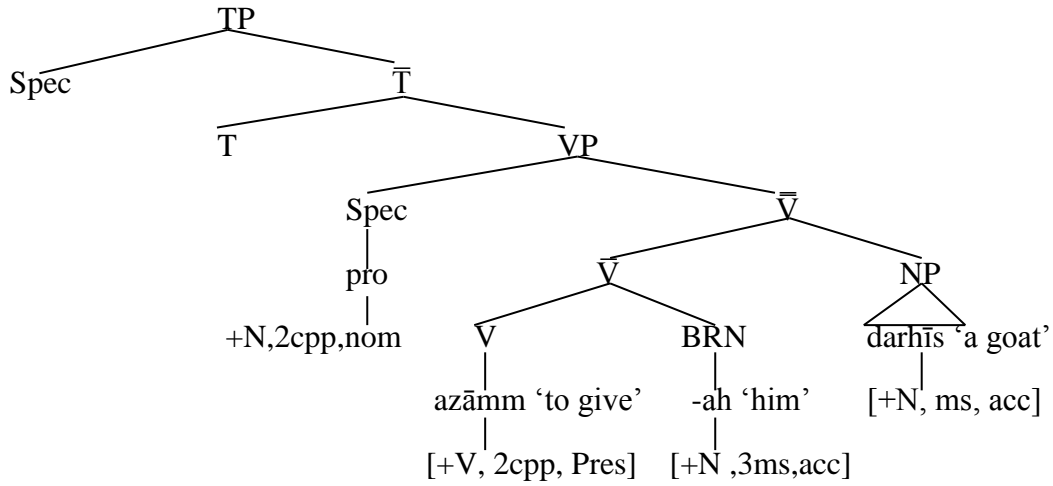


Figure 4.15: [azāmm-əh darhīs] 'give him a goat'

In the case of the transitive verb [ʕəmōr] 'to say' in sentence (26) [ʕəmōr hōh šay dīmah həttōt] '(He) said that I have this bean', it is found that the CP [ϕ hōh šay dīmah həttōt] 'that I have this bean' which headed by null (C) locates as the internal argument assigning the theta role <Theme>, this argument consists of (C) and finite tensed phrase (TP) [hōh šay dīmah həttōt] 'I have this bean', within this (TP) the possessive verb [š] 'have' binds (NP) [dīmah həttōt] 'this bean' which itself is the projection of (Det) [fs. dīmah] 'this' and (N) [f.s. həttōt] 'bean' and pronominal [hōh] 'I'. The verb [ʕəmōr] 'to say' also merged with null subject 'he' having fully agreement in singular number and masculine gender, this null subject has thematic meaning as the <Agent> who performs action of speech, figure (4.16) presents the syntactic structure of this sentence:

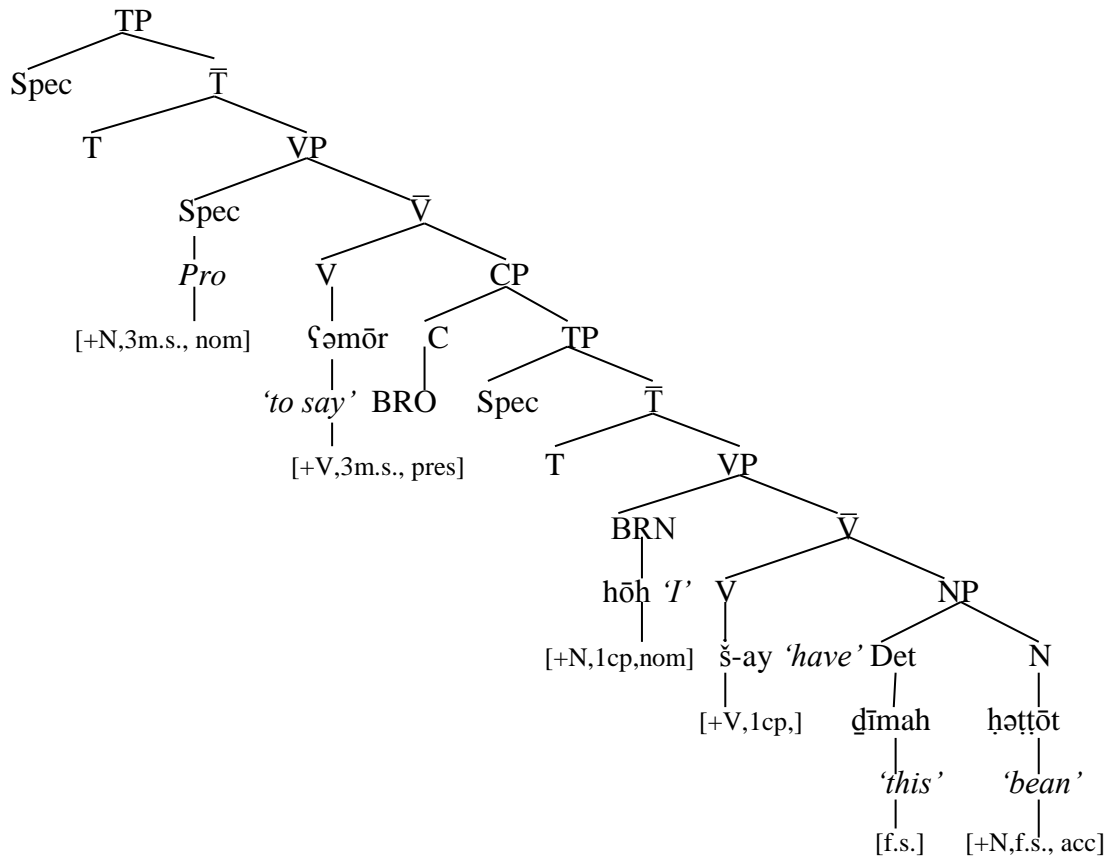


Figure 4.16: [ʕəmōr hōh šay dīmah həttōt] '(He) said that I have this bean'

In contrast to (26), the transitive verb [hḥōm] 'to want' in sentence (27) [hḥōm l-ktēb ḥātt] 'I want to write a letter' always selects non-finite sentence, namely, this verb specified and merged with non-finite tensed phrase (TP) [l-ktēb ḥātt] 'to write a letter' which headed by prefixed morpheme [l-] 'to'. This internal argument usually has the thematic role <Theme> which led to the purpose of writing a letter. On the other side, this verb [hḥōm] 'want' requires the subject, so it merged with (small *pro*) or null subject which functions as the <Agent> of the action. Grammatically, the affixal features of the null subject which represented by singular person and common gender seems to be manifested on the predicate as it demonstrated in figure (4.17) below:

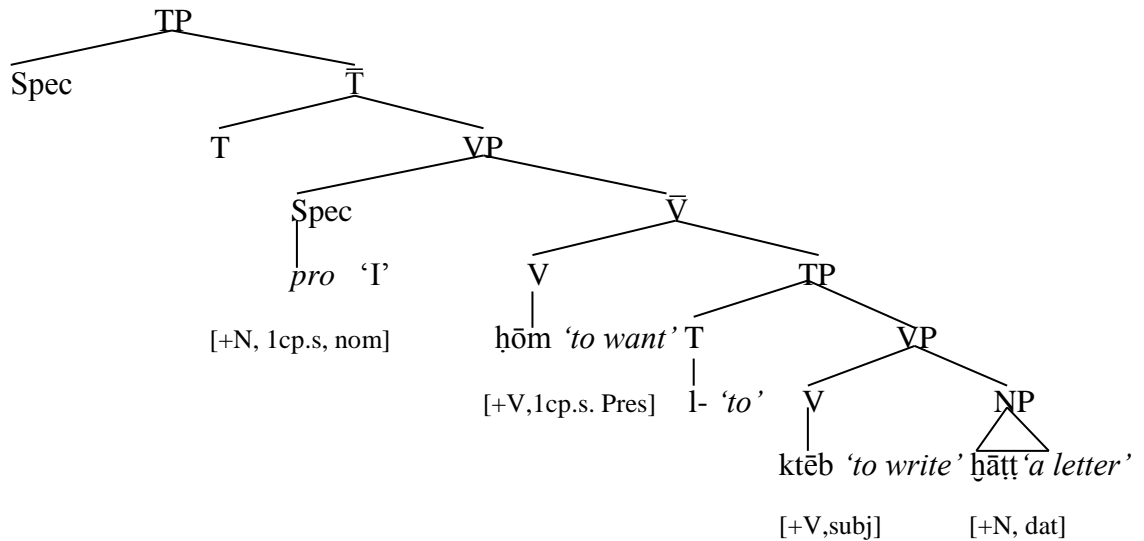


Figure 4.17: [hōm l-ktēb hātt] 'I want to write a letter'

Summing up this part, it is apparent that respecting to the term of c-selection features, the predicate in ML has the universal principle of selecting its complementary arguments, in actual sense, it was demonstrated that like any natural language, all verbs in Mahri should create a valence in their sentential constructions either semantically or syntactically, that is what so-called semantic/syntax interface. More specifically, regarding to above naturalistic examples, it has been classified verbs into three types, (1) intransitive verbs=zero complement such as verb [mōt] 'to die' in example (19), (2) transitive verbs=one complement such as verb [thaḡawm] 'to suckle' in (20) and (3) ditransitive verbs=two complements as it seen in verb [azāmm] 'to give' as seen in example (25).

4.2.3 The Mahri adjectival phrase

Like previous phrases (NP) and (VP), the head of the (AP) must be Adjective which can shape the grammatical and semantic interpretation of the maximal projection. The (AP) can be identified by containing a specifier, adjectival head and complement. In Mahri, the only degree (Deg) words were classified by (Watson, 2012) as [wīyan] 'very' [mākan] 'most' and [xawr] 'little'. Furthermore, the words like [k̄fōl, m̄khēr, šhād

and səllōḳaṭ] are all considered as the degree particles which also mean ‘very’. These words are often used in the position of Spec-Adjective. Consequently, the expansion of (AP) is shown in figure (4.18) of sentence (28) in (Appendix A). In sample (a) the (A) [ḡīdət] ‘*beautiful*’ is a single maximal projection which naturally inherits singular number and feminine gender features. Sample (b) explicates how the adjectival head [ḡīdət] ‘*beautiful*’ merges with the (Deg) [wīyan] ‘*very*’ forming maximal projection (AP) [wīyan ḡīdət] ‘*very beautiful*’. The syntactic relation between these constituents is identified as that under the dominance of maximal projection (AP) the head (A) [ḡīdət] ‘*beautiful*’ is being the sister of its specifier (Deg) [wīyan] ‘*very*’, where there is no complement registered in this example. Further expansion in sample (c), the adjectival head [ḡīdət] ‘*beautiful*’ merged with (NP) [ḡīkmah ībīt] ‘*that camel*’ (which itself is the process of merging the feminine and singular determiner [ḡīkmah] ‘*that*’ with concrete feminine, singular noun [ībī] ‘*camel*’) forming (A-bar) [ḡīdət ḡīkmah ībīt] ‘*beautiful that camel*’. This in turn merged with (CP) [ḡ-bark a-ṣaygaṣ] ‘*which is inside the shed*’ (which headed by non-lexicalized morpheme [ḡ-] ‘*which*’ and the (TP) ϕ a-ṣaygaṣ as its complement, this non-finite tensed projection (TP) is also headed by null (T) which projects a (PP) [bark a-ṣaygaṣ] ‘*inside the shed*’) getting the result of (A-double-bar) [ḡīd-ət ḡīkmah ībīt ḡ-bark a-ṣaygaṣ] ‘*beautiful that camel which is inside the shed*’. This (A-double-bar) then merged with (Deg) [wīyan] ‘*very*’ forming the maximal projection (AP) [wīyan ḡīd-ət ḡīkmah ībīt ḡ-bark a-ṣaygaṣ] ‘*very beautiful that camel which is inside the shed*’. The syntactic relation of this phrase can be explicated as that the adjectival head (A) [ḡīdət] ‘*beautiful*’ regulates two types of complements the direct complement (NP) [ḡīkmah ībīt] ‘*that camel*’ and indirect complement (CP) [ḡ-bark a-ṣaygaṣ] ‘*inside the shed*’, which then merged with its sister (Deg) [wīyan] ‘*very*’ which locates as the external subject of the (AP). Overall all, the above three samples are illustrated in this figure:

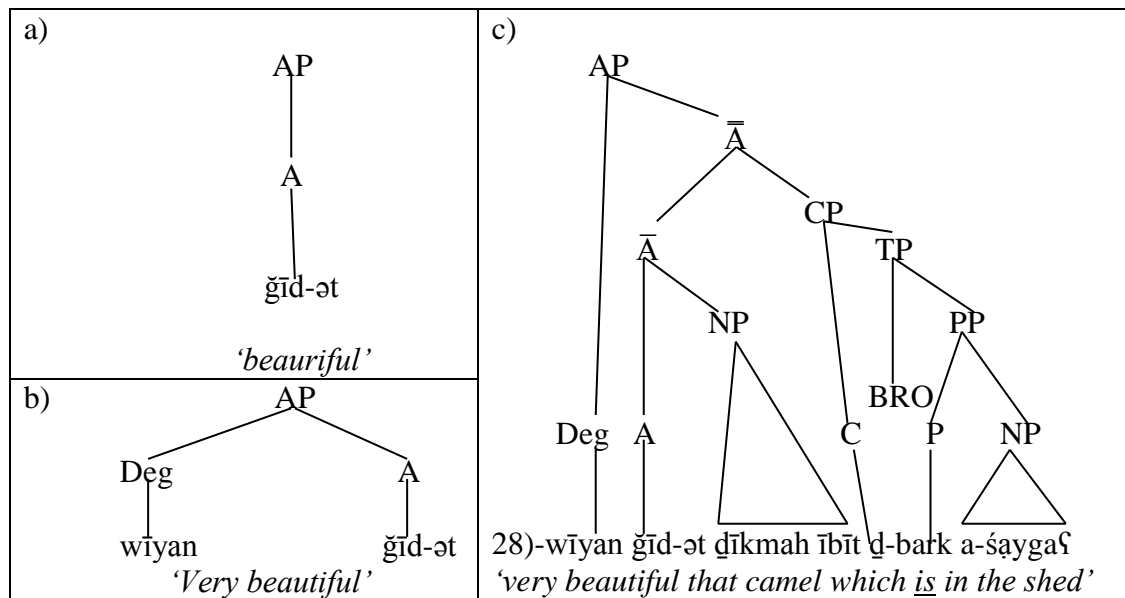


Figure 4.18: The formation of Mahri (AP)

4.2.4 The Mahri preposition phrase

Likewise, the proposition phrase in Mahri composed the prepositional head which can be single lexeme or prefixed morpheme. The nature of prepositions in Mahri is a transitive which requires a complement and sometimes a specifier. The genitive phrases in Mahri functions as (PP) which headed by the prepositional prefixed head (P) [də-] 'of' and followed by the complement which have referential expressions to the antecedent (NP) as seen in sentences below:

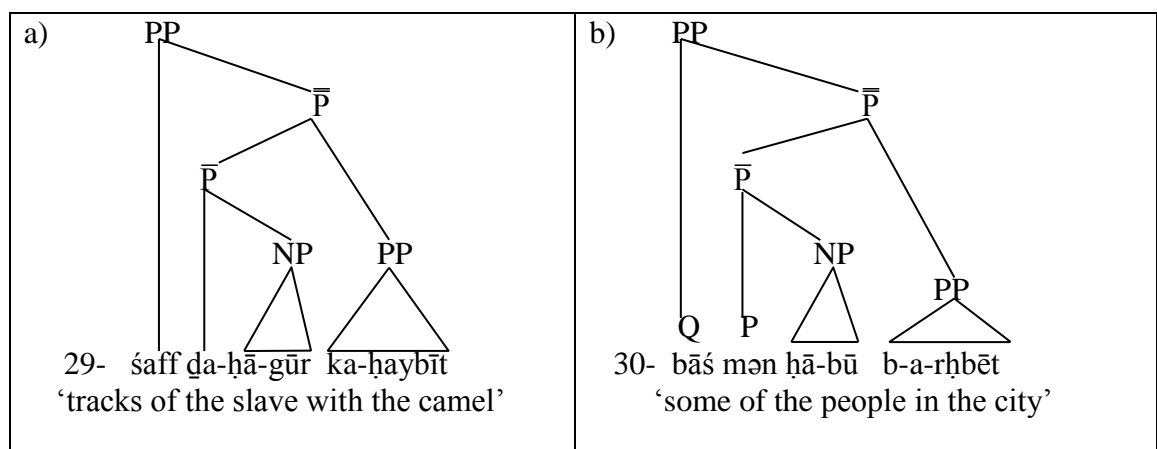


Figure 4.19: The formation of Mahri (PP)

