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## RESEARCH

### Further evidence for the treatment of thetical markers within sentence grammar

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Thetical markers (i.e., expressions with metatextual/metacommunicative functions that relate to the situation in which the host utterance takes place) are normally viewed as ‘non-syntactic phenomena that pose a problem for syntactic analysis (Burton-Roberts 2005)’ (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 853). Such markers are supposed not to be restricted to the syntax of the host utterance. In this paper, we bring novel evidence that challenges this view as well as the need for the so-called Thetical Grammar that makes available an independent domain for discourse processing. We, rather, argue that thetical markers can be accounted for using Sentence Grammar that includes no further level of grammatical representation. Our main evidence comes from the marker *ʕaad* in Jordanian Arabic which is shown to be a thetical marker whose function is to provide supplementary information that also describes the speaker’s attitude. We propose that the variant position of *ʕaad* in its host sentence is a direct result of the movement (or base-generation) of some parts of the utterance to the Specifier position of the projection headed by *ʕaad*. In so doing, this paper adds credence to proposals where thetical markers are incorporated within sentence grammar (Potts 2005; de Vries 2012; Wiltschko & Heim 2016).

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**Keywords:** Arabic; discourse markers; interpolation; sentence grammar; thetical grammar.

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## 1. Introduction

Paranthenicals, including discourse markers, confirmationals and other extra-clausal constituents, etc., is a general umbrella of metatextual/metacommunicative expressions that are viewed by many as evidence that grammar subsumes additional levels above syntax (see, among others, Espinal 1991; Murphy 1993; Fischer 2010; Urgelles-Coll 2010; Bayer & Obenauer 2011).<sup>1</sup> Their meanings are primarily metacommunicative and interactional (see, e.g., Maschler 1994; Matras 1998; Mithun 2008). For instance, paranthenicals, among other things, place the host utterance in a wider perspective that essentially revolves around the speaker-hearer interaction. A case in point is the expression *I GUESS* in the following example:

(1) Peter will get married next Sunday, *I GUESS* (Espinal 1991: 726)

The expression *I GUESS* does not contribute to the proposition expressed by sentence (1); rather it accompanies the sentence that is understood as the most relevant information from the speaker's point of view at the moment of utterance processing (Espinal 1991).

The important point to mention here is that the presence of paranthenicals is seen as an argument that discourse has its own components that are not similar to sentence components. In other words, discourse has its own grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2011, Kaltenböck & Heine 2014, Heine et al., 2019, etc.). This grammar is claimed to be capable of accounting for the various

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properties of parentheticals (most notably their interpolation within their host utterance) whose appearance is hard to capture with the help of syntactic theories that depend on constituency (ibid). Thetical Grammar (TG), proposed by Kaltenböck et al. (2011), is an example of a non-constituency based theory that is set to explore the elements with no semantic contribution to the propositional content of the host utterance. Such elements are normally characterized by their property of interpolation; they appear in different positions in their host utterance. Nonetheless, such interpolation does not have an effect on the semantic meaning of the host utterance. The expression *between you and me* in (2b,d) is an example:

- (2) a. He put the chair between you and me.
- b. He failed the exam, *between you and me*.
- c.? Between you and me he put the chair.
- d. *Between you and me*, he failed the exam.

(Quirk et al. 1985: 1626, cited in Kaltenböck et al. (2011))

The expression *between you and me* in (2a) is semantically part of the propositional content of its utterance. It is syntactically restricted as evidenced in (2c). On the other hand, the expression *between you and me* in (2b) is regarded as a parenthetical that is syntactically and propositionally independent of its host utterance. It is not syntactically restricted as shown in (2d). According to Kaltenböck et al. (2011), the expression *between you and me* in (2b,d) is a thetical marker that is part of a structure consisting of the thetical and its anchor (i.e., the utterance where the thetical is interpolated).

For Kaltenböck et al. (2011), the interpolation of thetical markers poses an obvious problem to constituency-based theories in which linearization (i.e. precedence relations between words of the utterance on the surface) is computed according to a set of well-defined conditions which are, as argued by the proponents of Thetical Grammar, incapable of predicting this mobility of thetical markers. Kaltenböck et al. (2011) argue that thetical markers (or simply theticals) are indicative of an independent domain of linguistic processing that is not affected by operations that occur in the sentence domain. (See also Espinal 1991; Ackema & Neeleman 2004 who introduce special devices to capture the behavior of parentheses.)<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, several proposals have been advanced in the literature, arguing that theticals can be neatly incorporated into sentence grammar without the help of an additional grammar that needlessly complicates sentence derivation and processing. Pott's (2005) COMMA operator and de Vries's (2012) Parenthetical Phrases are two examples of these proposals that do not make recourse to a further level of grammatical representation to account for the behavior of thetical markers. For instance, de Vries (2012) argues for the presence of parenthetical merge which is a specialized operation that is necessary for the connection of a parenthetical material with the host sentence. de Vries argues that parenthetical merge takes place in syntax where a parenthetical

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<sup>2</sup> Espinal (1991) introduces her three-dimensional syntactic model to account for the varied positions occupied by parentheticals in the sentence and their extra-clausal status. This model is later employed as an argument in favour of Thetical Grammar. This model permits the speaker to temporarily escape the narrow confines of the sentence by adding a further level of a grammatical representation to capture the relation between host sentence and the parenthetical (Kaltenböck et al. 2016). Espinal argues that parentheticals requires the development of a theory that deals with their nonconfigurationality with regard to host structures. Such a theory is better formulated in terms of separate planes that converge or intersect at the terminal string. Each plane "contains a phrase-marker whose terminal symbols lie in the line of intersection with the other planes and whose root node can belong to any maximal category" (p. 742). Intersection occurs at the level where precedence structural relations are specified. In this paper, we provide evidence that thetical markers can be accounted for using sentence grammar, and hence there is no need for a further level of grammatical representation. Our evidence is line with several proposals that argue for the capability of sentence grammar to accommodate (paren)thetical markers when certain assumptions are made (see Potts 2005; de Vries 2012).

(represented as  $XP_{par}$ ) is embedded in Parenthetical Phrase (ParP) whose presence in the sentence triggers the application of par-Merge (a narrow-syntax operation).

In a related vein, other proposals have been advanced to account for special types of parantheticals. For instance, Wiltschko & Heim (2016) argue that confirmational marker *eh* in Canadian English as in *I have a new dog, eh?* is merged in the grounding structure which includes Ground Phrase (GroundP) that relates the speaker's attitude to the proposition expressed by the host sentence (see also Heim et al. 2016). GroundP is projected as an extension of CP which is part of the propositional structure of the host sentence. Under Wiltschko & Heim's framework, GroundP can be dominated by Response Phrase (RespP), a functional layer dedicated to encoding what the speaker wants the hearer to do with the sentence.

