

# **Temporal and Aspectual auxiliaries in Maltese**

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# Abstract

This study aims to better understand the realisation of grammatical TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese. We first consider the different temporal and aspectual interpretations related with the verbal and participial morphology. The main focus will then be the identification of different sorts of auxiliaries that contribute to the realisation of the morphosemantic TENSE and ASPECT features as they combine with one another and with lexical verbs and participles in periphrastic structures. The bleached semantics displayed by the forms to be discussed will be taken to be our primary identifier of an auxiliary status.

Only one auxiliary expresses TENSE in the language, however a number of auxiliaries realize Viewpoint and Phasal ASPECT. The auxiliaries discussed range from invariable particles that simply realize feature-values to auxiliaries that display predicate-like behaviours, in that they are the semantic nucleus of their own clause. Three of the auxiliaries to be discussed are pseudo-verbs. While providing a much-needed account of their morphosyntactic behaviour, and what they bring to the overall constructions in which they are present, in terms of temporal and aspectual interpretations, we will for the first time posit that Maltese synchronically realizes PERFECT ASPECT through the use of at least two of these pseudo-verbal auxiliaries.

The Lexical Functional Grammar framework will underlie this study's morphosyntactic account, with which we aim to identify which syntactic analyses best account for the different auxiliaries

as these combine with themselves and with other lexical predicates, particularly whether they come to form bi- or mono-tiered/clausal *f*-structures. The framework also underlies our quest in trying to better understand the (mis)matched behaviours that obtain across the morphology-semantic-syntax modules/levels of linguistic analysis, in the realm of the expression of TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese. We will see how in places, the morphological information expressed may even be contradictory to the interpretation expressed at the semantic level. This will compel us to argue that the yielded temporal and aspectual interpretations cannot always be taken to imply the realisation of TENSE/ASPECT values at the syntactic level.

# Dedication

To Stevinson, with deepest love ...

&

To the language I call mine: *Il-Malti*



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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*Fil-bidu kien il-Verb.* [Ġw:1:1]

This study considers a number of temporal and aspectual syntactic constructions that make use of various sorts of auxiliaries in Maltese. Maltese is the national language of Malta, and along with non-native English, is the official language of the islands. Years of contact and colonisation have resulted in a language that is fundamentally of an Arabic base, with an Italian/Sicilian substrate and an English superstrate. This description best characterises the lexical aspect of the language, and not its grammar, necessarily. If we exclude the fact that Maltese has long lost any sort of contact with Classical Arabic, such that no diglossic situation exists, or even any other direct contact with any form of Arabic variety, Maltese shares a lot with the Arabic vernaculars. So much so that Owens (2010) and Behnstedt and Woidich (2013) classify Maltese as a dialect variety of Arabic. Typologically Maltese is in fact usually listed under Arabic as belonging to the Central Semitic branch of the family Huehnergard (2005). For the purpose of our study, we do in fact treat Maltese as an Arabic dialect, even if its distinct development and contact situation, when compared to the other Arabic dialects, have resulted in Maltese and Arabic not being mutually comprehensible (Borg, 1978, p. 27). We aim that our contribution

here, following Sadler and Camilleri (2013), Camilleri et al. (2014a,b) and Camilleri and Sadler (2016) continues to bridge the long felt gap due to the lack of comparative studies between Maltese and the other Arabic dialects. One should also mention that in this study we will be at times highlighting what (morpho)syntactic differences exist from the Standard variety, as one has to say that even if Maltese is only spoken by less than half a million people in an area of 316km<sup>2</sup>, there are a number of dialects. Studies on dialectal variation in Maltese date back to Vassalli (1796) and have been the research interest in Aquilina and Isserlin (1981) particularly, as well as Camilleri and Vanhove (1994), Azzopardi-Alexander (2011) and Borg (2011), amongst others, although these mainly solely concentrate on variation other than that of the syntactic sort.

Our account of the constructions to be discussed in this study will be from the perspective of Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG). We here discuss the morphosemantic features of TENSE (realized by ‘expression[s] of location in time’ (Comrie, 1985, p. 9)) and ASPECT (where expressions or grammaticalised constructions consider the ‘internal event structure’ (Comrie, 1976)), which we take to be separate grammatical categories, in the sense that we will be able to identify the presence of both types of features in Maltese. Having said this, from the outset it should be mentioned that as Schwarze (2001, p. 454) makes it rather clear, while both these categories may in fact be important to distinguish ‘on formal grounds, because aspect periphrases interact with (morphological) tense ... semantically, tense and aspect features are not clearly separated’. In fact, if we take the phenomenon of the PERFECT, for example, to be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, this does in fact blur, or at least bring out further, the close relatedness between aspectual and temporal meanings (Smith, 1997, p. 109). TENSE will only be minimally discussed in this study, and the main focus will in fact be considerations of varied dimensions of the ASPECTUAL category. From the start we should mention that Situation ASPECT, which ‘presents a situation as belonging to a certain category of event or state’ (Smith, 1997, p. 1), which has to do with the Vendler (1957) verb categorisations, will not feature in our discussions here. The dimension to ASPECT we will be concerned with here is the one that considers grammaticalised Viewpoints, i.e.

that dimension of ASPECT that ‘functions as an independent lens on the situation talked about. Viewpoint makes visible all or part of a situation’ (Smith, 1997, p. 126). From this perspective, we will be considering both ASPECTual values that are yielded via the actual morphological forms of the verb, as well as others built periphrastically/syntactically.

## 1.1 The theoretical framework: LFG

Lexical Functional Grammar (LFG) employs a parallel architecture/correspondence (Kaplan and Bresnan, 1982) that is represented in Asudeh (2012) as in (1), which models a theory of language analysis. Such an architecture allows for distinct co-present projections that relate to one another via functional correspondences modelling different representations of linguistic analysis, each having their own rules and constraints.

- (1) phonological string -  $\pi$   $\rightarrow$  morphological-structure -  $\mu$   $\rightarrow$  prosodic structure -  $p$   $\rightarrow$  constituent-structure -  $\alpha$   $\rightarrow$  argument-structure -  $\lambda$   $\rightarrow$  functional-structure -  $\sigma$   $\rightarrow$  semantic-structure  
(constituent- to functional-structure is linked through the  $\phi$  correspondence)

LFG is primarily a lexicalist theory that relies heavily on lexical entries and the information present in them. In this way, if we consider active-passive relations, for example, these essentially involve the remapping of syntactic roles onto different grammatical relations, which all take place at the argument-structure (*a*-structure) level, yielding distinct lexical entries. Lexicalist approaches are based on an underlying assumption that it is not syntax which should deal with such relations, and for this reason there is no resort to transformational syntactic relations. Rather, such relations are left to the morphological domain and the lexicon, including the *a*-structure. The *a*-structure essentially represents the predicate-argument relations, where via lexical mapping, associations of arguments and their thematic roles vis-à-vis their grammatical function, takes place. What concerns us most, for the purpose of this study, is where in the model, syntactic analyses take place.

LFG employs two representational levels where syntactic analyses can be done, based on an important principle whereby syntactic functions are meant to be independently analysed from any sort of configurational structure (Bresnan, 2001; Dalrymple, 2001; Falk, 2001). Such a split between function and constituency allows for different ways with which a SUBJ can be realized/expressed in different languages, e.g. no expression at all, as in PRO-drop languages; linear order differences; fixed constituent categories for SUBJ, e.g. CP and NP; the possibility of discontinuous realisations of SUBJ properties; the identification of SUBJ on the basis of the thematic roles it can be associated with, as well as other conditions based on the Animacy hierarchy, for example.<sup>1</sup> The two levels that keep these analytical concerns apart are the constituent-structure (*c*-structure) and the functional-structure (*f*-structure). The *c*-structure has to do with the external properties related with syntax, which allow and account for the variation that exists across languages. It takes into account word order considerations, constituency, syntactic categories, dominance and precedence. Through the use of phrase structure rules that build up syntactic trees, the surface linear order configurationality (or the lack of it), is represented. While X-Bar syntax (Chomsky, 1970) is used for configurational or semi-configurational languages, flatter *c*-structures that do not need to be restricted to binary branched tree structures, are also available. The other level of syntactic representation, i.e. the *f*-structure is concerned with internal syntactic properties, which are believed to be more universal in nature. The *f*-structure thus represents the relevant grammatical functions (GFs) as well as other syntactically relevant features involved in any syntactic construction.

The core GFs are: SUBJ, OBJ, OBJ $\theta$ .<sup>2</sup> The non-core functions on the other hand are: OBL, ADJ, COMP, XCOMP, with ADJs and UDFs functioning as non-arguments. UDFs (unbounded dis-

<sup>1</sup>Vincent and Börjars (2010, pp. 289-290) make use of this split syntactic representation when discussing certain aspects of grammaticalisation, illustrating that while a syntactic element may undergo radical semantic change as it grammaticalises further, its syntactic category or structural position need not change. What changes, however, is its function with respect to the construction in which it is present.

<sup>2</sup>This GF is also known as the ‘restricted OBJ’ or OBJ2 in the literature. Essentially the  $\theta$  represents the fact that this secondary OBJ is restricted to a special set of thematic roles.

course functions) is the umbrella term which Asudeh (2004, 2012) uses to categorise the discourse functions: TOPic and FOCus.

Every level of linguistic representation in the parallel architecture that constitutes the LFG model makes use of a distinct language. The *f*-structure makes use of hierarchical attribute value matrices (AVMs). The information necessary for the *f*-structure comes from the lexical entry as well as information coming from the annotation on *c*-structure nodes.<sup>3</sup> The functional head of an *f*-structure is a PRED feature, which takes a list of semantic/thematic arguments represented through their enclosure in angle brackets. These are then mapped onto GFs on the basis of a default hierarchy of mappings (Kibort, 2004, 2007) or through lexical specifications, if necessary. Apart from the PRED and other GFs, the *f*-structure is also made up of a list of features and their values. Such values could be either atomic, i.e. a symbol (e.g. NUM SG); a semantic form, as is always the case with respect to the value of the PRED; sets, or feature-structures in themselves. The *f*-structure then feeds into the semantic-structure (*s*-structure), which provides the necessary interpretations. The fact that it is not the *c*-structure that does this explains why there is ‘no motivation for phonologically null heads’ in LFG (Falk, 1984, p. 497). The different feature-value pairs function as defining equations. For example,  $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = \text{SG}$  functionally designates that the NUM value internal to the SUBJ’s *f*-structure is SG. The requirement of the presence of a particular feature-value pair in a given *f*-structure necessitates a constraining equation. Unlike defining equations, these do not create a feature or provide its value. Rather, constraining equations require the presence of the feature-value pair. Thus, a constraining equation such as:  $(\uparrow \text{SUBJ NUM}) = {}_c\text{SG}$  ensures that the value SG for the NUM feature within the SUBJ’s *f*-structure, must be present. There are also negative constraining equations. In order to constrain the value of TENSE from being PRESENT, this can be stated as follows:  $\neg(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) = \text{PRES}$  or  $(\uparrow \text{TENSE}) \neq \text{PRES}$ . Functional-uncertainty equations are heavily relied upon for a number of local and long distance dependency constructions, which in turn functionally- or anaphorically-identify different

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<sup>3</sup>The use of metavariables such as  $\uparrow$  and  $\downarrow$  represent the relations that hold between the *f*-structure associated with the *c*-structure’s mother node and own/daughter node respectively.



grammatical relations, allowing a given GF or UDF to be associated with two distinct syntactic functions in the  $f$ -structure.

While these two levels of syntactic representation feed information into one another, agreement, binding, complementation, local dependencies including raising and control, long distance dependencies and other such constructions, are all done at the  $f$ -structure level, on the basis of a reference to the different relations and dependencies that are present across and amongst the GFs. While independent structures in their own right, the  $c$ - and  $f$ -structures are related to one another through the  $\phi$  function. The relation between both these structures can be non-isomorphic, and for this reason, the  $f$ -structure is not to be conceived as a composite of the different nodes and categories internal to the  $c$ -structure. It is in fact possible for  $f$ -structure fragments to not be associated with any piece of  $c$ -structure, as in the case of PRO instances, for example. In these cases, it is solely the morphology on the verb form, for example, that signals the SUBJ GF, rather than any overt piece of structure.<sup>4</sup> At times it is possible that a piece of  $c$ -structure expresses some sort of GF which could have otherwise been solely signalled through morphological marking on the verb. When such a structurally-expressed argument fills and satisfies one of the  $f$ -structure's required GFs, the relevant marking on the verb merely comes to function as agreement, and this inflectional material loses its pronominal value in such contexts. It is also possible for one  $c$ -structure node to be related with a complex  $f$ -structure, just as different nodes or split inflection and distributed exponence across different nodes could also contribute to a single  $f$ -structure, e.g. a feature value.

In the same way that the two distinct levels of syntactic representations make use of their own language, they also adhere to different conditions that constraint their wellformedness.

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<sup>4</sup>The same follows in the case of the presence of  $\epsilon$  in phrase structure rules, where the lack of a  $c$ -structure correspondence may nevertheless still imply a feature at the  $f$ -structure: ' $\epsilon$  corresponds to an empty string and represents the absence of a phrase structure constituent. Importantly [when this is present], the rule does not license the presence of an empty category or node in the  $c$ -structure tree. It simply constitutes an instruction to introduce some functional constraints in the absence of some overt word or phrase' (Dalrymple, 2001, pp. 175-176).

The *c*-structure is governed by X-Bar principles, i.e. principles of endocentricity, at least when applied to configurational languages. Such phrase structure rule constraints, which determine the annotations on the *c*-structure nodes, are the following:

1. Complement of lexical category (open) = a GF (argument) or a co-head;
2. Specifier of a lexical category is a dependent;
3. Complement of a functional category (closed) = a co-head;
4. Specifier of functional category = discourse function (Bresnan, 2001, pp. 118–119);
5. Non-projecting nodes must be adjoined to another head, which can be either a functional or a lexical category, and can be an argument of a co-head (Toivonen, 2003)

All nodes are nevertheless optional, following the principle of Economy of Expression, especially when they contribute nothing to the semantic composition. This principle states that:

Economy of Expression: ‘All syntactic phrase nodes are optional and are not used unless required by independent principles (completeness, coherence, semantic expressivity)’ (Bresnan, 2001, p. 188).<sup>5</sup>

*C*-structures in LFG are subject to the: Extended head theory, which allows different categories at the *c*-structure to share their role as functional heads internal to the *f*-structure, i.e. bearing co-head roles. This is the case when a functional terminal category takes a lexical head as its external head (Bresnan, 1997). The *c*-structure in LFG applies the principle of Lexical Integrity, where one morphologically-complete word per node is assumed.<sup>6</sup> The principle is stated as fol-

<sup>5</sup>Lexocentricity allows for flatter structures, typically making use of the S category, which is exocentric, and hence can head any category. It is however not constrained by any phrase structure rules, and can head multiple categories at the same time. In languages which employ this sort of *c*-structure, functional relations are not determined by word order, but rather through grammatical relations identified via head or dependent marking.

<sup>6</sup>Lexical sharing (Wescoat et al., 2005; Alsina, 2010) is nevertheless allowed when phonological words happen to be composed out of words sitting at terminal ( $X^\circ$ ) nodes.

lows:

Lexical Integrity: ‘Morphologically complete words are leaves of the *c*-structure tree and each leaf corresponds to one and only one *c*-structure node’ (Bresnan, 2001, p. 92).

Note that this doesn’t mean that the syntax is not able to see inside the word-form. Rather, the morphological form of a word is able to feed relevant information internal to the *f*-structure, in turn allowing both the syntax and the morphology to contribute the same sort of information, which is possible via the unification of the function-values involved.

The *f*-structure is on the other hand constrained by the Uniqueness, Completeness and Coherence conditions. Uniqueness requires that there be no duplication in the *f*-structure, such that every attribute/feature is itself unique and takes its own unique value. In the case of UDFs and ADJs, set values for these, do not violate Uniqueness, and many of these could be co-present. The annotation used in such contexts is:  $\downarrow \in (\uparrow \text{TOP} \mid \text{FOC} \mid \text{ADJ})$ , which identifies the element’s status as part of a set of *f*-structures that constitutes the value of a UDF or ADJ function. The Completeness condition requires that the PRED’s *a*-structure requirements are satisfied within the *f*-structure, while Coherence checks that every argument function internal to the *f*-structure is one that is selected by the PRED. UDFs as well as other ‘syntactic functions requiring that they be integrated appropriately into the *f*-structure’ (Bresnan, 2001, p. 63), partake in the Extended Coherence Condition (Bresnan and Mchombo, 1987, p. 746), which states that: ‘Focus and Topic must be linked to the semantic predicate argument structure of the sentence in which they occur, either by functionally or anaphorically binding an argument’.

## 1.2 The account of auxiliaries in LFG

This section reviews the development of the syntactic and morphosyntactic analyses of auxiliaries, particularly those related to the TAM domains, in LFG. The distinct accounts identify three ways with which auxiliaries can be analysed in LFG: a feature analysis (AUX-FEATURE) where the auxiliary is a co-head; a (main) predicate analysis (AUX-PRED); and a complex predicate analysis, in which case, both the auxiliary (or light verb) along with the lexical verb combine their predicate values to form one complex predicate structure.

The early LFG accounts of Bresnan (1982) and Falk (1984) consider auxiliaries as ‘helping verbs’, but provide such verbs with a *f*-structural analysis that parallels that of main verbs, particularly raising predicates such as *seem*, for example, as well as aspectualiser verbs such as *begin* and *stop*, where the auxiliary functions as the PRED of its own *f*-structure and takes a verbal complement (VCOMP) as its argument, while structure-sharing the SUBJ GF.<sup>7</sup> Falk’s (1984) account for English essentially starts by splitting verbal inflection in general on the basis of a finite - non-finite distinction. The opposition entails the presence of a TENSE feature in the verb’s lexical entry if this is finite, or information as to whether the form is participial or infinitival, if non-finite (p. 493). On the basis of this account, the differences that obtain at the lexical entry level between a non-auxiliary verb such as *stop* and the auxiliary *have*, apart from being classified as V(erb) vs. H(elping) V(erb) respectively, include: **a.** the value of the PRED: while the PRED value of *stop* is its own lexical meaning, the value of *have* is in fact the aspectual information it represents, i.e. ‘perf(ect)’; **b.** a difference in the value of the VCOMP’s participle: *stop* requires a Progressive participial form in its complement, while *have* requires a Perfect participial form.

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<sup>7</sup>In more recent versions of LFG, this complement GF to raising and equi predicates is referred to as XCOMP, where the X refers to an open category, such that the *f*-structure is not burdened with categorial information which is otherwise mostly relevant to the *c*-structure, since this XCOMP label categorises over different complement types: XCOMP ≡ VCOMP | NCOMP | ACOMP.

*stop*:  $V \ (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'stop} \langle (\text{VCOMP}) \rangle (\text{SUBJ}) \text{'}$

$(\uparrow \text{VCOMP PART}) = {}_c\text{PROG}$

*have*:  $HV \ (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'perf} \langle (\text{VCOMP}) \rangle (\text{SUBJ}) \text{'}$

$(\uparrow \text{VCOMP PART}) = {}_c\text{PERF}$

Given this sort of lexical entry, the formation of the Perfect construction involves a ‘constraining equation’ whereby the morphological value of the participle is determined by the ‘helping verb’ itself (p. 498). On this account, main verb *be* as well as the ‘be’ that builds up the Passive and the Progressive structures, are treated as one and the same verb (p. 499) that solely varies with respect to the nature of the different constraints imposed upon the morphological form of the complement, and/or the category of the complement in question (p. 500). *Be to* is also provided with the same analysis, except that the constraining equation with respect to the complement states the following:  $\text{VCOMP INF} = {}_c\text{to}$  (p. 504), i.e. the infinitival VCOMP has to be assert the presence of the COMP FORM *to*. The approach to auxiliaries provided thus far is what Falk (2003, 2008) refers to as an AUX-PRED analysis (see further below).

In discussing auxiliaries in English, the only ‘helping verb’ which Falk (1984) **does not** associate with an AUX-PRED analysis but is provided with an AUX-FEATURE analysis in Falk’s (2003, 2008) terminology, is *do*. He comments that since *do* ‘has no intrinsic semantic content’, it ‘is therefore not associated with a clause nucleus (the *f*-structure equivalent of a clause)’ (p. 500). Rather, while *do* is analysed as a structural head annotated with  $\uparrow=\downarrow$ , it does not take the role of a functional head but simply introduces a feature AUX in the *f*-structure. It is however still able to impose other constraints, such as its presence solely in bare (i.e. non-*to* involving) infinitival contexts, for example. The *f*-structure Falk (1984, p. 501) associates with a sentence such as (2) is the following:

(2) Max does eat ice-cream

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'Max'} \\ \text{NUM} & \text{SG} \\ \text{PERS} & \text{3} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{SUBJ} \\ \text{TENSE} & \text{PRESENT} \\ \text{AUX} & \text{'do'} \\ \text{INF} & \text{BARE} \\ \text{PRED} & \text{'eat' } \langle \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rangle \\ \text{OBJ} & \left[ \begin{array}{ll} \text{PRED} & \text{'ice-cream'} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Butt et al. (1996) and more generally Butt et al. (1996, 1999) follow Falk's (1984) analysis of 'do' and specifically aim to move away from a raising approach to auxiliaries. They take a position that auxiliaries should be regarded as 'elements which contribute to the clause only tense/aspect, agreement, or voice information, but not a subcategorisation frame' (Butt et al. 1996, p. 183). A flat *f*-structure is thus assumed, and in order to eventually yield the different constraints on the morphological forms involved, including the hierarchy that is still present between the different auxiliaries that form an analytic periphrastic construction in English and German in an utterance such as (3), which together provide the value FUT PERF for the TENSE feature, a morphological-structure (*m*-structure) is proposed as a separate component. The proposed component is projected out of the *c*-structure through the  $\mu$  function, such that  $\mu M^*$  refers to the *m*-structure associated with the mother's *c*-structure node, while  $\mu^*$  refers to the *m*-structure associated with the daughter node.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Note that a feature analysis as opposed to one where the auxiliary is the *f*-structure's predicate, is the analysis that has to be employed in the case of contracted non-syllabic cliticised temporal auxiliaries, as discussed in Sadler (1997), which are themselves analysed as temporal inflections upon pronominal forms. The lexical entry of *you'll* (Sadler, 1997, p. 8) is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{you'll: } D \quad (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{'PRO'} \\ \quad \quad \quad (\uparrow \text{PERS}) = 2 \\ \quad \quad \quad ((\text{SUBJ } \uparrow) \text{TENSE}) = \text{FUT} \end{array}$$

- (3) Der Fahrer wird den Hebel gedreht haben  
 the driver will the lever turned have

The driver will have turned the lever

The format of the *m*-structure is that of an AVM, just like that of the *f*-structure, except that instead of information on grammatical relations, '[i]t encodes language specific information about idiosyncratic constraints on morphological forms' (Butt et al., 1996, p. 185). In this way they aim to keep a more or less universal *f*-structure format for TENSE/ASPECT periphrastic constructions, whilst relegating idiosyncratic morphological specificities to the *m*-structure. This allows an abstraction from the morphological form and the periphrastic expression (Butt, 2001, p. 428), with semantics then interpreting the composite expression (p. 430).<sup>9</sup> The *m*-structure associated with (3) is provided below, where the morphological wellformedness conditions on both form and order, which are imposed by the different auxiliaries, are treated as 'dependents' and are represented through the feature DEP (Butt et al., 1996, p. 5).