In accordance to sample (29) the prefixed (P) [ḍa-] ‘of’ is the constituent that determines the semantic and grammatical properties of (PP), thus, it can be considered as the prepositional head of that phrase. This (P) logically merged with singular number and masculine definite (N) [ḥā-gūr] ‘the slave’ specifying it as the obligatory complement forming (P-bar) [ḍa-ḥāgūr] ‘of the slave’. This in turn merged with adjunct (PP) [ka-ḥaybīt] ‘with the camel’ which hierarchically stands outside the complement and can be changeable Adger (2002:89), forming the (P-double-bar) [ḍa-ḥāgūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘of the slave with the camel’. Since the genitive (P) [ḍa-] ‘of’ is transitive that requires two arguments, the overall (P-bar) [ḍa-ḥāgūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘of the slave with the camel’ must merge with external argument, namely the indefinite (N) [šaff] ‘tracks’ forming (PP) [šaff ḍa-ḥāgūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘tracks of the slave with the camel’. The syntactic relation of this (PP) is defined as that under the dominance of (P-bar) the (P) [ḍa-] ‘of’ and (NP) [ḥā-gūr] ‘the slave’ are sisters, this (P-bar) expended by merging with another (PP) [ka-ḥaybīt] ‘with the camel’ and being the daughters of (P-double-bar) [ḍa-ḥāgūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘of the slave with the camel’. In maximal projection (PP) [šaff ḍa-ḥā-gūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘tracks of the slave with the camel’ the (Spec-P) [šaff] ‘tracks’ is being the sister of (P-double-bar) [ḍa-ḥāgūr ka-ḥaybīt] ‘of the slave with the camel’. From this example, we can elicit that the prepositional complement [ḥā-gūr] has the referential expressions to the antecedent (N) [šaff] ‘tracks’, and hence, it must be argued that all nouns in Mahri (PP) especially with such genitive phrases employ as the (Spec-P) or as the modifier. As seen also in this example; [a-nḥarīr ḍa-ḥay-bīt] ‘the nose of the camel’ where the (NP) [a-nḥarīr] ‘the nose’ locates as the external subject of (PP) [ḍa-ḥay-bīt] ‘of the camel’, in this case, both prepositional complement (NP) [ḥay-bīt] ‘the camel’ and external subject NP [a-nḥarīr] ‘the nose’ are sharing the same potential information.

Moving to sample (30) the (P) [mən] ‘of’ in [bās mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*some of the people in the city*’ differs from that (P) in sample (a), like verbs, this (P) regulates to types of arguments, the direct of object and indirect object. Syntactically, this (P) merged with definite, plural masculine (N) [ḥā-bū] ‘*the people*’ forming (P-bar) [mən ḥā-bū] ‘*of the people*’. This in turn merged with external object (PP) [b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*in the city*’ (which itself is the result of merging the prefixed (P) [b-] ‘*in*’ with maximal projection (NP) [a-rḥbēt] ‘*the city*’) forming (P-double-bar) [mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*of the people in the city*’. The result of (P-double-bar) merged with the quantifier [bās] ‘*some*’ which function as the (Spec-P) in Mahri, getting the result of maximal projection (PP) [bās mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*some of the people in the city*’. The syntactic relation of this (PP) is registered as that the prepositional head [mən] ‘of’ is the sister of the internal object (NP) [ḥā-bū] ‘the people’ in (P-bar) [mən ḥā-bū] ‘*of the people*’. This (P-bar) is the sister of external object (PP) [b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*in the city*’ in (P-double-bar) [mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*of the people in the city*’. Finally, the (Spec-P) [bās] ‘*some*’ and the (P-double-bar) [mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*of the people in the city*’ are daughters of the overall maximal projection (PP) [bās mən ḥā-bū b-a-rḥbēt] ‘*some of the people in the city*’

4.2.5 The Mahri functional phrases

Since the initial primary purpose of this study is outlining the notion of embedded features or what so-called ‘I-language’ which is inherited in speakers’ mental state, it was assumed that like any natural language the phrasal structures in Mahri is not limited to the main mentioned lexical phrases, rather, there are various types of embedded phrases which known as Functional Phrases. Based on Chomsky’s classification of the functional phrases which headed by functional head as seen in (CP) headed by (C), (TP) headed by (T), (DP) headed by (D) and (AGRP) headed by (AGR), in (1995: 349), he presumed that each of these phrases consist of interpretable features

which may be weak or strong, for example the covert or overt (T) in a sentence holds [EPP] which attract (DP) to the position of (Spec-T) in (TP), and (AGRP) consists of strong formal features which attract verb and raising to adjoin it, forming (VSO) sentences which may be discussed next section, as well as the complementiser phrase (CP) has both null affixal complementizer feature and [EF] (Edge Feature) which attracts the verbal complement to move to the position of (Spec-C) , however, regarding to this case, the [LF] of the following interrogative Mahri sentence in (31) consists the major of two functional phrases, namely, (TP) and (CP) where the embedded morphological features require checking via movement operation.

31- Hāšan dǝ-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū

What be-3-do-mp people

‘What were people doing?’

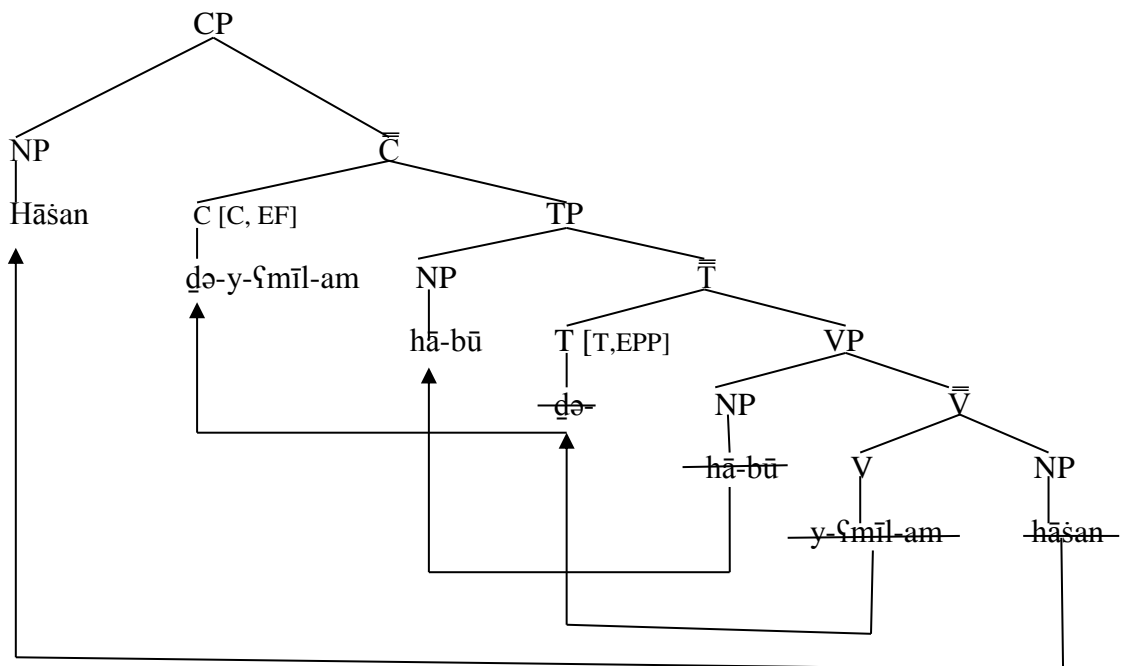


Figure 4.20: the representation of Mahri functional phrase

Considering the finite tensed phrase (TP) in above structure, it was demonstrated that this (TP) generated from the basic internal (VP) [hā-bū dǝ-y-ʕmīl-am Hāšan] *‘people were doing what’*. Naturally, the prefixed tense finite feature (T) [dǝ-] *‘were’* being strong because it is visible to [PF], it also composed the syntactic [EPP] feature.

Respecting to the affixal tense feature which is in strong condition, the head (V) in (VP) was raised up to adjoin it, forming (T-bar) [ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū ~~y-ʕmīl-am~~ hāšan] ‘*were people doing what*’. Since (T) has [EPP] which requires a subject for the sentence, the external subject of (VP) was directly moved from the position of (Spec-V) in (VP) to the position of (Spec-T) in (TP) forming the maximal functional phrase (TP) [hā-bū ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am ~~hā-bū y-ʕmīl-am~~ hāšan] ‘*people were doing what*’. The syntactic relation of this (TP) is actually defined like that after movement operations, the prefixed (T) [ḍə-] ‘*were*’ is the head which selected its (VP) complement [y-ʕmīl-am hāšan] ‘*doing what*’, and they are sisters within intermediate projection (T-bar) [ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū hāšan] ‘*were people doing what*’. This (T-bar) is the sister of the (Spec-T) [hā-bū] ‘*the people*’ within maximal projection (TP) [hā-bū ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am hāšan] ‘*people were doing what*’.

Looking at (CP), it can be possible saying that the construction of wh-questions in Mahri is the widest topic to be involved in this study, basically it is quite similar to the modern Arabic dialects which exhibited different strategies to form Wh-interrogatives either by ‘gapping strategy, resumptive strategy or remaining in-situ’, (Aoun, Benmamoun & Cheueiri, 2010: 128). Based on this, the typical wh-question which is formed in sentence (31) is just as the result of movement operation, in essence of that, the null complementizer feature attracts the verbal tense to raise up from the head position of (TP) to the head position (C) in (CP) forming intermediate projection (C-bar) [ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū ~~ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am~~ hāšan] ‘*were people doing what*’. Since null (C) composed the syntactic Edge Feature [EF] which is the resample of [EPP] that attracts the verbal complement to the (Spec-C) position, placing it as the subject, this [EF] directly attracted the interrogative constituent [hāšan] ‘*what*’ to be (Spec-C) of (CP), forming the typical complementizer phrase (CP) [hāšan ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū ~~ḍə-y-ʕmīl-am~~ hāšan] ‘*what were people doing*’. The syntactic relation of this functional phrase is specified by observing this way, the null (C) which hosting (T) is considered as the head

of (CP), it is the sister of (TP) within (C-bar). Whereas, the (Spec-C) and this (C-bar) are the two daughters of the maximal functional phrase (CP) [hāšan d̥ə-y-ʕmīl-am hā-bū] ‘*what were people doing*’. To conclude this, it is obvious that from the basic internal verbal phrase, we got two embedded functional phrase, the (TP) which the result of the strong tense feature and [EPP] feature. On the other side we elicited (CP) which is also as the result of strong null (C) and [EF].

At the end of this section, it is obviously assumed that the phrasal structures in ML cannot be considered as the string of words which formed together like beads of necklace, rather, they are hierarchically linked to each other to produce full sentence. For example, in (26) particularly figure (4.16), the structure [ʕəmōr hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*(he) said that I have this bean*’, composes various types of phrases. Basically, this sentence consists of main clause [ʕəmōr] ‘*he said*’ and control clause (CP) [ϕ hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*that I have this bean*’. In this control clause, it can be observed that the (NP) [d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*this bean*’ merged with (V) [ṣ̌ay] ‘*have*’ forming (V-bar) [ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt]. This in turn merged with (PRN) [hōh] ‘*I*’ getting the result of (VP) [hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*I have this bean*’. Abstractly, this (VP) merged with (T) ‘*present tense*’ forming functional tensed phrase (TP) [hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*I have this bean*’. Subsequently, the result of (TP) merged with null (C) ‘*that*’ and forming (CP) [ϕ hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*that I have this bean*’, which functions as the internal object of the predicate bearing the uninterpretable feature of accusative case assignment. This (CP) then merged with main (V) [ʕəmōr] ‘*say*’ forming (V-bar) [ʕəmōr hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*say that I have this bean*’, and then it will gradually merge with ‘*pro*’ (null subject) and gave us the result of (VP) [*pro* ʕəmōr hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*he say that I have this bean*’. From this (VP), it will be detached (TP), that is by merging (VP) with abstract (T) forming (T-bar) [ʕəmōr hōh ṣ̌ay d̥īmah ḥəṭṭōt] ‘*said that I have this bean*’, since (T) bears [EPP] feature, the *pro* (PRN) will be moved from the position of (Spec-

VP) to the (Spec-TP) bearing the uninterpretable feature of nominative case and forming maximal projection of (TP) [ʕəmōr hōh šay dīmah həttōt] ‘(he) said that I have this bean’. Following this process to the overall phrases in ML, it will be understood that each phrase in a sentence is in structural dependency, which means each one closely correlated to others to form a meaningful sentences. To get advanced analysis, next section will be dealing to analyze the impact of morphological features on deriving different syntactic word orders in ML.

4.3 Research question three

Establishing different proposals or assumptions, this part elucidates the typological structure order of the simple Mahri clauses. Particularly, in line with the third objective of this study which represented by research question ‘three’ *What extent do the formal features affect the typological order structures in Mahri?*, this section is subdivided into two parts, part (4.3.1) the distributions of the subject and part (4.3.2) the null subject parameter.

4.3.1 The distributions of the subject

Naturally, like any language the exact subject position in ML is located either in (Spec-T) position within (TP) projection or as previously shown in discussion of the verbal phrase that the subject is internally originated as the external argument ‘subject’ of the typical verb within (VP) projection. This assumption was also stated by (Koopman and Sportiche, 1991) when they presumed that the canonical position of the subject must be as the (Spec-IP), the specifier of the Inflectional Phrase. Furthermore, the subject in Mahri can be rarely realized at the end of the sentence, forming [OVS]

structure of simple clause in ML, the underlying question raises as why do those alternative word orders being established in the logical form of sentential structures in ML? Absolutely, the language can be derived from the unique verbal structure, in essential sense of that the derivation of [SVO], [SVO], [OVS] and [VOS] should be treated as the result of movement operations, either Head-movement, A-movement (Argument-movement) or A-bar movement (Complement movement), where the morphosyntactic features must be taken in a consideration. Comparing the syntactic order in ML to the asymmetry of spec-head relations in standard Arabic, which is commonly assumed to be fully agreement in (SVO) and partial agreement in (VSO) by losing number feature, (Aoun, Benmamoun & Choueiri, 2010) and (Soltan, 2011), the morphological features of subject and verb in ML are considered to be in stable line, or in fully agreement. Theoretically, Ouhalla (2011) argued that in (VSO) languages, (T) is positioned higher than (AGRs), whereas in (SVO) languages, the reflexive mirror is found. Based on this view, we have to consider the main distinction between [SVO] and [VSO] in sentence (32a, b) below:

- 32a-Ḳīs ya-ḥaḳar-am ḥā-bū ḥa-a-rḥbēt
 Will 3-move morning-m.p 3m.p-the-people-nom to-the-city-dat
 b- Ḥā-bū ḳīs ya-ḥaḳar-am ḥa-a-rḥbēt
 3m.p-the-people-nom will 3-move morning-m.p to-the-city-dat
 ‘People will move to the city’

In sentences (32a and 32b), we found that the internal thematic shell of (VP) is represented in figuration (4.22), where the verb [h-ḳ-r] *‘to move morning’* binds two argument structures (PP) [ḥa-a-rḥbēt] *‘to the city’* and (NP) [ḥā-bū] *‘people’*, the pre post verbal argument (NP) [ḥā-bū] *‘people’* functions as the thematic agent who performs the action of moving or traveling, whereas the (PP) [ḥa-a-rḥbēt] *‘to the city’* stays as the thematic locative goal which gives the meaning of moving to the city;