An obvious observation about these different families of proposals concerns the role of pragmatics in the grammar or the pragmatics-syntax interface. One team of researchers advocates for the notion that syntax delimits pragmatics (sentence grammar) (see also Blakemore 2006; Heringa 2011). On the other hand, another team argues that pragmatics is located outside the confines of syntactic operations and is rather subject to a different types of conditions (i.e., Thetical Grammar) (see also Safir 1986; Espinal 1991; Arnold 2007).

This paper provides evidence that pragmatics and the interpolation of thetical markers can be captured through the use of sentence grammar. We show that although the position of a thetical marker in the host sentence is not semantically important, it is pragmatically/communicatively significant. The syntactic position and the interaction of thetical markers with their host utterance

are shown to be accounted for using sentence grammar with the help of speaker-oriented layers as proposed and executed in Wiltschko & Heim (2016). In so doing, the assumption that the presence of theticals always poses problems to sentence grammar is proven wrong. Our main evidence comes from the marker *ʕaad* as used in Jordanian Arabic (JA); this marker is shown to be a thetical marker that adds no propositional/semantic value to its host utterance. This marker is rather shown to pragmatically contribute to its utterance as it encodes the speaker's propositional attitude.<sup>3</sup> This essentially provides evidence to Wiltschko & Heim's (2016) statement that 'generative framework can serve as a heuristic in the exploration of discourse markers' (p. 306).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 is a background about Jordanian Arabic, the corpus used in this research, lexical *ʕaad* and the morphosyntactic properties of the marker *ʕaad*. Section 3 discusses evidence that *ʕaad* is a thetical marker that expresses the speaker's negative appraisal of the hearer's relevant statement. Section 4 shows that the distributional properties of the marker *ʕaad* are governed by the formational content of the host utterance. Section 5 presents a syntactic analysis of the marker *ʕaad* that accounts for its interpolation which is shown to be limited. This syntactic analysis is based on Wiltschko's (2014) Universal Spine Hypothesis (USP) which provides a framework for the discovery and comparison of language-specific categories. We argue that the marker *ʕaad* heads the so-called Ground Phrase that relates the speaker's attitude to the proposition expressed by the host sentence. Section 7 includes the conclusion of the paper.

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<sup>3</sup> In the present paper, we only discuss *ʕaad* which is an apparent limitation. However, we make it clear the syntactic behavior of this marker may cast doubt on the need for a further level of grammatical representation.

## 2. Background

### 2.1. Jordanian Arabic and the corpus used

Jordanian Arabic (JA) is an Arabic variety spoken in Jordan by approximately 10 million speakers. JA is widely divided into three sub-dialects. One subdialect, Urban or Madani, is spoken by city dwellers, whereas Rural or Fallahi is spoken by the dwellers of villages and other rural regions of Jordan. A third subdialect, Bedouin, is spoken by Bedouin people who live outside cities and villages (see Cleveland 1963; Khatib 1988; Jarrah 2017a,b). As mentioned in Jarrah & Abusalem (2020), the three sub-dialects of JA share many phonetic, phonological, morpho-syntactic, and semantic features although they have some lexical and phonological differences between them. As we mention later, there is no difference between the three subdialects of JA with respect to the use of the marker *ʕaad*.

Like other Arabic spoken dialects, JA has lost its case markings on nouns and mood markings on verbs. Additionally, JA does not exhibit the interaction of word order and subject-verb agreement asymmetries found in (Modern) Standard Arabic.<sup>4</sup> This is clearly shown in the following examples from JA (Jarrah 2017a: 7):

- |                            |          |
|----------------------------|----------|
| (3)a. wis <sup>ʕ</sup> l-u | l-iwlaad |
| arrive.PST-3PL.M           | DEF-boys |
| ‘The boys arrived.’        |          |

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<sup>4</sup> In (Modern) Standard Arabic, the verb expresses partial agreement (only in Gender and Person) with its subject in VSO clauses but full agreement (in Gender, Person and Number) with its subject in SVO clauses (see Fassi Fehri 1993; Aoun et al. 1994; Jarrah 2019a for proposals).

1,2,3: Person; CF: Confirmational; DEF: Definite; F: Feminine; IMPF: imperfective; M: Masculine; PL: Plural; PRT: Particle; PST: Past; SG: Singular; VOC: Vocative.

b. l-iwlaad	wis <sup>5</sup> l-u
DEF-boys	arrive.PST-3PL.M
‘The boys arrived.’	

The verb inflects for the number, gender and person of the subject, irrespective of the word order used. Furthermore, all word order patterns (i.e., SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV, and OVS) are possible in JA, given the right discourse context (see Al-Shawashreh 2016, Jarrah 2017a, 2019b, Jarrah & Abusalem 2020 for related discussion).

One important property of JA is the use of (grammaticalized) discourse markers that express specific grammatical functions. For instance, Jarrah & Alshamari (2017) argue extensively that the discourse marker *fikil* (which literally means 'a shape') in JA is used to express indirect evidentiality, i.e. the speaker relies on indirect evidence (e.g. inference, third-party reports, etc.). Al-Shboul et al. (2012) discuss evidence that some version of the verb *raḥ* (which literally means 'went') is used as a future marker in JA (see also Jarrah et al. 2019; Al-shawashreh et al. 2020, among others, for relevant studies on the functional uses of grammaticalized markers in JA). In this research, we investigate the functional uses of the marker *ʕaad* in JA. This marker is morphologically similar to the [3SG.M] past form of the verb *ʔiʕaawid/ 'ʔiʕuud'* 'return'.<sup>5</sup> It does not contribute to the propositional content of the host utterance, but it has an expressive meaning, namely encoding the speaker's negative appraisal towards the addressee's relevant utterance. Additionally, we provide evidence that its interpolation in the sentence (mainly sentence-initially vs. sentence-finally) is subject to the informational content of the sentence (given vs. new).

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<sup>5</sup> In this paper, we will not explore whether there is a grammaticalization process that targets the lexical verb *ʔiʕaawid/ 'ʔiʕuud'* 'return' which ultimately gives rise to the marker *ʕaad*; rather we focus on functional uses of this marker.



In order to delineate the true functions of this marker in JA, we decide to resort to a corpus that can also help us know the frequency of the occurrence of this marker in spontaneous speech. The corpus consists of 20 interviews that took place following the structures and protocols of sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1972, 1984). The participants ( $n = 60$ ) were stratified according to region, age, and gender. Each interview included 3 participants. We selected 20 participants from each subdialect of JA (20 city dwellers, 20 villagers, and 20 Bedouins). Table 1 presents the distribution of the participants according to their age (Young: less than 40 years; Old: 40+) and sex.