<sup>9</sup>Schwarze (2001, p. 450) also makes it clear that 'labels [i.e. feature labels] need to be interpreted in the semantics'. In fact, with respect to (i) Butt et al. (1996, p. 10) claim that: 'It is only the semantic interpretation of the entire clause, rather than a simple evaluation of the morphological tense/aspect information which allows a correct semantic interpretation of the English present progressive as a future'.

i I am flying to Boston tomorrow

Yet another alternative which Butt and Rizvi (2010, 12) propose is to put 'the relevant information in a feature space [as the following] (and then let the semantics deal with it properly)'.

TNS-ASP	TENSE	R-S	precede/follow/overlap
	ASPECT	DISTANCE	standard/far/close
		E-R	precede/follow/overlap
		DISTANCE	standard/far/close
		TELIC	+/-
		DUR	+/-
		CONT	+/-
		ITER	+/-

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{AUX} \quad + \\ \text{FIN} \quad + \\ \text{DEP} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{AUX} \quad + \\ \text{FIN} \quad - \\ \text{VFORM} \quad \text{BASE} \\ \text{DEP} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{AUX} \quad - \\ \text{FIN} \quad - \\ \text{VFORM} \quad \text{PERFP} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

Butt et al. (1999) essentially maintain the same approach, except that a feature TNS-ASP in the *f*-structure is employed, and the value is not simply a FUT PERF for example, but rather a collection of feature values in itself:

$$\left[ \text{TNS-ASP} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{TENSE} \quad \text{FUT} \\ \text{PERF} \quad + \\ \text{MOOD} \quad \text{INDIC} \end{array} \right] \right]^{10}$$

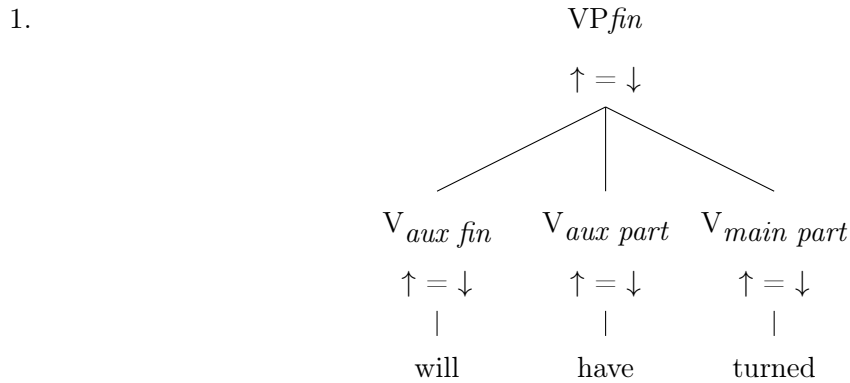
The approach to auxiliaries maintained in Butt et al. (1996) and Butt et al. (1996, 1999), more specifically to TENSE/ASPECT auxiliaries, does not burden the *f*-structure with hierarchical information that is otherwise only relevant to the *c*- and *m*-structures. While the hierarchical relations in the former come out as part of the nature of the constituent organisation, the hierarchy in the *m*-structure comes out as a result of the chain of morphological dependencies (DEP) involved.

Frank and Zaenen (2004) point at a number of issues with respect to the conceptualisation of how the *m*-structure is supposed to work, based on the literature just reviewed. Before considering in detail their alternative proposal concerning the position of the *m*-structure in the projection architecture, we here mention two alternative proposals they discuss. The first is to laden the phrase structure rules with information about the nature of the co-heads involved, including their ordering. This requires the presence of distinctly-specified V nodes as daughters

<sup>10</sup>Note that Nordlinger (1995) in fact provides a parallel feature composition-based value for TENSE in Wambaya, made up of binary-valued PAST, FUTURE and UNCERTAIN features.



of a VP, as represented in *c*-structure (1) below.



An alternative proposal is to introduce some sort of MORPH feature in the *f*-structure, which would itself involve hierarchical embedding internal to it. Frank and Zaenen (2004) then assume that this feature could in principle be removed out of the *f*-structure following parsing. While they mention this second alternative merely as a possibility, they do not engage in any sort of discussion on this, and consider in detail the integration of the new representational *m*-structure introduced in Butt et al. (1996), Butt et al. (1996), and Butt et al. (1999), with whom they agree that this structure should be ‘viewed as the level of representation that encodes information about idiosyncratic constraints on morphological forms’ (Frank and Zaenen, 2004, p. 26). While the previous proposals of the *m*-structure integrated this as a parallel module, where both the *f*- and the *m*-structures are projected from the *c*-structure via the  $\phi$  and  $\mu$  projections, respectively, as illustrated through (4a), the *m*-structure in Frank & Zaenen (2004) is conceptualised as being sequential in nature, and is projected out of the *f*-structure (4b). This sort of morphology-syntax interface only allows one-to-one *f*-structure - *m*-structure mappings.



b.  $c \rightarrow (\phi) f \rightarrow (\mu) m$  Sequential Model

In Frank and Zaenen's (2004) conceptualisation of the  $m$ -structure, the  $c$ -structure does not involve annotations that associate it directly to the  $m$ -structure. Apart from not burdening the  $c$ -structure with relations to the morphology, the important advantage of projecting the  $m$ -structure from the  $f$ -structure is because this will provide the relevant constraints on completeness and coherence, such that long distance dependencies which require reference to the morphology are themselves subject to the same constraints which the  $f$ -structure takes. This is possible by having 'morphological constraints on syntax [...] defined locally' (Frank and Zaenen, 2004, p. 9). In the parallel model, on the other hand, simple SUBJ-verb agreement requires reference to features such as EXT-argument, which would as it were mimic the SUBJ GF internal to the  $f$ -structure. Within the sequential model, there only needs to be either the following sort of information in the lexical entry (5a), which states that the CASE value in the  $m$ -structure related with the SUBJ's  $f$ -structure is NOM, or the annotation on the  $c$ -structure node, as illustrated in (5b):

(5) a.  $((\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\mu \text{ CASE}) = \text{NOM}$

b.  $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ}) = \downarrow$

$(\downarrow\mu \text{ CASE}) = \text{NOM}$

In their comparison of the English, German and French translations of: 'The driver will have turned the lever', while the  $m$ -structure of both English and German is that presented just above in association with (3), the only difference present in the  $m$ -structure associated with the French counterpart in (6) is that this involves one hierarchical embedding less (Frank and Zaenen, 2004, pp. 27-30), as well as the addition of the feature AUX SELECT, which refers to the type of auxiliary which the dependent form necessitates, since as discussed in e.g. Abeillé and Godard (2002), different participles/verbs select for either a 'have' or 'be' auxiliary.

- (6) Le            conducteur aura tourné le            levier  
 DEF.SGM driver.SGM will    turned DEF.SGM lever.SGM

The conductor will have turned the lever

AUX	+		
FIN	+		
DEP		AUX	-
		FIN	-
		AUX SELECT	<i>avoir</i> ‘have’
		VFORM	PERFp

Frank and Zaenen (2004, p. 60) summarise the *m*-structure’s role in the architecture as follows: ‘The *c*-structure manages the order constraints among syntactic elements whereas the *m*-structure manages the purely morphological dependencies between word forms’.

Falk’s (2003, 2008) main focus on auxiliaries doesn’t make any reference to the *m*-structure debate. Rather, he concentrates on the *f*-structure, providing the terms AUX-PRED and AUX-FEATURE for the two main analysis present in current LFG discussions, which translate into a bi-clausal tiered *f*-structure analysis and a mono-tiered one, respectively.<sup>11</sup> Falk’s claim is that auxiliaries should not all be treated in a uniform fashion. Discussions prior to Falk (2003, 2008) maintain a consensus that the type of auxiliaries functioning as functional categories partaking

<sup>11</sup>In (p. 193) he simply mentions that constraints of the type: ( $\uparrow$ XCOMP PART =  ${}_c$ PST) imposed by ‘have’ when building the Perfect construction, for example, ‘is based on the assumption that the selection of the past participle by *have* is an *f*-structure property’, which isn’t. With specific reference to the *m*-structure he claims that:

‘The conceptual problem is that it is not clear why morphosyntactic structure should be a distinct level. Many inflectional properties are clearly related to *f*-structure properties, and it is only an a priori concept of the universality/semantic relevance of *f*-structure, [...] that would lead one to not include such features in *f*-structure’ (Falk, 2003, p. 195).

Informally he derives the morphological requirements of ‘have’ by making reference to the *c*-structure as follows: ‘The “main verb” in the perfective must be a past participle if the VP it heads is in a complement position in *have*’s extended projection’ (Falk, 2003, p. 194).

in an AUX-FEATURE analysis, i.e. where they simply contribute features at the *f*-structure level, are TENSE and ASPECT feature-realizing auxiliaries, and not modal auxiliaries (Dyvik, 1999; Butt et al., 1999). This consensus on the basis of the *f*-structure dimension parallels discussions with respect to the *c*-structure dimension of French auxiliaries as maintained in Abeillé and Godard (1996), whereby flat *c*-structure analyses are assumed for temporal auxiliaries, while hierarchical ones are assumed for auxiliaries which build the passive construction, for example. What differs in Falk's (2003, 2008) account, however, is that apart from the fact that modal auxiliaries in English are not homogeneous, such that the modals 'should' and 'would' are analysed as AUX-FEATURES in the *f*-structure, while others as AUX-PREDS, as is also the case with different uses of 'be', he demonstrates that even though 'will' is associated with an AUX-FEATURE analysis, at the *c*-structure level, it nonetheless heads the IP that itself hierarchically governs the VP. With reference to the *c*-structure, in p. 195 he acknowledges the fact that following Frank and Zaenen (2004), the *c*-structure should perhaps make reference to 'categories that are more fine-grained than is traditional'.

To expand further on some details of Falk's (2003, 2008) account, in discussing the Present Perfect construction in English, for example, he associates both the TENSE and ASPECT features with the auxiliary *have* (p. 191). The participle is simply assumed to function as the PRED of the *f*-structure, without being involved in the actual realization of the PERFECT ASPECTUAL value. Since this same participle is present in Passive constructions, he doesn't associate an ASPECTUAL value with the participial form (p. 192). On the other hand, when discussing the English Progressive, he demonstrates how the auxiliary *be* is in a paradigmatic opposition with other predicates (as in (7)):

- (7) a. The children were taking syntax  
       b. The children started taking syntax  
       c. The children kept taking syntax

Falk (2003, p. 195)

He claims that PROGRESSIVE ASPECT is not realized through the auxiliary (as opposed to the ASPECTUAL feature assumed to be realized in the case of *have*). Rather, he assumes that it is the participial form in all of these sentences that is yielding the PROGRESSIVE reading, and the nature of ‘the governing verbs [simply] specifies the relationship between the subject and the state’ (p. 196). The following is the lexical entry he assumes for *be* in progressive constructions. He leaves it open as to how exactly the *be* in Passive constructions should be analysed. At least for the lexical entry of the use of *be* here, the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT is a feature which participles take in their lexical entries, and does not come to be expressed through the auxiliary itself.

*be*:  $I \quad (\uparrow \text{PRED}) = \text{‘be} < (\uparrow \text{XCOMP}) > (\uparrow \text{SUBJ}) \text{’}$  12  
 $\text{VP} \in \text{CAT} (\uparrow \text{XCOMP}) \Rightarrow (\uparrow \text{XCOMP ASP}) = {}_c\text{PROG}$

With this sort of lexical entry, as well as the analytical distinction he proposes between ‘be’ and ‘have’, and without resorting to the need of a *m*-structure, he accounts for the grammaticality differences between the following constructions:

- (8) a. Have been taking  
 b. \*Are having taken Falk (2003, p. 197)

What’s additionally novel in Falk’s account is that an AUX-PRED analysis for a given auxiliary may be associated with both a raising or a control analysis, and not just with a raising analysis, as in older LFG accounts. For our purposes here, the raising/(equi) control distinction simply differs on the basis of whether the SUBJ GF is thematic or non-thematic. Falk brings out the distinction between raising-like vs. control-like auxiliary behaviours with respect to modal auxiliaries, particularly with respect to the epistemic (raising) vs. root (equi) uses of the modal *may*. In fact Dyvik (1999) also discusses a number of distinct behaviours with respect to Norwegian modals. However, notwithstanding the differences observed, a raising analysis, which essentially

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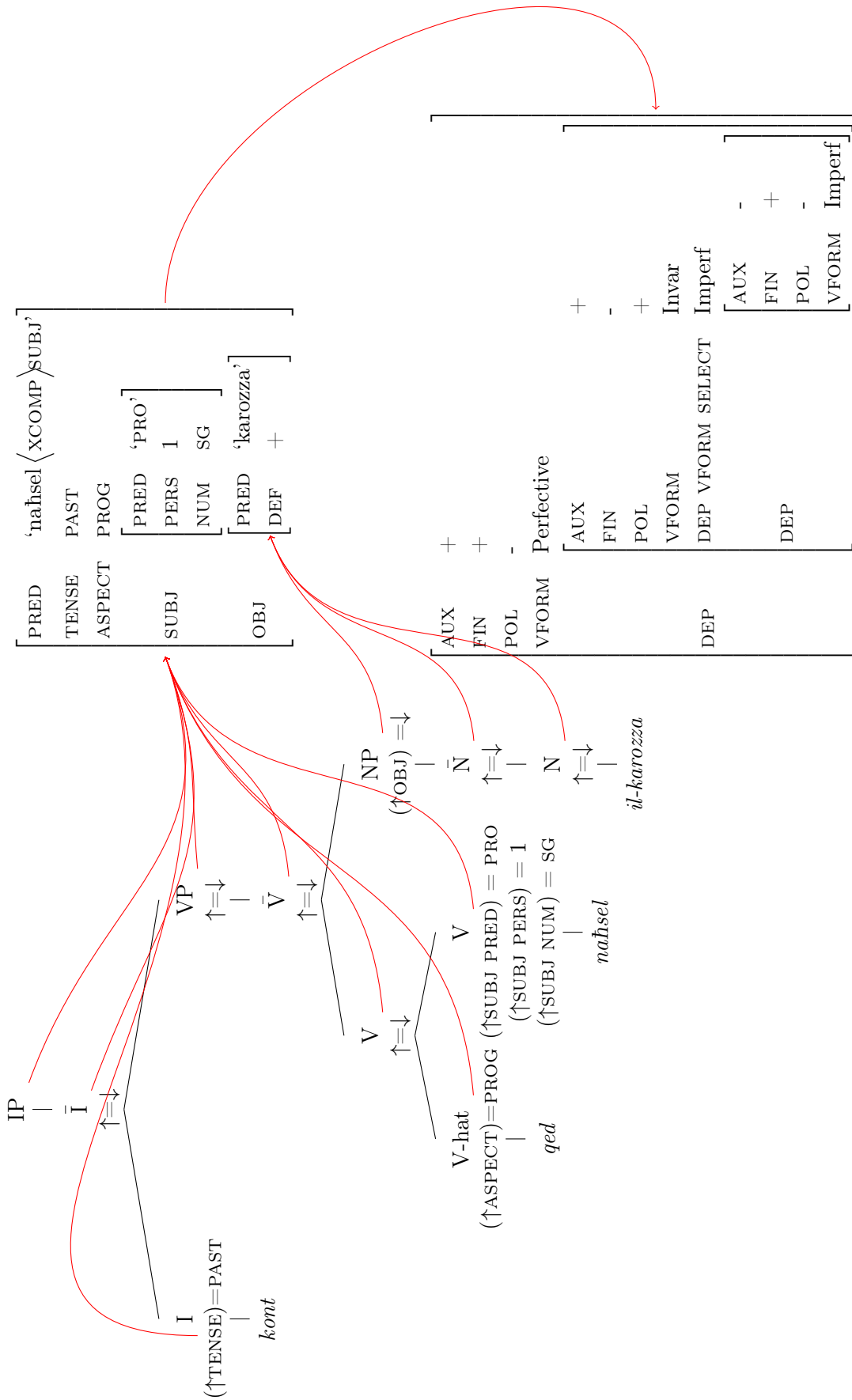
<sup>12</sup>CAT is what ‘associates *f*-structures with the set of the nodes that correspond to them’. Thus the expression:  $\text{VP} \in \text{CAT} (\uparrow \text{XCOMP})$  ‘ensures’ that a VP should be one of the *c*-structure nodes that the XCOMP is linked with (Dalrymple, 2001, p. 171).

involves a non-thematic SUBJ is maintained for all modals in his account. Falk's account, on the other hand, does not only provide distinct raising/control analyses for different functions associated with the modal *may*, which takes an AUX-PRED but also associates distinct analyses with different English modals. While *will* and *would* are analysed as TENSE-like modals, where with *will* he associates a FUT TENSE value and with *would* he associates a CONDITIONAL TENSE value, the epistemic (e.g. *should*, *may*) and root (e.g. *dare*) modals which can be substituted by predicates such as *possible* etc., (providing Falk with evidence that such non-TENSE-like modals should be analysed as PREDs) take a raising analysis (pp. 200-202).

Through the representation of the *c*-, *f*- and *m*-structures associated with sentence (9) below, we aim to primarily visually introduce and present in advance, some of the analytical claims that will be proposed and upheld in this study. At the same time, this visual representation will concretise the way in which the LFG parallel architecture functions.

- (9) Kon-t            qed    n-a-hsel                            il-karozza  
       be.PFV-1SG PROG 1-FRM.VWL-wash.IMPV.SG DEF-car  
       I was washing the car

Before concluding our overview of the framework we will be using to guide our account in this study, we here briefly review the the distinct analyses associated with copulas, which one finds in the literature in LFG, since a sub-set of the auxiliaries to be discussed in this study also happen to function as copulas in the language. Essentially the main analytical split is between two accounts: **a**. Accounts such as those which follow Nordlinger and Sadler (2007), where the copula is treated as a feature within the *f*-structure. This analysis results in a single-tiered *f*-structure, where it is the predicate and not the copula that functions as the head and subcategorises for a SUBJ; and **b**. Accounts which adhere to a double-tiered *f*-structure analysis of copulas. Such an analysis entails that the copula functions as the *f*-structure's functional head, whereby it does not only subcategorise for the SUBJ GF, but also for a complement (Rosén, 1996; Butt et al., 1999; Dalrymple et al., 2004; Attia, 2008). Internal to the double-tiered analytical approach to



copulas, a further split analysis is available. The complement may be either closed, in which case it is associated with a PREDLINK GF, or open, in which case it is associated with an XCOMP. In the latter case, the copula functions pretty much like a raising predicate, providing itself as a parallel to the AUX-PRED analysis.

### 1.3 Grammaticalisation and auxiliiation

This study will consider various constructions that include different sorts of auxiliaries, as well as different classes of verbs which we argue are functionally equivalent to auxiliaries of sorts. We'll be providing a (morpho)syntactic analysis of such constructions, along with considerations associated with the lexico-semantic interpretations involved, at times. The interface with semantics is not worked out, however. We will be doing all this from a synchronic perspective. However, auxiliaries have been also studied with respect to the grammaticalisation processes they have undergone, and this thus requires that we acknowledge the importance of diachrony as an explanatory factor (see e.g. Bybee (1985); Heine (1993); Bybee et al. (1994); Lehmann (1995); Hopper and Traugott (2003); Kuteva (2001)). While this study will not delve much into diachronic considerations, when necessary, however, I will engage in some discussion on this matter, especially given that no such considerations feature in the literature on Maltese. Since diachronic data for Maltese is not available, we will draw insights from comparisons with what goes on in other Arabic vernaculars.<sup>13</sup> Engaging in a discussion on grammaticalisation here, and what the main assumptions upheld in accounts that look at the development of auxiliaries are, is important, given that we will at times be dealing with verbs which synchronically appear to function both as lexical predicates **as well as** auxiliaries of some sort.

Kuryłowicz (1965, p. 69) defines grammaticalisation as consisting 'of the increase of the range

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<sup>13</sup>In general there is a huge void of any reference to grammaticalisation in Arabic, in the core literature on grammaticalisation. Bybee et al. (1994, p. 233) simply mention grammaticalisation in Arabic with respect to the development of the *bi*-Imperfective in Egyptian, and the *da*- prefix in Iraqi functioning as a PROGRESSIVE marker.



of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status'. This itself goes to show how language cannot be conceived of as a 'static organisation of meaning [but in fact g]rammatical meaning is changing constantly' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 4). This accounts for why we sometimes find almost contradictory data with similar sorts of auxiliaries, and/or separate and simultaneously different functions associated with the same element, at the same point in time. Essentially, understanding grammaticalisation processes entails understanding how 'grammatical morphemes develop gradually out of lexical morphemes or contractions of lexical morphemes or grammatical morphemes' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 5).<sup>14</sup> This morphologisation process is in Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 142) represented as a grammatical scale (10), which essentially ends up with 'erosion', in Heine's (1993, p. 111) terminology, which is part and parcel with phonological reduction or contraction.<sup>15</sup>

(10) lexical item in a specific syntactic context > clitic > affix      Process of morphologisation

Such a process of grammaticalisation 'takes place very slowly and proceeds very gradually' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 24). It therefore doesn't 'shift abruptly from one category to another, but go[es] through a series of small transitions' (Hopper and Traugott, 2003, p. 6) with 'no clear-cut dividing line' (Lehmann, 1995, p. 33) at times. This process is mainly thought of as being unidirectional, which implies that there is an underlying 'orderliness and tractability of semantic change' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 12) such that typically there is a fixed/set trajectory/cline/chain/transition of developments. In fact, Lehmann (1995, p. 25) defines a 'grammaticalisation channel' as a 'frequently recurring route which signs with a given function may take when they are grammaticalised in language change'. Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 186) discuss how the '... grammaticalisation of items, whether lexical or morphological, is constrained by the grammatical function to be expressed, and by the appropriateness of the inferences from

<sup>14</sup>The opposite of this is degrammaticalisation (see Börjars and Vincent (2011), for example), which is however much less common than grammaticalisation.