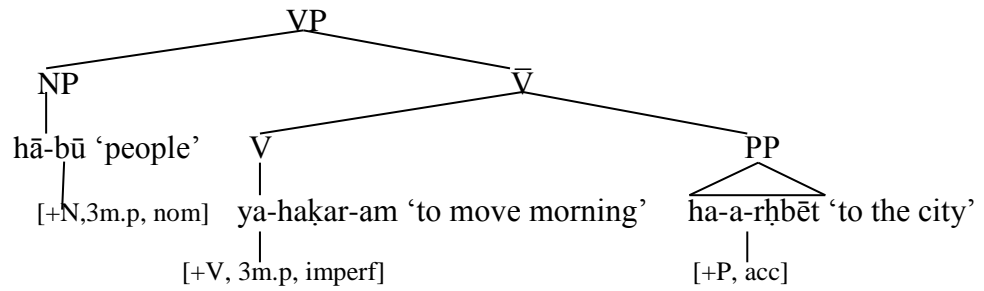


Figure 4.22: Internal (VP) [hā-bū kīs ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘*People will move to the city*’

In advanced analysis of deriving [VSO] and [SVO] in (32), we have to look at apparent morphological features which are clearly seen on the verb [kīs ya-haḵar-am] ‘*to move morning*’, these features are inherently represented by aspect future (T) [kīs] ‘*will*’ and affixes agreement features [ya-V-am] which give the insights of (3m.p.) features. Evidently, according to Chomsky’s view ‘strength features’, it is possible saying that these morphological features are strong enough, because they are visible to [PF] and creat semantic interpretations. To know the formation of the syntactic word orders in a language, we have to refer the processes of the computational system in speakers’ mind, namely, the merge and movement operations, verbally speaking, merge operation represents by the internal (VP) [hā-bū kīs ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘*they move morning to the city*’ whereas, the movement operation represents by checking the underlying features to get [VSO] and [SVO] word orders. In the case of [VSO] the base (V) [h-ḵ-r] ‘*to move morning*’ in (VP) is raised up to adjoin with strong (AGR) (3m.p.) features, that means it will move from the head position in (VP) to the head position in (AGRP) forming (AGR-bar) [AGR hā-bū kīs ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘*AGR move to the city*’. The (AGR) feature bears [EPP] feature which requires a subject for (AGRP), in doing so, this feature will solely attract the properties of the external subject [hā-bū] ‘*the people*’ in (VP) and being null (Spec-AGR) of (AGRP) as seen in this structure [**pro** AGR hā-bū kīs ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt]. Subsequently, the checked (V) in (AGRP) will be moved to adjoin the strong (T) feature [kīs] ‘*will*’ forming (T-bar) [T **pro** AGR hā-bū

kīs ya-hakar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘will move to the city’, this (T) bears also [EPP] feature which demands a subject for the (T-bar), in this case the *pro* in (AGRP) will be attracted to the position of (Spec-T) in (TP) getting the [VSO] word order, where the (TP) dominated (AGRP), or in other words the (AGRP) is located as the complement of (T) in (TP) as shown in figuration (4.23) of this structure [*pro* T ~~*pro*~~ AGR hā-bū kīs ya-hakar-am ha-a-rḥbēt]:

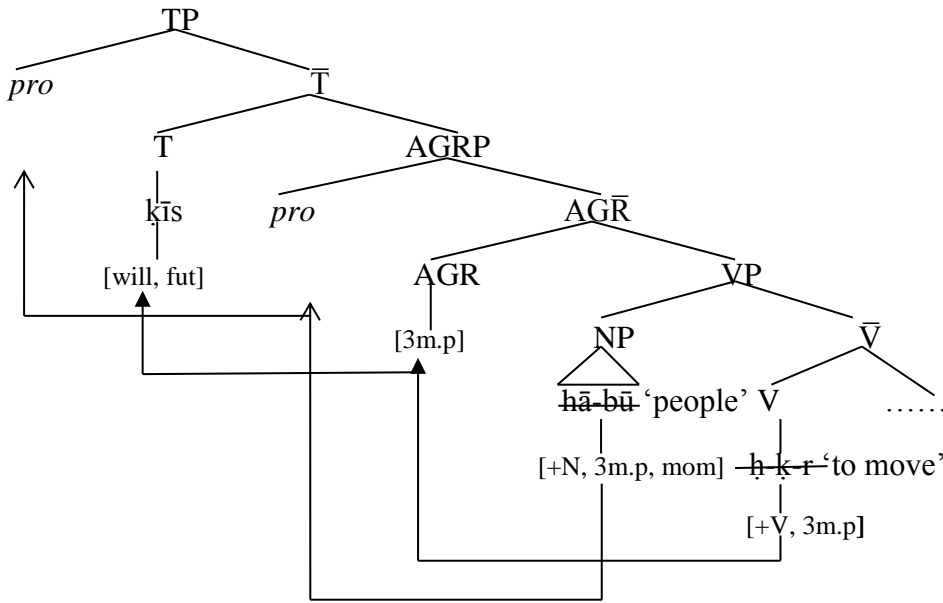


Figure 4.23: The derivation of (VSO) order in ‘The people will move to the city’

Closely related to Benmamoun’s assumption (2000), the imperfective form in SA lacks in bearing any temporal information, it can be argued that the imperfective paradigms in ML shares the same fact as well. Probably, in terms of deriving [SVO], the (V) [ḥ-k-r] ‘to move morning’ in (VP) [hā-bū kīs ya-hakar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘the people move morning to the city’ will be raised up to adjoin (T) feature, preceding an overt (Spec-V) [hā-bū] ‘the people’ in (VP) and forming (T-bar) [T hā-bū kīs ya-hakar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘will move to the city’. Since (T) composes [EPP] feature, the (Spec-VP) [hā-bū] ‘the people’ is directly attracted to the position of (Spec-TP) forming (TP) [hā-bū T hā-bū kīs ya-hakar-am ha-a-rḥbēt]. Subsequently, the (T) constituent will be then moved to adjoin the strong agreement feature (AGR) forming (AGR-bar) [AGR hā-bū T hā-bū kīs

ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] the (AGR) feature also consists of [EPP] which attracts the (Spec-TP) [hā-bū] ‘the people’ to move the position of (Spec-AGRP) forming the [SVO] structure of the maximal projection (AGRP) [hā-bū AGR ~~hā-bū~~ T hā-bū kīs ya-haḵar-am ha-a-rḥbēt] ‘the people will move to the city’, where the (AGRP) dominates (TP) as seen below:

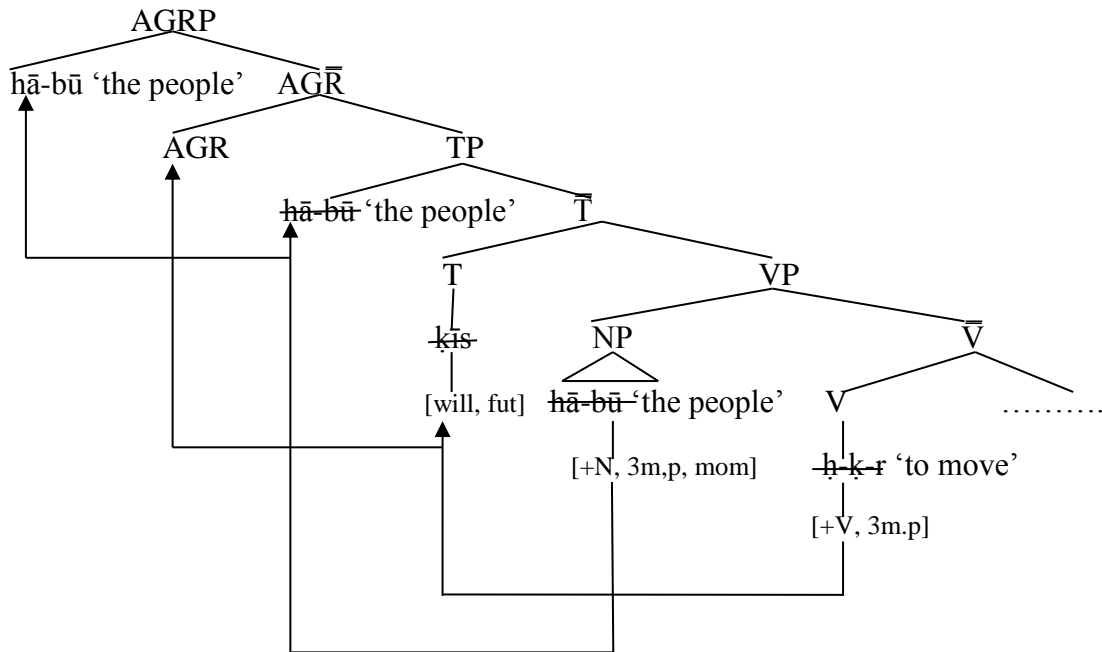


Figure 4.24: The derivation of (SVO) order in ‘The people will move to the city’

Indeed, for the sake of checking morphological features [kīs ya-haḵar-am], (T) and (3m.p) in both structure orders [VSO] and [SVO], the functional phrases like (TP) and (AGRP) are constructed via these two types of movement operations:

(1) Head Movement: in this case, realizing the principle of HMC¹⁷ in formal syntax, we found that the head (V) [haḵar] ‘to move morning’ gradually moved from the head position in (VP) to the head positions (AGR) in (AGRP) and (T) in (TP) in both structures.

¹⁷ Head Movement Constraint: The principle which says that head movement can be allowed only between a given head and the head of its complement, (Ouhalla 2011 adopted in Chomsky 1986b)

(2) A-Movement (Argument Movement): Since the nature of (T) and (AGR) bear [EPP] feature, which is pure syntactic feature that assign nominative case, we found that the Agentive argument or what so-called external subject or (Spec-V) in (VP) is moved to the (Spec-AGR) and (Spec-T) in [VSO] and maintaining the properties of that subject and being null, whereas, in [SVO] the (Spec-V) in (VP) is completely moved to the (Spec-T) and (Spec-AGR), in both cases, the covert and overt subject bear the uninterpretable feature of nominative case assignment and fully agreeing with predicate.

33a- hmūh tī-tīkk-an hā-rawn [OVS]

b- tī-tīkk-an hmūh hā-rawn [VOS]

'The goats were drinking water'

movement operations into two further projections, Focused Phrase (FocP)¹⁸ and Tensed Phrase (TP), however, based on process of split projections, it is rarely possible to find these syntactic orders [OVS] and [VOS], which represented by the following figuration:

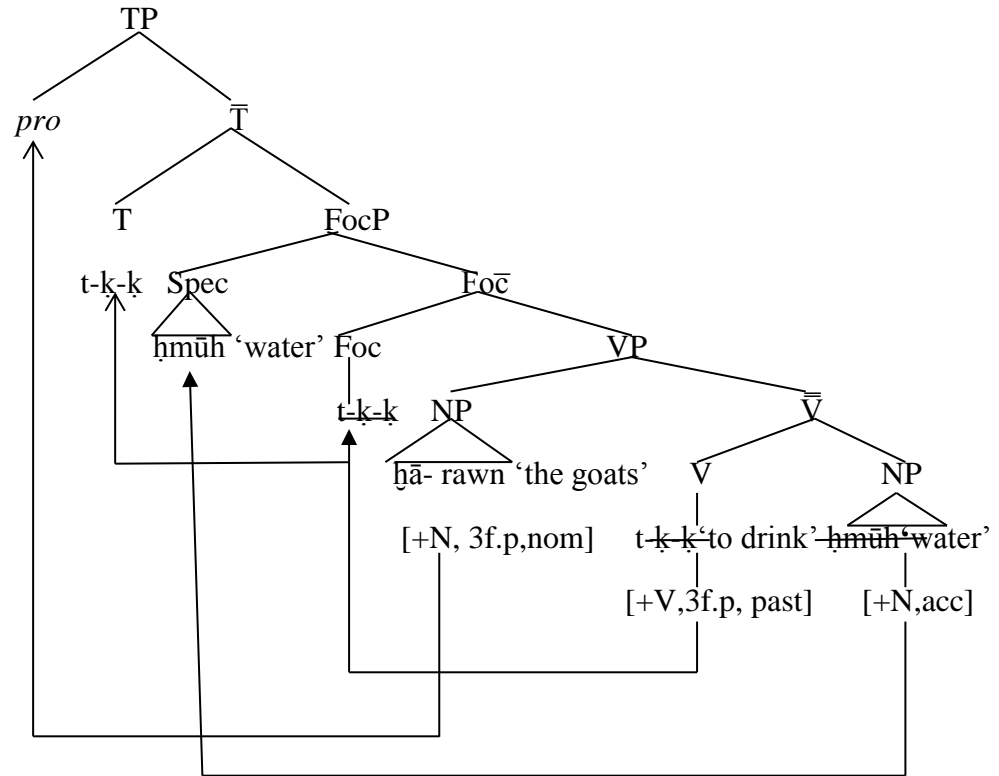


Figure 4.25: the derivation of [OVS] and [VOS] word orders

As declared that the (T) is invisible to [PF], namely, it is not apparent on the structure of (V) [tī-tīk-k-an] ‘to drink’ in (VP) [tī-tīk-k-an h-muh ha-rawn] ‘the goats were drinking water’, once the feature is not overtly seen in a structure it is called weak feature, and immediately leads to a covert movement, Chomsky (1995), based on this fact, the (T) which already originated within (V) being past, will move covertly to the head (Foc) of (FocP). This head (Foc) bears [EF] which allows it to attract the verbal complement (NP) [h-muh] ‘water’ (which understood as being focused, receiving a slight of emphatic stress) to the (Spec-Foc) in (FocP) and forming maximal projection (FocP) [h-muh Foc

¹⁸ Focused Phrase (FocP): is a type of various functional phrases, where the head of these phrases is either overt phunctional items like auxiliaries or covert items. In this case, the functional head of (FocP) is a null item, which gives the focus or declaration to a specific constituent.

ḥā-rawn tī-tīkk-an ḥmūh] ‘*The goats drink water*’ which represents the [OVS] word order [ḥmūh tī-tīkk-an ḥā-rawn] in sentence (33a). Subsequently, the tensed (V) which is the head of (V) in (VP) and then the head of (Foc) in (FocP) will be covertly moved to the last landing of (T) in (TP) forming (T-bar) [T ḥmūh ~~Foc~~ ḥā-rawn tī-tīkk-an ~~ḥmūh~~], this (T) logically bears [EPP] feature which allows it to attract the properties of (Spec-V) in (VP) and being null (Spec-T) in (TP) as seen in [*pro* T ḥmūh ~~Foc~~ ~~ḥā-rawn~~ tī-tīkk-an ~~ḥmūh~~], realizing the alternative order [VOS] in (33b) [*pro* tī-tīkk-an ḥmūh ḥā-rawn]. In addition to the Head movement and A-movement in the derivation of [OVS] and [VOS] in ML, the ‘A-bar movement’ which means moving the verbal complement or the adjunct to the (Spec-Foc) in (FocP) is used. To close this part, it is clear that the formal features either morphological features agreement and aspect features or syntactic features [EPP] and [EF] have the crucial effect to the syntactic word order structures. The interesting issue is realized in this part is that the [EPP] feature is consider as the case marker which assign nominative case being the subject of the clause, whereas [EF] could not assign any uninterpretable features, that means the complement constituent which moved to the [Spec-Foc] in [FocP] could not be interpreted as the external subject of that phrase which should have the nominative case assignment, other than that this constituent is just as the thematic object which receives focus that leads it to move to the front of the clause.

