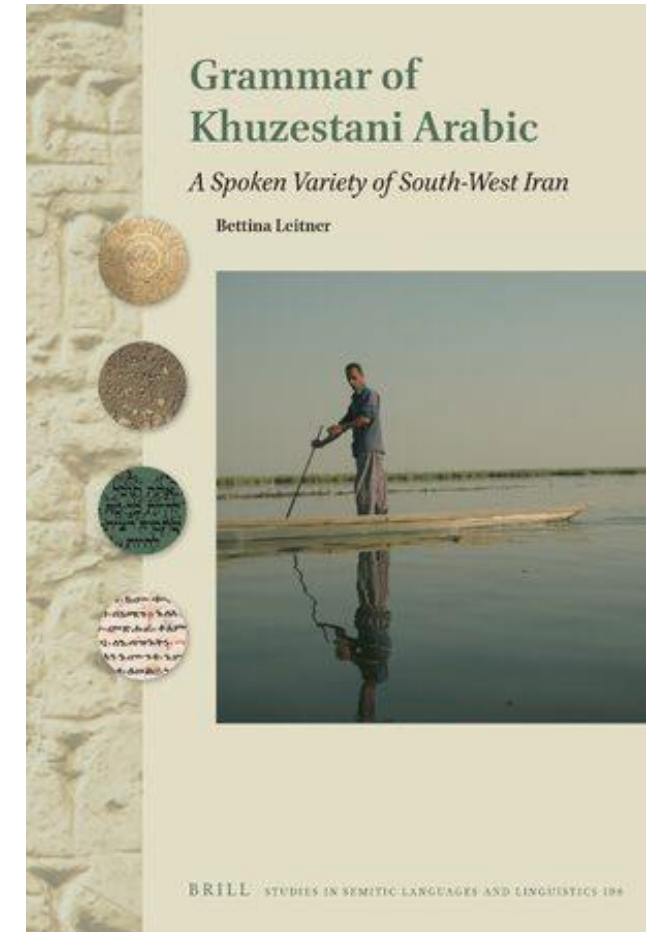
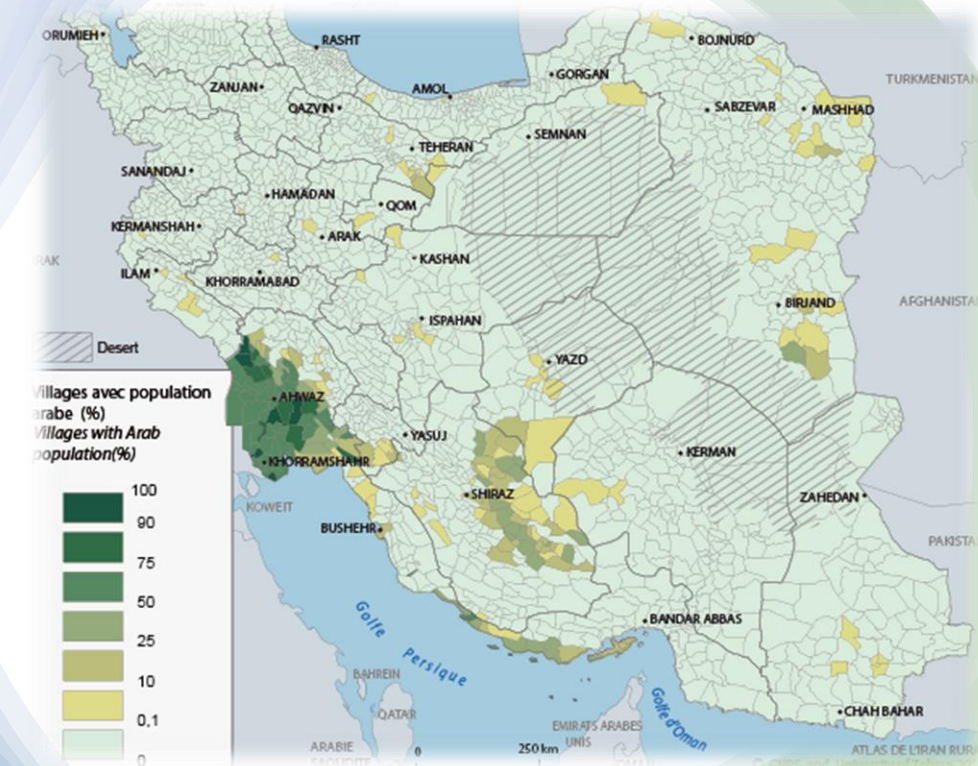