<sup>15</sup>One should here add that it is not necessarily always the case that grammaticalisation results due to some sort of functional gap in the system. For example, even though the Imperfective verb-form in the Arabic vernaculars provides a PROGRESSIVE as well as a HABITUAL reading at times, this did not stop the development of a Progressive construction derived out of a locative or spatial property.

the source items for the function in question'.<sup>16</sup> Prototypically, the cline develops as a result of a generalisation in meaning (desemanticisation) i.e. 'the loss of specific features of meaning with the consequent expansion of an appropriate context of use' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 289), which in turn results in the extension and generalisation of the context(s) in which that grammatical item, also referred to as 'gram', can be used. Grams, therefore, are 'descendants of lexical items which have lost most of if not all of the specifications of lexical meaning they formally had; the meaning that remains is very general and is often characterised as abstract or relational' (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 5). In fact, Kuteva (2001, p. 11) clearly states that 'conceptual shift from lexical to grammatical content precedes all other shifts', and as just briefly mentioned, the shift is usually one that involves '*concrete-to-abstract* and a *specific-to-general* dimension of semantic change in grammaticalisation' (Kuteva 2001, p. 35).<sup>17</sup> This is therefore the bleaching effect, understood as semantic reduction, that is observed from the lexical source which consequently adds some grammatical specificity.<sup>18</sup> According to Bybee (1994), the real end point, following the erosion/contraction of a morpheme is its disappearance. In fact, for her, the absence of grams/morphological (free or bound) items that nonetheless come to express some sort of meaning, is taken to imply their existence 'if the reference material indicate that the lack of a marker signals some definite meaning' (p. 243). We could in fact consider this as a possibility for Maltese, where while the PAST TENSE is signalled with a free morphological form, no such equivalent marker exists for the PRESENT TENSE. Alternatively, as Lehmann (1995, p. 184)

<sup>16</sup>We will see when discussing PROGRESSIVE- and PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE-realizing markers in Maltese in Chapter 2, and the set of aspectualisers in Chapter 4, that indeed these fit nicely within fixed and well known cross linguistic channels of change, drawing from the cross linguistic grammatical trajectories of different lexical items presented in Heine and Kuteva (2002).

<sup>17</sup>Note however that as Lehmann (1995, p. 28) mentions, desemanticisation of a parallel sort occurs outside of grammaticalisation as well.

<sup>18</sup>Butt (1997, p. 9) in fact states that with respect to bleaching etc., 'it is a predicate's *event structure* which is most susceptible to semantic bleaching, and that therefore any steps towards first formalising the notion of semantic bleaching should go in that direction ...'. The complete event structure of an action would look as follows (p. 12), and when bleaching occurs, some part of that event structure starts to be lost.

$$s\text{-structure} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{EV-STR} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{EVENT} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{INCEP} \\ \text{DUR} \\ \text{COMPL} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

mentions, ‘grammaticalisation can create genuinely new grammatical categories in a language’.

Since this study will engage in discussions that look at cross-clausal considerations, we here consider how the mechanism/process of grammaticalisation influences and affects the changes that take place across clauses. The development of this process of change is represented in (11) (Hopper and Traugott, 2003, p. 178):

parataxis	>	hypotaxis	>	subordination	
(11) -dependent		+dependent		+dependent	
-embedded		-embedded		+embedded	Cline of clause combining

Parataxis is essentially the discourse level. However this need not in principle always involve separate clauses, but could well include apposition or the use of conjunctions. What’s crucial is that the clauses are independent. Hypotaxis displays interdependency, such that there is a ‘nucleus’, and the clauses don’t stand on their own, unless in relation to the nucleus. Subordination/embedding structures, on the other hand, display a complete dependency, and are ‘wholly included as a constituent of the nucleus’ (Hopper and Traugott, 2003, p. 177). Therefore, the cline in (11) illustrates a change from a mere juxtapositioning of clauses or loose adjoining, to embedded structures (p. 190). More specifically, Lehmann (1995, p. 122) refers to the function that yields less autonomy between the clauses as ‘cohesion’, such that an increase in bondedness coalesces these different clauses (p. 148). The cline of grammaticalisation which Lehmann (1993, pp. 13–14) proposes, which integrates both cohesion and morphologisation, is the following:

(12) free collocation	>	converted in a syntactic construction by syntactization	>	morphologization
		(where from an analytic structure we end up with some sort of cliticisation/affixation)		
		Lehmann (1993, p. 14)		

Kuteva (2001, pp. 1-2), with specific reference to the development and grammaticalisation of auxiliaries, shows how essentially, from a **verb - complement** structure, we end up with a

**grammatical marker - main verb** structure. According to Anderson (2006, p. 11), however, serial verb constructions are in fact the ‘most common sources for auxiliary verb constructions’, which he considers to be monoclausal in nature. Note that the two reviewed auxiliary analyses within LFG in §1.3, *seemingly* match up with the different points on a grammaticalisation cline a given periphrastic gram is, such that, more advanced grammaticalisation simply yields an AUX-FEATURE analysis, while an auxiliary that is still in its early stages maintains a bi-tiered structure at the *f*-structure (AUX-PRED).<sup>19</sup> In fact, Heine (1993, p. 106) clearly states that: ‘In its less grammaticalized stages, the auxiliary is likely to exhibit many properties of a main verb/head constituent ...’. Alternatively, in the AUX-PRED analysis, it could well be the case that just as mentioned above, while an auxiliary may in fact itself be at advanced stages with respect to the grammaticalisation cline, the syntactic context in which it is contained is nevertheless proceeding at a slower pace. In such an instance, we will be considering the auxiliary as a ‘semantic “satellite”, conveying the impression of a “semantic modifier” ’ (Heine, 1993, p. 106) of a lexical verb, even if the lexical verb is conceived of as being in an embedded functional and structural clause with respect to the auxiliary. This conceptualisation of how one may want to look at the different LFG accounts of auxiliaries in relation to grammaticalisation processes, doesn’t mean that the relation is bi-directional. This means that syntactic arguments put forth in the realm of processes of grammaticalisation need not fit our conceptualising of them here. Consider the following, for example:

‘In a combination which contains two verb forms, one of which will become the auxiliary in an analytic construction, this latter one starts by being the syntactic (not lexical) main verb, while the other governed verb carries the major part of the lexical meaning. However, only a free form can exert government. As, in the course of proceeding grammaticalisation, the auxiliary

<sup>19</sup>Anderson (2006) essentially discusses how auxiliary - verb constructions are monoclausal. However, when discussing constructions in Bulgarian where the auxiliaries are invariant in form and the lexical verb takes full agreement, and where such verbs are required to be introduced by a complementiser, in p. 117 he takes the presence of the complementiser in such contexts to suggest that the auxiliaries in such instances ‘appear to more transparently reflect, or in some cases actually remain in, a biclausal stage on the grammaticalisation continuum’. This may be taken to reflect an early stage of auxiliiation on the grammaticalisation cline.

loses its verbal properties, it can no longer be said to govern the verb, which is now the main verb' (Lehmann, 1995, p. 34).

'Furthermore, the relationship between the original main verb and the dependent verb has changed such that the dependant verb has become the main verb or head of the construction' (Hopper and Traugott, 2003, p. 206).

We have in fact just mentioned how for LFG, however, an auxiliary can be the lexical and/or structural head of a construction. In fact, even within an AUX-FEATURE analysis, while not being the construction's semantic head (bearing the PRED), it is nevertheless a structural co-head. Additionally, what will be an important test for our potentially *younger* auxiliaries, such as those expressing Phasal ASPECT to be discussed in Chapter 4, which retain more closeness to their original lexical function than any other set of auxiliaries to be discussed in this study, is whether the synchronic gram 'can be used with a verb whose lexical semantics is mutually exclusive with that of the source verb underlying the auxiliary verb' (Kuteva, 2001, p. 20). As is expected, 'highly grammaticalised auxiliaries allow for such otherwise "incompatible" semantics' (p. 46).<sup>20</sup> (Also see Anderson, 2006, p. 8). Examples of this sort include the following in (13). To this test we will in this study also add the ability to synchronically juxtapose the auxiliary with its lexical source verb, which may in fact involve the exact same form, when these still co-exist.<sup>21</sup> Heine (1993, p. 48) refers to the availability of this co-existence and claims that 'when an expression used for a lexical source concept is transferred to also designate a grammatical target concept then the result is *ambiguity* since one and the same expression refers simultaneously to two different concepts'.

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<sup>20</sup>In general, however, grammaticalisation at the semantic level via desemantisation need not imply the same rate and degree of grammaticalisation at the (morpho)syntactic level, which would include processes of decategoralisation, for example.

<sup>21</sup>Butt (1997) also mentions how light verbs have corresponding non-light verbs with full semantics, which explains why the light verb with respect to the lexical verb is a 'semantically lighter or bleached version'. Essegbey (2004, p. 475) specifically considers the auxiliaries' association with 'no independent meaning' to be amongst one of their defining properties.

- (13) a. Kien                    ma j-kun-x                    ...  
 be.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-be.IMPV-NEG  
 Lit: He was not he isn't  
 He used to not be ...                    *kien* lit: 'be' > PAST TENSE
- b. Qieghed                    wieqaf  
 sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM stand.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
 Lit: Sitting standing  
 He is standing                    *qieghed* lit: 'sitting' > PROGRESSIVE marker
- c. Sejjer                    j-i-gi                    dalwaqt  
 go.ACT.PTCP.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV.SGM DEM.SGM.DEF.time  
 Lit: Going he comes soon  
 He is going to come soon                    *sejjer* lit: 'going' > IMMINENCE marker
- d. Beda                    j-i-spicca                    fil-hin  
 start.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-end.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-time  
 Lit: He started he finishes on time  
 He started finishing on time                    *beda* lit: 'start' > INCEPTIVE marker
- e. Waqaf                    j-i-bda                    xoghl-u                    tard  
 stop.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGM work-3SGM.GEN late  
 Lit: He stopped he starts his work late  
 He stopped starting his work late                    *waqaf* lit: 'stop' > TERMINATIVE marker

In our discussion of Maltese auxiliaries in this study, we will also demonstrate the possibility for a given auxiliary to realize distinct morphosyntactic and morphosemantic information, depending on the nature of the construction it is part of (Kuteva, 2001, p. 21). This implies that there need not be form - meaning isomorphic matching in grammaticalisation studies, either, such that the grammaticalisation of a lexical item is only one part of the matter, and it need not be the case that the function or meaning associated with a given auxiliary, for example, be exclusive. Rather, it is possible for the same grammatical item to have multiple functions associated with it. We will for example see how the lexical verb *sar* 'become' can be used both as an auxiliary

yielding an inceptive interpretation (Chapter 4), as well as an auxiliary that is required in a number of syntactic context as a ‘helping word’ in the presence of stative verbs (Chapter 2). Additionally, we will for example observe that once the lexical verb *qabad* ‘catch, grab, grasp, bother’ starts to grammaticalise, it may encode either the event’s inception, or its proximation i.e. ‘be about to’. This could in fact be an instance of ‘reanalysis’, where there is not solely one stage of grammaticalisation involved, but a further reinterpretation of an already grammaticalised item (Heine, 1993, p. 117). This effect is clearly present in the development of the verb ‘have’ in Maltese, for example, which apart from being itself derived out of the preposition meaning ‘at’, has developed into a possessive predicate, and additionally eventually reanalysed as a modal (also refer to Heine (1997) for further specific discussions on possessive predicates and their reanalysis). In fact, Heine (1993, p. 67) mentions that after the grammatical development of a previous lexical item has been ‘concluded, we enter a new phase of conceptual development, i.e. one that leads from one grammatical function to other kinds of grammatical functions’.

Wischer (2008) concentrates on the effects that obtain as a result of the grammaticalisation of a gram vis-à-vis the broader construction it forms part of, such that once an item’s grammaticalisation takes place, grammaticalisation of the periphrastic construction more generally takes place (p. 242). A periphrastic construction is made up of separate words which is however ‘not itself a simple compositional structure’ (Sadler and Spencer, 2001, p. 81). For Haspelmath (2000, p. 655), the three ways with which a periphrastic construction comes to express morphosyntactic information is if:

1. It fills in a gap in a paradigm;
2. It generalises across the whole of a word category;
3. It expresses a new grammatical category.

For Wischer (2008, p. 243), a periphrastic construction is ‘a linguistic construct consisting of a function word which is related to lexical items in a syntactic and conventional way’, and its

grammaticalisation proceeds as follows:

1. lexical word which constitutes the periphrastic expression > grammatical word (e.g. the grammaticalisation of *have*) >
2. specialisation in meaning of the whole construction (e.g. *have* + V + *-en*) >
3. emergence of a new category or a new layer to an already existing category

We will see this sort of periphrastic construction in Maltese, through the use and presence of the auxiliaries which we will be discussing in this study, even if what constitutes a periphrastic expression may not match up entirely with Ackerman and Stump (2004, p. 114)'s understanding of it, since they associate periphrasis 'with a single, simple *f*-structure (rather than with structural *f*-structures reflecting the hierarchical organisation of a periphrases' *c*-structure)', and refer to these as 'analytic predicates' following Ackerman (1987, p. 329), where the periphrastic expression parallels a grammatical word, except that this involves a 'discrete structural and functional head', with the morphosyntactic features being shared across the different parts that constitute the periphrastic expression, as is the case in inflectional periphrasis/compound tense ((Ackerman et al., 2011, p. 12), (Brown et al., 2012, p. 5)).

Heine's (1993) discussion on grammaticalisation goes into a lot of detail with respect to what makes a certain gram an auxiliary. One of his identifiers is that auxiliaries mainly realize values in the domain of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD. He then discusses considerations of when an auxiliary could in principle become a separate category, and how a verb-derived auxiliary differs from its source verbal class. He claims that this should be based on a number of (morpho)syntactic considerations, which he claims to be distinct within different traditions. For example, while in the Indo-European tradition one defining property of auxiliaries is that it is the only inflected form in the verbal complex, in African languages, it is on the other hand the auxiliary which is largely or entirely uninflected (p. 7). Across pages 22-24 he provides the following distinct (and at times conflicting) properties of what constitute the different auxiliary identifiers:



- Mainly present in the domains of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD;
- Closed class of linguistic units;
- Neither clearly lexical nor clearly grammatical units;
- Can also occur as main verbs;
- They exhibit verbal morphosyntax of some sort;
- Reduced verbal behaviour, including a restricted paradigm, no imperative form, no independent negation marking on it etc.;
- Functions as the main semantic predicate of the clause;
- Form variants, including a short/reduced/cliticised form;
- They tend to be unstressed or unable to be stressed;
- They tend to be clitics;
- They carry all morphological information, including agreement marking, temporal marking etc.;
- Subject agreement tends to be on them alone;
- Auxiliaries may not themselves be governed by other auxiliaries, or are only governed by a limited number of auxiliaries;
- They don't have their own meaning;
- Separate from the verb;
- May be bound to some adjacent element;
- May not be nominalised or be part of compounds;
- They usually have a fixed order or position;

- Following Greenberg (1963)'s universal, VSO dominant languages tend to have an inflected auxiliary in front of the verb, while in SOV dominant languages, the inflected auxiliary always follows the verb;
- In the presence of an auxiliary, the main verb tends to take a non-finite form, be it infinitival, participial, a gerund, a nominalisation etc.;
- In the presence of an auxiliary, the main verb may take locative morphological markers on it

Anderson (2006, pp. 4-5) provides a vaguer understanding of what constitutes an auxiliary, such that he thinks of it as being located somewhere in the continuum between a lexical verb and a functional affix, which at the least is semantically bleached and assumed to express some sort of feature. What's crucial is that according to him the auxiliary-verb construction forms a 'monoclausal verb phrase', 'with the auxiliary serving as a functional operator on the semantic lexical head' (p. 9). Note that this view, as discussed in §1.3, need not match up with the syntactic conceptualisation in this study. In fact, while discussions of auxiliaries and auxiliary constructions tend to be more descriptive and typological in nature, yet at times, they still choose to make claims with respect to the syntax of such constructions. Anderson's aim is to provide an overview of the different sorts of auxiliary-verb constructions available typologically, paying special attention to the morphosyntax displayed by the auxiliary and the lexical verb. He provides the following broad categorisations: AUX- vs. LEX-headed auxiliary verb constructions. These differ on the basis of **where** in the construction inflection is marked. The array of differences include: **doubled inflection** auxiliary-verb constructions, where 'every obligatory inflectional category is encoded on both the lexical verb and the auxiliary' (such that both function as inflectional heads (p. 182)), with doubled SUBJ-marking appearing to be the most frequent sort of doubled inflection (p. 159).<sup>22</sup> He claims that such constructions are not that common, even in

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<sup>22</sup>In the case of the formation of the PAST PERFECT (or 'pluperfect' as he calls it) in Standard Arabic, formed through the presence of both the auxiliary 'be' and the lexical verb form in their Perfective forms, he claims that this 'shows a pattern with doubled subject plus tense/aspect marking' (p. 169).

languages that have rich agreement (p. 144); **split and split/doubled patterns**, where in such auxiliary-verb constructions, different categories are expressed/marked on either of the auxiliary and/or the lexical verb e.g. while the auxiliary takes SUBJ agreement, the lexical verb marks categories such as TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD or vice-versa. Alternatively, some categories are split across the auxiliary and the lexical verb, while others, such as SUBJ marking, are doubled on both.

In this study, we will be observing the distinct properties of TENSE- and ASPECT-realizing auxiliaries in Maltese. As we will see, the different properties need not apply homogeneously across the different sets of auxiliaries to be discussed. For example, while some auxiliaries obligatory require agreement with the SUBJ of the clause or of the embedded lexical verb, other auxiliaries may optionally take a default 3SGM form, or agree with other GFs of the lexical verb. Other auxiliary forms will be shown to be invariable in nature. Additionally, we will observe that for example different auxiliaries impose distinct constraints with respect to the placement of NEGATIVE markers, such that sometimes NEG has to be marked on them, or at times, it is possible to have a choice when it comes to NEG placement, which may or may not yield a change in meaning. For a number of such reasons, while building upon Vanhove (1993)'s empirical study on a number of Maltese auxiliaries, we will not adopt all of the defining set of properties she provides (pp. 102-103), which are listed below. (Also see Vanhove et al. (2009, pp. 320–327)).

1. As a result of the 'abstraction'/bleaching of the verb's meaning when used as an auxiliary, i.e. the bleached effect, it appears to be able to combine with any lexical verb;
2. The auxiliary is in an asyndethic relation, where there is no complementiser present and/or use of a conjunction;
3. A substitution of the auxiliary does not change the lexical meaning of the verb-form, but rather provides different information, that being temporal/aspectual about the lexical verb;<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Specifically in the case of the aspectualiser auxiliaries to be discussed in Chapter 4, she mentions how the very auxiliary itself takes on a different meaning from when it is used on its own. By the same token, the lexical

4. SUBJ of auxiliary is the same as the SUBJ of lexical verb;
5. The auxiliary cannot be a one word answer, unless the presence of elision is understood from context;
6. It will affect verbs in the same way, at least if they belong to the same Lexical ASPECT class;
7. Are able to take both animate and inanimate SUBJs;

In this study, we will be taking the bleached semantics/desemanticisation factor, which as discussed above, is key, and is present right from the start of the grammaticalisation process, along with the conflicting semantics of the original meaning of the auxiliary and the lexical verb, to be our main identifiers for auxiliaryhood. The analytical account associated with such auxiliaries will then be primarily motivated on the basis of the morphosyntactic behaviours they display. We will assume that changes in the lexical conceptual structure is also part of these auxiliaries' development. No mention of this will figure in our discussion, however, where the focus will be the semantic interpretation and the syntax of auxiliaries in Maltese, more specifically the functional syntactic analysis more than the constituent syntactic structure of these.

## 1.4 Outline of this study

Chapter 2 discusses both lexical verbal and participial morphological forms, as well as auxiliaries that realize a number of distinct temporal and Viewpoint ASPECTual interpretations. We will provide a thorough account of the morphology-semantics interface in our quest of understanding what different interpretations are available in Maltese, with respect to the TENSE and ASPECT features. We also concentrate on the interface between morphology and syntax, and the interpretations yielded at the semantic level, when periphrastic/compound temporal and ASPECTual

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verbs that is allowed to follow the aspectualiser, are not provided with any information that has to do with Phasal ASPECT, when occurring without the aspectualiser.

values are expressed. This chapter's main aim is to identify the exact contribution in terms of features and values which both the auxiliaries and the lexical verbs and participles project at the *f*-structure component of the grammar.

Chapter 3 explores for the first time the auxiliary functions of three pseudo-verbs in the language. While we first describe the morphological and syntactic properties which characterise pseudo-verbs in general in Maltese, we then zoom in on three of these which, as we will posit, contribute a PERFECT ASPECT value in the grammar. The primary aim is to provide a full descriptive account of these pseudo-verbs' morphosyntactic behaviours, given the lack of an appropriate description of these, and at times inaccurate claims in the literature. In the end we will provide an analysis where we consider these auxiliaries to be very close to raising predicates, based on a number of morphosyntactic properties that they display.

Chapter 4 then considers another set of auxiliaries which we will here claim to contribute to another dimension to non-Situation ASPECT, and that is Phasal ASPECT. While the auxiliaries discussed in this chapter have received attention in the previous literature on Maltese, although not as much as the auxiliaries discussed in Chapter 2, we will here be expanding our view of what these auxiliaries are actually contributing to the overall grammar of the language. Our claim will be that unlike Viewpoint ASPECT, Phasal ASPECTual values in Maltese still remain relevant only to the semantic component, even if it is specific syntactic structures along with specific morphological constraints that actually yield the relevant semantic interpretations. By considering this set of predicate-like phasal auxiliaries, we will in this chapter for the first time provide a number of tests that one could use for Maltese in order to help distinguish bi-clausal from mono-clausal tiered *f*-structures, as well as raising structures.