4.3.2 The null subject parameter

Traditionally, it was assumed that the Semitic languages Arabic, Hebrew and Amharic were allowed the null subject *pro* in their sentential constructions, Holmberg (2007). Based on this assumption the following Arabic sentences in (35a & 35b) which

adopted by (Soltan, 2011) explore the two conditions of dropping the genuine subjects from the syntactic structures and substituted by inaudible null constituent:

35a. katab-uu
wrote.3pl
'they wrote'

b. ra-hm-u llah
blessed.3sgm-him God
'May God bless him'

c. llah y-rə-hm-u
God bless.3sgm-him
'May God bless him'

With contrast to sentence (35c) which considered to be in fully agreement where the nominal (N) [llah] 'God' is a genuine subject which located in (Spec-TP) and completely agrees with head finite (T) [r-ḥ-m] 'to bless' having the agreement features third person, masculine and singular, the subjects in (35a and b) are presumed to be null constituents as seen in figure (4.26) below:

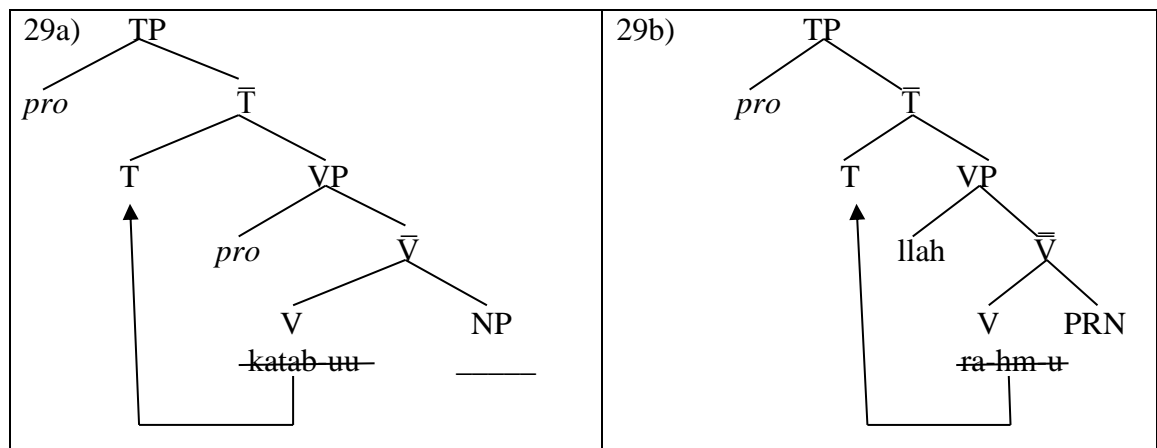


Figure 2.26: The null subjects in Arabic

In constructions (35a,b), the null subject constituent can be observed in two cases. Respecting to (35a) the (*pro*) is occurred in two places, the (Spec-VP) and the (Spec-TP) and the grammatical properties were embedded in (V) being third person, masculine and plural features [katab-uu] 'they write', whereas in (35b) the (*pro*) was

observed once, namely it is located in the (Spec-TP) and being redundant in the (Spec-VP).

Morphologically, the null subject is clearly licensed and identified in ML, that means respecting to the typical features which inherited within finite (T) and the powerful correlation between (*pro*) and the morphological agreement, the null subject in Mahri could be easily specified, to put this in a concrete footing, the set of narrative examples explicate the distribution of null subjects '*pro*' in ML:

36- ṣamōr-am
say-3m.p.
'they said'

37- ṣamōr-am [syōr ba-dikmah ḥaṭṭōt]
say-3m.p. walk-3m.s. with that bean-3f.s.-acc
'they said that he went with that bean'

38- kōbī [maḥḥəlīḳ yaṣawber]
think-1cp man endure
'I think that man could endure'

39- ḥōm lektēb ḥat we-l-ṣōnī rsūl
want-1cp to-write indef-letter and to-hire indef-messenger
'I want to write a line and to hire a messenger'

40- titiḳḳan ḥārawn ḥmuh
drink-3f.p. the-goats-nom water-acc
'the goats were drinking water'

41- ḥlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan
Mix-2f.p. this bean-f.s.-acc in bean-your
'(You) Mix this bean in your beans'

42- meyten ġalkōna š-ī ?
when look-2m.s.-fut at me
'when will you look at me?'

Considering this figuration of (36) (VP) [ʃamōr-am] ‘they said’:

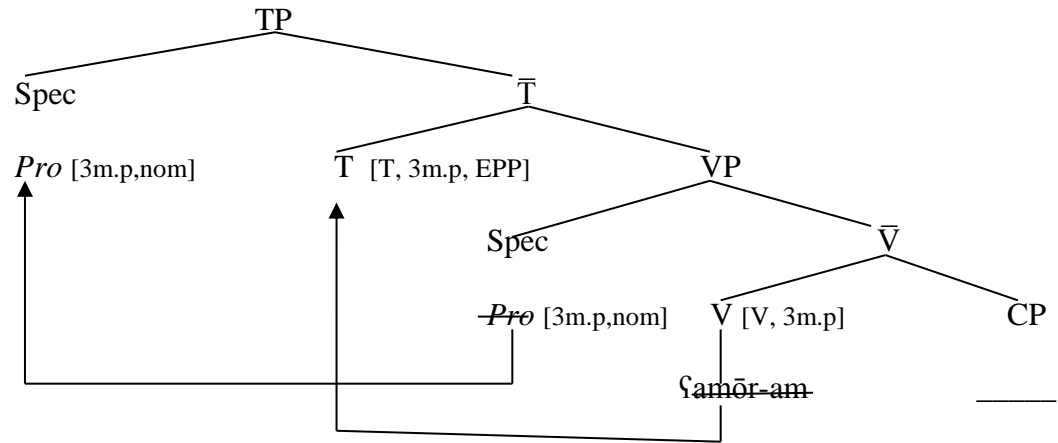


Figure 4.27: the *pro* in [ʃamōr-am] ‘they said’

We asserted that the (V) [ʃamōr-am] ‘to say’ inherently has interpretable features (agreement features) and uninterpretable features that is by assigning the accusative case (CP) as the complement and the nominative case which inaudible constituent being null. For the sake of argument, the abstract (T) is naturally in a strong condition which causes the head movement of (V) to the head position of (TP), this (T) also consists of [EPP] which extends into (TP) projection by attracting the pronominal (*pro*) from the edge of (VP) to the edge of (TP). However, as a result we found that the null subject was doubled in (VP) and (TP), where in each projection, this *pro* has full agreement features being third person, masculine and plural features as well as having the uninterpretable features of assigning the external argument which is in nominative case.

Comparing the null subjects in (37 and 38), we have to consider the following two figures (4.29 and 30):

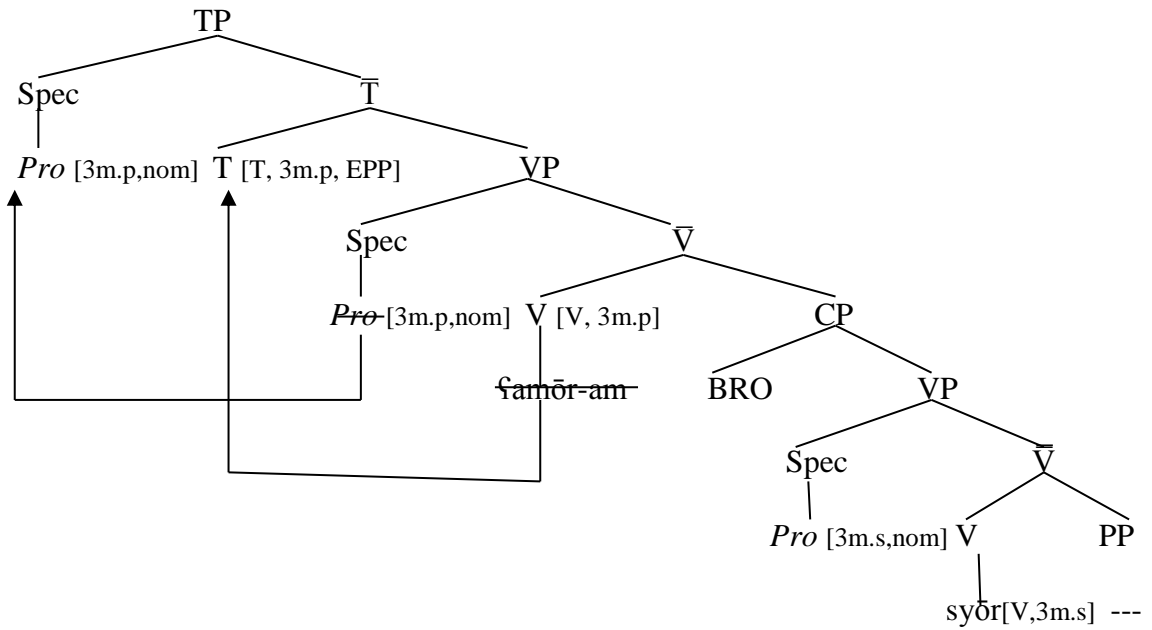


Figure 4.28: the *pro* in [ʕamōr-am syōr ba-dīkmah ḥaṭṭōt] ‘they said that he went with that bean’

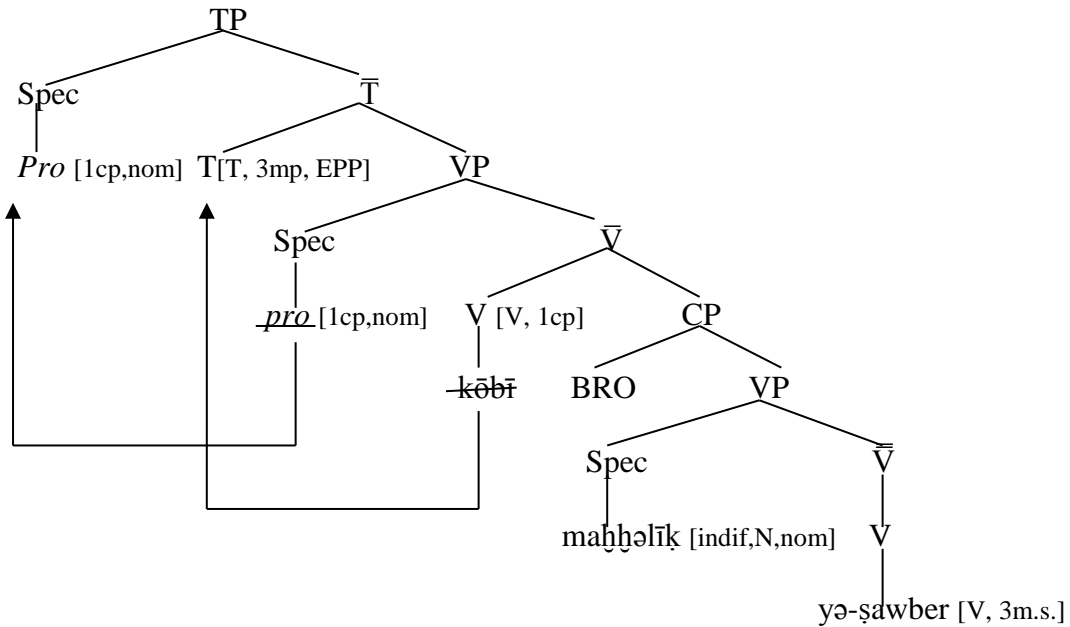


Figure 4.29: the *pro* in [kōbī maḥḥəlīḵ yəṣawber] ‘I think that man could endure’

In both structures we observed that the italicized (CP) [*syōr ba-dīkmah ḥaṭṭōt*] in (37) [ʕamōr-am *syōr ba-dīkmah ḥaṭṭōt*] ‘they said that he went with that bean’ and [*maḥḥəlīḵ yəṣawber*] in (38) [kōbī *maḥḥəlīḵ yəṣawber*] ‘I think that man could endure’ are all considered as complement clauses which bound by control clauses. Within these italicized (CPs) it has been discovered that each of these complement clauses are headed by null (C) which signifies the meaning of ‘that’. More importantly, this finite null (C) is determined as the case assigning marker which c-commanded verbal phrases

such as [*pro* *syōr ba-dīkmah ḥaṭṭōt*] ‘(he) go with that bean’ in (37) and [*mahḥalīk yāṣawber*] ‘man endure’ in (38), where the (Spec-VP) is covert in (37) being null subject and the (Spec-VP) is overt in (38) being the genuine subject. Both null subject and overt subject are composed of interpretable features, completely agreeing with predicates and uninterpretable features having the position of nominal or pronominal argument which has the nominative case. In (39) [*ḥōm lektēb ḥat we-l-ṣōnī rsūl*] ‘I want to write a letter and to hire a messenger’ the null subject can be identified by interpreting the agreement features which embedded within the (V) [*ḥōm*] ‘want’, namely, according to the similarity in interpretable features between the predicate and the null subject, we can possibly determine this null subject, specifying it as the external argument of the (V) [*ḥōm*] ‘want’ which c-commands functional co-ordination phrase (CORDP) ‘*l-ektēb ḥat we-l-ṣōnī rsūl*’ ‘I want to write a letter and to hire a messenger’ which headed by functional coordination item [*we*] ‘and’, that means by excluding the overt or covert subject, the two non-finite tensed phrase were co-ordinated, that is by realizing the co-ordination condition ‘the constituents which have the same properties can be co-ordinated’, Radford (2004: 68), as pointed out in this figure:

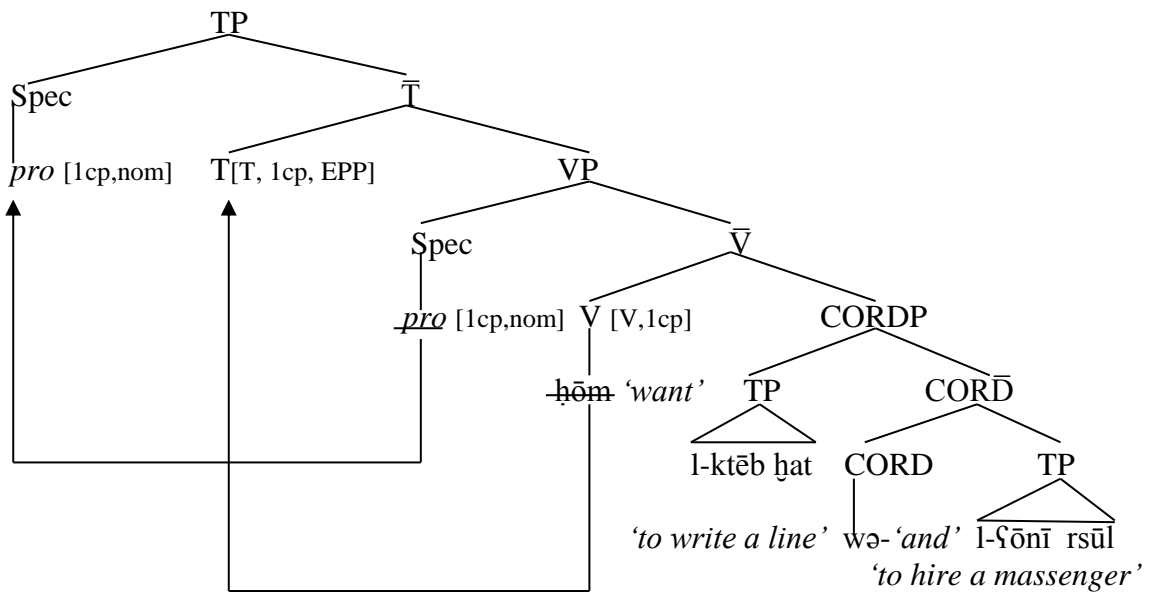


Figure 4.30: the *pro* in [*ḥōm lektēb ḥat we-l-ṣōnī rsūl*] ‘I want to write a line and to hire a messenger’

As demonstrated in section (4.3.1) the distributions of the subject, the pre or post-verbal subject must agree with (T) or predicate and has only one theta role assigning the nominative case, in sample (40) [ti-tiḵḵ-an ḥārawn ḥmuh] ‘the goats were drinking water’ the null subject is clearly specified the interpretable features [ti-V-an] ‘3f.p.’ which inherited within (V) in (VP) before movement and within finite (T) that raising up the (V) to the head position of (TP) as well as the [EPP] feature in finite (T) that extends to (TP) projection having the (*pro*) as its subject and being redundant in (VP) shell. Significantly, like such cases, it can be found that there are two types of subjects the overt subject [ḥārawn] ‘the goats’ is located in the (Spec-VP) and the covert subject *pro* in the (Spec-TP). The figure (4.32) shows the distribution of the subject in these two cases:

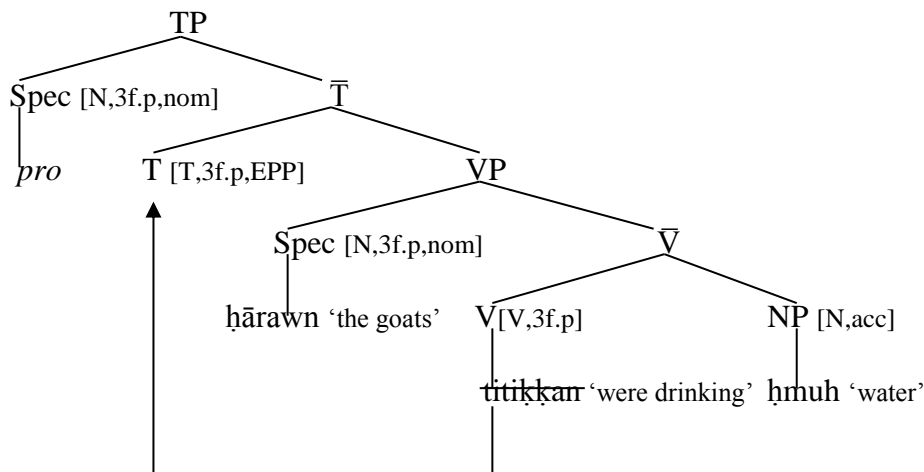


Figure 4.31: the *pro* in [ti-tiḵḵ-an ḥārawn ḥmuh] ‘the goats were drinking water’

Like Arabic, Mahri allows an imperative inaudible subject in imperative syntactic structures, such as (41) [ḥlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan] ‘(You) Mix this bean in your beans’, these null subjects are intrinsically second person, where the grammatical features are overtly attached with finite (T) or predicate as noticed in this structure:

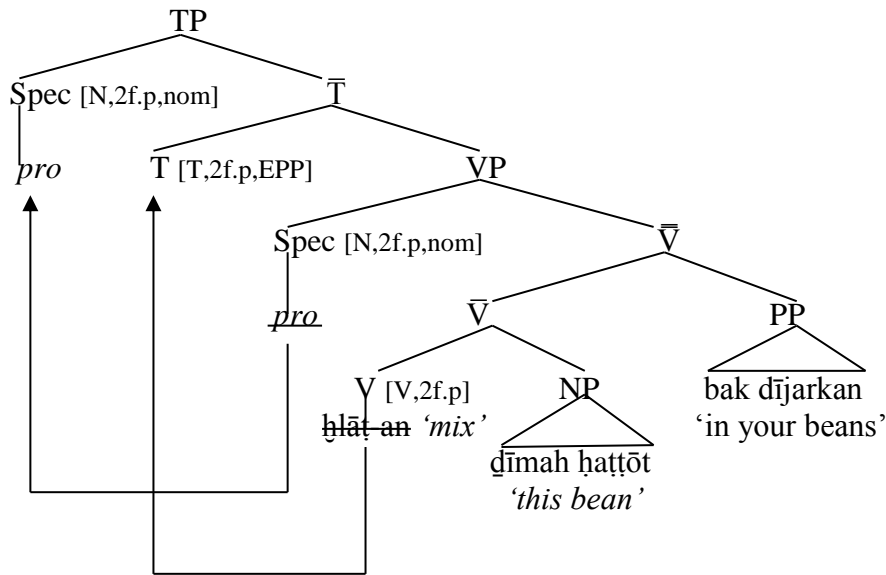


Figure 4.32: the *pro* in Mahri imperative sentence [hlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan] '(You) Mix this bean in your beans'

Basically in (41), the (V) [hlāṭan] '(you) mix' which inherently has overt morphological features, second person, feminine and plural agreement properties and in addition to tense aspect which denotes the imperative and command feature, this verb as seen in the syntactic structure merged with internal argument (NP) [dīmah ḥaṭṭōt] 'this bean' forming lower (V-bar) and then this (V-bar) extended and merged with optional complement or adjunct (PP) [bak dījarkan] 'in your beans' getting the result of higher intermediate projection (V-double-bar) [hlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan] 'Mix this bean in your beans', since the transitivity of verb requires an external subject this (V-bar) will be also integrated with covert subject which its obvious marks already embedded in the predicate forming the maximal projection or what so called the internal verbal phrase (VP) [hlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan] '(You) Mix this bean in your beans'. As it mentioned the (V) [hlāṭan] 'you mix' embedded interpretable features, namely, tense aspect and agreement features, the (VP) split out to higher functional projection such as (TP) or (AGRP). Basically, the finite (T) is normally weak feature because it not overtly seen within a structure, thus, the (V) [hlāṭan] 'you mix' will be covertly raised up to adjoin it, forming (T-bar) [T hlāṭan dīmah ḥaṭṭōt bak dījarkan], this (T-bar) requires a

subject, however, the [EPP] feature in (T) attracts the *pro* from (Spec-VP) to the (Spec-TP) getting the full agreement between (T) and (*pro*) as well as uninterpretable features of nominative case in null subject.

Moving to the last structure (42) in ‘Appendix A’ [meyten ġalkōna š-ī?] ‘When will look at me?’ it must be considered the syntactic structure in figure below:

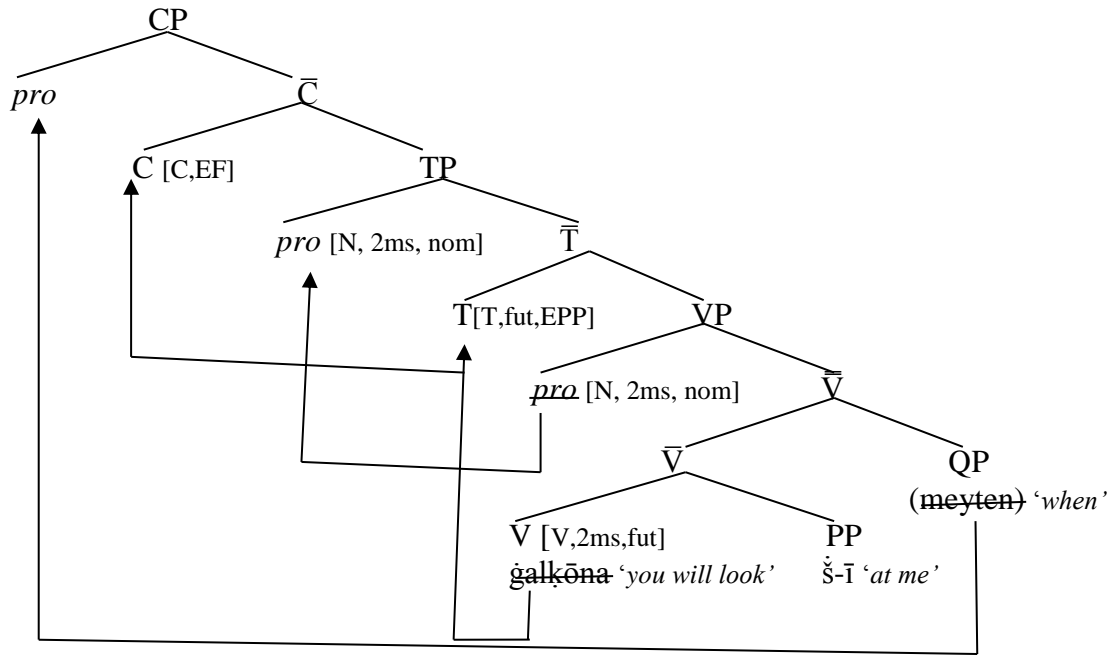


Figure 4.34: the *pro* in interrogative sentence [meyten ġalkōna š-ī?] ‘When will look at me?’

In (VP) [ġalkō-na š-ī meyten] ‘you will look at me (when)’, it can be observed that the agreement features are overtly existed in (V) [ġalkō-na] ‘you will look’, being ‘2m.s’ whereas the aspect features are semantically understood as in future ‘will’. Generally, the (TP) can be generated by rising up the (V) to match the head (T) position in (TP) forming (T-bar) [Tġalkōna š-ī meyten] ‘will look at me when’. Since (T) bears [EPP] feature the (T-bar) projection will be extended to merge with *pro* which moved from (Spec-VP) to the (Spec-TP) forming (TP) [ġalkōna š-ī meyten] ‘you will look at me (when)’. Subsequently the finite (T) in (TP) is raised up to attach the strong (C) in (CP) forming (C-bar), under the cause of [EF] which inherited within (C), the (C-bar) will be

extended to (CP) by attracting the verbal complement adjunct (QP) [meyten] ‘*when*’ to the [Spec-CP] forming the interrogative sentence [meyten *pro* ġalkōna š-ī meytē] ‘*when will you look at me*’. Summing up, this section showed that the *pro* constituent in ML could be found in different syntactic places, in ordinary sentence, control clause, imperative clause and sometimes in interrogative clause, and in each one of these there must be agreement between this *pro* and predicates.

Lastly, it was noticed that the syntactic word order in ML is deemed to be optional. In brief summary, with regards to strengthen condition in (MP) the internal (VP) shell could spell out into functional phrases, namely (TP) forming (VSO) and (AGRP) forming (SVO), in one of which there is a balance in spec-head relations either the subject is overtly or covertly constructed in the typical sentence. On the other side, the internal verbal projection can be broken up also into further functional phrases as seen in (CP) and (FocP) that is by attracting the complement verbal constituents to form interrogative or focalized clauses, in these two cases, it sometimes found the [OVS] and [VOS] word orders.

4.4 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter the researcher has been provided precise facts of the morphological and syntactic properties of ML, described the major features as well as the embedded grammatical features in lexical items, mentioned the syntactic relationship between constituents in Mahri phrasal structures and established how the presence of formal features affect the word order in a language.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

According to research questions, this chapter presents the overall results of this study and by establishing different types of lexical items and sentential constructions from specific written texts; this chapter provides the findings of study which describe the morpho-syntactic features of the minority ML. It also highlights the contributions and some recommendations for future researchers.

5.1 Summary of results according to research questions

5.1.1 *What are the Morphological features of Mahri discourse?*

Regarding to the foregoing research question, the findings in this study revealed four major lexical categories in ML. Each one of these categories may be overtly or covertly embedded different types of interpretable features. In short, it is found that a person who speaks ML cognitively could specify the typical features of nouns, verbs and adjectives which inherently bear morphological features, for example he has the ability to determine that the (N) [drhīs] ‘*small kid goat*’ which taken from folklore story (Bā Nuwās and the Bean, line 40 of Appendix B) is a feminine gender in nature but grammatically it functions as a masculine gender and singular number, the (A) [rhīm-ət] ‘*beautiful*’ in (sentence 10 of Appendix A ‘Camel Beauty Competition’ line 20) is a feminine gender and singular number feature and the (V) [hōm] ‘*want*’ in (line 1 of ‘Lyric Poem 8, Appendix B, [hōm lektēb ḥat]) is a first person, common gender and singular number which means ‘*I want*’. More clearly, the internally cognitive system in person’s mind could help any speaker of this minority language to differentiate all morphological features of a typical constituent, either these features are visible or

invisible on the script, for instance, the (V) [ḡalkō-na] in (sentence 41 of Appendix A ‘*will look*’ in this poetic stanza [meyten ḡalkōna š-ī?] ‘*When will look at me?*’), the agreement features [-na] ‘2m.s’ are overtly visible, whereas the aspect feature ‘*will*’ is invisible. On the other side, the prepositions in ML remain free from any morphological features except preposition [k-] ‘*with/at*’ which occurred before nominal, whereas its corresponding [š-] prefixed the pronominal, in both cases, the speaker who mentioned the proper nouns should use the [k-] as in [ka-ḡaybīt] ‘*with camel*’ in (sentence 29 of ‘Father Story’ line 14, Appendix A) and [š-ī] ‘*with/at me*’ in (Appendix A sentence 41 ‘*will look at me*’ in this poetic stanza [meyten ḡalkōna š-ī?] ‘*When will look at me?*’). Furthermore, in research question one; it has been argued that the tensed negative feature and imperfective forms are weak features because they simply lack in temporal information, for example in (line 51 of ‘Bā Nuwās and the Bean’ Appendix B) the tensed negative phrases [al-ḡōm-lā] ‘*I don’t want*’ and [al-aḡbalh-lā] ‘*I won’t accept it*’ are weak because in a contrary to Arabic where the negative particles bear aspect features, the negative particle [al—lā] in ML lacks in that, it heavily depends on the predicate either (T) or (V) as seen in [al-ḡōm-lā] in present and [al-aḡbalh-lā] in future.

5.1.2 What is the syntactic relationship among phrasal structures?

Using the projection principle and X-bar format in formal syntax, it is apparent that the phrasal structures in ML could be constructed via Merge operation. The constituents are hierarchically merged to create larger phrases. In each one of lexical and functional phrases, there is a head constituent which is the projection of the resulting phrases. This head constituent determines the grammatical and semantic interpretations of the overall phrases, for example in (VP) [hābū yə-ḡəwḡ-am dār hībēr] ‘*People (go to pilgrimage) by riding camels*’, the (V) [yə-ḡəwḡ-am] ‘*go to pilgrimage*’ determines the semantic properties of this phrase, by giving the meaning of the process how people traveling to pilgrimage as well as the grammatical properties of

being present simple and have morphological features to agree with its external subject. In the case of syntactic relations in phrasal structures, it is found that in any phrase the head constituent has the properties of selecting the type of words to build up the theory of syntax, however, this relationship is summarized by considering the following table which shows the samples of how the head constituent involves with its optional specifiers and complements to form larger phrase structures:

Table 5.1: the result of syntactic relations in Mahri phrasal structures:

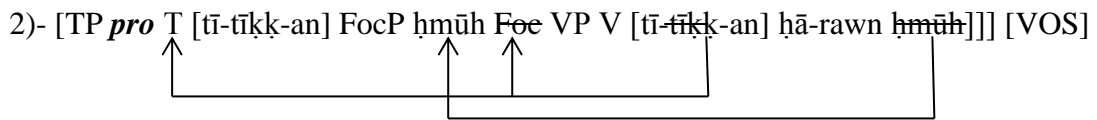
Phrase	Specifier	Head	Complement	Examples ‘Narrative Texts Appendices’
NP	Det	N <u>hattōt</u> ‘bean’	Ø PP	šī dīmah <u>hattōt</u> Det dīmah <u>hattōt</u> Ø ‘I have this <u>bean</u> ’ hlāṭan Det dīmah <u>hattōt</u> PP bak dījar (You) Mix this <u>bean</u> in beans’
VP	<i>Pro</i> Nominal	V <u>mōt</u> ‘to die’ <u>thaḡawm</u> ‘to suckle’ <u>syūran</u> ‘to go’ <u>kōbī</u> ‘to think’ <u>hōm</u> ‘to want’	Ø NP PP CP TP	NP darhīs-ī <u>mōt</u> Ø ‘My two month goat <u>died</u> ’ NP hām-ay <u>thaḡawm</u> NP hītār ‘My mother <u>was suckling</u> two week goats’ Pro <u>syūran</u> PP bark hā-rawn ‘We <u>went</u> among the goats’ Pro <u>kōbī</u> CP mahḡalīḡ yāṣawber ‘I <u>think</u> that man could endure’ Pro <u>hōm</u> TP lektēb ḡat ‘I <u>want</u> to write a letter’
AP	Deg	A <u>ḡīd-ət</u> ‘Beautiful’	Ø NP	Deg wīyan <u>ḡīd-ət</u> Ø ‘Very <u>beautiful</u> ’ Deg wīyan <u>ḡīd-ət</u> NP dīkmah ībīt ‘Very <u>beautiful</u> that camel’
PP	NP	P <u>da</u> ‘of’ <u>mən</u> ‘of’	NP NP	NP šaff <u>da</u> - NP hā-gūr ‘tracks <u>of</u> the slave’ Q bās <u>mən</u> NP hā-bū ‘some <u>of</u> the people’
TP	NP	<u>Null T</u>	VP	NP hām-ay <u>T</u> <i>past</i> VP hām-ay t-haḡawm hītār ‘My mother <u>was</u> suckling the kids’
CP	QP	<u>Null C</u>	TP	QP meyten <u>C</u> TP ḡalkōna š-ī?] ‘When <u>BRO</u> will you look at me’