Post-predicate elements across the languages of Western Asia:  
Theoretical and empirical approaches

# Word order in Khuzestani Arabic (with some notes on Bushehr and Hormozgan Arabic)

Bettina Leitner

# Arabic-speaking minorities in Iran

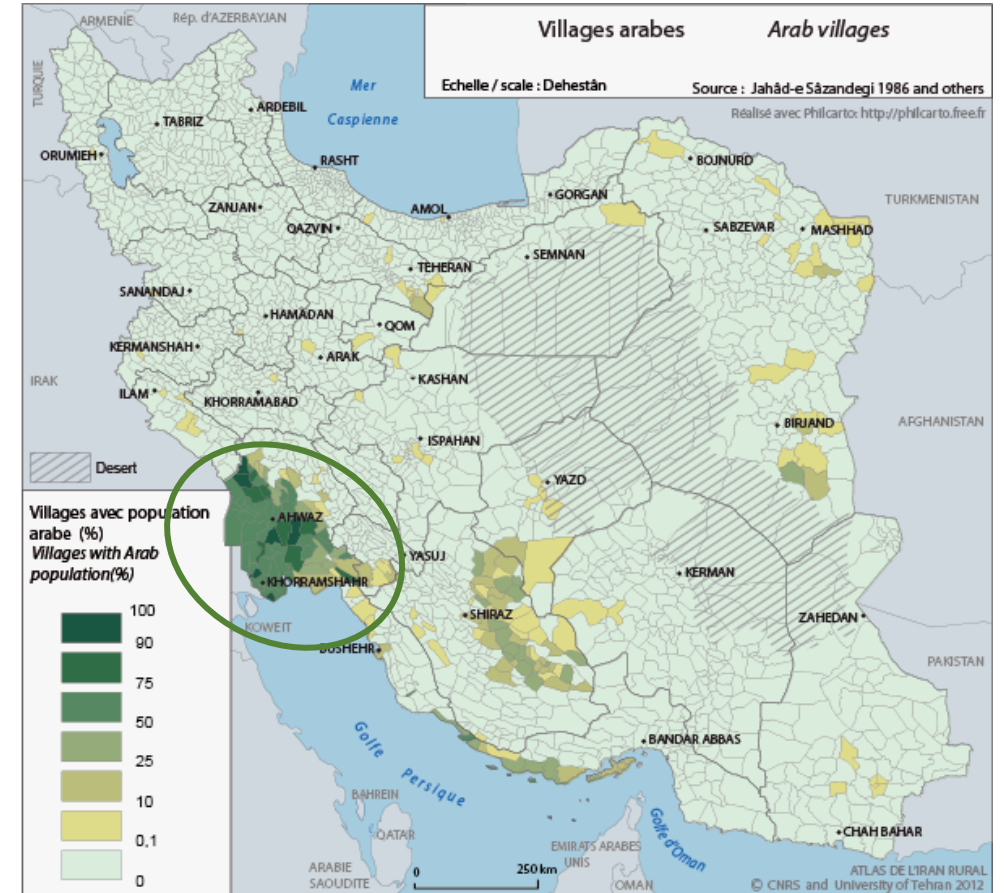


# Corpus data

- 75 texts
- 3h sociolinguistic interviews, narratives, conversations
- questionnaires