Chapter 5 will then summarise our major claims and findings with respect to our in-depth investigation of different sets of auxiliaries that contribute to the expression of TENSE and non-Situation

ASPECT in Maltese, provide projections for future research, and concludes this study.



## Chapter 2

# Temporal and Viewpoint ASPECT auxiliaries

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the set of auxiliaries that allow for the expression of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese. Our endeavour is to pinpoint exactly what the feature-values expressed by these auxiliaries at the syntactic level are, and how these contribute towards the realisation/expression of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT. Apart from engaging in a discussion of the actual auxiliaries themselves, we will consider in detail the semantic interpretations associated with the different morphological verb forms available in Maltese. We assume that while the different non-auxiliary verbal and participial forms contribute to the temporal and ASPECTual semantic interpretations of a given sentence, such interpretations need not always imply that these should also be reflected as features at the syntactic level. Rather, our claim here is that non-auxiliary verbs/participle forms **only** express an ASPECT feature when in V, within the *c*-structure. When they happen to be in I, lexical verbs do not express temporal or ASPECTual values, but simply contribute to the finiteness of the clause. While a *c*-structure analysis is not



our focus here, the account proposed follows from observing the distinct relations and interactions that take place across the morphological, semantic and syntactic components of the system. To be able to appreciate such relations (which are mismatched at times), §2.2 discusses the relevant non-auxiliary morphological verb and participial forms available in Maltese along with the array of temporal and ASPECTual semantic interpretations associated with each. §2.3 then goes into a lot of detail with respect to the actual auxiliary forms that help construct periphrastic TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese, pinning down the actual features and values they realize at the syntactic level. §2.4 then considers the actual interactions between the auxiliaries and the lexical morphological forms, while §2.5 concludes this chapter.

## 2.2 Grammatical TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT

This section introduces the reader to the four main morphological forms associated with verbs and participles in Maltese. §2.2.1 concentrates on the morphological forms themselves, while §2.2.2 considers the multiple temporal and ASPECTual interpretations associated with the different morphological forms, at least when they stand alone, in the absence of other auxiliaries. A number of mismatches between the morphology and the semantics are highlighted, where we additionally see that when syntactic factors are included, further distinct interpretations can be observed (also summarised in §2.2.3), allowing us to better appreciate the intricacies associated with the distinct interfaces across the morphology, semantics and syntax.

### 2.2.1 Morphological verbal forms

For the most part, verbs in Maltese inflect for two morphological Moods: the Indicative and the Imperative. Within the Indicative, verbs inflect for what is traditionally referred to as the Perfect, e.g. *kiteb* ‘he wrote’, *ktib-t* ‘I wrote’, and the Imperfect, e.g. *n-i-kteb* ‘I write’, *n-i-ktb-u* ‘we write’. In this study we will be referring to these morphological verb forms as the Perfect-

tive and Imperfective, respectively, for reasons to become clearer in this chapter and Chapter 3, where we will particularly explore and hypothesise the availability of a PERFECT Viewpoint ASPECTUAL value in Maltese, which, as we will show, must be kept distinct from both the Perfective form and the PERFECTIVE value.<sup>1</sup> The Perfective verb forms make use of suffixal morphology (apart from internal stem alternations (Camilleri, 2014b)) to realize the morphosyntactic features of PERSON, NUMBER and GENDER. On the other hand, Imperfective verb forms realize PERSON through prefixation, NUMBER through stem alternations, and suffixation in the PL forms.<sup>2</sup> Lexical idiosyncrasies to this generalisation include a sub-set of stative verbs, e.g. *jaf* ‘know’, the pseudo-verb *jisim-* ‘be called’ and *jixbah* ‘resemble’ as well a set of what is referred to as ‘superheavy-syllabled verbs’ (Spagnol, 2009, pp. 14-16), (Borg, 1988, p. 60), such as *jtul* ‘last, long’. These verbs do not make use of a synthetic morphological Perfective verb form, but their paradigmatic cells are filled in periphrastically, through the use of the Perfective form of the verb ‘be’ and the Imperfective lexical verb form. A sub-set of stative verbs additionally do not take Imperative forms (as expected with respect to stative verbs, for example (see Davies and Dubinsky (2004))). Imperative verb forms in Maltese, are built upon the 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON SG and 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON PL Imperfective forms with the omission of the *t-* prefix (or its allomorphic realizations), e.g. *ikteb* ‘write!’ (SG), *iktbu* ‘write!’ (PL), except for a few exceptions (see Camilleri (2014b, p. 211) and Testen (1997) for parallel Arabic exceptions, where supplet forms fill in the Imperative sub-paradigm). Table (2.1) provides the full set of inflectional affixes assumed for Maltese, in this study.

Some verbs also have participial forms in their paradigms. These forms, which may be passive or

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<sup>1</sup>Referring to these morphological verb forms through Aspect labels rather than Tense labels follows the tradition of Aquilina (1973), Comrie (1976), Borg (1981, 1988), Fabri (1995), Mifsud (1995), Ebert (2000), and Spagnol (2007, 2009) for Maltese. Earlier literature on Maltese, particularly Sutcliffe (1936), referred to these morphological verbal forms as Tenses, but still used the labels Perfect and Imperfect. For considerations from a broader Semitic perspective, where these forms are assumed to function as realizations of Temporal morphology, rather than Aspectual morphology, the reader is referred to Hetzron (1997).

<sup>2</sup>Refer to Fassi-Fehri (1993); Fassi-Fehri (2000), Lumsden and Halefom (2003), and Tourabi (2002) for similar claims with respect to Arabic verb forms.

Morphosyntactic values	Perfective	Imperfective
1SG	-t	n- ~ m- ~ r-
2SG	-t	t- ~ d- ~ s- ~ ž- ~ x- ~ ċ- ~ ġ- ~ z-
3SGM	∅	i- ~ j-
3SGF	-(V)t	t- ~ d- ~ s- ~ ž- ~ x- ~ ċ- ~ ġ- ~ z-
1PL	-na	n- ~ m- ~ r- -u ~ -w
2PL	-t-u	t- ~ d- ~ s- ~ ž- ~ x- ~ ċ- ~ ġ- ~ z- -u ~ -w
3PL	-u ~ -w	i- ~ j- -u ~ -w

Table 2.1: The set of verbal affixes realizing the canonical SUBJ in Maltese (Camilleri, 2014b)

active participial forms are analysed as non-finite forms in Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, pp. 244-245). The passive participial forms associated with Semitic verbs are identified through a prefixed *m-* along with a specific templatic form (Fabri, 1995, p. 328). The shape of the templatic form depends on the syllable structure of the base verb, e.g. mVCCuuC *misruq* ‘stolen’ > *seraq* ‘steal’, mVCCi *mitwi* ‘folded’ > *tewa* ‘fold’, mCVCCVC *mfitteq* ‘searched’ > *fittex* ‘search’, etc.<sup>3</sup> For non-SM verbs, the participial form is built by suffixing the Perfective 3SGM verb form with either *-at/-ata/-ati*. These suffixes are derived from the Italian *-ata/-ati/-ato/-ate*. Such participial forms, in combination with *kien* yield analytic passives, while with the use of the auxiliary *ġie* lit. ‘come’ (which won’t be discussed in this study), resultative constructions are formed.

Semitic verbs may also have active participial forms, whose shape depends on the template they fit in (Vella, 1994), e.g. CV:CV(C) for I<sup>st</sup> *binyan* verbs etc. There also exist a number of participial forms that are synchronically associated with obsolete verb forms, e.g. *hiemed* ‘being at peace’, whose associated verb form *\*ħamad* is obsolete. The few verbs that allow for an active participle may be divided into two groups on the basis of a stative vs. dynamic/motion reading (Fabri, 1995, p. 338). The former involve verb - participle pairs such as: *raqad-rieqed* ‘sleep-sleeping’, *libes-liebes* ‘dress-dressing’, *waqaf-wieqaf* ‘stop-stopping/standing’, *qagħad-qieġhed* ‘stay/remain-sitting/doing nothing’. Borg (1988) and Ebert (2000) consider such participial forms to involve

<sup>3</sup>Vanhove (1998, p. 104) discusses the syntactic interpretation of the passive participle, showing how this morphological form bears participial, adjectival and nominal functions, and both passive and active meanings may be expressed. Thus, a participial form such as *misthoqq* may mean both ‘meriting’ or ‘merited’.

a resultative interpretation, and not a progressive one. The dynamic set then includes verb - participial pairs such as: *nizel-niežel* ‘went down-descending’, *mexa-miexi* ‘walk-walking’, *ħareġ-ħiereġ* ‘went out-going out’, *ġera-ġieri* ‘run-running’, *daħal-dieħel* ‘entered-entering’. One of the structural differences between the two sets of stative and dynamic/motion active participle forms which Fabri (1995) identifies is that the former, as statives, can be used as attributive adjectives, as in (14a). This is not the case with dynamic verb derived active participles, as shown through the ungrammaticality of (14b). (14c-14d) illustrate, however, that dynamic participles bear predicative functions, and when used in this way, their role is not adjectival, but rather verbal. (15) illustrates how stative-derived participles such as *wieqaf* ‘standing’ and *rieqed* ‘sleeping’ can nevertheless still be used to function in a more verb-like than adjectival manner.

- (14) a. It-tifel ir-rieqed  
 DEF-boy DEF-sleep.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
 The sleeping boy Stative
- b. \*It-tifel in-niežel  
 DEF-boy DEF-descend.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
 The descending boy Dynamic
- c. It-tifel miexi bil-mod  
 DEF-boy walk.ACT.PTCP.SGM with.DEF-manner  
 The boy is walking slowly Dynamic
- d. Il-mara dieħl-a fil-ħanut issa.  
 DEF-woman enter.ACT.PTCP-SGF in.DEF-shop now  
 The woman is entering in the shop now Dynamic
- (15) a. (Kon-t) wieqf-a (n-i-stenn-ik) quddiem  
 be.PFV-1SG stand.ACT.PTCP-SGF 1-EPENT.VWL-wait.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC in.front  
 id-dar  
 DEF-house  
 I was standing waiting for you in front of the house



and IMPERFECTIVE (with the small caps here being representative of the semantic label for the interpretation expressed).<sup>4</sup> While we will here follow the general tradition in Maltese, where indeed Maltese verbal forms do realise ASPECTual values, and not TENSE, at least if we exclude the main auxiliary *kien* which we will be discussing in §2.3.1, nonetheless we will demonstrate that Temporal interpretations (not features at the syntactic level though) can still be associated with these verb forms. The discussion of ASPECT in this chapter has to do with Viewpoint ASPECTual values, which as defined in Comrie (1976, p. 3), ‘are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’. We will have nothing to do with Situation ASPECT/Aksionsart, which has been the focus in Spagnol (2007, 2009) for Maltese, unless when we require to display distinct behaviours that arise between stative and non-stative verbs, for example. In general, we will here be concerned with the morphological and morphosyntactic realizations of Viewpoint ASPECTual values, and not Lexical ASPECT.

The grammatical category of ASPECT differs from that of TENSE. TENSE is meant to locate a situation in time (Comrie, 1985, p. 6), while establishing a relation between two points in time (Lyons (1968, pp. 304-306), Lyons (1977, p. 678)), and is hence deictic, unlike ASPECT. On the basis of Reichenbach (1947)’ system and subsequent neo-Reichenbachian frameworks, temporal reference is derived out of a three-fold interaction between the Speech, Reference and Event Time. The relation between the Speech and Reference Times yields TENSE, while that between Reference Time and Event Time yields ASPECT. While in this section we are only concentrating on individual morphological forms, when discussing compound TENSE and ASPECT in §2.4, we will see that a TENSE feature at the syntactic level is expressed ‘primarily by means of auxiliaries (i.e. not bound morphemes)’ (Kibort, 2008b, p. 3), yielding periphrastic TENSE and ASPECT constructions in Maltese.

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<sup>4</sup>We will in the course of this Chapter make use of small caps also to label the **features** and their **values** as expressed at the *f*-structure level of syntactic representation. When this is the case, in order to avoid any misinterpretation, it will be clearly stated in the context that what is being represented in small caps are feature-value realisations at the syntax, and not interpretations at the semantic level.

### 2.2.2.1 Perfective forms

The first important question to ask is whether Perfective morphological forms in Maltese express PERFECTIVE ASPECTual values. In Comrie's (1976, p. 18) definition, the PERFECTIVE 'indicates a completed action ... [where the] emphasis is on the end of a situation ... [and where] all parts of the situation are presented as a single whole'. In this section we will see how in fact it is not always the case that the suffixed verb form matches up with this ASPECTual value. For this reason, it will be necessary to review the different interpretations involved, which will in turn allow us to better understand what matched and mismatched relations exist across morphology - syntax - semantics. Note that unless specified otherwise, we will here be using small caps to refer to the semantic interpretations, which as we have discussed above, need not imply that these have to correspond with feature-values at the syntactic level.

For Borg (1981, 1988), this suffixed form in (17), is taken to not solely illustrate the boundedness of the event, (i.e. as expected out of a Perfective form), but also introduces an absolute time reference whereby the interpretation also involves a correlation with the PAST TENSE.

- (17) Qraj-t            il-ktieb            koll-u  
 read.PFV-1SG DEF-book.SGM all-SGM  
 I read all the book

- **The Perfective form is here associated with PERFECTIVE ASPECT and PAST TENSE interpretation**

Apart from stating the completedness of the situation, Cremona (1962, p. 72) mentions that the Perfective verb forms in Maltese can also be used when there is an action that has taken place in the past, but whose effect is still relevant to the point of speech, very much in parallel with the PRESENT PERFECT, as used in English, for example. See also Fassi-Fehri (2003, p. 71) for Arabic, who makes reference to the use of the 'synthetic form (which is homophonous with that of the past)' i.e. what we would here refer to as the Perfective morphological form,





examples in (20) are meant to bring out the PRESENT TENSE relevance more clearly, particularly through their compatibility with the punctual PRESENT TENSE adverbial *issa* ‘now’.<sup>6</sup>

- (20) a. Tlaq-t                    (issa)  
           leave.PFV-1SG now  
           I left now
- b. (Issa) fhim-t!  
           now understand.PFV-1SG  
           Now I understood!
- c. (Issa) ħlis-t  
           now get.rid/finish.PFV-1SG  
           Now I finished

Inchoative verbs such as *għejja* ‘be tired’, *xeba* ‘be fed up/be full’, *nfaqa* ‘literally: ‘be burst/be full’, and *daħal* ‘enter’ (although refer to this verb’s other imminent reading just below in (23)), which ‘are momentaneous change of state verbs, which indicate an entering into a state’ (Eisele, 1990, p. 202), do not need the ADJ *issa*, but yet, as is also the case in Egyptian, we still get a reading where ‘the event has just occurred and is relevant to the point of speech’. This is exhibited for Maltese in (21).

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xal-u  
 maternal.uncle-3SGM.GEN  
 I see that he doesn’t do anything except what his (maternal) uncle tells him      Moroccan: Brustad  
 (2000, p. 174)

<sup>6</sup>For Eisele (1990, p. 183) the fact that a given morphological verb form is compatible with time adverbials is taken to show that such forms realize a TENSE feature and not ASPECT: ‘While time adverbials supply the value [for reference time/point of speech], certain time adverbials must agree with the time reference contained on the verb in order to explain the facts of verb-adverb co-occurrence restrictions’. We do not follow this same reasoning here. Notwithstanding the compatibility, one would argue that this doesn’t need to imply that ASPECT is not expressed, in the presence of a simultaneously-expressed temporal interpretations. Specifically for Fassi-Fehri (2003, p. 78), the compatibility of the Perfective morphological form with both an adverb such as *?amsi* ‘yesterday’ and *al?āna* ‘now’, for example, are taken to be indicative of the ‘polyfunctionality’ (p. 70) of the morphological form, such that it expresses both a PAST TENSE or a PRESENT PERFECT in the context of the respective deictic adverbs. Hallman (2015, p. 127) claims that Perfective morphology, irrespective of whether it is a lexical verb or an auxiliary expresses ‘past tense’, at least when in T. While the Perfective form of an auxiliary such as *kān* is automatically associated with TENSE by virtue of it being under a T head, in the absence of an auxiliary, a Perfective lexical verb comes to express PAST TENSE by head movement from V-to-T. When a Perfective form is embedded under the auxiliary in T, then this form is for him assumed to express a PERFECT value, indicative of an ASPECTual projection below T.

- (21) **Għejjej-t!** M'hu ħa n-a-għmel xejn  
 tire.PFV-1SG! NEG.3SGM PROSP 1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG nothing  
 I am tired! I will do nothing

• **The Perfective form is here associated with a PRESENT TENSE interpretation**<sup>7</sup>

Spagnol (2009, pp. 27-28) provides other colloquial contexts where the use of the Perfective verb form is **not** associated with a PAST TENSE interpretation. One such context is in interrogative constructions (22), where the use of Perfective forms indicates both the ‘imminence of an event’ as well as an ‘impatient’ attitude.

- (22) a. Tlaq-na jew?  
 leave.PFV-1PL or?  
 Lit: We left, or?  
 Are we going to leave?
- b. Komplej-na?  
 continue.PFV-1PL  
 Lit: We continued?  
 Shall we continue?

Spagnol (2009, p. 28)

Of course, such an IMMINENT reading is not necessarily linked to interrogative contexts. Rather, a declarative like (23), which functions as a sort of polite ‘warning’ strategy to not violate someone’s privacy, also has this same interpretation. The data in (22)-(23) thus demonstrates that the Perfective is able to be used with reference to actions/events which are yet to happen.<sup>8</sup>

- (23) Ara **dħal-t** jien  
 see.IMPER.2SG enter.PFV-1SG I  
 Lit: Look/see I entered  
 I will come in

• **The Perfective form is here associated with an IMMINENCE interpretation**

<sup>7</sup>We will have more to say about the PERFECT in Chapter 3.

<sup>8</sup>See Chapter 4 (§4.2.2.6) where we will note one rather idiosyncratic usage of the Perfective form of *reġa* ‘repeat, return’, which provides us with a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, when followed by an active participle.



TENSE **interpretation**

At least in the case of non-statives (see below), the reoccurrence of the event, according to Borg (1988, p. 69), explains the fact that such forms are used in contexts of ‘generic propositions’/‘propositions that are true irrespective of the time’. In contexts such as (26), Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 220) refer to these Imperfective forms as realizing ‘universal tense’.

- (26) a. Tnejn u tnejn j-a-għml-u erbgħa  
 two CONJ two 3-FRM.VWL-make.IMPV-PL four  
 Two and two make four
- b. Ix-xemx t-i-tla’ fil-Lvant  
 DEF-sun 3-FRM.VWL-go.up.IMPV.SGF in.DEF-East  
 The sun rises in the East

Spagnol (2007, 2009) looks in detail at the classification and behaviour of verbs based on Situation ASPECT values. Spagnol (2009, p. 14) illustrates how ‘[u]nlike dynamic verbs, which have a HABITUAL reading in the imperfect[ive], in null contexts [i.e. in their bare form usage], stative verbs have an actual present tense reference’. Spagnol’s claim is therefore that there exists a TENSE vs. ASPECT split with respect to Imperfective morphological forms, depending on the stative vs. non-stative Lexical ASPECT of the verb. Therefore, in the contrast internal to (27), a dynamic verb such as *qata* ‘cut’ (27a) yields a HABITUAL reading, while the stative cannot get such a reading, and the only interpretation associated with the verb *jaf*/*\*af* ‘know’ in (27b) is a PRESENT TENSE/point of speech reading.<sup>10</sup> Proof that statives cannot be associated with a HABITUAL reading comes from the inability to license habitual ADJs (Spagnol, 2009, p. 14).

- (27) a. Oħt-i t-a-qta’ x-xagħar  
 sister-1SG.ACC 3-FRM.VWL-cuts.IMPV.SGF DEF-hair  
 My sister cuts hair (i.e. she is a hairdresser) HABITUAL ASPECT

<sup>10</sup>Refer to the discussion further below, however, where we see how syntactically built contexts may allow the Imperfective forms of stative verbs to express RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretations.

- b. Oht-i                    t-af                    lil-l-kantant                    \*dal-aħħar  
 sister-1SG.ACC 3-know.IMPV.SGF ACC-DEF-singer.SGM DEM.SGM.DEF-last  
 My sister knows the man                    PRESENT TENSE - Spagnol (2009, p. 14)

- **If the lexical verb is Imperfective and its lexical semantics is stative, then it is associated with a PRESENT TENSE interpretation**

Having just associated a PRESENT TENSE interpretation with stative Imperfective verbs, which do not take HABITUAL readings, it seems that this temporal reading is nevertheless available for non-statives as well, especially when Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 221) consider the compatibility of the Imperfective verb form with *issa* ‘now’ (e.g. (28)). That an Imperfective form is compatible with a PRESENT TENSE interpretation was already shown to be the case when the Imperfective forms are associated with a HABITUAL ASPECT reading as in (24)-(25). What we may want to say, therefore, is that the difference between stative and non-stative Imperfective forms is that in the former, no simultaneous ASPECT interpretation of sorts is expressed. In the case of (28), we may also want to say that apart from PRESENT TENSE, an IMPERFECTIVE ASPECTUAL value is being expressed, as we view the situation from within as it takes place.

- (28) U    issa, l-Isqof                    j-i-dlek                    id-ejn    il-qassis-in    biż-żejt  
 CONJ now, DEF-bishop 3-FRM.VWL-smears.SGM hand-PL DEF-priest-PL with.DEF-oil  
 And now the bishop smears the priests’ hands with oil    Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander  
 (1997, p. 221)

- **The Imperfective form is here associated with IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT and a PRESENT TENSE interpretation<sup>11</sup>**

For Fabri (1995, p. 335), the Imperfective forms, apart from realizing a PRESENT HABITUAL interpretation ‘can also be used to express the future if it occurs with an explicit time adverbial’.<sup>12</sup> Compare (25) repeated below as (29a) with (29b), where the Imperfective in (29b) is

<sup>11</sup>According to Comrie (1976, p. 25) the IMPERFECTIVE ASPECTUAL value subsumes the CONTINUATIVE and the HABITUAL values, while the CONTINUOUS then subsumes the PROGRESSIVE and the non-PROGRESSIVE.