5.1.3 What extent do the formal features affect the typological order structures in Mahri?

Examining different proposals of syntactic word orders in ML, the researcher presumed that the word orders in this language are assumed to be optional, that is by getting the evidences of agreement features in spec-head relation, namely, the overt or

covert external subject should reflect agreement formal features which embedded within finite (T) or predicate (V), for example, in (sentence 40 ‘Appendix A’ [hā-rawn tī-tīk-k-an ḥmūh] ‘*the goats were drinking water*’) the morphological features maintain in both constituents, the external subject [hā-rawn] ‘*the goats*’ and the predicate verb [tī-tīk-k-an] ‘*to drink*’, in this case, we found that under the dominance of (AGRP) we could elicit the [SVO] word order, where the genuine subject [hā-rawn] ‘*the goats*’ reflects the same morphological features which are embedded within (V) [tī-V-an] ‘*to drink*’, particularly, (3f.p) agreement features. In [VSO] proposal, it has demonstrated that there are two assumptions of finding subject in this proposal, (1) the *pro* constituent as seen here [pro tī-tīk-k-an ḥmūh] ‘(*they*) *were drinking water*’, (2) the double subjects; *pro* and its redundant subject which represent by this form [pro tī-tīk-k-an hā-rawn ḥmūh], in all cases, the agreement between external *pro* and predicate is strongly found, they reflect each one features, but in the second proposal [VSO] the (TP) dominates (AGRP), whereas the versa in [SVO]. To make focus on a specific purpose, the Mahri speakers sometimes use two further syntactic orders [OVS] and [VOS]. In each one of these proposals, the genuine subject appears at the end of the sentences and still maintains the same features of its predicate, being the agent or the doer of the specific actions. More specifically in [OVS], the object [ḥmūh] ‘*water*’ receives an emphatic stress and then moved to the front of the sentence, where the subject [hā-rawn] ‘*the goats*’ stays at the back of the sentence, agreeing in morphological features with (V) [tī-tīk-k-an], whereas in [VOS] the verb subsequently moved from its canonical position in (VP) to head (Foc) in (FocP) then to the head (T) in (TP) where the (Spec-T) is *pro* and being redundant at the end of the structures too, as seen respectively in these two structures of sentence ‘*The goats were drinking water*’:

- 1)- [FocP ḥmūh Foc VP V [tī-tīk-k-an] hā-rawn ḥmūh] [OVS]
-



An important point elicited from the corpus analysis is that the uninterpretable features in ML could be remarked from the context nature of their positions in sentences. Unlike SA which is quite easy to demonstrate all case assignments, the nominative and accusative cases by using specific case markers such as [-u], [-a] and [-e] as seen respectively in [l-ʔawlaad-u] ‘the boys’ bears a nominative case in [l-ʔawlaad-u darab-u l-bint-a] ‘The boys hit the girl’, in ML all these features are unmarked, for example in above explicated sentence [ḥā-rawn tī-tīkḵ-an ḥmūh] ‘the goats were drinking water’, the uninterpretable features, namely, nominative and accusative cases in [ḥā-rawn] ‘the goates’ and [ḥmūh] ‘water’ are free morphemes and could be naturally understood without any additional affixes to specify them.

5.2 Contribution of the study

While the minority Mahri language was oppressed, neglected and denied for a long time, this study considered as a solid contribution for the preservation of this endangered language. Initially, this study signifies the genetic foundation of this language within Afro-Asiatic family and Semitic group and attempts to grasp some social aspects of Mahri speakers. Then, it reveals the array of barriers and challenges which motivated the native speaker researcher to provide theoretical linguistic work by adopting specific principles and facts from Chomsky’s Minimalist Program which represented by X-bar theory to describe the embedded morphological and syntactic features of ML. One of the main strength of this study is its ability to relate the social and cultural phenomena with language use in a society by analyzing the naturalistic data which reflect the surrounding sociolinguistic context of the language. This study, from its title (morpho-syntactic features) contributes to show how the formal features

interface the morphological and syntactic components of ML, which worth briefly saying that the ML is morphologically complex where the affixation correlate the overall components morphology, phonology and syntax in a language. Finally, it is hoped that this simple work could be adding something new to faculty of languages and linguistics in Malaya University and just considered as the fundamental stone which can be built upon by adopting further studies in future about Mahri language.

5.3 Recommendations for the future researchers

As known that Mahri is still poor in receiving any published articles or academic researches, the future's researchers may consider and tackle the following linguistic phenomena:

- 1- Since the limits of this study was narrowed to focus on analyzing the morpho-syntactic features, the future's researchers may investigate the structure of Mahri language from multidimensional angles, the declarative sentence, interrogative sentence and exclamatory sentence etc.
- 2- As this study is restricted to analyze written texts, the future's researchers may use field work approach, collecting the primary data from the elder native speakers who are qualified in Mahri language.
- 3- As this study did not have much favor in studying the linguistic diversity of Mahri dialects, the next studies may make a comparison study between dialects in specific domains.
- 4- Regarding to the fact of language change or language shift, the future's researchers may explore the influence of the dominant language Arabic on this minority language, by focusing lexically, morphologically and syntactically on language changes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Table of data collections

This table shows how the data collections were taken from written narrative texts, stories and lyric poems. The researcher as the native speaker who knows the distribution of ML made slight changes in some of these data that is by providing equivalent words or making syntactic varieties in order to meet the objectives of the study morpho-syntactic features of Mahri.

Data Collections	Name of the Source	Main texts and Translations
1)- <u>dōmāh šhōf</u> mātk 'this milk is nice'	Source: goat story line 5	šarrayt / hām sēh šarrayt yaxah tnōka ba-šxōf ār mat hlabš tēs tnōka bi- <u>šxōf</u> ?aynat al-?aynat / mākan hām sēh rafxayt tnōka bi- <u>šxōf</u> mēkin tawr tād/ šarrayt, Gloss: If she is šarrayt that means she gives milk, when you milk her, she gives milk only drop by drop. But if she is rafxayt she gives a lot of milk in one go.
2)- <u>hām-ay thağawm</u> ?rbōt <u>hītār</u> 'My mother was suckling four small goat'	Source: goat story line 2	<u>hām-ay thağawm hītār</u> / Gloss: My mother was helping the kids suckle.
3)- <u>šəṣṣūt lēhaytan</u> 'three cows'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 34	wa-syōr man hlakmah / syō:r at-tā: ykays baṣlī lhaytan / rbōt ḡakm darhīs ba-hhān / m-tāl at- tarṣāyan <u>lhavtan</u> lyakmah / wa-ṭarḥīh / w-hēh syōr manh / syōr manh / Gloss: He went until he found cattle herders. He tethered that kid by a thing where those cattle were grazing. He left it and went away from it. He went away from it.
4)- <u>rīkēbī trōht</u> two riding animals	Source: Father story line 2	wa-ṭawr hīs barah ḡi-yirdūd / ḡār hōram yihōm yirdēd ūboh / ših <u>ībī</u> <u>travt/ rīkōb</u> / ṭayt ḡ-irkūb ḡayris Gloss: And once, when he was about to return, on the road he wanted to return tohere. He had two camels,
5)- <u>rōram-ī</u> trayt 'two seas'	Source: Sea story line 4	wa-hīs barham / ba- <u>rōram</u> / wa-man ṭabṣātham / wa-AmawjūdahA ḡīmah / bak xadamāt yaṣmīlam / yšlīl sawt / yīšlīl sawt / wa-yṭablam līs / wa- hmōlam jamāṣat ba-sawt / wa-mbrūk hīs-wōt axah wkōb barkīham lā / AaywahA Gloss: And when they were at sea, one of their customs when they were working was to sing shanties, to sing shanties, and to play the drum and the crew would sing. Ambrūk then didn't enter in with them. Yes.
6)- <u>š-ay ḡūr sōh</u> 'I have big slave'	Source: Father story line 4	amūr aḡ-haybī hōh šay ḡūr / <u>šay ḡūr sō:x sōx</u> / Gloss: the man he was sitting with said to my father, 'I've got a slave. I have a very big slave.'
7)- <u>hō-ḡūr rhīs</u> 'The slave is cheap'	Source: Father story line 5	amūr hōh šamūlūk2 <u>tah AraxīsA</u> / amūr haybī al-ḡamah lā / imtalēh aḡayg

		amūr hēh šamū(n) lūk tah Abi-hāga basītahA / Gloss: <i>He [the man] said, 'I'll sell him to you cheaply.' My father said, 'I don't want him.' Then the man said, 'I'll sell him to you for next to nothing.'</i>
8)- <u>Hēt zehket-k lūl</u> 'Your smile is a pearl'	Source: Lyric poem 15 Line 8	Hēt zehket-k lūl +++ bōrek d-īglūl we-mtōnī mayl+++ baḥt d-heh hnūk Gloss: <i>Your smile is a pearl+++lightning that flashes/ Your incisors are complete+++ lucky is the man with you</i>
9)- <u>anḥarīr dā-hay-bīt twayl</u> 'The tall nose of the camel'	Source: Camel beauty competitions line 12	arḥūmat ār b-anxarīr / wa-ḡah4 anxarīr ārayš anxarīr / yikā? twayl / wayikā? xōtar / ārayš / Gloss: <i>Good conformation is just in the nose, and there the nose is wide. It should be long and at the base it should be wide.</i>
10)- aḥmēd arḥām mən əʕlī 'Ahmed is nicer than Ali'	Source: Camel beauty competitions line 20	tkūn haybīt arḥām /bālīt šiff atlākōt / ū-mākanī bālīt šiff aḡatarāt aw ḥasist Gloss: <i>Some have rough fur and the camel is more beautiful, one with smooth fur, but one with curly fur or not muchfur [isn't so beautiful].</i>
11)- <u>hay-bīt dīmāh dā-arḥāš mīn ḥəbēʔr kal</u> 'this camel is the cheapest'	Source: Father story line 25	wa-šill <u>haybīt</u> xyūr da-hibēr kall wa-flūt ḡayris / Gloss: <i>and took the best of all the camels and escaped on it.</i>
12)- <u>ya-ššum</u> 'He sells/ he is selling'	Source: Father story line 5	amūr hōh šamūlūk2 tah AraxīšA / amūr haybī al-ḥamah lā / imtalēh aḡayg amūr hēh šamū(n) lūk tah Abi-hāga basītahA / Gloss: <i>He [the man] said, 'I'll sell him to you cheaply.' My father said, 'I don't want him.' Then the man said, 'I'll sell him to you for next to nothing.'</i>
13)- <u>haybī tmūl ʔayantha</u> 'My father closed his eyes'	Source: Father story line 12	haybī tmūl ʔayantha / šūkūf / ḡa-hawḡa? amandawḡ anxalya ḥruhha Gloss: <i>My father closed his eyes and went to sleep, having laid the gun under his head.</i>
15)- al nūkaʕ lā '(he) did not come'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 28	at-tā: nūkaʕ bīs tāl baʕlīḥ ḥārawn Gloss: <i>until he took it to girl goat herders,</i>
16)- hōm l-hkā bšār-ī mən <u>ezevne-h w-zehket-h</u> 'I want to quench my eyes from her beauty and smile'	Source: Lyric poem 14 Line 7	aḥōm leḡtīwī šeh+++w-lettōma l-herḡeth we-bšār-ī l-hkā +++ mən ezevne-h zehket-h Gloss: <i>I just want to flirt with her+++and listen to her talk/ to my eyes with her beauty and smile'</i>
17)- Ġābēm ḡōlī leḡtīr <u>mən ekemmet-h</u> '(You) let my darling speak from her mind'	Source: Lyric poem 14 Line 1	Ġābēm ḡōlī le 'eššōk+++leḡtīr mən ekemmet-h Gloss: <i>Leave my darling to hear heart's desire+++ and let her speak from her mind</i>
18)- <u>dīmāh hattōt bark ḡakmah kadḥ</u> 'this bean in that cooking pot'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 14	xlōt hēh klōb hēh hattōt dikm / bak / ḥān ḡakm ḡadḥ ḡakm aw jaḥlēt ḡikm /mat-thabhōlan bīs / Gloss: <i>They mixed [it in] for him. They put that bean of his into that thing, that pot or pot [jaḥlēt] that they were cooking in.</i>

19)- <u>darhīs-ī mōt</u> 'My two month goat died'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 40	ʕamōr / AxalāṣA hōm ār AšismahA / <u>darhīs mōt</u> / Gloss: He said, 'That's it. All I want is my [...] what's it called. My kid is dead.'
20)- <u>hām-ay thaḡawm hītār</u> 'My mother was suckling two week goats'	Source: goat story line 2	<u>hām-ay thaḡawm hītār</u> / Gloss: My mother was helping the kids suckle.
21) <u>ḡīmah ṭbīt rhīmāt</u> 'this camel is beautiful'	Source: Camel beauty competitions line 1	šay <u>ṭbīt arhaymat</u> w-aḡōm alhawkabas amzāyanah Gloss: I have a beautiful camel and I want to put her in a beauty competition
22)- <u>hābū yəḡḡawḡ-am dār hībēr</u> 'People make pilgrimage by riding camels'	Source: Hajj story line 1	āmawr hayš / ā tamīmah / āmawr aš amīham hābū / <u>visyawr ār dār hībēr tā hagg</u> / Gloss: They told you, Tamīmah. They said, people used to go on the hajj by camel.
23)- <u>syūran bark ḡā-rawn</u> 'We went among the goats'	Source: goat story line 1	īmoh <u>syūran bark ḡārawn</u> wa-kūsan hītār wa-ṭārōḡ / wa-tayyah wa-rawn / wa-hītār yūḡaym min ḡārawn / Today we went among the goats and found female and male kids, a billy goat and female goats, and the kids were suckling from the goats.
24)- <u>hām-ay təḡzōn mən ḡā-rawn</u> 'My mother likes the goat'	Source: goat story line 7	wa-titiḡḡan ḡmuh ḡārawn / <u>wa-hām-ay taḡšō n minsēn</u> / hōh aḡšō n minsēnāša mī šarōmah lā / šarōmah ašxāsan / Gloss: Goats drink water. My mother likes them. I used to be fond of them, but not now. Now I find them dirty.
25)- <u>azāmm-əh darhīs</u> 'Give him a two month goat'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 33	ʕamōr yallah <u>azammah darhīs</u> / fatkan man bā nwās / Gloss: They said, 'Go on then. Give him the kid! We've got rid of Bā Nuwās!'
26)- <u>ʕamōr-am syōr ba-dīkmah hattōt</u> 'they said that he went with that bean'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 2	<u>ʕamōr-am syōr ba-dīkm</u> šēh dīkm <u>hattōt</u> wa-syōr syōr syōr syōr l-hīs yʕamram kall snīnan / Gloss: They say he took that, he had that bean, and walked and walked and walked, as they say a long time ago.
27)- <u>hōm l-ktēb ḡātt</u> 'I want to write a letter'	Source: Lyric poem 8 Line 1	<u>hōm l-ktēb ḡātt</u> +++ we-l-ḡōnī rsūl Gloss: 'I want to write a line+++ and to hire a messenger'
28)- wīyan <u>rhaymat</u> dīkmah ṭbīt ḡ-bark a-šayḡaṣ 'very beautiful that camel which <u>is</u> in the shed'	Source: Camel beauty competitions line 1	šay <u>ṭbīt arhaymat</u> w-aḡōm alhawkabas amzāyanah Gloss: I have a beautiful camel and I want to put her in a beauty competition