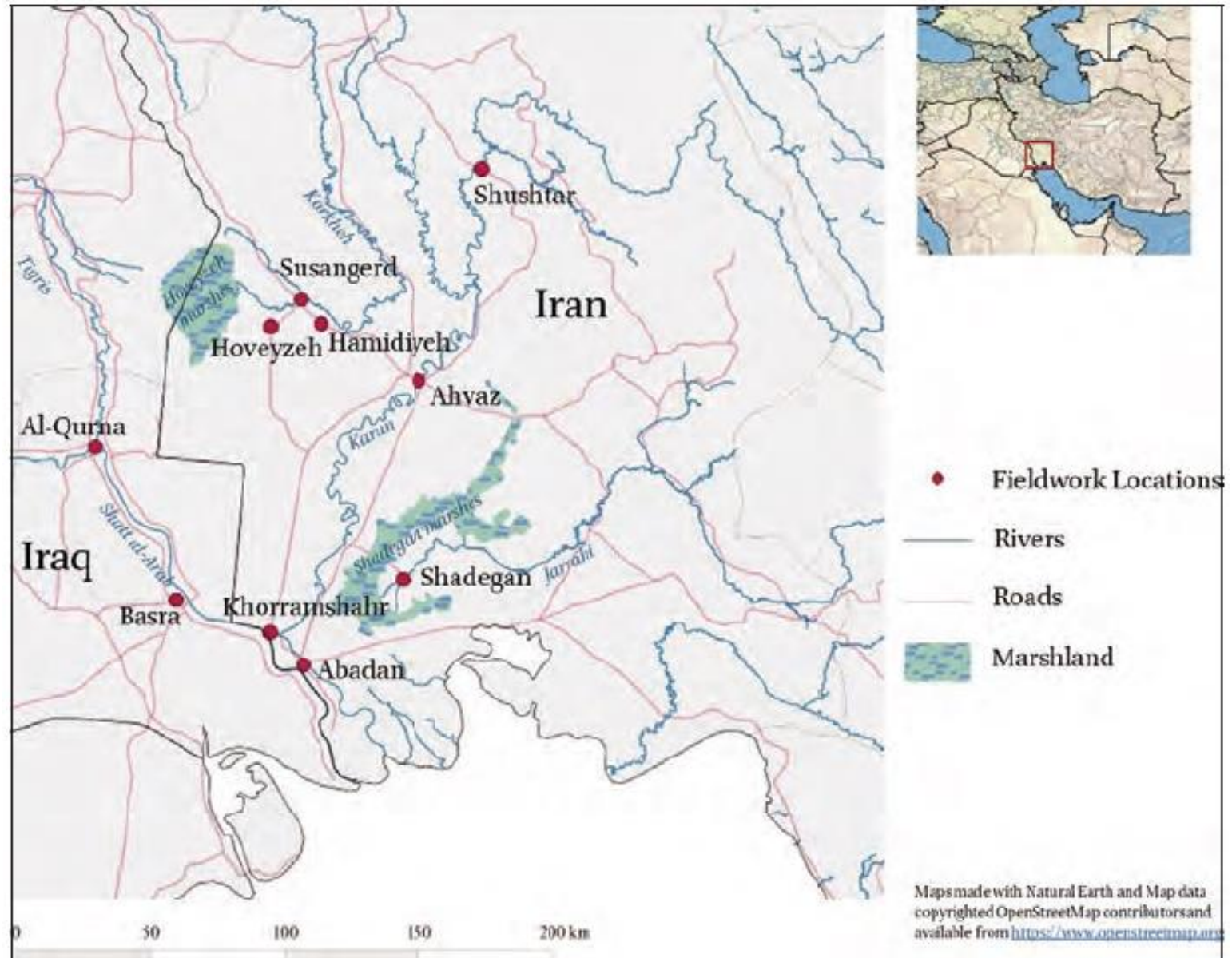
→ WOWA data set

- 6 texts
- 546 analyzable tokens





# Locations





# Arabs in Khuzestan



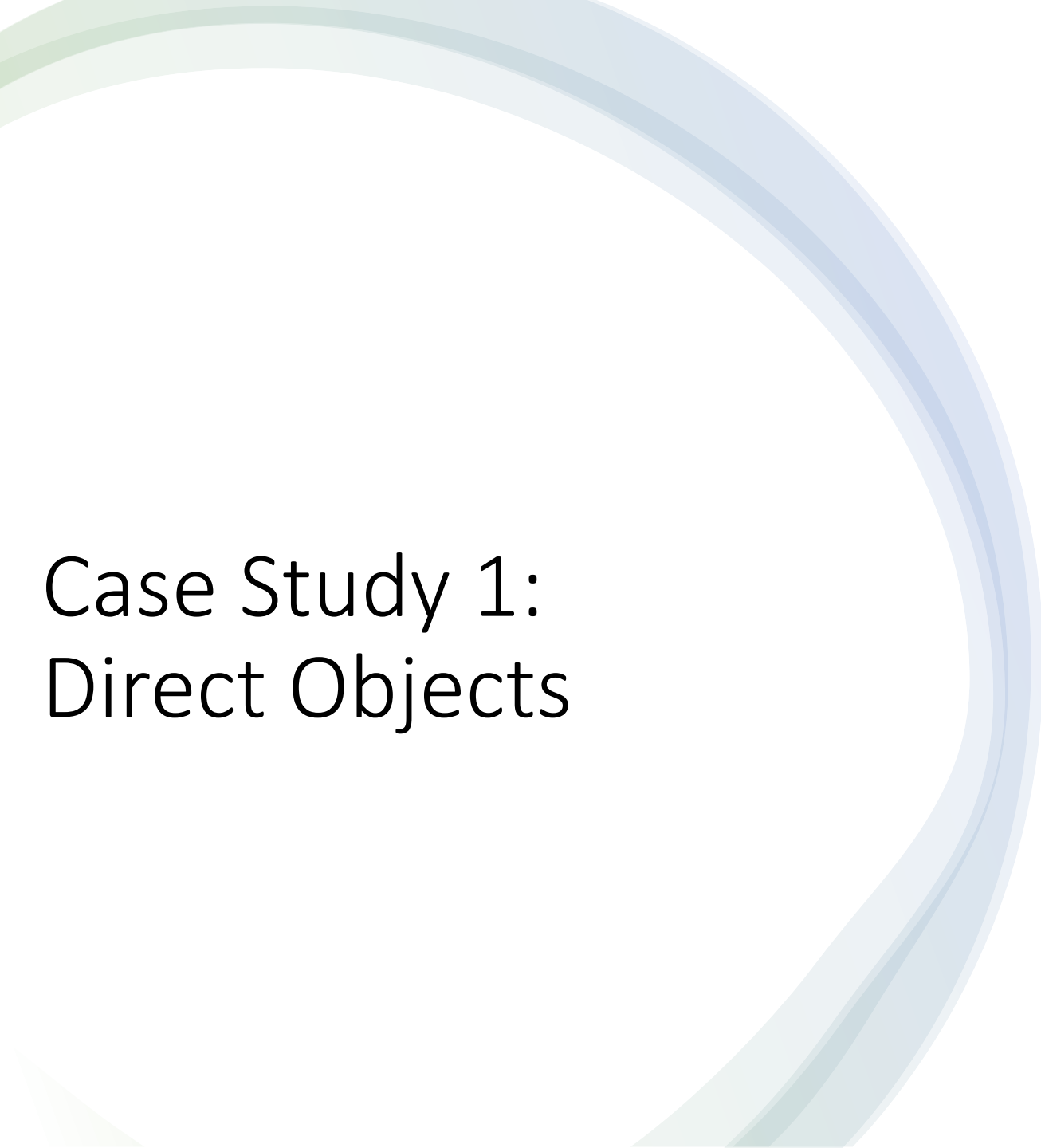
## Word Order in KhA

### Default

- post-predicate VX 479/546 (87.7%)

### Non-default

- **pre-predicate XV 67/546 (12.3%)**



# Case Study 1: Direct Objects

	semi_arabic_khuzestan		
label	n(tokens)		
total length	799		
number of analyzed tokens	545		
number of non-classified tokens	253		
label	n(all)	n(PP)	p(PP)
<b>rate of post-predicate direct objects, all forms</b>	<b>317</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>0,86</b>
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal	308	267	0,87
rate of post-predicate direct objects, pronominal	3	0	0,00
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, definite	91	80	0,88
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, indefinite	217	187	0,86
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, weight2 ≤ 5	96	82	0,85
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, weight2 > 5 and ≤ 10	173	157	0,91
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, weight2 > 10	39	28	0,72
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, human	16	15	0,94
rate of post-predicate direct objects, nominal, non-human	53	44	0,83
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rate of post-predicate goals	31	30	0,97
rate of post-predicate caused goals	52	48	0,92
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rate of post-predicate addressees	3	3	1,00
rate of post-predicate locations	16	16	1,00
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label	n(all)	n(bare)	p(bare)
rate of bare direct objects, nominal (= rate of DOM)	308	288	0,94
label	n(all)	n(preposition)	p(preposition)
rate of prepositional marking ("prepositionality")	180	108	0,60

43 pre-predicate DOs



# Direct Object, post-pred

V

X

*šəfət-l-i*

*maʕǧiza*

see.1SG.PFV-DAT-1SG

miracle

‘I saw a miracle.’