<sup>12</sup>This parallels what is observed in Nejdī, according to Ingham (1994b, p. 88/100), where the Imperfective



- (32) Mela x'hin heles xogħol-u, **j-i-tla'**  
 So what.time rid.PFV.3SGM work-3SGM.GEN 3-FRM.VWL-go.up.IMPV.SGM  
 fil-kamra tal-bejt, u ma **j-i-sma-x** xi hsejjes  
 in.DEF-room of.DEF-roof NEG NEG 3-FRM.VWL-hear.IMPV.SGM-NEG some noises  
 ġejj-in minn fuq is-saqaf! T-i-sta'  
 come.ACT.PTCP-PL from on DEF-roof! 2-FRM.VWL-can.IMPV.SG  
 t-a-hseb kif n-ħasad!  
 2-FRM.VWL-think.IMPV.SG how PASS-grab.PFV.3SGM

So as soon as he got rid of his work, he goes up onto the house's roof room, and (whilst there) he hears some noises coming from above the roof. You can imagine what a fright he took!

- **The Imperfective form is here associated with a PERFECTIVE ASPECT and PAST TENSE interpretation**

The semantic readings/interpretations associated with the Imperfective verb so far have been derived out of the actual **morphological** form itself. The Imperfective verb forms also express the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT. The PROGRESSIVE ASPECTual value is in Comrie (1976, p. 26) understood as a 'situation viewed in its duration' at the point of speech. A PROGRESSIVE interpretation is however **not** inherent to the Imperfective verb form itself, but the interpretation arises through certain syntactic contexts. Here we discuss seven distinct syntactic contexts where Imperfective forms associate with a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE interpretation, in the absence of other auxiliaries. (Also see §2.3). Following that, we will discuss a syntactic context, where on the other hand, Imperfective forms are associated with a PERFECTIVE reading.

1. Spagnol (2009, p. 29) mentions that dynamic Imperfective forms may take a PROGRESSIVE interpretation in the presence of **sentential negation** expressed through the default **negated pronominal *mhux*** (or its inflected alternatives), as opposed to the usual *ma ... -x* circumfixal negation.<sup>14</sup> When the latter sort of circumfixal negation is used, then

<sup>14</sup>It is here worth pointing out an interesting parallel with what one finds in Tunisian. In PROG-realising contexts, where Tunisian essentially makes use of an Imperfective verb form followed by the particle *fī* at least in transitive verb contexts, Halila (1992, p. 31) mentions how it is in fact the 'inflected independent NEG form' that must be used. This is in contrast to the *ma ... -š* strategy otherwise used to negate the Imperfective form when this is not involved in the expression of a PROG reading. Contrast the behaviour in (i).

we get the usual PRESENT HABITUAL reading with non-statives, as shown in (33a). In the case of (33b), both PROGRESSIVE and RESTRICTED HABITUAL readings are available.<sup>15</sup>

- (33) a. Ma n-iekol-x hafna  
 NEG 1-eat.IMPV.SG-NEG a.lot  
 I don't eat a lot PRESENT HABITUAL
- b. Mhux/Minix n-iekol hafna  
 NEG.3SGM/NEG.1SG 1-eat.IMPV.3SGM a.lot  
 I am not eating a lot PROGRESSIVE | RESTRICTED HABIT

2. Another context identified in Spagnol (2009, p. 31) where yet again, an Imperfective verb form takes a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, is in the presence of an interrogative context. More specifically, we here aim to define this context more accurately and claim that it is **not** any interrogative context, however. Rather, we need to have the following contrast: the *wh*-pronoun *x'* followed by a SUBJ pronoun (or strictly agreeing PRES TENSE copula), followed by the Imperfective verb form, as in (34).<sup>16</sup>

- 
- (i) a. nawāl ma-t-aʔraf-š tūnis  
 Nawal NEG-3-know.IMPV.SGF-NEG Tunis  
 Nawal does not know Tunis Non-PROG reading
- b. nawāl miš/ma-hyā-š t-aqra fī ktāb  
 Nawal NEG/NEG-3SGF-NEG 3-read.IMPV.SGF PRT book  
 Nawal is not reading a book PROG reading
- c. \*nawāl ma-t-aqra-š fī ktāb  
 Tunisian: Halila (1992, pp. 30-31)

<sup>15</sup>For Fabri (1995, p. 337), such RESTRICTED HABITUAL readings are referred to as 'habitual progressive'. In the light of Kibort (2008b, p. 6), this does in fact seem to be a possible way with which to view RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretations, since according to Kibort, '[h]abituality can in principle be combined with any other aspectual value'.

<sup>16</sup>In general in Maltese we cannot have a SUBJ NP following interrogative *x'*. Thus for the equivalent of: 'What is John doing?' we have (i). Alternatively, we could have (ii). Note that the instance in (iii), which allows for the absence of a SUBJ pronoun, even if the context involves an Imperfective verb form, has nothing to do with what we are concerned with here, i.e. the presence of an Imperfective that takes a PROGRESSIVE reading.

- i (John) x'inhu j-a-għmel (John)?  
 John what.he 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM John  
 What is John doing?
- ii X'qed j-a-għmel?  
 what.QED 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM  
 What is he doing?
- iii (John) x'j-a-għmel (John)?  
 John what.3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM John  
 What does John do?



- (34) X'int t-iekol?  
 what.you 2-eat.IMPV.SG

What are you eating? PROGRESSIVE - Spagnol (2009, p. 31)

Omitting the SUBJ pronoun (as in (35)) yields the usual HABITUAL reading associated with the Imperfective form of activity verbs.

- (35) X't-iekol?  
 what.2-eat.IMPV.SG

What do you eat? HABITUAL

For completeness here, a further restriction on this constructional effect should be added and mentioned. The *wh*-pronoun can **only** refer to the OBJ (34) or OBJ<sub>theme</sub> (36) GFS of the Imperfective verb form, as the ungrammaticality of the utterances in (37) suggest. We can summarise this second syntactic context where Imperfectives express PRESENT PROGRESSIVE readings as:  $x' + \text{SUBJ prn} + \text{Imperfective verb} + \text{OBJ} \mid \text{OBJ}_{\text{theme}} \text{ gap}$ .

- (36) X'inhuma j-għallm-u-hom?  
 what.they 3-teach.IMPV-PL-3PL.ACC

What are they teaching them? OBJ<sub>theme</sub>

- (37) a. \*Fejn int t-iekol?  
 where you 2-eat.IMPV.SG

Intended: Where are you eating? ADJ

- b. \*Min hu j-i-dħol id-dar?  
 who he 3-FRM.VWL-enter.IMPV.SGM DEF-house

Intended: Who is entering the house SUBJ

- c. \*'L min huma j-i-bagħt-u l-ittr-i?  
 DAT who they 3-FRM.VWL-send.IMPV-PL DEF-letter-PL

Intended: To whom are they sending the letters? DAT OBJ

3. The other instance identified in Spagnol (2009, p. 31) in which an Imperfective verb form can be associated with a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, is in ‘**circumstantial clause**’, as

the one in (38).<sup>17</sup>

(38) Hu u     **j-i-ġri**                                     n-ħal-l-u                                     l-lazz  
 he CONJ 3-FRM.VWL-run.IMPV.SGM REFL-untie.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGM DEF-lace

Lit: He and he runs was untied-on-him the lace

Whilst he was running, his lace got untied

4. Another context where the Imperfective form expresses a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE or a RESTRICTED HABITUAL reading, depending on the lexical semantics of the predicate involved, which we want to add here in this study, involves: the **pseudo-verb** *il-* ‘to’ (see §3.4.2) + **Imperfective verb** + (**temporal ADJ**). The presence/absence of the ADJ is however dependent on the stative (39a) vs. non-stative (39b) nature of the Imperfective verb.<sup>18</sup>

(39) a. Il-ni/il-i                                     sena n-o-rqod                                     tard  
 to-1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN year 1-FRM.VWL.sleep.IMPV.SG late

I have been sleeping late for a year                                     RESTRICTED HABITUAL<sup>19</sup>

b. Il-ni/il-i                                     siegħa n-i-studja  
 to-1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN hour 1-EPENT.VWL.study.IMPV.SG

I have been studying for an hour                                     PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

5. The other context that includes a pseudo-verb and where we also get a PROGRESSIVE reading in association with the Imperfective verb form, is when this follows *għad-*. Note however that this is in fact only one of the interpretations associated with the Imperfective form, when in such a context. (See §3.4.3 for more detail).

<sup>17</sup>This context parallels the one which Ingham (1994b, p. 110) for the Nejdī and other vernacular data refers to as: *ħāl* ‘attendant circumstance’. Apparently the structure of this construction in Maltese parallels exactly that of Lebanese, where according to Ingham (p. 110), the pronominal comes before the conjunction, unlike the order observed in Nejdī.

<sup>18</sup>Interestingly, this context also parallels data from Nejdī (Ingham, 1994b, pp. 87-88/91-92), where the Imperfective is associated with a PROGRESSIVE reading.

<sup>19</sup>An ADJ with *raqad* ‘sleep’ is necessary, since this is a stative verb. The absence of an ADJ results in ungrammaticality, as in (i) below.

i \*Il-ni/il-i                                     siegħa n-o-rqod  
 to-1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN hour 1-FRM.VWL.sleep.IMPV.SG  
 I have been sleeping for an hour



- **The Imperfective form is here associated with a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT interpretation in a number of syntactic contexts**

In the final syntactic context to be discussed here, we observe the possibility of Imperfective forms to associate with a PERFECTIVE ASPECT as well as a PAST TENSE reference. Such a context involves pseudo-verb-including constructions that also take a complementiser. Thus, in a construction such as (43a), the interpretation of the Imperfective in the clause introduced by *ma* following *il-*, is equivalent to that of the Perfective in (43b). Similarly, in contexts involving the pseudo-verb *ghad-* followed by the complementiser *kif* ‘how’ or *kemm* ‘how much’ (44), the Imperfective form makes reference to an event that has in fact been completed, and the whole construction then implies that this event has indeed taken place at some point right before or close before to the point of speech. (See Chapter 3 for more detail).

(43) a. *Il-ni ma m-mur*  
 to-1SG.ACC COMP 1-go.IMPV.SG  
 It’s been a long time since I went

b. *Il-ni li mor-t*  
 to-1SG.ACC COMP go.PFV-1SG  
 It’s been a long time since I went

(44) *Ghad-ni kif/kemm m-mur*  
 just-1SG.ACC how/how.much 1-go.IMPV.SG  
 I’ve just went

- **The Imperfective form is here associated with a PERFECTIVE ASPECT interpretation in specific syntactic contexts**

What one may want to add here, is that interestingly, Maltese appears to allow for conative alternations that make use of the preposition *fi* ‘in’, where the usual OBJ GF of transitive dynamic predicates changes to an OBL OBJ GF (Beavers, 2006), **only** in contexts where the predicate’s Imperfective verb form can come to express a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, as opposed to a HABITUAL one. Contrast the inability of the transitive Imperfective predicates to take an OBL



b.	Il-ni	sena n-ħit	f'dil-libsa	
	to-1SG.ACC	year	1-sew.IMPV.SG	in.DEF-dress
	I've been sewing at/on this dress for a year			PROGRESSIVE

### 2.2.2.3 Active participial forms

In §2.1 we have mentioned how active participles in Maltese constitute a small set of forms that can be classified on the basis of whether they are derived from stative or dynamic verbs. When both sets of participles appear in verb-like contexts, these are associated with a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE reading (at least in the absence of any auxiliary which may affect their temporal interpretation). Note that unlike in Egyptian (Mughazy, 2004) and Syrian (Boneh, 2010), for example, active participle forms are never associated with a PERFECT interpretation.<sup>21</sup> Borg (1988, p. 73) takes active participles in Maltese to express interpretations about ‘a process happening in the present’; a temporary ongoing process, which as Spagnol (2009, p. 29) adds, need in fact not necessarily ‘come to an end’. Borg’s main focus, in his study, is the behaviour of the dynamic active participial form *miexi* ‘walk.ACT.PTCP’, derived from *mexa* ‘walk’. Through it, he aims to exemplify the different interpretations that obtain, at least in his variety of Maltese. Although we have just mentioned above that active participles are associated with a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE interpretation, Borg argues that in his dialect, *miexi* does not only express this reading, but also takes the interpretation of a ‘restricted or definite habit’ (p. 90), in an instance such as (48), as the compatibility with the ADJ *daż-żmien* ‘this time’ is taken to illustrate.

(48)	Toni miexi	mid-dar	sal-iskola	daż-żmien
	Tony walk.ACT.PTCP.SGM	from.DEF-house	until.DEF-school	DEM.SGM.DEF-time
	Tony is walking from the house to the school these days			RESTRICTED HABIT - Borg
	(1988, p. 91)			

(49) below involves the dynamic active participle *nieżel* ‘go.down.ACT.PTCP’, and which Fabri

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<sup>21</sup>In the case of Nejd active participles, Ingham (1994b, p. 78) mentions that depending on whether these are derivationally-associated with a stative or motion verb, these take a state or continuous action meaning that ‘obtains at the point of reference’.

(1995, p. 338) marks with ???. For me, as well as Spagnol (2009, p. 30), an utterance such as (49) is completely out (as illustrated through (50)).<sup>22</sup> For the purpose of this study here, we take these judgements to imply that as opposed to Borg (1988), active participles are only associated with a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE reading.

(49) ??Daż-żmien      dak      spiss      nieżel      il-baħar  
 DEM.SGM.DEF-time dem.SGM frequently go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-sea  
 Lately, he is frequently going down to the sea      Fabri (1995, p. 338)

(50) \*Nieżel      l-għalqa      sikwit      dal-aħħar  
 go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-field often      DEM.SGM.DEF-last  
 He is going down to the fields rather often, lately      \*RESTRICTED HABIT

- **The active participle form is here associated with a PRESENT TENSE and PROGRESSIVE ASPECT interpretation**

Just as the Imperfective forms in the previous section were shown to express a FUTURE TENSE reading in the presence of the ADJ *ghada* ‘tomorrow’, active participle forms can also be associated with this reading. Having said this, however, participles derived from dynamic verbs, e.g. *nieżel* ‘go.down.ACT.PTCP’ and *ħiereġ* ‘go.out.ACT.PTCP’, behave differently from participles derived from statives, e.g. *rieqed* ‘sleep.ACT.PTCP’. Fabri (1995, p. 338) mentions how stative participles are incompatible with a FUTURE reading, ‘unless they are supported by the tense marker *jkun*’ functioning as an auxiliary, hence the contrast in (51).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>The same follows with respect to our judgement of (48). Spagnol mentions how active participles derived from dynamic verbs only take a PROGRESSIVE reading, while it is the analytic progressive form that takes both a ‘real progressive’ to use Fabri’s (1995, p. 338) terminology, as opposed to a possibly ‘fake’ PROGRESSIVE when we get the RESTRICTED HABITUAL reading. (See §2.3.2). Note that in utterances such as (i), the reading associated with the dynamic active participle is indeed that of a RESTRICTED HABIT as opposed to the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE reading we are here claiming to expect. In agreement with Spagnol (November, 2012, p.c), the availability of this interpretation could be the result of the quasi-idiomatic and collocational use of these two participial forms together.

(i) Spiss      ġej      (u      sejjer)      ‘l      hawn      dal-aħħar  
 Frequently come.ACT.PTCP.SGM CONJ go.ACT.PTCP.SGM ALL here      DEM.SGM.DEF-last  
 He is frequently coming and going here, lately      RESTRICTED HABIT

<sup>23</sup>In Nejdī, Ingham (1994b), there is a FUTURE reference with action participials and a FUTURE CONTINUOUS interpretation with statives and motion participles in general, and thus, unlike in Maltese, statives do not need

- (51) a. Pawlu **nieżel/hiereg** għada  
 Paul go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM/go.out.ACT.PTCP.SGM tomorrow  
 Paul will go down/will go out tomorrow Dynamic - FUTURE
- b. Pawlu **\*(j-kun) rieqed** għada  
 Paul 3-be.IMPV.SGM sleep.ACT.PTCP.SGM tomorrow  
 Paul will be sleeping tomorrow Stative - FUTURE only if *jkun* is present

At it stands so far, it does not appear as straightforward to decipher whether the reading that is available is in fact that of a FUTURE or a FUTURE PROGRESSIVE. Fabri (1995, p. 338) rightly argues that dynamic active participles as in (51a) and (52a) are **only** associated with a FUTURE TENSE reading in the presence of the ADJ *għada* ‘tomorrow’. A FUTURE PROGRESSIVE reading, on the other hand, seems to be **only** available when the active participle (stative or non-stative) periphrastically combines with the Imperfective form, or more broadly a non-Perfective of the verb ‘be’.<sup>24</sup>

- (52) a. Għada **nieżl-a** sal-baħar  
 tomorrow go.down.ACT.PTCP-SGF until.DEF-sea  
 Tomorrow I will go down to the sea FUTURE
- b. Għada **n-kun nieżl-a** sal-baħar bħal  
 tomorrow 1-be.IMPV.SG go.down.ACT.PTCP-SGF until.DEF-sea like  
 dal-ħin  
 DEM.SGM.DEF-time  
 Tomorrow I will be going down to the sea at this time FUTURE PROGRESSIVE
- c. \*Għada **nieżl-a** sal-baħar bħal dal-ħin \*FUTURE PROGRESSIVE

- **A non-stative active participle form is associated with a FUTURE TENSE interpretation**

- **A stative or non-stative active participle form in the context of non-Perfective**

to build their future reference syntactically via the addition of the Imperfective form of ‘be’.

<sup>24</sup>According to Vlach (1981, p. 279), the ‘furate progressive involves the notion of planning, scheduling or premeditation’.



**‘be’ is associated with a FUTURE TENSE and PROGRESSIVE ASPECT interpretation**<sup>25</sup>

As highlighted in Spagnol (2009, p. 31), we should have mention that in the absence of a FUTURE-realizing ADJ, an ‘imminent’ reading may still be associated with active participial forms. He shows that reference to a point beyond the Speech Time is possible with active participles derived from telic achievement verbs (53).<sup>26</sup>

- (53) a. *Tiela’*                                      *n-i-studja*                                      *l-Ingilterra*  
 go.up.ACT.PTCP.SGM 1-EPENT.VWL-study.IMPV.SG DEF-England

I am going to study in England

- b. *hiereg*                                      *ktieb*                      *gdid*                      *tal-istess*                      *awtur*  
 go.out.ACT.PTCP.SGM book.SGM new.SGM of.DEF-same author.SGM

A new book of the same author is coming out

Spagnol (2009, p. 31)

The interpretations associated with the **‘bare form’** are really the PRESENT PROGRESSIVE and FUTURE interpretations. The latter interpretation is only associated with **dynamic** active participles however. Having said this, the dynamic participial form *miexi* ‘walk.ACT.PTCP’, unlike dynamic *niežel* ‘go.down.ACT.PTCP’ or *hiereg* ‘go.out.ACT.PTCP’, **does not** seem to be compatible with a FUTURE interpretation, as the ungrammaticality of (54) suggests. In the absence of any other reason as to why this should be the case, I take this to be representative of an idiosyncratic instance.

<sup>25</sup>Note that the presence of the Imperfective form of ‘be’ *jkun* in combination with dynamic active participles need not always be related with a FUTURE PROGRESSIVE interpretation. In the narrative context as in (i), for example, PAST TENSE reference is understood.

i *Mela j-kun*                      *niežel*                      ...  
 so 3-be.IMPV.SGM go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
 So, he was going down ...

<sup>26</sup>At this point, this data mirrors what one also finds in the case of Syrian participles, where according to Boneh (2010, p. 25), ‘[d]irectional motion verbs may give rise to an imminent future reading’.

i *Sāmi nāzel*                                      *ʔa s-sūq*  
 sami go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM to DEF-market

Sami has gone down to the market

Sami is about to go down to the market

PERFECT  
 IMMINENT - Syrian: Boneh (2010, p. 25)

- (54) \*Pawlu miexi (sal-iskola) għada  
 Paul walk.ACT.PTCP.SGM until.DEF-school tomorrow  
 Paul is walking (to school) tomorrow \*FUTURE

Yet another interpretation associated with the different **bare** active participial forms, particularly in narrative contexts, is one that involves the Event Time coming before the Speech Time, i.e. a PAST TENSE reading, as in (55), where the PROGRESSIVE interpretation is nevertheless maintained.

- (55) Mela **nieżel** minn wara l-knisja, u  
 So go.down.ACT.PTCP.SGM from behind DEF-church CONJ  
 n-i-l<t>aqa'/l<t>qaj-t ma' ...  
 1-EPENT.VWL-meet.RECIP.IMPV.SG/meet.RECIP.PFV-1SG with ...  
 So I was going down from behind the church and I met with ... PAST PROGRESSIVE

- **The active participle form is here associated with a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT and a PAST TENSE interpretation**

#### 2.2.2.4 Passive participle forms

While passive participles haven't been discussed in the previous literature on Maltese with respect to their ASPECTual or temporal interpretations, they seem to be rather straightforward and homogeneous in terms of the reading that they can be associated with. For example *maqtul* 'kill.PASS.PTCP' and *misjub* 'find.PASS.PTCP' in (56) can only have a PERFECTIVE interpretation, whose neutral temporal reading is the PRESENT, unless an auxiliary is present that changes this interpretation.

- (56) a. Ir-raġel m-a-qtul minn shab-u,  
 DEF-man PASS.PTCP-FRM.VWL-kill.SGM from friend.PL-3SGM.GEN  
 in-difen dalghodu  
 PASS-bury.IMPV.SGM DEM.DEF-morning  
 The man killed by his friends, was buried this morning



Morphological form	Syntactic context	Semantic interpretation <sup>27</sup>
Perfective	matrix/neutral	PAST PERFECTIVE PRESENT PERFECT IMMINENT PERFECTIVE
Imperfective non-stative	matrix/neutral	PRESENT HABITUAL PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE FUTURE TENSE
	Pronominal sentential negation	PAST PERFECTIVE PRESENT PROGRESSIVE   RESTRICTED HABIT
	$x' + \text{SUBJ prn} + \text{OBJ/OBJ}_{\text{theme}}$	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE   RESTRICTED HABIT
	Circumstantial clause	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE
	Embedded clausal complements	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE
	<i>il-/għad-</i> [in non-complementiser contexts]	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE
Imperfective stative	VP fronting	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE
	<i>għad-</i> [in complementiser contexts]	PERFECTIVE
	matrix/neutral	PRESENT TENSE
Active participle dynamic	<i>il-</i> including contexts	RESTRICTED HABIT
	neutral	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE   PAST PROGRESSIVE   FUTURE TENSE <sup>28</sup>
Active participle stative	neutral	PRESENT PROGRESSIVE   PAST PROGRESSIVE <sup>29</sup>
Passive participle	neutral	PRESENT PERFECTIVE

Table 2.2: The array of semantic interpretations associated with the respective verb forms and their specific syntactic considerations

degree of grammaticalisation, as well as auxiliaries such as *sejjer* lit. ‘go.ACT.PTCP.SGM’, which is still synchronically related with a lexical counterpart. We will also argue that Prospective morphological forms exist in the language, such that an affix analysis is provided to ‘particles’ which were otherwise always thought of as some sort of FUTURE auxiliaries in Maltese. After considering the different auxiliaries, §2.3.4 then summarises the actual set of feature-values we are here attributing to the different auxiliaries, which are relevant to the syntax.