Table 1: The distribution of the participants according to their age and sex

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Young	15	15	30
Old	15	15	30
TOTAL	30	30	60

During the interviews, the participants were asked questions about topics that make them emotionally involved. As Labov (1984) and Alshawashreh et al. (2020) stressed, such topics lead to eliciting spontaneous speech which is the most reliable source of authentic data. These topics include memories, politics, social relations, marriage, and their latest encounters. Given that the number of participants is secured through the ‘snowball technique’ (Milroy & Milroy 1977),

which is based on the friend of a friend technique, the participants of the same interview are friends or at least know each other for more than one year. Every interview lasted one hour.<sup>6</sup>

The participants were informed about the aim of the current work after interviews finished. All interviews were tape-recorded. All occurrences of the marker *ʕaad* (as well as lexical *ʕaad*) were extracted and analyzed with respect to their functions.

As we mentioned above, *ʕaad* can be used as a lexical verb meaning 'returned'. According to our corpus, there are 22 tokens of lexical *ʕaad*, mainly by rural ( $n = 9$ ) and Bedouin ( $n = 12$ ) speakers. Only one city dweller used lexical *ʕaad*. Regarding the marker *ʕaad*, there are (214) tokens whose distribution with respect to their positions in the host sentence is shown in Table 2.

Table 2: The distribution of the marker *ʕaad* in the data, according to its position in the host sentence

Marker <i>ʕaad</i>		
Initial <i>ʕaad</i>	Medial <i>ʕaad</i>	Final <i>ʕaad</i>
125	15	74

In the discussion below, we argue that the distribution of the marker *ʕaad* in its sentence is subject to the informational value of the host sentence. In the following section, we discuss the

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<sup>6</sup> Based on our corpus, we have no evidence that social factors might affect the distribution of the marker *ʕaad*. The two sexes from different age groups and from all regions are found to use the marker *ʕaad* in a similar trend. This can be interpreted as there is no change in progress regarding the distribution of the marker *ʕaad* according to region, age or gender in JA.

lexical use of the verb *ʕaad* which is distinguished from the marker *ʕaad* in several respects, including subject-verb agreement and the possibility to occur in embedded contexts.

## 2.2. *ʕaad* as a lexical verb

*ʕaad*, especially in Bedouin and rural subdialects of JA, can be used as a lexical verb meaning ‘returned’ which is the [3SG.M] past form of the verb *ʔiʕaawid/ ʔiʕuud* ‘return’. Lexical *ʕaad* is normally followed by another verb as shown in the following example:

(4) ʔmiir	ʕaad	ħaka	
Amir	return.PST.3SG.M	talk.PST.3SG.M	
maʕ-i:	bi-l-mawðʕu:ʕ		
with-me	in-DEF-subject		
‘Amir returned to talk to me about the subject.’			(JAC/55/35:20) <sup>7</sup>

In Madani subdialect of JA, the verb *ridziʕ* is used as an equivalent to lexical *ʕaad*.

As a lexical verb, *ʕaad*, under slightly different forms, can be used in the present and future tenses, inflected for  $\phi$ -agreement with its subject, as shown in (5):

(5) a. baʕu:d	ʔagul-l-ak	
return.IMPF.1SG	tell.IMPF.1SG-to-you	
‘I (will) return to tell you.’		(JAC/22/20:15)

<sup>7</sup> JAC refers to the Jordanian Arabic Corpus, followed directly by the number of the speaker in the corpus (from 1 to 60), and followed by the time of the token in the interview.

b. ?il-wizara	raħ	?iʕuud-u
DEF-ministers	will	return.IMPF-3PL.M
?iʕajjnu		maʕaarif-hum
appoint.IMPF-3PL.M		acquaintances-their

‘The ministers will return to appoint their acquaintances.’ (JAC/02/10.20)

The two examples in (5) show that lexical *ʕaad* behaves like any other lexical verb in JA. It is inflected for  $\phi$ -agreement with its subject, and its morphological form changes according to the tense of the sentence. Additionally, the lexical *ʕaad* is found in embedded contexts, as shown in the following example:

(6) ya	ħabeebt-i	?is <sup>ʕ</sup> -s <sup>ʕ</sup> aloon	?akkad-l-i	?innuh
VOC	darling-my	DEF-hair dressers	confirm.PST.3SG.M-to-me	that
raħ	?iʕaawid		yiʕmal-l-i	?il-xas <sup>ʕ</sup> um
will	return.IMPF-3SG.M		do.IMPF-3SG.M-to-me	DEF-discount

‘Darling, hairdresser’s salon confirmed that he would return to make me the discount.’

(JAC/7/15:00)

These properties of the lexical *ʕaad* ( $\phi$ -inflectability with their subject, variant morphological forms according to tense and the occurrence in embedded contexts) are not exhibited by the marker *ʕaad* which is used as a functional word that expresses the speaker’s attitude.

### 2.3. *ʒaad* as a marker: Morphosyntactic facts

In all subdialects of JA, invariant *ʒaad* can be used as a discourse marker. In such cases, *ʒaad* has no semantic contribution to the propositional content of the host sentence. Firstly, consider the following examples that include the marker *ʒaad*.<sup>8</sup>

- |        |                                     |                                |                 |                  |
|--------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (7) a. | <i>ʒaad</i>                         | <i>ʔil-mawð<sup>s</sup>u:ʕ</i> | <i>muhim</i>    |                  |
|        | PRT                                 | DEF-subject                    | important.SG    |                  |
|        | ‘The subject is important, though.’ |                                |                 | (JAC/52/5:10)    |
| b.     | <i>ʒaad</i>                         | <i>ʔif-ʒab</i>                 | <i>bihib</i>    | <i>ʔil-binit</i> |
|        | PRT                                 | DEF-young.man                  | love.IMPF.3SG.M | DEF-girl         |
|        | ‘The man loves the girl, though.’   |                                |                 | (JAC/19/15:13)   |

When the marker *ʒaad* is dropped out, the truth conditionality of its host sentence (or its at-issue proposition) is not affected, as shown in (8).<sup>9</sup>

- |        |                                |              |
|--------|--------------------------------|--------------|
| (8) a. | <i>ʔil-mawð<sup>s</sup>u:ʕ</i> | <i>muhim</i> |
|        | DEF-subject                    | important.SG |
|        | ‘The subject is important.’    |              |

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<sup>8</sup> For convenience, we translate the marker *ʒaad* as ‘though’ following its metacommunication function as a marker of the speaker’s negative appraisal of the addressee’s statement.