29- <u>šaff da-hāgūr ka-haybīt</u> 'the tracks of the slave with the camel'	Source: Father story line 14	wa-ḥašš la-tawr amšēgar <u>šaff da-hāgūr ka-haybīt</u> / da-hāgūr wa-haybīt u-mgōran / habarkīs / wa-l-ād ḥašš šaff d-aḡayg lā AabārahA rīkab dār haybīt / wa-ksūh haybīt as-sayūr4 bi-hḡays / Gloss: He tracked at one stage the tracks of the slave with the camel, the slave and the camel and then he'd got it15 to kneel. He could no longer see the man's tracks. That's to say, he'd mounted the camel and he found the camel had set off at speed.
30)- bās mən hā-bū b-a-rhbēt 'some of the people in the city'	self added	researcher's knowledge of ML
31)- Hāšan <u>da-y-šmīl-am hā-bū</u> <i>What were people doing?</i>	Source: Sea story line 7	Askari: wa- <u>hām da-yšmīlam hāh</u> tawr dakm / Gloss: And what were they doing then?
32)- <u>thaḡawm hām-ay hītār</u> 'My mother was suckling two week goats'	Source: goat story line 2	<u>hāmāy thaḡawm hītār</u> / Gloss: My mother was helping the kids suckle.
33)- <u>hā-rawn tī-tīkk-an hmūh</u> 'The goats was drinking water'	Source: goat story line 7	wa- <u>tītkkan hmuh hārawn</u> / wa-hāmāy taḡšō n minsēn / hōh aḡšō n minsēn āšq mī šarōmah lā / Gloss: Goats drink water. My mother likes them. I used to be fond of them, but not now. Now I find them dirty.
34)- Kīs <u>ya-hakar-am ha-a-rhbēt</u> hābū 'the people will move to the city'	Source: The hajj by foot line 6	amtalēh āmūr hīham <u>kafdōn arhabēt</u> Gloss: Then he told them, 'I'm going down to the town.
35)a- katab-uu 'they wrote' b- r-hm-u llh 'May God bless him' c- llh ya-r-hm-u 'May God bless him'	Arabic samples	Adopted from Soltan (2011) They only used for declaration
36)- <u>šamōr-am</u> 'they said'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 3	<u>šamōram</u> syō:r1 at-tā ksuh ḡajjūtan bašlī hārawn at-taršāyan / wa-t-tašmōlan2 / jalšaym / yā da-dījar / yā da-šayš Gloss: They say he went until he met goat girls grazing goats and making [a beandish called] jalšaym. Either with beans or with sorghum.
37)- <u>šamōr-am syōr ba-dikmah hattōt</u> 'they said that he went with that bean'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 2	<u>šamōr-am syōr ba-dikm</u> šēh dīkm <u>hattōt</u> wa-syōr syōr syōr syōr l-hīs yšamram kall snīnan / Gloss: They say he took that, he had that bean, and walked and walked and walked, as they say a long time ago.
38)- <u>kōbī mahḡalīk yəšawber</u> 'I think that man could endure'	Source: Lyric poem 6 Line 1	<u>kōbī mahḡalīk yəšawber</u> +++ we-ššagwē d-beh yḡeyfeh Gloss: I used to think that man could endure+++and hid the distress that is in him
39)- <u>hōm lektēb ḡat we-l-šōnī rsūl</u> 'I want to write a letter and to hire a messenger'	Source: Lyric poem 8 Line 1	<u>hōm l-ktēb ḡatt</u> +++ <u>we-l-šōnī rsūl</u> Gloss: 'I want to write a line+++ and to hire a messenger'
40)- <u>tī-tīkk-an hā-rawn hmūh</u> 'the goats were drinking water'	Source: goat story line 7	wa- <u>tītkkan hmuh hārawn</u> / wa-hāmāy taḡšō n minsēn / hōh aḡšō n minsēn āšq mī šarōmah lā / Gloss: Goats drink water. My mother likes them. I used to be fond of them, but not now. Now I find

		<i>them dirty.</i>
41)- <u>meyten ġalkōna š-ī ?</u> 'when will you look at me?'	Source: Lyric poem 2 line 2	<u>meyten ġalkōna š-ī</u> ?++++w-reḥmenī men eġawr Gloss: when will look at me+++and show pity on this cruelty?
42)- <u>hlātan dīmah hattōt bak dījarkan</u> '(You) Mix this bean in your beans'	Source: the story of Bā Nuwās and the bean line 6	Ṣamōr hōh šī dīmah ḥattōt / ḥamkan <u>taxlātan</u> <u>hīnī dīmah hattōt / bak dījar dōmah aw ʿayś</u> <u>dōmah</u> / aš-šīkan3 / at-tabhahnah4 at -ṭār šīwōṭ / Gloss: He said, 'I have this bean. I want you to mix this bean for me with those beans or that sorghum that you have, that you are cooking on the fire.'

Appendix B: Sample of written narrative texts

1- Storytelling:

These two sample stories were frequently and directly recorded from the native speakers and translated by Janet Watson as the field work:

1.1 Bā Nuwās and the bean

‘Male speaker, age c. 50 years at time of recording. Born in Jōdab, Ḥawf, in Yemen. Recorded in February 2008, al-Ghaydhah, Yemen. Recorded directly onto Adobe Audition 1.5 through USB microphone. Saved in WAV format’, Watson (2012)

1. ʕamōram maxṭār bā nwās / baʕṣ yʕamram šēh dajarīt w-nḥah nʕōmar šēh ḥaṭṭōt / ḥaṭṭōt ḡa-dējar / aw ḥaṭṭōt ḡa-ʕays / Aallāhu aʕlamA /
2. ʕamōr syōr ba-ḡikm šēh ḡikm ḥaṭṭōt wa-syōr syōr syōr syōr l-hīs yʕamram kall snīnan /
3. ʕamōram syō:r1 at-tā ksuḥ ḡajjūtan baʕṣit ḥārawn at-tarʕāyan / wa-t-taʕmōlan2 / jalʕaym / yā ḡa-dījar / yā ḡa-ʕays / at-tajalʕōman /
4. w-šēh ḡikm ḥaṭṭōt / tā nūkaʕ hnīsan / klob līsan ḥōl w-kalʕīyan /
5. ʕamōr wkōh hēt ā bā nwās /
6. ʕamōr hōh šī ḡīmah ḥaṭṭōt / ḥamkan taxlātan hīnī ḡīmah ḥaṭṭōt / bak dījar ḡōmah aw ʕays ḡōmah / aš-šīkan3 / at-tabḥalnah4 aṭ -ṭār šīwōṭ /
7. ʕamōr hēt šūk ār ḥaṭṭōt ḡīm ṭīt / traḥs šūk / wa-nḥah / maš nḥabhal swē bass ḡōm dījar aw ʕays / wa-l-hīs ṭhōm manh šō ṭ AyaʕnīA tē tā aššabāʕ manh /
8. ʕamōr abdan / ykūn lā / ār xlātan hīnī ḡīmah ḥaṭṭōt /
9. ā bā nwās hībōh naxlāt hūk ḥaṭṭōt / wa-hēt šūk ār ḥaṭṭōt ṭīt / wa-nḥah sān kaḥf m-tāl hēh ḡlaḡḡ ḡa-mīlī yā ʕays yā dījar /
11. ʕamōr abdan aʕʕamh lā / kaṭ / wa-l-ḥamh lā wa-yḥūdar ḡardī lā ḡōm ḡutkan ār wa-xlaṭkan hīnī ḥnīt / ḥaṭṭōt /
12. yā šadd yā ʕalaj yā šadd yā ʕalaj yā bā nwās wṭōmah lā /
13. ʕamōr abdan /
14. xlōṭ hēh klob hēh ḥaṭṭōt ḡikm / bak / ḥān ḡakm ḡadh ḡakm aw jaḥlēt ḡikm / at-thabḥōlan bīs /
15. AzamānA ḥābū šī šfūrī lā / šī mʕawdan lā / kallah ār ṭʕōr / yaʕmīlam ār ṭʕōr / sān ḡa-ḥmūh / wa-sān ḡa-jalʕaym / wa-ḡ-fēšal kallah / wa-ḡa-šxōf / šḡayl ḡa-šxōf wa-ḡḡayf ḡa-maḡḡ wa-ḡa-šxōf / kallah ār man AfxārA /
16. ḥābū kall snīnan yḡarbam šī lyōmah ḡa-nṣrōmah lā / yḡarbam šī AmustawradA man barr lā / kall xayrāt AmawjūdahA bār šū ṭan ṭawr ḡakm /
17. bass tā habḥūl / hīs barh bhūl jūrah lēh / bak šāḡan / ʕamōr hēh tē /
18. ʕamōr abdan / ḡōm nṣarōmah ḡōm ār ḥaṭṭōt /
19. ḥaṭṭutk ḥō / ḥō naḡlāḡ man ḥaṭṭutk bak ḡōm hāh / ʕays kallah wa-dījar ḡōm kallah /
20. ʕamōr aḡōrab ār ḥaṭṭōt /
21. bā nwās ʕaṭark tān ā bā nwās nḥah ḡa-jīʕan / nḡōm nafšē /

22. ʕamōr h̄wīyan h̄nī man haṭṭōtī man hāl t̄kās /
23. h̄bōh n̄garbas / n̄hah widʕan tīs h̄ō7 /
24. ʕamōr abdan azāman tī ār haṭṭōtī / atāywh lā / wa-tajrāḥan lī sī lā / h̄ōm ār haṭṭōtī /
25. man h̄ō h̄ābū yaḡrēbam haṭṭōt ɖa-bā nwās / s̄ān w-hēh s̄ān w-hēh s̄ānw-hēh /
26. ʕamōr abdan / wa-ḡayj yallāh / la-ḥkalēt / šaf yḥōm yaḥḥān8 yašlēl ɖahf / yḥōm yašlēl ɖahf kallah /
27. l-ʕad ɖdōr hēh b-salkēt lā / ʕamōr hēh yallah dūnak w-ɖahf aw jaḥlēt wa-l-hīn barkīs / šullīs /
28. šullīs man ḥlakma:h / at-tā: nūkaʕ bīs tāl baʕltī / tāl baʕltī ḥārawn / hōh ḥāwēlan hīs ʕamark ḥārawn lākin ḥāwēlan ksūh ḡajjūtan at-taʕmōlan ḥān / at-taʕmōlan / dījar aw ʕayś / tā nūkaʕ hāl baʕltī ḥārawn / ʕarḥīs ba-ṭrēf ūṭōmah / ɖahf ɖakmah ʕarḥīh ba-ṭrēf ūṭōmah / bass / wa-šxawalūl ʕaynat /
29. ankʕōt / ḥōz / wa-rkašō t ɖakm ḥān / ɖahf ɖakmah aw jaḥlēt ɖikmah / sēh man AṭīnA / ṭabarats / hīs ṭabarats / šanhūt: bā nwās / yā ɖahfī yā ɖahfī aw yā jaḥlētī yā jaḥlētī / ahā wa-bkūh / wkōh hēt ā bā nwās / ʕamōr dīmah ḥanōt ṭabaratlī ɖahfī / [...] ʕayś ɖa-šīn /
30. w-hīs bkūh / ʕamōr hēh ḡajjūtan lyakmah / yā ā bā nwās wkōh hēt tabkē lā / n̄hah wuzmūtan tūk ɖahf hīs ɖahfk / aw jaḥlēt hīs jaḥlatk /
31. ʕamōr abdan ykūn lā / h̄bōh h̄bōh h̄bōh h̄bōh / m-bōh wa-m-bōh / la-šaʕjūn wa-l-šaxbūz9 bā nwās /
32. ʕamōr abdan / l-ʕad sī lā:: /
33. ʕamōr yallah azamnah darhīs / fatkan man bā nwās /
34. wa-šull ɖakm darhīs wa-syōr man ḥlakmah / syō:r at-tā: ykays baʕltī lhaytan / rbōṭ ɖakm darhīs ba-ḥḥān / m-tāl at-tarʕāyan lhaytan lyakmah / wa-ʕarḥīh / w-hēh syōr manh / syōr manh /
35. l-ʕad sī lā / at-tā nkʕōt lē / fardōt man / darhīs ɖakmah / hīs fardath rkašā th / rkašāth / mōt darhīs / hīs nūkaʕ ksūh darhīs aw darhish bār mōt /
36. ʕamōr mōn ʕaymal wṭōmah mōn ʕaymal wṭōmah /
37. ʕamōram ɖak lē fardōt / darhisk wa-rkašā th /
38. šanhūt / bkūh / yā ʕays yā ʕays yā ʕays /
39. ā bā nwās wkōh hēt /
40. ʕamōr / AxalāṣA ḥōm ār AšismahA / darhīsī mōt /

41. ʕamōram hēh manlō naḥwē hūk man darhīs hīs darhisk /
42. ʕamōr abdanabdan / aḳbōl lā /
43. hām w-hēh hām w-hēh hām w-hēh hām w-hēh at-ta; / l-hīn nukʕam hēh man ḥall
yxayz manh / at-tā duʕʕam hēh lē /
44. ʕamōram azammah lēh wa-ktīf / wuzammah lē / wa-syōr man hniham / ʕamōram
hēh yallah nawwak / wa-l-ʕād / l-ʕād aśśanhanl l wa-l-ʕād anśanhak /
45. syōr ba-ḡakm / b-lē ḡikmah man ḥlakm / at-tā tāl baʕlī hbār / ḥābū hbār / AyaʕnīA
bak ambrīk bak ḳalbī / aw sān ḳaṭ axah at-taḳtabōśa n lā /
46. wa- / hīs nūkaʕ tāl baʕlī hbār lā / rʕanīs / rʕōn lē ḥlakmah ba-trēf ḡa-hbār / hīs bār
rʕanīs syōr mans / nukʕōt ḥaybīt / axah sēh fardōt ḡikm lē / tarakśa s / hīs rkaśa ts mtōt
lē /
47. hīs ʕād rudd hēh / AmidrīA ʕād l-hō syōr hēh / hīs ʕād rudd / hēh Aba-l-ʕamadA
yaʕmōl wṭōmah / xbōyaḳ ba-ḥābū / hīs ʕād rudd / ksūh lēh bār mtōt / wṭōm kīnah / wa-
bkuh hīs ʕīmal ba-lyēk ḥāwlētan kall /
48. wkōh hēt wkōh hēt wkōh hēt wkōh hēt /
49. ʕamōr lēy mtōt wa-ḥaybīt rkaśa ts wa-lēy bār mtōt /
50. ʕamōram mḡō nḥah ḡalkāya hūk man lē hīs lēyak / himʕak / wa-hūk ār lē
hīs lēyak / wa-wtkūl la-bālī /
51. ʕamōr mōn ʕamōr / ḥōm lā / aḳbalh lā ḡōmah / aḳbalh lā /
52. ār tḥōm hā /
53. ʕamōr AxlāʕA / tām ḡa-ḡrabkam / l-ʕad sī lā l-ʕad sī lā at-tā duʕʕam hēh /
AmḳābaA ḡa-lēh ḡikm ḡa-mtōt / w-fattakam man bā nwās wa-syōr manhām / wa-
tammōt kaṭtēt ḡīmah ḡa-bā nwās /

English translation of: 1.1 *Bā Nuwās and the bean*

1. They say once Bā Nuwās – some say he had a bean [using the word *dajarīt* lit. cowpea] but we say he had a bean [using the word *ḥaḥḥōf*], a bean or a grain of sorghum. God knows best.
2. They say he took that, he had that bean, and walked and walked and walked, as they say a long time ago.
3. They say he went until he met goat girls grazing goats and making [a bean dish called] *jalʿaym*. Either with beans or with sorghum. They were making *jalʿaym*.
4. He had that bean. When he reached them, he greeted them and everything.
5. They said, 'What's up, Bā Nuwās?'
6. He said, 'I have this bean. I want you to mix this bean for me with those beans or that sorghum that you have, that you are cooking on the fire.'
7. They said, 'You've only got that one bean. Keep it with you and we will cook these beans or sorghum, and whatever you want of it, take and eat until you are full.'
8. He said, 'No way! No. Just mix in this bean of mine!'
9. 'Oh Bā Nuwās, how can we mix this bean in for you, when you've [only] got that one bean, and we have a large pot, look at it, full of beans or sorghum?'
10. They tried and tried with him, until [...] He refused.
11. He said, 'No way! I won't taste it and I don't want it! That food of yours will only go down my throat if you mix in my thing, my bean!'
12. They argued back and forth. 'Oh Bā Nuwās, that won't do!'
13. He said, 'No way!'
14. They mixed [it in] for him. They put that bean of his into that thing, that pot or pot [*ḥaḥḥōf*] that they were cooking in.
15. For people in the past, there were no metal pots or containers. Everything was just [made of] clay. They worked with clay only. Some [were] for water, and some for bean stew, and for all types of things, and for milk [they called them] *ṣaḥḥit*, for milk, and pots for butter oil and milk. All were [made] of clay.
16. People in the past didn't know these [things] of now. They didn't know about [things] imported from abroad. Everything was there, they took it then [i.e. they didn't need to rely on outside things].
17. Anyway, when they had cooked, when it was ready, they gave him [some] on a plate. They said to him, 'Eat!'
18. He said, 'No way! I want, now I only want my bean.'

19. 'Where is your bean? Where should we look for your bean in all that sorghum and all that bean stew?'

20. He said, 'I'll only recognise my bean.'

21. 'Bā Nuwās, you've made trouble for us. Oh Bā Nuwās, we're hungry. We want to have lunch.'