# Direct Object, pre-pred (43 tokens)

V X

V X

X V

X V

<i>lābasne</i>	<i>axwīaṣāt-ne</i>	<i>lābasne</i>	<i>aḥžīalāt-ne</i>	...	<i>šīelat</i> <i>balbūl</i>	<i>lābasne</i>	<i>əṭ-ṭōg</i>	<i>u-māṣxa</i>	<i>lābasne</i>
wear.1PL.PFV	rings-1PL	wear.1PL.PFV	bracelets-1PL		shawl balbūl	wear.1PL.PFV	DEF-ṭōg	and-māṣxa	wear.1PL.PFV

... we put on our rings, we put our bracelets, (we put our *əmnabbarāt*, we applied *kuḥl* on our eye-lids, we washed our heads), **we wore the *balbūl* shawl, (and) the *ṭōg* and the *māṣxa***



# Direct Object

X

V

ḡədā-ne

māxdīn-e

wiyyā-ne

lunch-1PL

bring.AP.PL-3SG.M

with-1PL

Our lunch we brought (it) with us.

# Direct Object

+ Resumptive pronoun (27)

X

V

ğədā-ne

māxdīn-e

wiyyā-ne

lunch-1PL

bring.AP.PL-3SG.M

with-1PL

Our lunch we brought (it) with us.

NO  
Resumptive  
pronoun (16)

<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əxwīəṣāt-ne</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əḥḏīəlāt-ne</i>	...	<i>šīəlat</i> <i>balbūl</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əṭ-ṭōg</i>	<i>u-māṣxa</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>
wear.1PL.PFV	rings-1PL	wear.1PL.PFV	bracelets-1PL		shawl balbūl	wear.1PL.PFV	DEF-ṭōg	and-māṣxa	wear.1PL.PFV

... we put on our rings, we put our bracelets, ... we wore the balbūl shawl, (and) the ṭōg and the māṣxa



# Direct Object

Listing of items

NO  
Resumptive  
pronoun (16)

<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əxwīəṣāt-ne</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əḥžīəlāt-ne</i>	...	<i>šīəlat</i> <i>balbūl</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>	<i>əṭ-ṭōg</i>	<i>u-māṣxa</i>	<i>ləbasne</i>
wear.1PL.PFV	rings-1PL	wear.1PL.PFV	bracelets-1PL		shawl balbūl	wear.1PL.PFV	DEF-ṭōg	and-māṣxa	wear.1PL.PFV

... we put on our rings, we put our bracelets, ... we wore the balbūl shawl, (and) the ṭōg and the māṣxa

# Direct Object

kəllši (mā) sawwa

XV

<i>əl-ṣarūs</i>	<i>kullši</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>nsawwī-l-hən</i>
DEF-bride	everything	NEG	make.IPFV.1PL-DAT-3PL.F

‘The bride(s), we didn’t do anything with them [like putting on henna, etc].’

XV

<i>ḥəṣadna</i>	<i>lammēna</i>	<i>təbən</i>	<i>ğanēna</i>	<i>ḥaywān</i>	<i>kullši</i>	<i>sawwēna</i>
harvest.PFV.1PL	gather.PFV.1PL	straw	breed.PFV.1PL	animals	everything	do.PFV.1PL

We harvested, gathered straw, we bred cattle, we made everything ...

# Direct Object

XV

<i>əl-ḡarūs</i>	<i>kullšī</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>nsawwī-l-hən</i>
DEF-bride	everything	NEG	make.IPFV.1PL-DAT-3PL.F

‘The bride(s), we didn’t do anything with them [like putting on henna, etc].’

XV

<i>ḡəṣadna</i>	<i>lammēna</i>	<i>təbən</i>	<i>ḡanēna</i>	<i>ḡaywān</i>	<i>kullšī</i>	<i>sawwēna</i>
harvest.PFV.1PL	gather.PFV.1PL	straw	breed.PFV.1PL	animals	everything	do.PFV.1PL

We harvested, gathered straw, we bred cattle, we made everything ...