<sup>9</sup> The fact that the marker *ʒaad* does not affect the propositional content of its host utterance can be interpreted as a sign that it undergoes semantic bleaching or desemanticization (e.g., Traugott 1982; Heine et al., 1991) which is the loss of the original concrete meaning.

b. ʔijf-fab	bihib	ʔil-binit
DEF-young.man	love.IMPF.3SG.M	DEF-girl
'The man loves the girl.'		

Moreover, the marker *ʕaad* has a fixed morphological form that is insensitive to its syntactic environment with respect to its subject's  $\phi$ -content or tense, as witnessed by the following examples:

(9) a. ʕaad	ʔabuu-ha	maʕ-uh	masʕaari	bi-l-bank
PRT	father-her	with-him	money	in-DEF-bank
'Her father has (much) money in the bank, though.'				(JAC/46/12:10)

b. ʕaad	ʔaxwat-uh	ma-ʕtayal-u	bi-ʔamarika
PRT	brothers-his	NEG-work.PST-3PL.M	in-America
'His brothers did not work in [the United States of] America, though.'			

(JAC/01/30:20)

Furthermore, the marker *ʕaad* can appear sentence-finally (and, to a lesser extent, sentence-medially). This is shown in the following examples.

(10) a. sʕahbiit-ik	hilwah	ʕaad
friend-your	beautiful	PRT
'Your friend is beautiful, though.'		(JAC/11/15:00)

b. ʔiʒ-ʒaamʕah	ʕaad	kaan-t	tiʕti
DEF-university	PRT	be.PST-3SG.F	give.IMPF.3SG.F
ʔuruuðʕ	la-l-kull		
loans	to-DEF-all		

'The university was giving loans to all (students), though. (JAC/07/21:13)

Additionally, there is no single example in the corpus where the marker *ʕaad* appears in an embedded context. When JA native speakers are asked to judge made-up examples with embedded *ʕaad*, they reject them:<sup>10</sup>

(11)	ʔisʕ-sʕaloon	ʔakkad	ʔinnuh
	DEF-hair dressers	confirm.PST.3SG.M	that
(*ʕaad)	raħ	yiʕmal-l-i	ʔil-xasʕum
PRT	will	do.IMPF-3SG.M-to-me	DEF-discount

The hairdresser's salon confirmed that he would make me the discount, though.'

Having discussed the basic morphological and distributional property of the marker *ʕaad*, we move to the evidence that this marker bears an expressive meaning that relates to its metatextual pragmatic function.

<sup>10</sup> Sentence (11) is acceptable with a higher clause construal of the marker *ʕaad*:

(i)	(ʕaad)	ʔisʕ-sʕaloon	ʔakkad-l-i	ʔinnuh
	PRT	DEF-hair dressers	confirm.PST.3SG.M-to-me	that
	raħ	yiʕmal-l-i	ʔil-xasʕum	(ʕaad)
	will	do.IMPF-3SG.M-to-me	DEF-discount	PRT

The hairdresser's salon confirmed that he would make me the discount, though.'

### 3. *ʕaad* as an expressive, thetical marker

Let us start by exploring the discourse function of the marker *ʕaad*. On analyzing all tokens of the marker *ʕaad* in the corpus, it can be proposed that this marker is inherently expressive in the sense that it gives rise to conventional implicature. This conventional implicature rests on the speaker's negative appraisal (or a point of view) towards the hearer's relevant statement (or the immediate linguistic context), supported by the evidence that the speaker mentions in his/her utterance. This conventional implicature is not contextually variable, in the sense that we cannot determine it by appeal to the nature of the context and the maxims (cf. Potts 2005). The marker *ʕaad* is speaker-oriented and concerns the speaker's emotions (being a marker that encodes the speaker's own negative appraisal of the hearer's utterance). Consider the following dialogue as an example:

(12)

Speaker A: raama      ʕikil-ha      ʕajaat-ha      sʕaʕbah      ʔiktiir    ha-l-ʔajaam  
                 Rama      EVID-3SG.F      life-her      difficult      much      DEM-DEF-days

'Rama, her life is evidently difficult nowadays.'

Speaker B: binnisbih      la-eeʕ  
                 Regarding      for-what

'Regarding what?'

Speaker A: ʔil-msʕaari  
                 DEF-money

'Money!'



Speaker C: ʕaad      ʔabuu-ha      maʕ-uh      masʕaari      bi-l-bank  
 PRT      father-her      with-him      money      in-DEF-bank

'Her father has (much) money in the bank, though.' (JAC/46/12:10)

In the present setting, Speaker A mentions that their friend *Rama* has recently encountered difficulties in her life. The nature of these difficulties are questioned by Speaker B. When Speaker A reveals that such problems are financial, Speaker C states that her father has much money in the bank (and, subsequently would help her).<sup>11</sup> Using the marker *ʕaad*, Speaker C makes manifest his negative appraisal of Speaker's A statement that Rama's problems are financial. In other words, Speaker C appraises Speaker's A last statement negatively, given what he knows about the financial status of Rama's father.

The following dialogue is another example which revolves around one's refusal to go for a job in the wealthy Gulf countries:

(13)

Speaker A: ʔidʒdʒan-i                      ʔakθar              min      ʕarðʕ  
 receive.PST.3SG.M-me      more              from      offer  
 ʕala              ʔil-xali:dʒ              wa-ma-rðʕi:t  
 on              DEF-Gulf              and-NEG-accept.PST.1SG

'I received several [job] offers from the Gulf (countries), but I did not accept.'

Speaker B: ʔir-rawa:tib              ʔikθi:r              ʔimni:ħa              ʕaad

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<sup>11</sup> In the Jordanian culture, a father is supposed to help his daughters irrespective of whether they are married or work. This help becomes even obligatory when he is a wealthy man, e.g., has money in the bank.

DEF-salaries	much	good	PRT
‘The salaries are pretty good, though.’			
Speaker A: baʕrif	bas	kaan	ʕin-di
know.IMPF.1SG	but	be.PST.3SG.M	with-me
ðʕuruf	ʔikθi:r		
obligations	many		
‘I know, but I had many obligations.’			(JAC/5/50:00)

In the above dialogue, Speaker A informs Speaker B that he did not go to the Gulf (to get a rewarding job). Now, Speaker B expresses his negative appraisal of this decision (and implicitly wonders why Speaker A did not go to the Gulf), using the marker *ʕaad*.

