Voice and Aspectual Verbs in Kuwaiti Arabic

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Voice is claimed to be the lowest functional head in the articulated structure of the verbal phrase in Arabic (Ouhalla (1991), Cinque (1999), Fassi Fehri (2012)), hence it separates the lexical and functional domains of the verbal projection

I present my current work on aspectual verbs, grammaticalized from posture verbs, *gaam* 'get up' and *gaSad* 'sat' in Kuwait Arabic. These posture verbs, I claim, are involved in serial verb constructions with spatial meanings when merged below Voice, while they function as temporal aspectual auxiliaries when merged above Voice.

Interestingly posture verbs when used as main verbs can passivize (1), but they do not do so when they appear in VV constructions. Nevertheless, in the Functional aspectual VV, the lower verb may passivize, which supports their position above Voice (3). In the spatial serial VV construction (2) neither the posture verb nor the following verb can be passivized, although they are below Voice. This is caused by the conflict between the argument requirements of the two verbs in the serial construction.

Posture verbs as

sture	vert	<i>JS</i> u <i>S</i>					
1) Main verb:							
	a.	El-walad	gaSad	Sala		il-kirsi	[Active]
		DEF-boy	sat.3SM	on		DEF-chair	
	'The boy sat on the chair'						
	b.	El-kirsi	ingaSad		Sal-eeh	L	[Non-active]
		DEF-chair	seated.REF.3SN	Μ	on-it		
		Lit: 'the chair was seated on'					
	c.	El-bint	gaam.t	min	mukan	-ha	[Active]
		DEF-girl	got up.3SF	of	place-h	er	
	'The girl got of her place'						
	d.	El-bent	itgawwim.at		min	mukan-ha	[Non-active]
		DEF-girl	got up.REF.3SI	7	of	place-her	
	'The girl was moved of her place'						
2)	In serial verb construction						
	a	. el-walad	gaam	ketab		er-risalah	[Active]
		DEF-boy	got up.3SM			DEF-letter.F	
	'The boy got up (and) wrote the letter'						
	b	. * <i>Gaam</i> .t	?inkatbat		er-risal		[Non-Active]
		Got up.3SF written.REF.3SF DEF-let		tter			
	Lit: 'the letter got up and was written'						
3)	3) In aspectual auxiliary construction						
	a	. gaam	y.infitaħ		il-bab	bsirSa	
		INCP.3SM 3SM.REF.open the-door				quickly	
		Lit: 'the door started to be opened quicker'.					
	b	. id-dars	gaSad	mudda		y.in Saad	
		DEF-lesson	DUR.3SM	a while		3SM.REF.repea	at
	Lit: 'The lesson kept being repeated for a while'						

The picture is not as simple as it may appear, given that the colloquial Arabic verities do not have an agentive passive, but utilize the anti-causative/reflexive verbal forms to express non-active

constructions. Following Fassi-Fehri's (1988b, 2012) analysis of the different arguments structures of passive/anti-causative/reflexive/reciprocal verbal forms in Arabic, I will show how they interact with the requirements of *gaam/ga3ad* in the serial construction to block non-active constructions as in examples (2a-b), and how they become irrelevant to the aspectual uses as in (3).

References:

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