### 2.3.1 The auxiliary ‘be’

#### 2.3.1.1 The Perfective ‘be’ verb form *kien*

We here discuss the Perfective form *kien*, which is one of the main auxiliaries in the language, and with which a number of syntactic/compound temporal and ASPECTUAL values can be expressed. We first discuss the copula function of *kien*, and then consider its contribution to the overall periphrastic expression of TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese. In Eisele (1992, pp. 152-153), the fact that the Egyptian equivalent of Maltese *kien*, *kān*, can co-occur with all predicates in the language, whether verbal, nominal, adjectival or prepositional, is taken to imply that this is an auxiliary, which realizes the PAST TENSE. We will here be claiming the same for the Maltese counterpart. That *kien* is a PAST TENSE bearing auxiliary has in fact figured in all of the Maltese literature accounts since Sutcliffe (1936).

Focussing particularly on the function of *kien* as a copula, Borg (1988, p. 266) claims that this realizes the PAST TENSE, as is also the case with the Arabic (Benmamoun (1997), Ryding (2005), Edwards (2006)) and Hebrew (Doron (1983), Falk (2004)) counterparts, for example. The contrast in (57) clearly brings out this function.

- (57) a. It-tifel ferħan  
 DEF-boy happy.SGM  
 The boy is happy PRESENT TENSE
- b. It-tifel kien ferħan  
 DEF-boy be.PFV.3SGM happy.SGM  
 The boy was happy PAST TENSE

The Perfective form of *kien* is thus realizing a PAST TENSE feature value. Evidence that the auxiliary is not realizing an ASPECTUAL value comes from its ability to combine with other ASPECT-realising auxiliaries/participles, as in (58), which parallels the Kuwaiti example in (59).

(58) Kon-t qiegħed id-dar  
 be.PFV-1SG sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-house  
 I was at home<sup>30</sup>

(59) k̄an gāʕid fil-beyt  
 be.PFV.3SGM sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM in.DEF-house  
 He was (being/located/\*sitting) in the house Kuwaiti: Camilleri and Alaskar (2011)

Camilleri and Alaskar (2011) refer to (59) as a ‘multiple copula construction’, where while *k̄an* is analysed as the PAST TENSE copula, the bleached active participle *gāʕid* ‘lit. sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM’ realizes PROGRESSIVE ASPECT, and together form a single *f*-structure. (See the discussion we had in Chapter 1 (§1.2) on the different accounts to copulas and verbless constructions in LFG).

Even when *kien* is not being used as a copula, Fabri (1995, p. 331) analyses this form (as well as its Imperfective counterpart (§2.3.1.2 below)), as a ‘tense verb’ that encodes ‘temporal information about the past’. Sutcliffe (1936, p. 69) more directly refers to Perfective *kien* as the ‘chief’ auxiliary verb in the language. In whatever syntactic context, *kien* is in this study analysed as the **only** auxiliary that realizes a PAST TENSE value at the *f*-structure.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup>A detailed discussion on *qiegħed* lit. ‘sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM’, will proceed in §2.3.2

<sup>31</sup>Note that we are here claiming that *kien* is the PAST TENSE auxiliary in Maltese. The question to follow from this is what our view of *kel-* is. We here treat *kel-* as an impersonal verb that has come about as a result of ‘univerbation’, i.e. the ‘process whereby what are in origin groups of separate words gradually fuse into one’ (Vincent, 1997, pp. 102-103). The fusion involved here is that of the 3SGM form of Perfective *kien* and DAT pronominal forms. Comrie (1997, p. 23, fn. 7) discusses the Imperfective counterpart *jkollha*, which he also analyses as being derived from: *j-kūn-l-ha*. *Kel-* (and *jkol-*) functions both as a possessor predicate, as well as a modal. Given this form’s derivation from the Perfective *kien*, it thus remains a genuine question whether this auxiliary/predicate in the language also expresses a PAST TENSE value. In (i), the modal auxiliary does have a PAST TENSE reference/interpretation.

i Kel-l-i m-mur  
 be.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG 1-go.IMPV.SG  
 I had to go PAST TENSE

However, (i) does not provide us with a PAST HABITUAL reading, as we otherwise get from the combination of a PAST TENSE expressing auxiliary and an Imperfective form (§2.4). Moreover, if *kel-* were really like *kien*, then we wouldn’t have been able to get a PAST PERFECT interpretation in (ii). As will be shown in §4, a PAST PERFECT reading comes out from the combination of Perfective *kien* along with a Perfective verb form. This implies that in (ii), *kel-* is functioning pretty much like any other Perfective verb in V.

ii Kien kel-l-i m-mur  
 be.PFV.3SGM be.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG 1-go.IMPV.SG  
 I had had to go PAST PERFECT



Since *jkun* is the Imperfective counterpart counterpart of *kien*, one would perhaps expect that this realizes the PRESENT TENSE. We here claim that this isn't the case, however. Rather, as a copula (and as an auxiliary more broadly), *jkun* realizes a HABITUAL ASPECT (61). PRESENT TENSE realization is expressed by the absence of any copula, as in (62). The copula function of *jkun* has not been discussed except in Stolz (2009). The claim Stolz (2009, p. 140) puts forth is that *jkun*, as a copula, cannot be conceived of as a PRESENT TENSE counterpart of *kien*. Nonetheless, he doesn't say anything with respect to the feature(s) which *jkun* could be expressing in such a context.<sup>32</sup>

- (62) Marija d-dar  
 Mary DEF-house  
 Lit: Mary the house  
 Mary is at home<sup>33</sup> PRESENT TENSE

Fabri (1995, p. 331) only discusses *jkun* when present with respect to other verbal predicates. He considers it to parallel its Perfective counterpart, such that it also realizes TENSE; specifically FUTURE TENSE. In p. 340, he then states that it is only a 'secondary' interpretation of *jkun* which yields a HABITUAL meaning, in which case *jkun* 'is not explicitly a future tense marker' (p. 340). The question that immediately comes up is what proof do we have to say that *jkun* really expresses FUTURE TENSE. Moreover, if this is the case, how would the Imperfective use of *jkun* be different from the uses of *se/sa/ħa* + *jkun*, which forms will be discussed in §3.4? If the Imperfective *jkun* really expressed FUTURE TENSE as *se jkun* for example, then why wouldn't this be able to appear in the same context, for example, as in (63)?

- (63) a. Għand-u mnejn t-kun tajjeb għada għax-xogħol  
 at-3SGM.ACC from.where 3-be.IMPV.SGF good.SGM tomorrow for.DEF-work  
 Perhaps you may be good for work tomorrow IRREALIS

<sup>32</sup>We take this copula to be derived from the stative verb 'be'. However, as discussed in §2.2.2.2, in the light of Spagnol's (2009) Lexical ASPECT account for Maltese, bare Imperfective forms of stative verbs, are never associated with a HABITUAL interpretation. We take this to be showing us that *jkun* is here not functioning as a stative lexical verb, but is really an auxiliary.

<sup>33</sup>In §3.2 we will discuss an alternative strategy that realizes a meaning that is close to this, through the use of the auxiliary *qed/qiegħed*.



- b. ??/\*Għand-u mnejn se t-kun id-dar għada  
 at-3SGM.ACC from.where PROSP 3-be.IMPV.SGF DEF-house

Intended: Perhaps she will be in the house

While the Imperfective *tkun* in (63) is compatible with the epistemic ‘perhaps’, *se tkun* isn’t. Given the difference, we hypothesise that another feature value which Imperfective *jkun* could be associated with, is an IRREALIS MOOD value. One should here mention that according to Kibort (2009, p. 1393): ‘Future tense reference can, in principle, be subsumed under tense, even though some languages may not have a future tense or tenses and express future time reference with a modal category such as the irrealis’. As we here propose that the expression of a MOOD value is one of the functions of Imperfective *jkun*, then possibly, based on this citation from Kibort (2009), our account is not as radically distinct from that of Fabri’s, when claiming that *jkun* expresses a FUTURE TENSE. The data in (63) aims to bring out the non-ASPECTUAL realization associated with *jkun*.

A MOOD value attributed to *jkun* features in Vanhove et al.’s (2009, p. 10) account of modal auxiliaries across Maltese and the Arabic vernaculars. Yet, Vanhove et al. seem to only attribute this feature to when *jkun* is in combination with other verbs, and not specifically when it is used on its own, as some sort of copula, as in (63), when saying that: ‘When used as an auxiliary preceding a main verb in the imperfective, the imperfective form *ikun* of *kien* ‘be’ expresses modal values which are limited to the epistemic domain’. They claim that it is specifically an epistemic value of ‘logical consequence/probability’, as in (64) below.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup>To claim that Imperfective forms more broadly can be associated with or be compatible with a MOOD IRREALIS is not new for Maltese. With respect to the Imperfective non-*jkun* forms, Fabri (1995, p. 337) claims that in the presence of Conditional (i) and Counterfactual (ii) constructions, Imperfective forms **do not** realize any HABITUAL interpretations, but rather a FUTURE TENSE. While we here consider the following to be compatible with a FUTURE TENSE reading, but not necessarily realizing this feature value, what’s important to emphasise here is that compatibility with an IRREALIS MOOD is only a result of a constructional effect. What we are stating about the bare form *jkun* and the rest of the Imperfective paradigm, on the other hand, is that an IRREALIS MOOD interpretation is inherently associated with these forms without the need of such conditional or counterfactual syntactic contexts.

i Jekk n-i-rbaħ il-lotterija n-i-xtri dar  
 if 1-FRM.VWL-win.IMPV.SG DEF-lottery 1-FRM.VWL-buy.IMPV.SG house  
 If I win the lottery I will buy a house

Fabri (1995, p. 337)

- (64) a. T-a-ħseb                                      li        l-iswed                      i-kun  
 2-FRM.VWL-think.IMPV.SG COMP DEF-black.SGM 3-be.IMPV.SGM  
 j-i-xraq-l-i?  
 3-FRM.VWL-suit.IMPV-DAT-1SG

Do you think that black would suit me?

- b. Sib                      ħmar              źgħir              u        saq-aj-k                      i-kun-u  
 find.IMP.2SG donkey.SGM small.SGM CONJ foot-PL-2SG.GEN 3-be.IMPV-PL  
 j-miss-u                      ma' l-art  
 3-touch.IMPV-PL with DEF-floor

Find a small donkey and your feet would be touching the floor Vanhove et al. (2009, p. 10)

Having established the distinct values associated with the Imperfective *jkun*, in both copula and non-copula contexts, we can now characterise the difference between the following sentences in (65). According to Fabri (1995, p. 339), maintaining his translation, (65a) expresses ‘the default interpretation of *ikun*’, which Fabri takes to be the FUTURE, as mentioned earlier above. On the other hand, in (65b) *jkun* is ‘used to express a form of present habituality: something always happening, having happened or about to happen at a certain “habitual” time’. For the purpose of this research, we take the Imperfective *jkun* in (65a) to realize IRREALIS MOOD, while in

- 
- ii Kieku                      n-i-rbaħ                                      il-lotterija    n-i-xtri                                      dar  
 COUNTERFACT 1-FRM.VWL-win.IMPV.SG DEF-lottery 1-FRM.VWL-buy.IMPV.SG house

If I won the lottery I will buy a house

My translation: If I were to win the lottery, I would buy a house

Fabri (1995, p. 337)

Other interpretations that parallel this use of Imperfective forms comes from highly colloquial constructions such as (iii) below, which would translate in the SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD in Italian, for example. An alternative, therefore, is to argue that possibly Imperfective morphological forms in such non-matrix contexts could be functioning as some sort of Subjunctive forms, but where the morphology is syncretic.

- (iii) a. Li        kien                      Alla j-i-sma'                                      talb-i!  
 COMP be.PFV.3SGM God 3-FRM.VWL-hear.IMPV.SGM prayer-1SG.GEN

Lit: That he was God he hears my prayer

How I wish God hears my prayer!/May God hear my prayer!

- b. Li        n-a-ra-k                                      t-i-ggradwa!  
 COMP 1-FRM.VWL-see.SG-2SG.ACC 2-EPENT.VWL-graduate.IMPV.SG

Lit: That I see you you graduate

I bet you I will see you graduate! (implying either that: ‘I will be alive to see the day - I am the one being challenged to actually remain healthy and alive to see the day’ or ‘I am 100% positive that you will make it, i.e. you will graduate - and therefore I am challenging you to it’)

agreement with Fabri (1995), in (65b), *jkun* is functioning as an auxiliary realizing HABITUAL ASPECT. More on periphrastic formations will follow in §2.4.

- (65) a. Pawlu j-kun                    kiel                    meta n-asal                    jien  
 Paul 3-be.IMPV.SGM eat.PFV.3SGM when 1-arrive.IMPV.SG I  
 Paul will have eaten when I arrive                    Fabri (1995, p. 339)
- b. Pawlu dejjem j-kun                    qed j-iekol/kiel/sa  
 Paul always 3-be.IMPV.SGM PROG 3-eat.IMPV.SGM/eat.PFV.3SGM/PROSP  
 j-iekol                    meta n-a-sal                    jien  
 3-eat.IMPV.SGM when 1-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG I  
 Paul is always eating/done with his eating/be about to eat when I arrive

When it comes to NEG-marking, this must be on *jkun*, irrespective of the feature-value realized.

- (66) a. Jekk ma j-kun-x                    wasal                    fil-ħin,                    għid-l-i  
 if NEG 3-be.IMPV-NEG arrive.PFV.3SGM in.DEF-time tell.IMPER.2SG-DAT-1SG  
 If he wouldn't have arrived on time, tell me                    IRREALIS MOOD
- b. Ma j-kun-u-x                    j-i-lagħb-u                    hemm, nhar ta' Sibt  
 NEG 3-be.IMPV-PL-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-play.IMPV-PL there day of Saturday  
 They are not usually playing there on Saturday                    HABITUAL ASPECT
- c. \*Jkunu ma jilagħbux hemm, nhar ta' Sibt

### 2.3.1.3 Interacting *kien* and *jkun*

An important observation made in Fabri (1995) is that while it is possible to find both the Perfective and Imperfective forms of 'be' in a single clause in Maltese, their co-occurrence is however constrained. In what I refer to as the canonical word order, i.e. the linear order that involves no dislocations, the 'embedding of *kien* by *ikun* ... is not possible' (Fabri, 1995, p. 340). Consider the contrast in (67). This constraint in our account follows from the requirement to have Perfective *kien* **always** in an I *c*-structure position, when present. It is only when VP

fronting/scrambling/dislocation takes place, that the Imperfective form linearly precedes the Perfective one (68).

- (67) a. Kon-t            in-kun            id-dar            issoltu, fil-ḥamsa  
           be.PFV-1SG 1-be.IMPV.SG DEF-house usually in.DEF-five  
           I used to be at home, usually, at five
- b. \*Inkun kont id-dar issoltu fil-ḥamsa

- (68) In-kun            id-dar            fil-ḥamsa, kon-t,            qabel, issoltu  
           1-be.IMPV.SG DEF-house in.DEF-five be.PFV-1SG before, usually  
           Lit: Be at home at five, was, before, usually  
           At home at five, I used to be, before, usually

§2.4 further discusses the functions of *kien* and *jkun* with respect to their combination with lexical verbs and what there is to say about the function of their own combinatorial possibilities, as described in this sub-section.

### 2.3.2 *qed/qieghed*

We now consider the function of the invariable grammatical particle *qed* and the fully-inflecting (NUM and GEND) active participial counterparts: *qieghed/qieghda/qeghdin* ‘lit: sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM /SGF/PL’ (also meaning ‘stagnant’/‘unemployed’). The particle, or the fully-inflecting participle are obligatorily followed by an Imperfective verb form, as in (69), unless functioning as a copula, as in (70).

- (69) It-tifla    qed/qieghd-a                    t-i-kteb  
           DEF-girl PROG/sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 3-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SGF  
           The girl is writing
- (70) It-tifel    qed/qieghed                    id-dar/fil-ḡnien/helu  
           DEF-boy PROG/sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-house/in.DEF-garden/sweet.SGM  
           The boy is at home/in the garden/sweet (in this photo)

The copula use of *qed/qieghed* as in (70) realizes a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT, and in the absence of *kien* ‘be’ (discussed in §2.3.1), the interpretation is a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE one. In the case of the non-copula context, we will see below how the construction involving the auxiliary *qed/qieghed* and the Imperfective verb yields either a PROGRESSIVE or a RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation, depending on the following Imperfective verb’s Lexical ASPECT. Here we also aim to demonstrate how and in which ways *qed* and *qieghed* differ with respect to their syntactic analysis. We will especially make it clear that *qed* cannot be considered as merely a contracted version of *qieghed*, contrary to Borg’s (1988) understanding. It will be shown how invariable *qed* reflects a more grammaticalised stage in its development out of the locative/spatial/posture predicate.<sup>35</sup>

We start by reviewing what has been said with respect to the cognate of Maltese *qed/qieghed* in other Arabic vernaculars. Agius and Harrak (1987) provide a cross-Arabic dialectal study that focuses on ‘auxiliary particles’ (p. 165) that are active participles or invariable forms derived from these, which realize PROGRESSIVE ASPECT. The starting point of cognates to the invariable particle *qed* in Maltese is the active participle e.g. *qāʿid* derived from the verb *qaʿada* ‘sit/stay/remain’ (p. 165).<sup>36</sup> Corresponding to the full active participial form, one finds a number of ‘auxiliary variances’ across the Arabic vernaculars, including *ʿad*, *qad*, *ked*, *ka* and *ke*. Assuming that these contracted forms are in fact derived from full participial forms is only one of Agius and Harrak’s (1987) analysis.<sup>37</sup> Active participles such as *ʿammāl* ‘do.ACT.PTCP.SGM’

<sup>35</sup>We will be assuming that although *c*-structural differences do obtain between the two sorts of auxiliaries, no difference is reflected in the *f*-structure analysis, and both auxiliaries will be provided with a AUX-feature analysis.

<sup>36</sup>In Chapter 4 we will further discuss the verbal counterpart *qaghad* ‘stay, fit’ in Maltese, which will be shown to function as a DURATIVE Phasal ASPECT auxiliary, when not functioning as a lexical verb.

<sup>37</sup>Their alternative hypothesis is the possibility of an influence from liturgical Syriac on Christian communities, where the presence of *ked* in such communities, for example, could have been developed out of liturgical Syriac *kad*. For the Muslim communities which use this form and *ʿad*, they hypothesise that this could be derived from Syriac *ʿad*, itself derived from *ʿadmex* ‘until now’ or ‘just now’ (p. 177). They provide the following example:

i ū ʿad hū mmaḥal  
and (part.) he speaking  
and while still speaking

Syriac: Agius and Harrak (1987, p. 177)

What is rather interesting is the availability of the *ʿad* ‘still, just now’, which form is also present in Moroccan (Vanhove et al., 2009), Nejdī (Ingham, 1994a), and Hebrew (Falk 2006), for example. *Baʿad* is the alternative in

are also present across other Arabic dialects, e.g. in Palestinian and Egyptian (p. 169). Related invariable forms are present in Lebanese-Syrian dialects such as *ʕamma*, *ʕamm*, *ʕa* and *ʕman* and others. Palestinian also displays a pseudo-verbal development of this same participial form, where the SGM form *ʕammāl* functions as a base onto which ACC pronominal forms are attached (M. Al Labadi, pc, 2012).<sup>38</sup>

Apart from the locative copula uses of Maltese *qed/qiegħed* as in (70), it is also possible for this copula to be used in other sorts of contexts. When the copula ‘does not identify a location, but is used with an expression that identifies an entity with a particular function, where the equational/identificational interpretation is however excluded’ (Borg, 1988, p. 299), the interpretation is one that solely identifies a ‘temporal role’, as in (72).

- (71) ?Pawlu qiegħed                      it-tabib  
 Paul    sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-doctor  
 He is currently playing the role of the doctor (in a play, for example)      Identificational -  
 Borg (1988, p. 269)
- (72) Pawlu qiegħed                      tabib              fil-polyclinic              tal-Mosta  
 Paul    sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM doctor.SGM in.DEF-polyclinic of.DEF-Mosta  
 Paul is (at present) a doctor at the polyclinic in Mosta                      Temporary role

It seems that in such constructions, where *qed/qiegħed* functions as a copula of sorts, differences emerge between the use of the invariable form *qed* and the variable participial forms. According to Borg (1988, p. 82), it is only the participial form that can function as a copula in his dialect. This is not the case for other dialects, however, as I clearly intended to illustrate through the presence of both the *qed* and *qiegħed* alternatives in (70). In those dialects where both the variable and invariable forms are used as copulas, although never discussed in the literature on Maltese, *qed* can **only** be used in contexts where SGM *qiegħed* is used (as in (70)). Thus, in a

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Syrian (Firanescu 2010). We will in Chapter 3 see that a number of varied uses of the form *ghad* in Maltese is in fact traceable to this use of the form.

<sup>38</sup>Pseudo-verbal development of active participles are present in Moroccan (Vanhove et al., 2009, p. 337), yet none of these appears to express a PROGRESSIVE value.

context such as (73a), *qed* is not allowed, by virtue of the fact that the value of the grammatical (and semantic) GENDER involved is actually FEMININE. In parallel, (73b) is ungrammatical on the basis of the NUM PL feature value present, which feature value is incompatible with that which *qed* in copular contexts seems to project.