Following de Vries (2012), we argue that the marker *ʕaad* is a case of parenthesis which is 'a grammatical construction type that involves a message that is presented or perceived as secondary with respect to the host' (p. 153). This secondary message is invoked because of the conventional implicature that is encoded by the marker *ʕaad*. According to Potts (2005), appositions including parenthetical markers and other ‘conventional implicatures’ involve independent lambda terms that are not ‘at issue’. This is true for utterances that contain the marker *ʕaad* as the primary message in Speaker's B utterance in (13) is that the salaries are pretty good in the gulf countries. On the other hand, the secondary message of the same utterance is that the speaker has a negative appraisal towards the addressee's decision not to go to the Gulf. Evidence that the message encoded by the marker *ʕaad* is secondary can be based on the assumption that parenthesis cannot be denied directly (see Potts 2005, among others). When

Speaker A mentions that this is not correct, this directly means that the salaries are not pretty good. This is also shown in the following example that occurs in the corpus:

(14)

Speaker A: ma            baħib                    ʔaftari            min    ʕind-uh  
                   NEG            love.IMPF.1SG            buy.IMPF.1SG    from    with-him  
                   'I do not like buying (goods) from him.'

Speaker B: ʔad            ʔilkul            biguul                    ʔinnuh  
                   PRT            DEF-all            say.IMPF.3SG.M            that  
                   ʔibð<sup>s</sup>aaʕt-uh                    tamaam  
                   goods-his                    perfect  
                   'All report that his goods are perfect, though.'

Speaker A: miʕ            s<sup>s</sup>aħiiħ            ʔibð<sup>s</sup>aaʕtuh                    tagliid  
                   NEG            right            goods-his                    second-hand  
                   'This is not right! His goods are second-hand.'                    (JAC/5/42:30)

Speaker A denies Speaker's B statement that the given merchant buys first-hand goods. He does not deny Speaker's B negative appraisal of his statement.

Let us go back to dialogue (13) which is interesting in this case. Speaker A replies to Speaker's B negative appraisal, after he affirms the primary message that salaries are pretty good in the Gulf, saying *baʕrif* 'I know'. We reproduce the relevant utterance in (15).

(15)

Speaker A: baʕrif                      bas      kaan                      ʕin-di  
                     know.IMPF.1SG      but      be.PST.3SG.M                      with-me  
                     ðʕuruf                      ʔikθi:r  
                     obligations                      many  
                     ‘I know, but I had many obligations.’                      (JAC/5/50:00)

Speaker's A statement that he has many obligations (that prevented him to go to the rewarding job) is a reply to Speaker's B implicit negative appraisal of his decision. This part of Speaker A's answer is significant as it supplies support to our proposal that the marker *ʕaad* invokes a conventional implicature which is part of its meaning.

An important remark to underscore here relates to Potts's (2005) argument that conventional implicatures are commitments and thus gives rise to entailments which are logically and compositionally independent of what is said. This is clearly supported by the following dialogue where the addressee questions the speaker's own negative appraisal encoded by the marker *ʕaad*.

(16)

Speaker A: niðʕaam      ʔit-taqaaʕud                      bilʔardun                      ʔikwajjis  
                     system      DEF-retirement                      in- DEF-Jordan                      good  
                     'The retirement system in Jordan in good!'  
 Speaker B: fiih                      naas                      ʔikθiir      muʕ      ʕaadʒib-hum                      ʕaad  
                     there                      people                      many      NEG      pleasing.3SG.M-them      PRT  
                     'There are many people not liking it, though.'

Speaker A: fikl-ak                    min-hum  
                   EVID-you                    with-them  
                   You are evidently with them.'

Speaker A: ?agall    ?iʃi                    bixallii-k                    faʒiir  
                   least            thing                    let.IMPF.3SG.M-you                    poor  
                   'The least thing is that it makes you poor.'                    (JAC/5/42:00)

The marker *ʃaad* bears conventional implicature that entails the speaker's negative appraisal towards the addressee's statement. In the dialogue above, Although Speaker B does not mention that he has such an appraisal explicitly, Speaker A questions this negative appraisal through the expression *fiklak minhum*. Speaker B does not deny this but proceeds to bring some evidence that the retirement system is not good.<sup>12</sup> We take this as an argument that the attitudinal meaning encoded by the marker *ʃaad* forms its substantive content.

In view of the discussion above, the marker *ʃaad* can be qualified as a thetical discourse marker following Kaltenböck et al.'s (2011) definition of a thetical marker which is a word, a phrase, a clause, or even a chunk that does not form any syntactic constituent and has no semantic meaning. The marker *ʃaad*, as we have shown earlier, does not contribute to the propositional meaning of its host utterance. It only voices the speaker's negative appraisal towards the hearer's statement. This gives rise to the issue that *ʃaad* does not constitute a grammatical argument of any predicate nor does it form any type of constituency with any member of its utterance, something that may account for its optionality in its utterance. The marker *ʃaad* serves to clarify

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<sup>12</sup> According to Potts (2005), the distinction between conversational and conventional implicatures is mainly based on the property of deniability (cancellability).

and characterize the evidence on which the speaker builds his/her negative appraisal towards the hearer's statement. The marker *ʕaad*, being a non-propositional marker, does not contribute to the assertive content of its utterance (cf. Potts, 2002). Furthermore, the marker *ʕaad* can be interpolated at either periphery of its utterance.<sup>13</sup>

A point that also supports the idea that the marker *ʕaad* is a thetical marker is the fact that it is not sensitive to negation. In other words, it does not interact with the negation used in the sentence.

- (17) a. *ʕaad*      *dʒamiʕit*      *ʔil-batra*      *mif*      *sʕaʕbah*  
          PRT      university      DEF-Petra      NEG      difficult  
          'Petra University is not difficult, though.'      (JAC/17/21:00)
- b. *jasmiin*      *ma*      *ʔaað-at-uh*      *ʕaad*  
          Yasmin      NEG      hurt.PST-3SG.F-him      PRT  
          'Yasmin did not hurt him, though.'      (JAC/17/33:00)

The speaker in the two examples in (17) still expresses his negative appraisal with the presence of negation. This entails that the marker *ʕaad*'s content is invariant under negation.<sup>14</sup> Following the structural typology of theticals proposed by Kaltenböck et al. (2011), *ʕaad* can be viewed as

<sup>13</sup> We discuss later the instances where the marker *ʕaad* appears sentence-medially. We show that the marker *ʕaad* in such situations is in fact a case of sentence-initial *ʕaad* that is preceded by elements that even do not belong to the relevant utterance.

<sup>14</sup> Corroborating evidence that the marker *ʕaad* is a thetical marker comes from the fact that it is typically set off from its accompanying utterance by a pause which is associated with a distinct intonation contour. This essentially implies that *ʕaad* is prosodically non-integrated into the accompanying utterance. This is consistent with Grenoble's (2004) note that theticals are 'signaled by a higher pitch at the beginning of the thetical and declination throughout' (p. 1972). Likewise, Burton-Roberts (2005: 180) maintains that all theticals 'are marked off from their anchors by some form of punctuation in writing or special intonation contour in speech.'

a formulaic particle. It is a non-compositional information unit. It is morpho-syntactically unanalyzable, tends to be positionally flexible and to express functions that are mostly procedural, and they relate to the situation of discourse rather than to sentence syntax.