Emphasis! Style?

Contact?

# Direct Object

XV

<i>əl-ḡarūs</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>nsawwī-l-hən</i>	<i>*kullšī</i>
DEF-bride	NEG	make.IPFV.1PL-DAT-3PL.F	everything
‘The bride(s), we didn’t do anything with them [like putting on henna, etc.]’			

XV

<i>ḡəṣadna</i>	<i>lammēna</i>	<i>təbən</i>	<i>ḡanēna</i>	<i>ḡaywān</i>	<i>sawwēna</i>	<i>kullšī</i>
harvest.PFV.1PL	gather.PFV.1PL	straw	breed.PFV.1PL	animals	do.PFV.1PL	everything
We harvested, gathered straw, we bred cattle, we made everything ...						

Emphasis! Style?

Contact?





# Case Study 2: Goals

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rate of bare direct objects, nominal (= rate of DOM)	308	288	0,94
label	n(all)	n(preposition)	p(preposition)
rate of prepositional marking ("prepositionality")	180	108	0,60

1 pre-predicate goal

# Goal, post-pred

V

X

V

X

rəḥna	ən-naxal	rəḥna	l-əš-šilib
go.PFV.1PL	DEF-palm_trees	go.PFV.1PL	to-DEF-rice_fields
, rəḥna			

# Goal, pre-pred (1 token)

X V

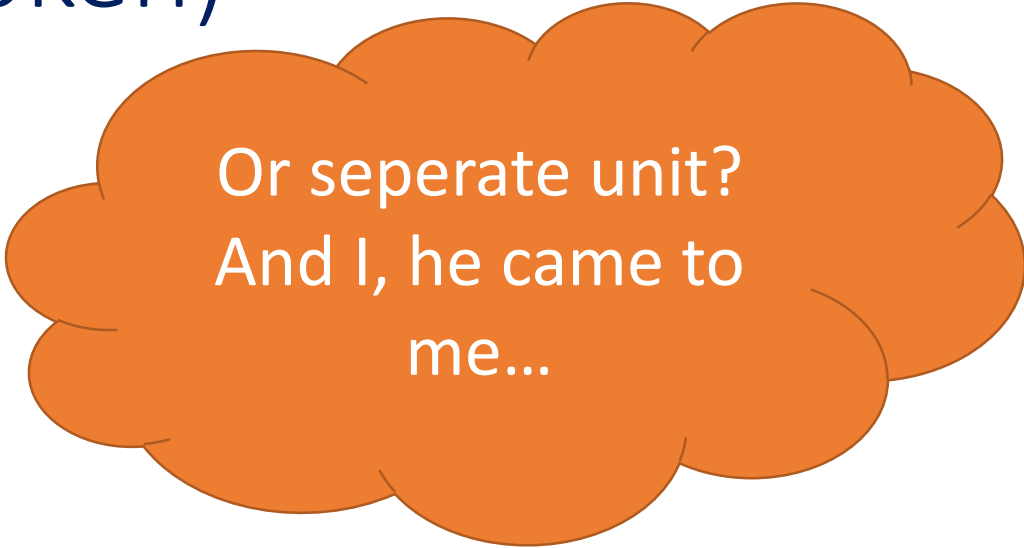
waḷḷa	āna	iyā-ni	hād	əl-bīəhdāš	māl	salf-i
by_God	1SG	come.PFV.3SG.M-1SG	DEM	DEF-healthcare_centre	GENITIVE	district-1SG

And he came to me, (from) this healthcare centre of my district ...

Emphasis?