- (73) a. Jien/Hi      qieghd-a/\*qed                  id-dar  
 I(FEM)/She sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF/PROG DEF-house  
 I (fem.)/she is at home
- b. Intom qeghd-in/\*qed                  id-dar  
 you.PL sit.ACT.PTCP-PL/PROG DEF-house  
 You are at home

In non-copular uses, *qed/qieghed* in combination with Imperfective non-stative verbs yields a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, as in (69). In combination with stative verbs, we get a RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation, since statives cannot yield a PROGRESSIVE interpretation (Spagnol, 2009, p. 20), as in (74).

- (74) Qed in-hobb-hom                  ftit      iżjed                  kuljum  
 QED 1-love.IMPV.SG-3PL.ACC a.little add.COMPARE everyday  
 I am loving them a bit more every day                                  RESTRICTED HABIT

When it comes to the operational restrictions on the use of the active participle as opposed to its invariable counterpart, at least in canonical/non-dislocated/non-scrambled linearly ordered auxiliary - lexical verb constructions as in (75), *qed* and the variable participial counterpart are merely variants of each other.

- (75) a. Jien                  qed/qieghed/qieghda/\*qeghd-in  
 I(masc/fem) PROG/sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM/sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF/\*sit.ACT.PTCP-PL  
 n-ie-kol  
 1-FRM.VWL-eat.IMPV.SG  
 I am eating





In the Standard, however, *mhux* is used with both.<sup>41</sup>

paralleled in other Arabic dialects. In (i), we observe how in Syrian (Boneh, 2010, pp. 13-14), *mā* is present in the context of finite forms (ia), while *mū* negates participles (ib).

- (i) a. Sāmi mā katab er-risāle  
 Sami NEG write.PFV.3SGM DEF-letter  
 Sami did not write the letter Syrian: Boneh (2010, p. 13)
- b. Sāmi mū nāyem  
 Sami NEG sleep.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
 Sami is not/no longer sleeping/asleep Syrian: Boneh (2010, p. 14)

Ouhalla (2014, p. 12, ftn. 3) also provides an instance in Moroccan where circumfixal negation of the type present in Maltese is present on a form that has become grammaticalised and developed out of an active participle, just as is the case with *qed* in Maltese.

- ii ma maši ši i-mši bwaḥdu  
 NEG will NEG 3-go.IMPV.SGM alone  
 He will not go alone Moroccan: Ouhalla (2014, p. 12, ftn 3)

<sup>41</sup>Our formal account here with respect to *qed/qieghed* is to assume that essentially there are indeed two lexical entries for the particle *qed* and one for the inflecting participle *qieghed*. Recall that *qed* in copula contexts is only associated with a SGM reference, while when in non-copular contexts, an SGM restriction is only present when *qed* is stranded, and not followed by the lexical verb.

*qieghed*:  $V$  ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) = ACT.PTCP  
 ( $\uparrow$  ASPECT) = PROGRESSIVE  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) =  $c$ IMPV  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) =  $c$ POS

*qed*:  $V$  ( $\uparrow$  ASPECT) = PROGRESSIVE  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) =  $c$ IMPV  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) =  $c$ POS

*qed*:  $\hat{V}$  ( $\uparrow$  ASPECT) = PROGRESSIVE  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) =  $c$ IMPV  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) =  $c$ POS

*Qed* in the lexical entry just above is analysed as belonging to a non-projecting node at the  $c$ -structure (Toivonen, 2003). Such an analysis is not problematic, with respect to coordinate structures such as (i), where it seems that the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT is scoping over to the second conjunct as well, even though we have a non-projecting node.

- i Qed n-i-t-kellem u n-i-kteb  
 PROG 1-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV.SG CONJ 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG  
 Lit: I am talking and I write  
 I am talking and writing

Such a scoping effect cannot merely follow from the  $c$ -structure configuration, given the non-projecting analysis we are providing here. Parallel issues have however been discussed in the previous literature. Although not related with non-projecting nodes as such, asymmetric coordination structures such as the German Subject Gap in Finite/Fronted structures illustrate a parallel point. In such structures, a SUBJ GF that is only part of the first conjunct's  $f$ -structure 'appears to be distributed' over to the second conjunct as well (Frank, 2002). In such constructions in German, the constraint involved is that it is only the SUBJ that can display such an asymmetric distribution, and it also has to be the only element that is involved. Note that this restriction is however not

- (77) a. Pawlu mhux qiegħed id-dar  
 Paul NEG sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM DEF-home  
 Paul is not at home
- b. Pawlu mhux qed i-kellim-hom  
 Paul NEG PROG 3-talk.IMPV.SGM-3PL.ACC  
 Paul is not talking to them Standard Maltese
- (78) a. Pawlu m'qid-x id-dar  
 Paul NEG.PROG-NEG DEF-home  
 Paul is not at home
- b. M'qid-x n-ghid-l-ik hekk biex  
 NEG.PROG.NEG 1-say.IMPV.SG-DAT-2SG like.this in.order.to  
 n-bezzgħ-ek  
 1-frighten.CAUSE.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC  
 I am not telling you this to frighten you Dialectal Maltese

Given that we have associated a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT value with *qed/qiegħed*, which the semantics then interprets as a RESTRICTED HABIT in the context of a stative lexical Imperfective verb, the question now is how similar or different is the behaviour of this periphrastic construction from the morphological active participial forms, which as shown in §2.2.2.3, could themselves be associated with these same interpretations, i.e. PROGRESSIVE and RESTRICTED HABITUAL.

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necessary for other languages. Welsh, for example, also illustrates instances of asymmetric constructions. While it is only the first VSO clausal conjunct that is marked for TENSE, this information is nevertheless ‘“spread” into the other conjuncts’ (Sadler, 2006, p. 1793). Additionally, given the nature of the Welsh morphosyntax, where the SUBJ is only expressed through verbal morphology when the verb is finite, ‘the subject occurring after the tensed main verb in the first conjunct is interpreted with respect to each conjunct in the clause, with no subject being expressed in the second or any subsequent clause’ (p. 1793). Such parallel ‘spreading’ of both TENSE and SUBJ features is also present in Wambaya (Nordlinger, 1998). If we are here on the right track to assume that at least one specific use of *qed* should be considered as a non-projecting particle, then following both Frank (2002) and Sadler (2006), we assume a phrase structure rule such as (ii), where the first conjunct is annotated with  $((\downarrow \text{ASPECT}) = (\uparrow \text{ASPECT}))$ . In this way, the first conjunct’s ASPECT is also the ASPECT ‘of the coordination as a whole, i.e. the set-valued *f*-structure’ (Frank, 2002, p. 14). If this is correct, then our account may in fact be ‘supported by data from a range of languages which also spread clausal features (such as TENSE and MOOD) ...’ (Sadler, 2006, p. 1814), with ASPECT being the clausal feature that is allowed to be spread in Maltese. (A parallel account also holds true for DISTANCE IMMINENT-realizing *ser* discussed in §2.2.3.3.

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 \text{ii VP} & \longrightarrow & \text{VP} & \text{CONJ} & \text{VP} \\
 & & \downarrow \in \uparrow & \uparrow \in \downarrow & \downarrow \in \uparrow \\
 & & ((\downarrow \text{ASPECT}) = (\uparrow \text{ASPECT})) & & 
 \end{array}$$

What's crucial to remember from our discussion in §2.2.2.3, is that very few Maltese verbs of Arabic origin take an active participial form in their paradigm, and such participles are negated through the use of *mhux*. On the other hand, all Maltese verbs can form part of the periphrastic *qed/qiegħed* + Imperfective construction. What's interesting to consider, then, is what is going on when one compares an Imperfective verb as part of the *qed/qiegħed* construction with its corresponding active participial form, when this is present. Borg (1988) was the first to discuss this in detail. Recall from §2.2.2.3 that the activity verb *mexa* 'walk' has an equivalent participial counterpart *miexi* (and the rest of its associated paradigmatic forms), which in Borg's dialect are associated with both a PROGRESSIVE and a RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation, but where in the idiolects of both Spagnol (2009) and the author, *miexi* and the rest of the paradigm is **only** associated with a PROGRESSIVE reading. It was also mentioned that Fabri (1995) only partially accepts the RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation associated with the active participial forms. When it comes to the syntactic construction involving *qed/qiegħed* + Imperfective **activity** verbs, once again, for Borg (1988) this construction also retains an ambiguous interpretation. The PROGRESSIVE interpretation parallels that of *qed jilgħab* 'is playing' in (79a), while the RESTRICTED HABITUAL reading is provided in (79b).

- (79) a. Toni qed j-i-lgħab il-futbol bħalissa  
 Toni PROG 3-FRM.VWL-play.IMPV.SGM DEF-football now  
 Tony is playing football (right) now PROGRESSIVE - Fabri (1995, p. 338)
- b. Ġanni qed j-i-mxi mid-dar sal-iskola  
 John PROG 3-FRM.VWL-walk.IMPV.SGM from.DEF-house until.DEF-school  
 dal-aħħar  
 DEM.SGM.DEF-last  
 John has been walking from the house to the school, lately RESTRICTED HABIT - Borg  
 (1988, p. 87)

For Fabri (1995), at least in the case of activity verbs, when both a morphological participial form and the construction with *qed/qiegħed* are available, the interpretations yielded are in complementary distribution, such that while *miexi* is the 'real' PROGRESSIVE (p. 338), *qed jimxi*

only takes a RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation. The construction *qed jilgħab* ‘is playing’ in (79a), on the other hand, would be interpreted both as a PROGRESSIVE as well as a RESTRICTED HABIT, given the context, since there is no morphological \**liegħeb* ‘play.ACT.PTCP.SGM’, at least synchronically. This therefore implies that *qed/qiegħed* projects a PROGRESSIVE ASPECTUAL **value** in the *f*-structure, and it is then the semantics that associates either a PROGRESSIVE or RESTRICTED HABITUAL **interpretation**.

When it comes to non-activity verbs such as *nizel* ‘go down’ and *tela* ‘go up’, for both Borg (1988) and Fabri (1995), there is agreement that indeed a complementary distribution exists between the morphological active participial form and *qed/qiegħed* + Imperfective counterpart. The former expresses a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, while the latter, the RESTRICTED HABITUAL interpretation. It is for this reason that Fabri (1995, p. 337) provides the ?? judgment for (80a), since the intended PROGRESSIVE interpretation appears to be reserved for (and hence blocked by) the presence of an active participial form associated with this verb, i.e. *nizel*.<sup>42</sup> ((80a) is in fact ungrammatical for me). The same follows for the distinction between *qed/qiegħed jitlaq* ‘he is leaving’, which takes a RESTRICTED HABITUAL reading vs. *tielaq* ‘leave.ACT.PTCP’, which is associated with a PROGRESSIVE interpretation (Borg, 1988, pp. 92-93).

- (80) a. ??*Bħalissa dak qed j-i-nżel il-baħar*  
 now DEM.SGM PROG 3-FRM.VWL-go.down.IMPV.SGM DEF-sea  
 Now he is going down to the sea A PROGRESSIVE reading is intended
- b. *Daż-żmien dak qed j-i-nżel il-baħar*  
 DEM.SGM.DEF-time DEM.SGM PROG 3-FRM.VWL-go.down.IMPV.SGM DEF-sea  
 Lately he is going down to the sea RESTRICTED HABIT - Fabri (1995, p. 337)

Note that while the PROGRESSIVE reading is in the literature on Maltese typically used to refer to a PRESENT PROGRESSIVE interpretation (Borg (1988), Fabri (1995), Spagnol (2009)), we shall

<sup>42</sup>This is in fact the generalisation which would account for the distinction between active participial forms vs. constructions with *qed/qiegħed* when both are available, at least in Fabri’s system and mine. Clearly, this does not seem to be the case in Borg’s system, at least with respect to activity verbs such as *meza* ‘walk’.

be more precise here and simply claim that the auxiliaries *qed/qieghed* realize PROGRESSIVE ASPECT, and it is in the absence of the auxiliary *kien* that the interpretation is temporally located in the PRESENT TENSE. Moreover, in parallel to our discussion in §2.2.2, it is possible to provide contexts where the *qed/qieghed* constructions, in the absence of *kien*, are **still** associated with a PAST interpretation, as is the case in narratives of the type in (81) below.<sup>43</sup>

- (81) Mela qed n-a-ħsel il-ħwejjeg u f'daqqa waħda  
 So PROG 1-FRM.VWL-wash.IMPV.SG DEF-clothes CONJ in.slash one.SGF  
 n-i-sma'/smaĵ-t ħoss ...  
 1-FRM.VWL-hear.IMPV.SG/hear.PFV-1SG sound  
 So I was washing the clothes and all of a sudden I heard a noise ... PAST PROGRESSIVE

### 2.3.3 *sa/se, ser, sejjer, ħa and għad*

This section concentrates upon a number of elements which in combination with Imperfectives have been said to realize FUTURE TENSE or PROSPECTIVE ASPECT, i.e. the presentation of a future event from the point of view of the present (Comrie, 1976, p. 66). The reason for juxtaposing a FUTURE TENSE reading and PROSPECTIVE ASPECT here is because Kibort (2009, p. 1391) in fact treats the PROSPECTIVE ASPECT to be in a one-to-one-correlation with a FUTURE TENSE value. Traditional descriptions of Maltese mention how these values can in the language be expressed through the presence of ‘the particles *se, ser* and *ħa*, as well as the verb *sejjer* ‘go’ (Fabri, 1995, p. 330), which must be all followed by an Imperfective form, as in (82).

- (82) Se/ħa m-mur magħ-hom  
 SE/ħA 1-go.IMPV.SG with-3PL.ACC  
 I will go with them

<sup>43</sup>The same interpretation is in fact available when *qed/qieghed* is followed by yet another active participial form, as in (i) below. Note that the availability of an active participle following *qed/qieghed* seems to be somewhat restricted to narrative contexts.

i Mela qieghd-a miexj-a għall-affari tiegħ-i  
 so sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF walk.ACT.PTCP-SGF for.DEF-affair of-1SG.ACC  
 So, I was walking calmly, minding my own business PAST PROGRESSIVE

It is only Fabri (1995) who analyses these ‘particles’ (as he refers to them) as ‘marker[s] of prospective aspect rather than tense’. Our analysis here will build further on this claim, although the motivations differ. Fabri’s argumentation as to why these should be analysed as PROSPECTIVE rather than FUTURE-expressing markers, follows from his claim discussed in §2.3.1.2 that ‘it is *ikun* that expresses the future’, and consequently, the *se/sa/ħa* + Imperfective combination must this be expressing a PROSPECTIVE ASPECT **value**.<sup>44</sup>

Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 223) refer to ‘*sa/se/ser*’ as ‘synchronic abbreviated forms’ from the active participle *sejjer* ‘going’. Saydon (1935, p. 44), while considering that *sa* realizes FUTURE TENSE, more specifically for him, *sa* provides the interpretation of something that is to take place shortly/soon. Additionally, contra Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997), Saydon (1935, p. 44) **does not** consider *sa* to be the reduced form of the active participial form. He directly relates Maltese *sa* to Arabic *sawfa* and its shortened versions in the vernaculars. He keeps *sa/se* distinct from *ser*, and only considers the latter to be a contraction of *sejjer*. Saydon associates the active participle *sejjer* to the verb *mar* ‘go’. This then triggers his analysis as to why *ser/sejjer* should be only reserved to ‘going to’-type interpretations, and is infelicitious if (83) is uttered in a context where the plate of food is right in front of the speaker.<sup>45</sup>

- (83) Sejjer                      n-iekol  
 go.ACT.PTCP.SGM 1-eat.IMPV.SG  
 I (masc.) am going/about to eat / #I (masc.) will eat

<sup>44</sup>Having said this, Fabri (1995) only provides a ‘be about to’ reading in association with (i), and no ‘will’ interpretation, which is in fact what we would expect on the basis of his PROSPECTIVE analysis.

i Pawlu dejjem j-kun                      sa              j-iekol  
 Paul    always 3-be.IMPV.SGM PROSP 3-eat.IMPV.SGM  
 Paul is always about to eat when I arrive

Fabri (1995, p. 340)

<sup>45</sup>Stolz (2009, p. 141) does not consider *sejjer* to be the active participle related to the verb *mar* ‘go’. Rather he takes it to be associated with the verb *sar* ‘become’, which he claims to have diachronically meant ‘go away’. Whether this is a case of suppletion: *sejjer* > *mar*, or whether *sejjer* is related to an obsolete *sar* meaning ‘go’ (rather than the *sar* present synchronically in the language, meaning ‘become’), does not matter that much, for our purposes here. What is important is the claim that indeed, *sa/se* are **not** shortenings of *sejjer*, but are rather cognates of Arabic *sa/sawfa*.

In my dialect, *ser* is only used when we have ‘going to’ interpretations as opposed to ‘will’ contexts. It is the dialectal *ħa* or the more Standard forms *sa/se* that I would use to express FUTURE TENSE and/or PROSPECTIVE ASPECT values. Sutcliffe (1936, p. 70), just like Saydon (1935) does not consider *sa* to be a reduction from the active participle *sejjer*, but does in fact note how *ser* ‘has become identified in meaning with the particle *sa*’. He analyses *sa* as an auxiliary.<sup>46</sup> According to Sutcliffe, the active participle *sejjer* (and also by extension *ser*) has two interpretations: a ‘going to’ interpretation (as Saydon (1935) mentions), as well as a ‘be about to’ interpretation. These two readings are available for (84).

(84) *Sejjer*                            *j-o-qt1-u*  
 go.ACT.PTCP.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-kill.IMPV.SGM-3SGM.ACC

He is going to kill him

He is about to kill him

Sutcliffe (1936, p. 115)

The meaning difference between the two interpretations remains rather subtle. While both meanings are associated with a FUTURE interpretation, it is not the case that what’s being expressed is equivalent to what ‘will’ would have expressed in a parallel context. With reference to *ser* in (85), Stolz (2009, p. 141) merely refers to this as a FUTURE marker. However, in the free translation he provides is ‘going to’ and not ‘will’. To be accurate, both the ‘going to’ and ‘about to’ interpretations, just as with *sejjer* in (84), can in principle be associated with *ser* in this construction.

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<sup>46</sup>This is in fact the analysis of *sa* in Vanhove (1993, p. 113), although she also uses the vague term ‘preverb’ to refer to this item.

- (85) Malli smaj-t-hom j-għid-u li l-ferut-i kien-u ser  
 as.soon.as hear.PFV-1SG-3PL.ACC 3-say.IMPV-PL COMP DEF-injured-PL be.PFV.3-PL SER  
 i-daħħl-u-hom il-Belt, mor-t n-i-ġri  
 3-CAUSE.enter.IMPV-PL-3PL.ACC DEF-City go.PFV-1SG 1-FRM.VWL-run.IMPV.SG  
 d-dar  
 DEF-house

As soon as I heard them say that they were going to take the injured into the City, I went  
 running home Stolz (2009, p. 142)

When it comes to *ħa*, Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 224) take this mostly dialectal form to be derived from *ħalli*, which is the Imperative 2SG form of the verb *ħalla* ‘leave/let/permit/allow’. This form also takes a HORTATIVE function in Maltese, which, when preceding an Imperfective verb gives rise to a FUTURE reference. On their argumentation then, the **synchronic** FUTURE reference associated with *ħa* is for them a by-product of the hortative origin of this contracted form.<sup>47</sup> According to Vanhove (2000, p. 236) ‘*ħa*, and only this shortened form, also has in addition to the injunctive value, a value of future of certainty or of imminence’. It seems that in such accounts, the FUTURE reference associated with *ħa* is itself a by-product of an original HORTATIVE interpretation.

- (86) ħalli m-morr-u n-a-ra-w x'ġara  
 let 1-go.IMPV-PL 1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.PL what.happen.PFV.3SGM  
 Let's go and see what happened/Let's go see what happened

While one might not be in a position to negate or corroborate the hypothesis that dialectal *ħa* associated with PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE interpretations could have been derived out of a HORTATIVE modal, one cannot but remark on the stark resemblance of this form and function with what one finds in the Arabic dialects: *rah/ha*. It is rather interesting, however, that while Vanhove (2000, p. 235) provides a number of possible Arabic forms from where Maltese *ħa* could have originated, at least when it displays such a FUTURE/PROSPECTIVE interpretations,

<sup>47</sup>The reason for having emphasised ‘synchronic’ is because while Saydon (1935, p. 44) considers this *ħa* to be derived from hortative *ħalli*, he (prescriptively) claims that ‘people use it wrongly when they are actually meant to use *sa*’. Synchronically however, this is not the case. It is in fact additionally interesting that Sutcliffe (1936, p. 44), on the other hand, does refer to a FUTURE/PROSPECTIVE interpretations in association with the particle *ħa*.



including: *habba* ‘love’, *ɽaxada* ‘take’, as well as *hatta* ‘until’ (apart from *xalla* ‘leave/let’),<sup>48</sup> she never makes any reference to the possibility that Maltese *ħa* could have actually been derived from the dialectal Arabic PROSPECTIVE-marking/realising form *rah*, which in Egyptian and some dialects in the Gulf is in fact *ħa* (Brustad, 2000, p. 145). Although not mentioned previously in the Maltese literature, the hypothesis I wish to uphold in this study is that Maltese (PROSPECTIVE) *ħa* parallels the *ha/rah* markers one finds in the other Arabic dialects. The basis for positing this hypothesis are facts that have to do with the realisation of the NEG feature. While in principle trivial, given the synchronic nature of this study, the discussion here fills a gap in the description of Maltese, and for this reason it seems fit to expand on this a bit further. Of course, while Maltese could have simply got this form already contracted as it is from some vernacular or another, we here hypothesise how the contraction could have taken place in the first place. The fact that negation of *ħa* + Imperfective is as in (87), where *mhux* is used, further corroborates the hypothesis below. If the PROSPECTIVE-realizing *ħa* was really derived out of the injunctive *ħalli/ħa* or verbs such as ‘love’ and ‘take’, then given their finite form, we would expect the *ma ... -x* negation strategy. On the other hand, one could counter argue my hypothesis here by mentioning that dialectal *qed* (discussed in §3.2), as well as Standard and dialectal *ghad* to be discussed below, while both derived from participial forms, still make use of the *ma ... -x* negation strategy.