#### 4. The marker *ʕaad* and the informational content of the host utterance

As we have mentioned earlier (see Table 2), the marker *ʕaad* can normally come at the beginning or at the end of the host utterance. Based on all tokens of initial *ʕaad* and final *ʕaad*, we propose that initial *ʕaad* is followed by the information that the speaker predicts that the hearer is not aware of. In other words, initial *ʕaad* accompanies sentences whose informational content is new for the hearer. On the other hand, final *ʕaad* accompanies sentences whose informational value is old for the hearer, on the basis on the speaker's world knowledge. Consider the following exchange between two friends regarding one's recent picnic.

(18)

Speaker A: ʔimba:riħ	ma-tʰlaʕ-na:	tʰaʃfeħ
yesterday	NEG-go.out.3PL.M	outing
‘Yesterday, we did not go out for a picnic.’		

Speaker B: ʔidʒ-dʒaw	kaan	ħilu	ʕaad
DEF-weather	be.PST.3SG.M	nice	PRT
‘The weather was really nice, though.’		(JAC/45/7:00)	

In (18), the fact that yesterday's weather was nice is evidently known to the interlocutors. This may imply that Speaker's B utterance is redundant as it brings old information that the hearer is well-aware of. This raises two questions: why is this old information used by Speaker B in the

first place? and why is *ʕaad* used alongside this old information? As a first approximation, this imparts the sense that the marker *ʕaad* is an old-information marker in such cases. According to our corpus, final *ʕaad* is preceded by a chunk of information that is normally shared between the interlocutors. This chunk is used as evidence behind the speaker’s negative appraisal of the hearer’s relevant statement. For instance, Speaker B in (18) mentions the fact that the weather was nice and implies his negative appraisal of this decision made by the hearer.

Consider the following dialogue as another example that revolves around the application of one of the interlocutor’s brother for a job:

(19)

Speaker A:   ʔaxuu-i           ma-gaddam-ij                   li-l-waḏʕiifeh  
                   bother-my       NEG-apply.PST.3SG.M-NEG   to-DEF-job  
                   ʔilli               b-ʕirkit-ku  
                   that               in-company-your  
                   ‘My brother did not apply for the job at your company.’

Speaker B:   mu:ʔihilaat-u           ʕaalijeh           ʕaad  
                   credentials-his       high               PRT  
                   ‘His credentials are high, though.’

Speaker A:   mirta:ḥ               bi-waḏʕiift-u  
                   comfortable           in-job-his  
                   ‘He is comfortable in his [current] job.’                   (JAC/7/5:00)



Speaker B voices his negative appraisal towards Speaker A's statement that his brother did not apply for the new job, mentioning that Speaker's A credentials are high. Speaker B's statement is known to Speaker A (as the person they talk about is Speaker's A brother).

On the other hand, *ʕaad* can appear sentence-initially. However, it does not mark old evidence but new evidence that the hearer may not be aware of, to the best of the speaker's knowledge.

Consider the following dialogue that revolves around one acquaintance's problem:

(20)

Speaker A:   ʔif-ʕurtʕa       bidawr-u:               ʕala   musʕtʕafa  
                   DEF-police    search.IMPF-3PL.M   on     Mustafa  
                   ‘The police are looking for Mustafa.’

Speaker B:   ʕaad   ʔil-muḥami               bigu-la-k  
                   PRT   DEF-lawyer               say.IMPF.3SG.M-to-you  
                   ma-ʔil-u                   ʕalaaqa  
                   NEG-to-him               relation  
                   ‘The lawyer says [Mustafa] has nothing to do with it, though.’

Speaker A:   ḥata               walaw  
                   Even                though  
                   ‘Even though!’                               (JAC/7/22:00)

Speaker B provides information that Speaker A is not aware of, hence the use of *ʕaad* at the beginning of the sentence. The dialogue in (21) is another example of initial *ʕaad*.

(21)

Speaker A: maħallat      ?il-malaabis      xasraaneh      bi-?irbid  
stores      DEF-clothes      losing      in-Irbid

‘Clothes stores are losing [money] in Irbid.’

Speaker B: ?aad      ?il-baladijeh      gallal-at      ?ir-rusum  
PRT      DEF-municipality      reduce.PST-3SG.F      DEF-fees  
?iða      ma-bta?rifif  
if      NEG-know-not

‘The municipality reduced the fees, though if you do not know.’

Speaker A: qaraar      munaasib      fi-heel      fatra  
decision      wise      in-this      period

‘[This is] a wise decision at this time.’ (JAC/18/04:00)

Speaker B uses the marker *?aad* at the beginning of his statement expecting that Speaker A is not familiar with this information. This is evident by the use of the expression *?iða ma-bta?rifif* ‘if you do not know already’ which is used in JA as a polite way to update interlocutors’ knowledge.

This relation between the position of the marker *?aad* in its host utterance and the information content of the host utterance can also be deduced from another function of the particle *?aad*. According to our corpus, the particle *?aad* can be used with the meaning *already* (which appears in the corpus 5 times), normally with an emotive attitude of regret or surprise by the speaker. Consider the following exchange:

(22)

Speaker A:   ʔil-bank       ʔil-ʔahli       ʕaamil quru:ðʕ       ʕaxsʕijeh       ʔikθi:reh  
                  DEF-bank       DEF-Ahli       doing loans       personal       many  
                  ‘Ahli Bank is offering a lot of personal loans.’

Speaker B:   ʕaad   ʔana   sʕurt       maaxiðʕ       min   bank   ʔil-qahira  
                  PRT   I       already       taken       from   bank   DEF-Cairo  
                  ‘I already took [a loan] from Cairo Bank.’       (JAC/1/15:00)

Speaker B’s utterance expresses the speaker's regret that he could not apply for loans from the National Bank because he already took one loan from Cairo Bank. Notice here that Speaker B uses *ʕaad* at the beginning of the utterance to indicate that the informational content of his utterance is new to the hearer who does not know this beforehand. This is consistent with our general view of the marker *ʕaad* that its position is strongly associated with the informational content of the accompanying utterance (new vs. old).

Before embarking on our syntactic analysis of the marker *ʕaad*, we discuss here the tokens where this marker can appear sentence medially as shown in (10b) which is reproduced as (23):

(23)   ʔiʕ-ʕaamʕah                   ʕaad   kaan-t       tiʕtʕi  
          DEF-university               PRT   be.PST-3SG.F   give.IMPF.3SG.F  
          ʔuruuðʕ                   la-l-kull  
          loans                   to-DEF-all  
          ‘The university was giving loans to all (students), though’.       (JAC/07/20:13)

According to our corpus, there are 15 tokens of medial *ʕaad*. In all of these tokens, the marker *ʕaad* is preceded by one constituent which functions as a topic of discourse. For example, the sentence in (23) appears in the context which all revolves around university and its services.