22. He said, 'Look for my bean wherever it is!'

23. 'How would we recognise it? Where would we know it is?'

24. He said, 'No way! Give me my bean. I'll eat nothing and you will give me nothing, I just want my bean.'

25. How would people be able to recognize Bā Nuwās's bean? They remained at loggerheads.

26. He said, 'No way!' The man was up to his tricks certainly. It turned out he wanted to do such-and-such, to take the pot. He wanted to take the whole pot.

27. They weren't able to do anything with him. [In the end] they said to him, 'Just go, with the pot or *jahlēt* and everything in it!' He took it.

28. He took it from there, until he took it to girl goat herders, to goat herders. Before as I said goats, but before he found girls making such-and-such, making beans or sorghum. When he got to the goat herders he left it f. at the side like that, that pot he left by the side like that. That's it. And he waited a bit.

29. A goat came and kicked that thing, that pot or that *jahlēt* pot – it was [made] of clay – and broke it. When it broke it, Bā Nuwās wailed, 'My pot, my pot or my *jahlēt* my *jahlēt*!' Yes and he cried. 'What's up, Bā Nuwās?' He said, 'That thing broke my pot and all that sorghum we had [has been spilt]!'

30. When he cried, those girls said to him, 'Oh Bā Nuwās, what's wrong, don't cry. We'll give you a pot like your pot or a *jahlēt* pot like your *jahlēt* pot!'

31. He said, 'No!' He said, 'No way, no!' 'What, what, what, what?' This way and that. They could do nothing with Bā Nuwās.

32. He said, 'No way, there is no way!'

33. They said, 'Go on then. Give him the kid! We've got rid of Bā Nuwās!'

34. He took that kid and went from there. He went until he found cattle herders. He tethered that kid by a thing where those cattle were grazing. He left it and went away from it. He went away from it.

35. Nothing happened [...] until a cow came. It was startled by that kid. When it was startled by it, it kicked it. It kicked it. The kid died. When he came [back], he found the kid or his kid had died.

36. He said, 'Who did that, who did that?'
37. They said, 'The cow was startled by your kid and kicked it.'
38. He wailed and cried, 'Oh woe, oh woe, oh woe!'
39. 'Oh Bā Nuwās, what's wrong?'
40. He said, 'That's it. All I want is my [...] what's it called. My kid is dead.'
41. They said to him, 'We'll look for a kid like your kid.'
42. He said, 'No way! I won't accept!'
43. They remained at loggerheads until they came up with an offer he refused, until they gave him the cow.
44. They said, 'Give him the cow and [let him] go away.' They gave him the cow and he went from them. They said to him, 'Good riddance! You won't see us again and we won't see you again!'
45. He took that cow from there until he came to camel herders. People with camels. I'm not sure whether they were at the camel-kneeling place or still grazing.
46. And when he reached the camel herders, he tied it up. He tied that cow beside the camels. When he had tied it up, he went away from it. A camel came and was startled by that cow. It kicked it. When it kicked it, the cow died.
47. When he came back – I don't know where he had been – when he came back (he played tricks on other people on purpose), when he came back he found his cow had died too. He cried as he had done with all those others.
48. 'What's up with you? What's up with you? What's up with you? What's up with you?'
49. He said, 'My cow is dead. The camel kicked it and my cow has died.'
50. They said, 'Then we'll go and find you¹² a cow like your cow, do you hear? And you'll get a cow like your cow. Put trust in God!'
51. He said, 'Who says? I don't want it. I won't accept that. I won't accept it.'
52. 'Just what do you want?'
53. He said, 'That's it. You know.' There was nothing doing, there was nothing doing until they gave him a camel in place of that cow that had died. They got rid of Bā Nuwās and he left them. That's the end of the story of Bā Nuwās.

1.2 Hajj (Pilgrimage) story including English translation

‘Speaker male, age c. 25 at time of recording. Born and raised in Rabkūt. Educated to secondary level. Recorded March 2011 in yard in Rabkūt onto Marantz PMD661 with PG58 microphone. Saved in WAV format’ Watson 2012

1. *āmawr hayš / ā tamīmah / āmawr āš amīham hābū / yisyawr ār dār hibēr tā hagg / wa-tōlī gayg tād amūr sīrōn hagg / wa-higg dār haybith /*

2. *wa-syūr dār harmah dā r haybith tā / wa-habīā dār hōram / attā wīṣal / tā wīṣal makkah / amkōn d-aḥhagg / kūsa hābū bār xāṣam hagg / w-aḥhagg ʕarafah / wa-ʕarafah sēh hagg /*

3. *w-ād kūsa šī lā kūsa hābū bār haggam / wa-tōlī kaṭ amūr mašxawwal / wašxawalūl ḥalakma:h / tā: / tā hawl /*

4. *wa-hābū harbātha bōh šāšq ywah / wa-ykībah bār mōt / wa-nḥāram lih / wa-hēh gayg ūtoḥ wa-tōlī šxawalūl ḥlakmah tā hagg hīs hawl nūka wa-higg ka-hābū /*

5. *w-aḥhagg yikūn bi-snēt ār tawr / hamaš / wa-man ḥlakmah syūr hagg [...] ridd / ridd tōlī harbātha wa-ridd tōlī ḥabīnha /*

6. *attā wīṣal amkōnah mn hāl yaḥlōl / amūr / kūsa gaganā?ōt ḳannitt / ksīs bars nōb bars nōb / wa-l-ād garbatha lā hēh ḥaybis /*

7. *āmūr hēt mōn / amurt hōh bart flān amūr hīs ār haybiš ḥō / amurt haybī bār mōt / amūr xayban dōm hōh haybiš / wa-bikyōh ād ḥlakm hay / anḥūrḥī / wa-tā riddam hēh ād w-aḡānah wa-kall barham faxra /*

8. *wa-ḡīmah sēh ūḳōt aḳassēt / aḳassēt d-aḥhagg / dā-tmīmah ṭhams /*

1. They told you, Tamīmah. They said, people used to go on the hajj by camel. And then one man said, ‘I’m going on the hajj.’ And he went on the hajj on his camel.

2. He went on his way on his camel until, and he took a long time on the way, until he arrived. When he reached Mecca, the place of the hajj, he found people had already finished the hajj, and the hajj is during Arafah, and Arafah is the hajj.

3. He found nothing left, he found people had already done the hajj. And then he said, ‘I’ll stay.’ And he stayed there for a year.

4. And people, his tribe here, missed him and thought he had died. They slaughtered for him, but he, the man, was there and then he stayed there until the hajj. After a year, he did the hajj with other people.

5. The hajj is only once a year, do you f.s. hear? And from there he went on the hajj [...], he returned. He returned back to his tribe and returned to his children.

6. When he arrived at his place where he lived he said, he found a young girl. He found her and she was already grown up, she was grown up. She no longer knew that he was her father.

7. He said, ‘Who are you?’ She said, ‘I am so-and-so’s daughter.’ He said, ‘Where is your father?’ She said, ‘My father is dead.’ He said, ‘Okay, I am your father.’ And they cried there all day until they returned, and he and his family were all together.

8. And this is the story, the story of the hajj that Tamīmah wanted.

2- Mahri poems:

The following three of the ten Mahri poems were taken from Liebhaber's book '*the Dīwān of Ḥājj Dākōn a Collection of Mahri Poetry*'. These poems were recorded by the author who motivated the Mahri poet Ḥājj Dākōn to collect his poems in a single book using Arabic script and then translated to English.



Kōbī maḥḥālīk yṣawber

<i>kōbī maḥḥālīk yṣawber</i>	<i>we-śśāḡwē d-beh yḥeyfeh¹⁶¹</i>
<i>śefh maḥḥālīk bhīmet</i>	<i>'ōker de-ryēh yneyfeh¹⁶²</i>
<i>w-ekkdeyt men emḥabbēh</i>	<i>tesdidh we-tkeyfeh¹⁶³</i>
<i>mōna yeḥmōl ereddēt</i>	<i>men essehb dēd yzeyfeh¹⁶⁴</i>
<i>sehb de-rwōrem tōlem</i>	<i>'ām bēr keyṣef beh yḡeyfeh¹⁶⁵</i>
<i>we-ylūbed beh śrōyer</i>	<i>'amḡ de-mkāsēr yseyfeh¹⁶⁶</i>
<i>'ēr w-reḥmōn eḥḥōreḡ</i>	<i>heh yḡawder we-yheyfeh¹⁶⁷</i>

¹⁶¹ *kōbī* (*hōh kabyek*, *heh kābeh*, pres. *hōh akōbī*, *heh ykōbī*) < K.B.[V].: to be certain, consider true, Ar. 'i'itaqada.

¹⁶² *śefh* (*šeffeh*, not conjugated) < Š.F.F.: "*śaf*: as it transpired...it turned out [that he]" (Johnstone, 373), Ar. *fī 'itrihi*; *bhīmet* < B.H.M.: "*bāḥāymāt*: poor, simple fellow" (Johnstone, 45); *'ōker* < 'K.R.: a sudden puff of wind, smoke or sand that blows in your face (when a car passes), *'ākūrēt*: a whirlwind of dust and smoke, "*'ākūrēt*: smoke rising from a house, ship" (Johnstone, 18).

¹⁶³ *kdeyt* < K.D.[V]. or K.D.'.: to hurt with words, "*kdū/yākāyd* and *yākūda*: to make (a camel) trot, run at a fast trot" (Johnstone, 203), Ar. *nakkada*; *tesdidh* < S.D.D.: "*sad/yasūd*: to be enough...to block so's vision" (Johnstone, 341).

¹⁶⁴ *sehb* (pl. *shōbet/shīb*) < S.H.B.: wave; *zyeyfeh* < Ž.F.W.: Yem. Ar. "*ḡafā*: entourer, enfermer [to enclose, surround, encircle]... *'istadḡā*: submerger [to submerge]" (Landberg, 2174).

¹⁶⁵ *yḡeyfeh* < Ğ.F.[V].: "*ḡafō/yagāyf*: to turn over; to knock over...to turn upside down" (Johnstone, 116).

¹⁶⁶ *śrōyer* < Š.R.R.: splinters; *mekser*: a dangerous channel, a place where boats are broken (Ar. *kasara*); *yseyfeh* < S.F.[V].: to roll downwards, "*saḡū/yasāyf*: to throw sand, soil" (Johnstone, 343).

¹⁶⁷ *yheyfeh* < 'F.[V].: "*šāḡō/yasāyf*: to improve in health, get better, recover" (Johnstone, 15).

6 *I Used To Think That Man Could Endure*

I used to think that man could endure
and hide the distress that is in him
But it turns out that man is pitiful
a dusty whirl of wind will banish him
Or a biting word from a lover
is enough for him and suffices.
Who can stand against the force
of a wave that surges around him,
A wave from the overpowering seas
that, if it bears down on him, will flip him over?
It turns [his boat] to splinters,
rolling it into the deeps of a dangerous channel
And then only The Merciful may pull him out
and is able to revive him.

⑦ *Hēt wkōh brēk ezēhī* ✓

hēt wkōh brēk ezēhī
hēsēn heh ysūl ettābeš
ḥamš ēr brēk ehhōla
b- 'ālē men emḡawles
zār [sic: tār] ktōyef we-mdawkī
ḡābī meddāwīr l-ḡeyreš
'amrōna sēhel līhem
ḡabh lezyēd eḡalleh
misk we-dhōn hlēlī
we-lbīsī men eḡōlī
tē w-lū 'amūrem ḥeywel
hēt 'aḡēbeš ḥeš eḡawfī

*w-be-ḥḥark tedwīrī*¹⁶⁸
*tē men sōneh t 'āḥḥīrī*¹⁶⁹
wel ḥamš teztawīrī
*hēl tśīnī w-t 'ābīrī*¹⁷⁰
*līhem kel thōmīrī*¹⁷¹
*w-ān 'amerš le meḡtīrī*¹⁷²
lerwēḥem le- 'amīrī
*kēd ḥatteš we-d-ḡeyrī*¹⁷³
we- 'awīšī we-ftāḥeyrī
līhem lēd tšēḥbīrī
we-klūb mlōyem tēyrī
*zeybeṭ 'aḡlī w-teḥkīrī*¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸ *ezēhī* (uncertain derivation): small whirlwind of dust and sand (from sweeping); *tedwīrī* < D.W.R.: to work, Ar. *khadama*.

¹⁶⁹ *ysūl*: to deserve, merit, to equal, “*sōl/yasōl*: to demand payment of a debt” (Johnstone, 338); *sōneh*: his sake, Ar. *sha'n(uhu)*; *t 'āḥḥīrī* < 'T.R.: “*'āḥḥār*: to be twisted” (Johnstone, 35).

¹⁷⁰ *t 'ābīrī* < 'B.R.: “*'āybār/yābōr*: to gaze, look into the distance” (Johnstone, 10).

¹⁷¹ *ktōyef* < K.T.F.: Yem. Ar. “*qatāyif*: carpet” (Piamenta, 406); *mdawkī* < W.K.: Yem. Ar. “*matākī*: cushion or pillow to lean on” (Piamenta, 530).

¹⁷² *ḡābī* < Ġ.Y.B.: leave it! “*aḡyīb*: to leave st. alone, let st. go, drop” (Johnstone, 146).

¹⁷³ *ḥatteš* < Ḥ.Š.Š.: to be angry.

¹⁷⁴ *ḥešš* < Ḥ.Š.Š.: “*xəš/yəzšōš*: to penetrate, enter, go through st. difficult (such as a thicket)” (Johnstone, 450).

7 *Why Are You Working In A Dust Cloud?*

Why are you in a dust cloud
working in the heat?
What is he who equals your discomfort
for whose sake do you tire yourself?
I would like you in the shade
I don't want you to be concerned [with anything],
Sitting in the loftiest spot at the gathering
where you can see [all] and gaze [at everything],
On cushions and pillows
they have all that you command.
Leave work for someone other than you
and if you say "no," I'll speak [to them],
Saying: "It'd be so easy for them
to give my princess a break."
Let him increase his resentment
whoever is angry and those who are jealous.
Musk and the incense of the *hlēfī*-branch
show your beauty and be proud,
Wear only expensive clothes
you'll never have to ask about them again.
Even if they told me I was out of my mind
and began to put blame on me,
Love for you has pierced my chest
and taken away my reason and mind.

8 *Ḥōm lektēb ḥaṭ* ✓

<i>ḥōm lektēb ḥaṭ</i>	<i>we-l- 'ōnī rsūl</i>
<i>kelyēd yeğhīm</i>	<i>w-šīthem dhūl</i> ¹⁷⁵
<i>w-hōh dfōn heh</i>	<i>meṣrūfeh w-nawl</i>
<i>w-zōyed hnī</i>	<i>hēl zeybeṭ kbūl</i>
<i>'ēr hōh meśśəğeyb</i>	<i>l-ādēd de-ḥlūl</i>
<i>w-ağarbes lē</i>	<i>šnēt we-dhūl</i> ¹⁷⁶
<i>w-hessī 'ēr bīs</i>	<i>men hēl tehlūl</i>
<i>'ān ḳalb w-hēd</i>	<i>w-sēten ġfūl</i>
<i>'ayenten ḳhēd</i>	<i>we-dmē hmīlūl</i> ¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *yeğhīm* < Ğ.H.M.: “*gəhēm/yəğhōm*: to go (a long way); to go in the morning” (Johnstone, 117).

¹⁷⁶ *dhūl* (*dhelk*, *dhēl*: to be quiet) < D.H.L.: peace, quiet, Ar. *sakt*.

¹⁷⁷ *ḳhēd* (*ḳhedk*, *yeḳhōd*) < K.H.D.: to burn with insomnia, Ar. *sahada*; *hmīlūl* (*seh hmīlūt*, *tehmīlūl*) < H.M.L.L.: to fall down, drop, Ar. *saqāṭa*.

8 *I Want To Write A Line*

I want to write a line
and hire a messenger,
[To go] with those who travel
and have an entry visa.
I'll pay him for his expenses
and the cost of shipping
And even more from me
since whatever he takes is acceptable.
I've been in turmoil
day after day,
I haven't known
sleep or a moment of peace
Since my feelings are with her
wherever she has settled.
Even if my heart quiets down
and forgets for a moment,
My eyes burn with insomnia
and tears pour down.