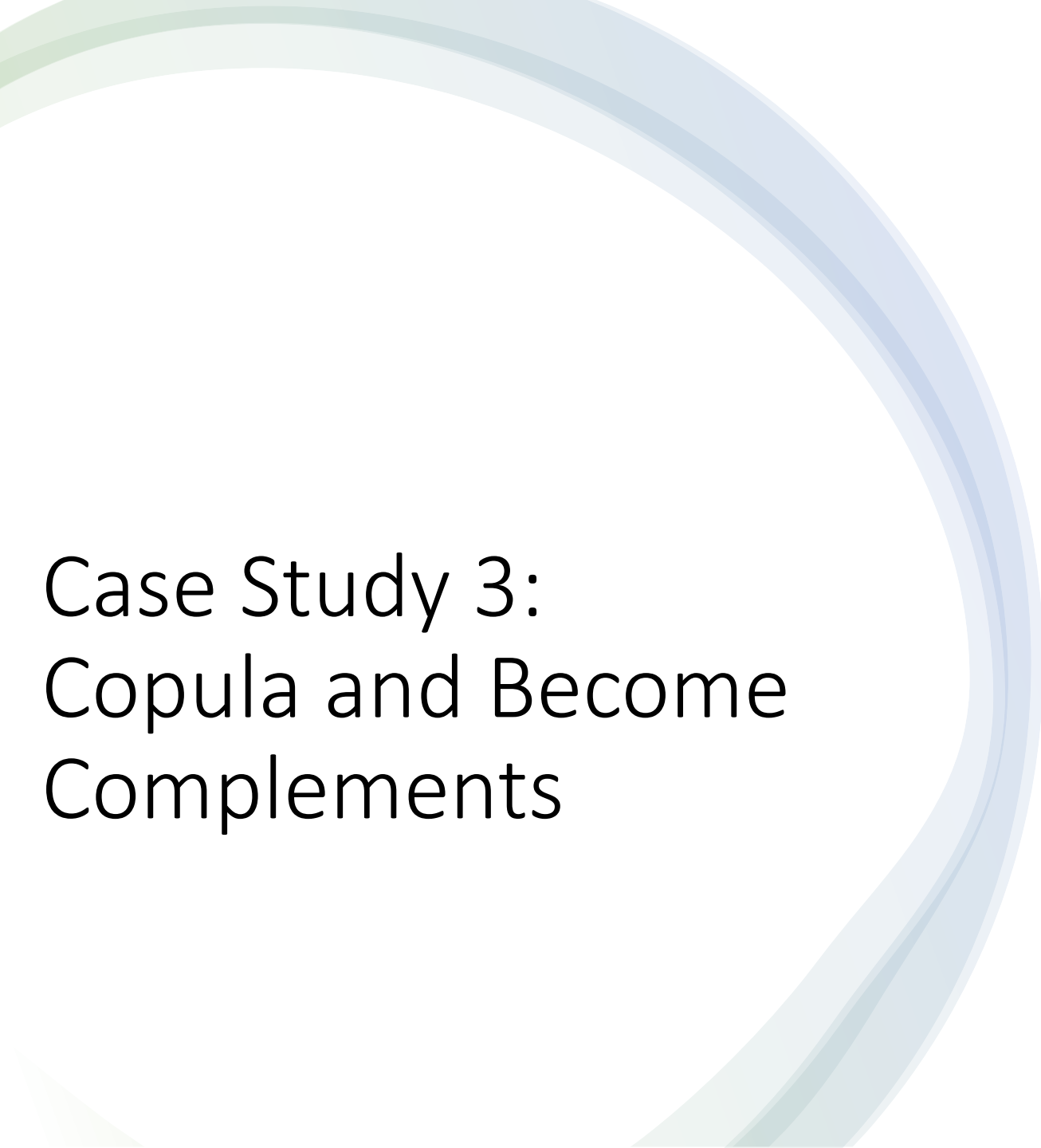
# Goal, pre-pred (1 token)



Or seperate unit?  
And I, he came to  
me...

waḷḷa	āna	iyā-ni	hād	əl-bīəhdāš	māl	salf-i
by_God	1SG	come.PFV.3SG.M-1SG	DEM	DEF-healthcare_centre	GENITIVE	district-1SG

And he came to me, (from) this healthcare centre of my district ...



# Case Study 3: Copula and Become Complements

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label	n(all)	n(bare)	p(bare)
rate of bare direct objects, nominal (= rate of DOM)	308	288	0,94

label	n(all)	n(preposition)	p(preposition)
rate of prepositional marking ("prepositional")			

1 pre-  
predicate  
COP-compl

2 pre-  
predicate  
BCM-compl

# Copula complements, pre-pred (1 token)

X

COP

hāḡanni ṭəlyān,	ṭəli	yṣīr		
DEM.PL.F	lambs	lamb	COP.3SG.M	

These are lambs, “lamb” we call it (lit. “it *is* a ṭəli”).