(24)

Speaker A: ʔiʒ-ʒaamʕah      kaan-t      ʕilwah      ʔiktiir  
 DEF-university      be.PST.3SG.F      good      much  
 'The university (life) was very nice.'

Speaker B: kun-t      ʔaʕaani      kul      ʔawwal  
 be.PST.1SG      suffer.IMPF.1SG      every      first  
 fasʕil      bisabab      ʔil-ʔasʕdʕ  
 semester      because of      DEF-fee  
 'I used to suffer every semester because of the fee.'

Speaker A: ʔiʒ-ʒaamʕah      ʕaad      kaan-t      tiʕtʕi  
 DEF-university      PRT      be.PST-3SG.F      give.IMPF.3SG.F  
 ʔuruuðʕ      la-l-kull  
 loans      to-DEF-all  
 'The university was giving loans to all (students), though.      (JAC/07/20:13)

Speaker B: dʒad  
 seriously  
 'Seriously?'

When medial *ʕaad* is preceded by a non-topical element (e.g. an indefinite, nonspecific element), the relevant sentence is judged as ungrammatical by JA native speakers.

- (25) \*dʒaamʕaat      ʕaad    kaan-t      tiʕtʕi  
           universities    PRT    be.PST-3SG.F    give.IMPF.3SG.F  
           ʔuruuðʕ        la-l-kull  
           loans            to-DEF-all

Intended: 'Universities were giving loans to all (students), though'.

One property that is associated with the topical element that precedes medial *ʕaad* is that it can appear with the expression *bixʕu:sʕ* 'as for' which, according to Jarrah (2017a), marks the entity that functions as an aboutness topic (A-Topic) in JA grammar. Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl (2007) define an A-Topic as the element that what the sentence is about (cf. Reinhart 1981, Lambrecht 1994); it which stands for the constituent which is proposed as 'a matter of standing and current interest or concern.' (Strawson 1964) (see also Jiménez-Fernández & Miyagawa 2014: 284). Following Krifka (2001) and Gärtner (2002), A-Topic is base-generated in the so-called  $\pi$ P that is headed by the paratactic head ( $\pi$ ); this head is viewed as an implementation of speech act conjunction (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010) (see also Jarrah et al. 2019).  $\pi$ P does not belong to the left periphery of the host utterance. Following this, we propose that medial *ʕaad* is in fact a true case of initial *ʕaad*, masked by the presence of A-Topic which is not part of the host utterance. Note here that in the 15 tokens of medial *ʕaad*, the host utterance expresses new information. For instance, in (24) above Speaker B does not already know that the university used to give loans to the university students.

Medial *ʕaad* is also found in North Hail Arabic, as mentioned in Alshamari (2017), functioning as a topic marker, in the sense that it marks the element that functions as a topic in the sentence. Under Alshamari's (2017) analysis, *ʕaad* does not normally start nor end its utterance. It is often preceded by one element that is shown to be the topic of the sentence as shown in the following example:

(26)	l-radʒa:l	ʕaad	Omar	ʃaf-uh
	DEF-man	PRT	Omar	see.PST.3SG.M-him

‘As for the man, Omar saw him.’ (Alshamari 2017: 27)

The expression *lradʒa:l* ‘the man’ is argued to be the topic of discourse that ‘has been shifted from at an earlier point of the conversation’ (p. 26). Alshamari (2017) does not discuss whether there is a metatextual/metacommunicative meaning associated with *ʕaad* in North Hail Arabic.

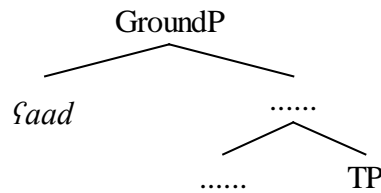
In the following section, we show that although the marker *ʕaad* is a thetical marker, its syntactic behavior (interpolation) can yet be accounted for using sentence grammar.

## 5. The syntax of *ʕaad*

In this section, we show that the distribution of the marker *ʕaad* is governed by familiar syntactic operations. We take this as evidence that this marker is located inside the clause boundary of the host utterance. We use the Universal Spine Hypothesis (USP) (Wiltschko 2014) to do this task. According to Wiltschko (2014), the USP provides a framework for the discovery and comparison of language-specific categories and promotes a hierarchically organized series of core functional

projections. One of the key assumptions of this approach is that the syntactic domains are associated with core abstract functions. Following Speas & Tenny (2003), Wiltschko (2014) and Wiltschko & Heim (2016) propose that a sentence contains a functional architecture above the functional structure of CP (and TP), namely grounding structure. This structure includes a layer that is dedicated to encoding the speaker’s attitude towards the hearer’s statement. This layer is Ground Phrase. Given the function of the marker *ʕaad* in its host utterance as encoding the speaker’s negative appraisal towards the hearer’s statement, we propose that the marker *ʕaad* merges in the structure as a head of GroundP, as shown in the following tree structure:

(27)



Evidence that this analysis is on the track comes from the fact that the marker *ʕaad* cannot occur with confirmational markers or vocatives that are assumed to merge on the head of GroundP (or a version of it) (see Tenny 2000; Hill 2013; Wiltschko & Heim 2016; see also Wiltschko 2018). In (27a), the marker *ʕaad* co-occurs with the confirmational marker *sʕaħiiħ*; in (27b) it co-occurs with the vocative marker *ja*.

(28) a. \*sʕaħiiħ      ʕaad    raah      ʕa-s-suug  
          CF            PAT    go.PST.3SG.M    to-DEF-market

Intended: 'It is right he went to the market.'

- (29) a. \*sʕāhiih      ʕaad    raah      ʕa-s-suug  
          CF                    PAT    go.PST.3SG.M    to-DEF-market

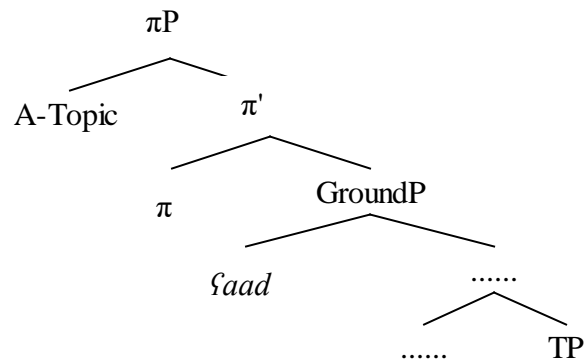
Intended: 'Yes, he went to the market.'

- b. ja            tʕaalibeh      ʕaad    taʕaali      la-hoon  
          VOC        student            PRT    come.2sg.f    to-here

Intended: 'Student! Come here!'

As for sentences with medial *ʕaad*, GroundP is dominated by  $\pi$ P which according to Krifka (2001: 44) links two discourse independent speech acts which occur consecutively. This is schematically shown in the following structure:

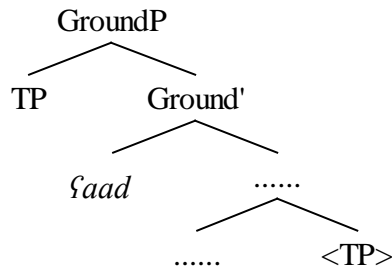
(30)



Regarding to sentences with final *ʕaad*, we propose that the whole utterance undergoes phrasal movement to Specifier position of GroundP. Following our analysis of utterances with final *ʕaad* being an expression of given information, we propose that this movement is motivated under the grounds that topical information in Arabic tends to move to/be base-generated in the left periphery in Arabic (see Soltan 2007; Jarrah 2019b) (moved material appears between <>).



(31)



Evidence that supports this line of analysis comes from the fact that the host sentence would become ungrammatical if the pre-*ʕaad* material involves illicit movement; e.g., movement out of an island, (see 32a and 32b) or is a material that resists topicalization (e.g., quantifiers), as in (32c,d).

- (32) a. ʕaad laga ʔidaliil ʔilli raħ  
PRT find.PST.3SG.M DEF-evidence which will  
jirbaħ fii-h ʔil-gað<sup>s</sup>ijjeh  
win.IMPF.3SG.M with-it DEF-case

'He found the evidence through which he will win the case.'

- b. \*ʔil-gað<sup>s</sup>ijjeh ʕaad laga ʔidaliil ʔilli  
DEF-case PRT find.PST.3SG.M DEF-evidence which  
raħ jirbaħ fii-h  
will win.IMPF.3SG.M with-it

Intended: 'As for the case, he found the evidence through which he will win it.'

- c. ʕaad laaga kull t<sup>s</sup>aalib ʔimbaariħ  
PRT meet.PST.3SG.M every student yesterday

'He met every student yesterday.'

d. \*kull tʕaalib ʕaad laaga ʔimbaariḥ  
 every student PRT meet.PST.3SG.M yesterday  
 'He met every student yesterday.'

Additional evidence that the material to the left of final *ʕaad* is a product of movement comes from instances where the evidential marker *fikil* is used. Jarrah & Alshamari (2017) argue extensively that this marker head Evid<sub>ential</sub> Phrase which is a separate layer within the high IP area (cf. Cinque 1999). The relevant point here is that when *fikil* and initial *ʕaad* occur in the sentence, initial *ʕaad* appears to the left of *fikil* as shown in the following example:

(33) (ʕaad) fikil-ha (\*ʕaad) kaan-t musallijeh  
 PRT PRT-her PRT be.PST-3SG.F entertaining  
 'She was evidently entertaining, through.'

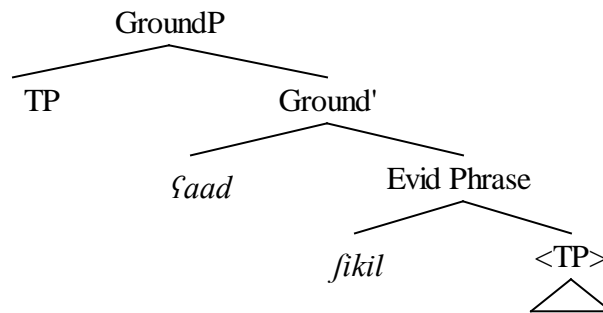
When the evidentiality marker *fikil* and final *ʕaad* occur in the sentence, final *ʕaad* appears to the left of *fikil* as shown in the following example

(34) kaan-t musallijeh (ʕaad) fikil-ha (\*ʕaad)  
 be.PST-3SG.F entertaining PRT PRT-her PRT  
 'She was evidently entertaining, through.'

The fact that final *ʕaad* does not appear at the end of the sentence to the right of the evidentiality marker *fikil* can be interpreted as evidence that TP moves to the Spec position of Ground Phrase

which is headed by *ʕaad*. This movement gives rise to the situation where *ʕaad* precedes *fikil* which is not part of the material that moves to Spec, Ground Phrase (irrelevant details are skipped).

(35)



On the other hand, when *ʕaad* appears sentence-initially, there is no such movement as the utterance expresses new information which is assumed to remain in situ in the Arabic clause structure as long as no contrastive reading is intended (see Moutaouakil 1989; Ouhalla 1997).<sup>15</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

This paper explores the metatextual/metacommunicative function of the marker *ʕaad* in JA. We have provided evidence that this marker bears a conventional implicature that encodes the speaker's negative appraisal of the hearer statement. We have also shown that this marker is a thetical marker (following Kaltenböck's et al. 2011 terminology) whose syntactic position in its host utterance is significant as it is strongly tied to the informational type of the utterance. When *ʕaad* occurs sentence-initially, it marks information that constitutes new evidence against the hearer's statement. On the other hand, when *ʕaad* appears utterance-finally, the information that the speaker provides is given for the hearer to the best of the speaker's knowledge. We have also

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<sup>15</sup> Concerning the fact that *ʕaad* does not appear in embedded contexts, it can be assumed that GroundP is a main clause phenomenon, hence it is restricted to root contexts.

provided evidence *ζaad*'s syntactic behavior can be captured within the confines of syntax despite its peripheral position. We propose that *ζaad* is generated in the grounding layer which includes the speaker-oriented structure. When *ζaad* appears sentence finally, the whole TP moves to Spec position of the projection headed by *ζaad*.

With this being the case, sentence grammar (represented here by syntactic structures) is deemed capable of accounting for the behavior of thetical markers, and there is no need for a new domain of sentence and discourse processing (i.e., Thetical Grammar) that ultimately complicates grammar. Our analysis of *ζaad* implies that theticals are restricted to the placement rules of sentence grammar. The notion that freedom of theticals being non-restricted to sentence grammar is important to enable the speaker to present information in the most strategic position of an utterance is not evidence that this placement cannot be captured through the rules of sentence grammar. Additionally, *ζaad* under our proposal is a head, hence a syntactic constituent which is deemed to be the characteristic property of SG, but not TG. Although *ζaad* is shown to be ruled by sentence grammar, it still plays an important role in structuring linguistic interaction, being at times more central to the communicative goals of speakers. It attends to the immediate communicative needs of the discourse situation.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> We leave the door open for alternative analyses based on COMMA operator (Potts 2005) and ParP (de Vries 2012).

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