# Copula complements, pre-pred (1 token)

Repetition,  
emphasis

hāḡanni	ṭəlyān,	ṭəli	yşīr		
DEM.PL.F	lambs	lamb	COP.3SG.M		

These are lambs, “lamb” we call it (lit. “it *is* a *ṭəli*”).

Contact?

# Become complements 1, pre-pred (2 tokens)

X

bcm

mən	baɟad	fatra	nəlgā(-h)	məɟəl	ər-rōba	şāyər
from	after	while	find.IPFV.1PL-3SG.M	like	DEF-yoghurt	become.AP.SG.M

After a while we see that it has become like yoghurt.

Contact?



## Case Study 4: POSS with $\zeta_{ad-}$



# POSS with ʕad-, pre-pred (1/30 token)

X

ʕad-

u-hāy	l-əbnayya	bass	əhəya	təsraḥ	b-əl-ḡanam	kəllšāy	mā	ʕad-ha
and-DEM	DEF-girl	only	3SG.F	graze.IPFV.3SG.F	with-DEF-sheep	everything	NEG	at-3SG.F

And this girl was always just grazing the sheep, she **had** nothing (else).

Contact?



# Case Study 5: Instruments

# INSTR 1, pre-pred (2/6 tokens)

A: like you say, we harvested with our (bare) hands,  
we carried **stones**, we faced a lot of inequities, many.

X

V

B: **əl-ibnān**, əš-čəntu ssawūn bī(-h)?

The stones, what did you do with it?



Topicalized +  
resumptive  
PRO

# INSTR 2, pre-pred (2/6 tokens)

X

V

sawwēna	bəyādīr	gabul	māku	tarātra	– yəğall	əl	yəsmaʕ –	ʕala	məṭāya	ndūs
make.PFV.1PL	threshing_grounds	past	NEG.EXIST	tractors	respect.IPFV.3SG.M	REL	listen.IPFV.3SG.M	on	donkeys	trod.IPFV.1PL

We made the threshing ground. In former times there were **no tractors** – pardon the expression – we trod on it **on donkeys**.

Contrast/Emphasis



# Word order in Arabic in contact with OV languages

- **Central-Asian Arabic –**
  - Complete switch to OV (Ratcliffe, 2005)
- **Khorasan (NE of Iran)**
  - Change very advanced (Seeger, 2013)
- **Southern Iran**
  - Beginning shift
- **Khuzestan**
  - Some deviations?

X: arguments (direct, indirect object), temporal/local adjuncts (prepositional phrases)

V: lexical verbs, light verbs, auxiliaries, pseudo-verbs

## Results SOUTH IRAN (El Zarka & Zagros 2020)

Overall: **23 % XV** vs. 77 % VX

Individual Speakers:

**low density: 35% - 40% XV**; high density: 11% -25% **XV**

KhA **12.3% XV** vs. 87.7% VX

→ stronger shift than in Khuzestani Arabic

# Examples XV Southern Iran

- a) copular constructions (> 50%)
- b) light verbs / pseudo-verbs (~ 40%)
- c) lexical verb – AUX (~ 40%)

a)

<i>kill</i>	<i>sint-ēn</i>	<i>salāsa</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>farxāī</i>	<i>čān-ēt</i>
every	year.F-DUAL	3	DM	pregnant	be.PFV-1SG
‘Every two or three years I was pregnant.’					

b)

<i>harīsa</i>	<i>wi-lgeymāt</i>	<i>a-sawwi</i>
porridge	and-profiteroles	1SG.IPFV-make/prepare
‘I make porridge and profiteroles.’		

c)

<i>riḡna</i>	<i>riḡna</i>	<i>n-sawwi-hi</i>	<i>čin-na</i>
1PL	1PL	1PL.IPFV-make-3SG.M	be.PFV-1PL
‘We did it all by ourselves.’			



Conclusions:  
Word Order and  
Language Contact in KhA

KhA remains  
a VO  
language

WO change starts with  
cop and aux?

Info structure:  
**FOCUS/EMPHASIS** as main  
reasons behind deviations



Thank you for listening!