(87) Mhux ħa m-mur  
 NEG ħA 1-go.IMPV.SG

I will not go

While it is true that non-finite derived forms in Maltese may take finite negation, if it were

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<sup>48</sup> *ħa* also takes an ‘injunctive’ or ‘purposive’ interpretation (Vanhove, 2000, p. 235) which is not mentioned in the recent literature, but made clear in Saydon (1935, p. 44) when saying that: ‘If *ħa* is related with a verb that comes (structurally) in front of it, then it takes a purposive interpretation’. Vanhove identifies a number of differences across the hortative/injunctive vs. the ‘future’ use of *ħa*. Primarily, ‘within the future the subject does not call to someone else to fulfill its aim; and secondly, the nature of the aim is different: a moment of the process for the future, the validation of the process for the injunctive’ Vanhove (2000, p. 236). Thirdly, in its association with a second and third person reference, ‘*ħa* always has a value of future or imminence’, while with the first person we have ambiguity with the reduced hortative/injunctive form’s interpretation.

the case that *ħa* was derived from a finite verb form, then nothing explains why we observe pronominal negation in (87), which sort of negation has in §2.3.2 already been associated with the participle auxiliary form that realizes the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT value at the syntactic level. In the Standard, we mentioned that the invariable particle also takes the same sort of pronominal NEG strategy in Standard Maltese. In the light of no diachronic evidence currently available to suggest the opposite, then *ħa* must have followed the same trajectory which the particles *qed* and *ser* have followed, i.e. a development out of an active participle. The process for *ħa* in Maltese, (unless inherited as an already-contracted form from some Arabic dialect), began from the synchronically obsolete active participle: \**rajjih* ‘go.ACT.PTCP.SGM’ that was eventually bleached and reduced to *rah*, which contracted further to *ħa*. (The reader is referred to Rice and Sa’id (1960) and Ouhalla (2014) who make reference to this grammaticalisation cline across Eastern Arabic dialects).

Having provided an overview of how these items have been perceived in the literature on Maltese, it is now our turn to determine what we are to make of these items in our account. Although these are written as free forms in the Maltese orthography, I take *sa/se/ħa* to be functioning as PROSPECTIVE ASPECT-realizing clitics/markers of sorts in Maltese. While the forms *ħa mmur/sa/se mmur* seem to be pushing towards an eventual reanalysis whereby the combination will be analysed as a Prospective morphological form on a par with the Imperfective and the Perfective forms, synchronically, notwithstanding the single phonological unit built when *sa/se/ħa* combine with an Imperfective, these forms cannot be analysed as prefixes. If it were the case, then one would expect these to surface on both verbs participating in distinct conjuncts, for example, which is not necessarily the case, unless an affix suspension analysis is hypothesised.

Spagnol (2009, p. 28), objects to the notion PROSPECTIVE in combination with these forms. This he claims to be so not only because the PROSPECTIVE seems to be an inadequate and insufficiently described ASPECTual value, but also because ‘the distinctions expressed by the

construction in Maltese points at a deictic distinction that locates the situation at a point following the time of the utterance, rather than giving us information about the situation's internal temporal constituency'. It is true that PROSPECTIVE-expressing forms associate with a FUTURE interpretation. However, by simply having this one-to-one correspondence between the morphological form and the temporal interpretation need not imply that the form has to realize TENSE as opposed to ASPECT. Moreover, to maintain his account, in the presence of the *kien* auxiliary preceding the *sa/se/ħa* + Imperfective, Spagnol needs to provide an argumentation with respect to the fact that these markers cannot be assumed to be simultaneously realizing a FUTURE TENSE interpretation and value, as this would result in a clash of TENSE values expressed. That such markers have a deictic referential interpretation cannot be denied, and this property is indeed enhanced by the fact that such *sa/se/ħa* + Imperfective combinations are not present in narrative contexts, for example, where PAST reference is usually implied, hence the ungrammaticality of (88).<sup>49</sup>

- (88) \*Mela se/sa/ħa n-i-bda n-iekol, u ma  
 so FUT/PROSP 1-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG 1-eat.IMPV.SG CONJ NEG  
 j-i-ġ-u-x j-ġhid-u-l-i li l-ikel  
 3-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV-PL-NEG 3-say.IMPV-PL-DAT-1SG COMP DEF-food.SGM  
 vvelenat!  
 poisoned.SGM

Intended in narrative context: Lit: So I will start to eat, and (won't you believe it) they come to tell me that the food is poisoned! \*PAST TENSE

To conclude our discussion on *sa/se/ħa*, from a morphosyntactic and morphophonological point of view, I here take these to be clitic-like elements that take an Imperfective host and together

<sup>49</sup>Note that the use of *ser* would not be possible in a construction such as (88) either. This fact is interestingly in contrast to the use of the variable *sejjer/sejra/sejrin* active participial forms (as in (i)), where it seems that here, the lexical meaning takes over, and a PAST TENSE reference and interpretation becomes available, as has otherwise been shown to be the case with active participial forms in general (§2.2.2.3).

- i Mela sejra (biex) n-i-tla' t-taraġ, u ma  
 so go.ACT.PTCP-SGF to 1-FRM.VWL-go.up.IMPV.SG DEF-staircase CONJ NEG  
 n-i-żloq-x!  
 1-FRM.VWL-skid.IMPV.SG-NEG  
 So I was going/was about to go up the stairs and (won't you believe it) I slid! PAST TENSE



(e.g. (92a)), apart from the auxiliary function we are attributing to them in this account. Although the PROGRESSIVE-realizing *qiegħed/qiegħda/qegħdin* participles also take a lexical counterpart, hence in parallel to *sejjer/sejra/sejrin*, the difference is that the non-lexical use of *qiegħed/qiegħda/qegħdin* can participate as a copula. This is never the case with *sejjer/sejra/sejrin*. With respect to the rest of the morphosyntactic constraints, including the requirement of a positive Imperfective form of the lexical verb, both sets of participles behave in the same way. The grammaticalisation process of this active participle in Maltese, which is still synchronically relevant, given that this active participle functions both as an auxiliary and as a lexical predicate, appears to have followed well-known paths which active participles of the same ‘go’ type have followed in Moroccan Arabic (Ouhalla 2014). Ouhalla (2014, pp. 10-11) illustrates how the parallel *yadi* ‘go.ACT.PTCP’ (as well as *maši* ‘go.ACT.PTCP’), which is a ‘directed motion predicate’ (91a), may itself co-occur with other directed motion predicates where its function is then that of ‘a marker of future tense’ (91b) (See also the discussion in Harrell (1962, p. 183)). Exactly in parallel to the Maltese *sejjer* > *ser* grammaticalisation, the active participle *yadi* itself also becomes optionally contracted and devoid of agreement properties (91c). The parallel Maltese data is provided in (92).

- (91) a. l-bnat (kan-u) yadi[y]-in (l-s-sinema).  
 DEF-girl.PL be.PFV.3-PL go.ACT.PTCP-PL to-DEF-cinema  
 The girls are/were going (to the cinema)
- b. l-bnat (kan-u) yadi[y]-in imši-w (l-s-sinema).  
 DEF-girl.PL be.PFV.3-PL go.ACT.PTCP-PL go.IMPV.3-PL to-DEF-cinema  
 The girls are/were going to go (to the cinema)
- c. l-bnat (kan-u) ya(di) imši-w (l-s-sinema).  
 DEF-girl.PL will go.ACT.PTCP-PL go.IMPV.3-PL to-DEF-cinema  
 The girls will go (to the cinema) Moroccan: Ouhalla (2014, p. 11)
- (92) a. Il-bniet (kien-u) sejir-in (saċ-ċinema)  
 DEF-girl.PL be.PFV.3-PL go.ACT.PTCP-PL until.DEF-cinema  
 The girls are/were going (to the cinema)

- b. Il-bniet (kien-u) sejr-in j-morr-u j-għid-u kollox  
 DEF-girl.PL be.PFV.3-PL go.ACT.PTCP-PL 3-go.IMPV-PL 3-say.IMPV-PL everything  
 lil omm-hom  
 DAT mother-3PL.GEN

The girls are/were going to/about to go tell everything to their mother

- c. Il-bniet (kien-u) ser j-morr-u j-għid-u kollox lil  
 DEF-girl.PL be.PFV.3-PL SER 3-go.IMPV-PL 3-say.IMPV-PL everything DAT  
 omm-hom  
 mother-3PL.GEN

The girls are/were about to go tell everything to their mother

In relation to Moroccan *yadi*, while Maltese has the active participle *għaddej* ‘pass.ACT.PTCP’, which is its II<sup>nd</sup> *binyan* cognate, this is not used in any way as any sort of auxiliary in the language. However, just as Ouhalla (2014, p. 13) illustrates a transition from the lexical to the auxiliary function of the participial form that eventually grammaticalises in a ‘future tense form’, Maltese seems to at least synchronically **only** display the end ‘future tense form’ in all this, which is the invariable *għad*.

Before discussing how *għad* fits in this array of elements that involve FUTURE reference, one should mention from the outset that there are a number of *għad* forms in Maltese. For the first time in the literature on Maltese, I want to show that there are essentially two synchronically homophonous *għad* forms. Interestingly both are crucial in the expression of grammatical TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese, even if only one has been mentioned in the literature in this respect. There is primarily the *għad* which Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 224) take to express ‘a further degree of remoteness in the future’. This *għad* is the counterpart of *yād* in Arabic dialects, and must be always followed by an Imperfective form of the verb. Additionally, just as shown to be also the case in Moroccan (Ouhalla, 2014, p. 19), this grammaticalised form in Maltese is related to the FUTURE adverbial *għada* ‘tomorrow’ and the nominal *l-għada* ‘the day after’. Examples of this *għad* are provided in (93). The other *għad* is derived from *ġād/baġad*, and as in the other Arabic dialects, this form means ‘still’. (Chapter 3 discusses this form and



He would have become someone important (at some point in the future) had he entered University

When one turns to consider the *c*-structure behaviour of *ghad*, this is closer to *qed* than *ser*. Primarily, unlike *ser* (90), material may intervene between *ghad* and the lexical verb, as illustrated in (95). Moreover, in contrast to the ungrammaticality of (90b) in the case of *ser*, it is possible to strand *ghad*, as shown in (96). Such stranding was in §2.3.2 shown to be also possible with *qed*, except that no restriction to an SGM referent is involved in the case of *ghad*.

- (95) Ghad,                    jekk Alla j-rid,                    n-a-qta'                    xewqt-i  
 DISTAL/REMOTE if    God 3-want.IMPV.SGM 1-FRM.VWL-cut.IMPV.SG wish.1SG.GEN

I will, if God wants fulfil my wish

- (96) T-i-lhaq                    xi    haġa                    kbir-a,    għad  
 3-FRM.VWL-reach.IMPV.SGF some thing.SGF big-SGF DISTAL/REMOTE

Lit: She reaches something big, (at some remote point in the future)

What's rather interesting is that *ghad* can **only** be negated through the use of circumfixal negation, even though it has possibly been diachronically derived out of an active participle, (which would make it parallel with the Moroccan data facts). This is in opposition to *ser*, for example, which can only take pronominal negation, i.e. *mhu*, as the rest of *sejjer/sejra/sejrin* and *sa/se/ha*-marked verbs. This negation strategy parallels with the situation described in **dialectal** uses of *qed* in §2.3.2. In the case of *ghad*, circumfixal negation is the **only** means with which negation can be marked, across both the Standard and the dialect.

- (97) U    m'ghad-x                    t-a-sl-u                    ukoll, jekk Alla  
 CONJ NEG.DISTAL/REMOTE-NEG 2-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV-PL as.well if    God  
 j-rid!  
 3-want.IMPV.SGM

Lit: And not point.in.time.in.distant.future you arrive as well, if God wants

You will get there at some point in the future, as well, if God wants



### 2.3.4 Summary

Table (2.3) below summarises the set of feature-values we posit to be expressed at the **syntactic** level by the auxiliaries which participate in the expression of categorial periphrastic/compound TENSE and ASPECT values in Maltese, reviewed in this section.<sup>50</sup> Further discussion on the combinations with lexical verbs will follow in §2.4. The table additionally also makes reference to the *c*-structure category/categories they should or may occupy.

Auxiliary/particle/form	Feature-value(s) expressed at the syntactic level
<i>kien</i>	PAST TENSE (I)
<i>jkun</i>	HABITUAL ASPECT (V)   IRREALIS MOOD (I or V)
<i>qed/qieghed</i>	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT (V/ $\hat{V}$ ) <sup>51</sup>
<i>għad</i>	DISTAL DISTANCE (I or V)
<i>ser/sejjer</i>	IMMINENT DISTANCE (I/ $\hat{I}$ or V/ $\hat{V}$ )
<i>sa/se/ħa</i>	PROSPECTIVE ASPECT ( $\hat{V}$ )

Table 2.3: The set of Maltese auxiliaries and particles/markers reviewed in this section and the TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT values they express at the syntactic level

## 2.4 Combinations of auxiliaries + verbs/participles

§2.2 provided all the possible **semantic** temporal and ASPECTual interpretations that relate with the varied morphological forms available in Maltese, when occurring on their own, i.e. when not co-occurring with auxiliaries. We specifically observed how the morphological form can be in a number of mismatched relations with the semantic interpretations involved. In §2.3 we have considered the full set of (non-psuedo-verbal) auxiliaries/particles that contribute to the realization

<sup>50</sup>By categorial periphrasis we here mean periphrastic constructions that are not ‘in a paradigmatic relation with monoclectic forms’ (Otoguro, 2015); (Haspelmath, 2000, p. 660).

<sup>51</sup>Note that although we have mentioned in §2.3.2 that the semantic interpretation related with the *qed/qieghed* + Imperfective construction could in principle be either a PROGRESSIVE or a RESTRICTED HABIT, we are here assuming that at the syntactic level, the auxiliary is projecting a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT feature-value. It is then the semantics which helps us decide between the two interpretations. Choosing between the distinct interpretations depends on both the knowledge of the paradigmatic morphological facts of the language, which in this case have to do with whether the Imperfective lexical verb is paradigmatically related with an active participial form or not, as well as with the Lexical ASPECT of the Imperfective verb form involved.

of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT values in Maltese. We concluded the section by providing the actual feature-values these auxiliaries/particles express at the syntactic level. We have assumed that at times, as in the case of the PROGRESSIVE ASPECT realized by *qed/qieghed*, there isn't a one-to-one mapping between the syntax and the semantics. Rather, the semantics will need to interpret the ASPECTual value with respect to the syntactic context involved, as well as the Lexical ASPECT of the lexical verb. In this section we move on to consider what the combination of the lexical verbs and participial forms discussed in §2.2 along with the different auxiliaries discussed in §2.3 has to contribute to the expression of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT in the language.

We first consider the interactions of *kien* 'be' in all its available forms followed by a lexical verb. Fabri (1995) provides eight syntactic TENSE and ASPECT combinations in Maltese (or compound tenses in Eisele's (1990, p. 185) terminology), at least when one form of the verb 'be' is present, as illustrated in table (2.4).<sup>52</sup> Since he only restricts his description to just the Perfective and Imperfective morphological forms of 'be' and makes no reference to *qed/qieghed* and *sa/se/ħa*-taking 'be' forms, the eight syntactic combinations that result are what's logically available given the restriction. Table (2.5) then represents the four possibilities that result when the Perfective and Imperfective forms of the verb *kien* 'be' combine together.<sup>53</sup>

Note that we do not entirely agree with all of the interpretations present in Fabri's (1995) account. Before presenting the fully-fledged description of all the combinations and interpretations available, I would like to bring to light other interesting facts which arise in relation to the synchronic interpretation of some of the combinations. There is one important observation to

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<sup>52</sup>All interpretations listed in tables (2.4)-(2.5) are his own. Below we will provide the comprehensive set of compound TENSE and ASPECT combinations and their interpretations as identified in this study.

<sup>53</sup>Aquilina (1973, p. 332) comments that the *kien* + Perfective combination, which yields the PAST PERFECT interpretation expresses 'an action that already took place before the other'. In the case of the *kien* + Imperfective combination, which expresses a PAST HABITUAL, Aquilina mentions that in this case we have reference to 'an action that was taking place in the past, alone or contemporarily with another'. He then takes the *jkun* + Perfective combination to express a '[p]ast action that took place before another in the future', while the *jkun* + Imperfective is for him taken to express: 'Future action, contemporaneous or non-contemporaneous with another'.

‘be’	lexical V	Semantic interpretation
<i>kien</i>	Perfective	PAST PERFECT
<i>kien</i>	Imperfective	PAST HABITUAL
<i>kien</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	PAST PROGRESSIVE
<i>kien</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	PAST PROSPECTIVE
<i>jkun</i>	Perfective	FUTURE PERFECT   HABITUAL PERFECT
<i>jkun</i>	Imperfective	FUTURE PROGRESSIVE   HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE
<i>jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	FUTURE PROGRESSIVE   HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE
<i>jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	FUTURE PROSPECTIVE   HABITUAL PROSPECTIVE

Table 2.4: The syntactic combinations involving one form of the verb ‘be’ and a following lexical verb along with the semantic interpretations expressed, as presented in Fabri (1995)

‘be.PFV’	‘be.IMPV’	lexical V	Interpretation
<i>kien</i>	<i>jkun</i>	Perfective	PAST HABITUAL PERFECT
<i>kien</i>	<i>jkun</i>	Imperfective	PAST HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE
<i>kien</i>	<i>jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	PAST HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE
<i>kien</i>	<i>jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	PAST HABITUAL PROSPECTIVE

Table 2.5: The syntactic combinations involving two forms of the verb ‘be’ and a following lexical verb along with the semantic interpretations expressed, as presented in Fabri (1995)

be made, if we are to appreciate the ways in which the language has changed over time, (even if diachronic studies are not available). In agreement with Fabri’s (1995) interpretation, the combination of *kien* + Imperfective (at least in this canonical linear ordering) yields a PAST HABITUAL reading. Sutcliffe (1936, p. 70) however, appears to have captured a shift in interpretation taking place in Maltese at the time he was writing his grammar. When discussing the *kien* + Imperfective combination, he claims that: ‘The form *kien joqtol*, in addition to ‘he used to kill’ can also mean ‘he was killing’, but continuous action is more clearly and emphatically expressed by the addition of *qieghed* as in *kien qieghed joqtol*’. A PAST PROGRESSIVE interpretation of this combination is completely impossible in contemporary Maltese, although this is in fact one of the main important interpretations associated with this combination across the other Arabic dialects (see e.g. Fassi-Fehri (2003, p. 73)).<sup>54</sup> Sutcliffe’s (1936) account additionally

<sup>54</sup>If we are to solely associate PAST TENSE with *kien*, then the PROGRESSIVE reading in Sutcliffe’s (1936) account must be coming from the Imperfective form. Recall from our summary in table (2.2) in §2.2.4 that we never associated a PROGRESSIVE semantic interpretation with the **bare** Imperfective form, unless when the predicate was part of a number of syntactically-constrained contexts. Nothing excludes the possibility that diachronically, just as is the case synchronically in the other Arabic dialects, the (bare/non-auxiliated) Imperfective form in



- (99) Jien n-o-rqod                                fid-disgħa,    kon-t,            dak                    iż-żmien  
 I     1-FRM.VWL-sleep.IMPV.SG in.DEF-nine be.PFV-1SG DEM.DEF.SGM DEF-time

Lit: I sleep in the nine, I was, that the time

I used to sleep at nine, at that time

Before moving on to consider other constructional effects which result in the shifting of the canonical interpretation of a given auxiliary/particle + lexical verb combination, it should here be mentioned that in general we take these dislocated VP-involving utterances to be our important evidence in favour of a structured IP at the *c*-structure (as illustrated in the *c*-structure representation in Chapter 1 (§1.2)), and not a multiple branched VP with an I co-head.<sup>58</sup>

Other constructional effects that change the interpretations of the *kien* + Imperfective combination include instances such as (100) below, for example. Instead of a PAST HABITUAL reading, we have CONDITIONAL TENSE expressed, given the presence of a conditional clause. Thus, instead of ‘used to stay’, *kont nibqa*’ here means ‘would have stayed’. This reading cuts across both canonical and dislocated linear orders. It is therefore the interaction between morphology and syntax via the co-occurrence of an Imperfective lexical verb and a conditional clause that is in this

<sup>58</sup>Other instances of such dislocated structures are provided in (i) below.

- (i) a. Kon-t        se        n-kun                qieghd-a                n-a-ra-h  
       be.PFV-1SG PROSP 1-be.IMPV.SG sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC  
       I was going to be seeing it - canonical ordering
- b. N-a-ra-h,    kon-t        se        n-kun                qieghd-a  
       1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC be.PFV-1SG PROSP 1-be.IMPV.SG sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF  
       Lit: I see it, I was going to be - VP topicalisation from within the complement of the last auxiliary
- c. Qieghd-a                n-a-ra-h,    kon-t        se        n-kun  
       sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC be.PFV-1SG PROSP 1-be.IMPV.SG  
       Seeing it, I was going to be - VP topicalisation from within the complement of the second auxiliary
- d. Se        n-kun                qieghda                n-a-ra-h,    kon-t  
       PROSP 1-be.IMPV.SG sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC be.PFV-1SG  
       Seeing it I was going to be - VP topicalisation from within the complement of the first auxiliary

What is not allowed, however, is to jumble the different VPs once these have been right-dislocated, as the ungrammaticality of (ie) suggests. The VPs are thus in an ordered relation with respect to each other.

- e. \*Qieghd-a                n-ara-h,    se        n-kun,                kon-t  
       sit.ACT.PTCP-SGF 1-see.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC PROSP 1-be.IMPV.SG be.PFV-1SG  
       Intended: \*Seeing it, I will be, I was

context affecting and altering the otherwise expected semantic interpretation associated with a *kien* + Imperfective combination.

- (100) a. Ġewwa kon-t                      n-i-bqa'    kieku ma  
           inside be.PFV-1SG 1-FRM.VWL-stay/remain/be.left.IMPV.SG if        NEG  
           ħriġ-t-x                              miegħ-ek  
           go.out.PFV-1SG-NEG with-2SG.ACC

I would have stayed inside, had I not gone out with you

- b. N-i-bqa'    ġewwa kon-t,                      kieku ma  
           1-FRM.VWL-stay/remain/be.left.IMPV.SG inside be.PFV-1SG if        NEG  
           ħriġ-t-x                              miegħ-ek  
           go.out.PFV-1SG-NEG with-2SG.ACC

I would have stayed inside, had I not gone out with you

As we will soon clearly observe from the interpretations that result when we combine different forms of the auxiliary *kien* along with different lexical verbal and participial forms in table (2.6), a specific combination can take distinct semantic interpretations. The choice of one interpretation over the other depends on whether we are dealing with a stative or a non-stative verb. As mentioned in §2.2.1, several stative verbs in the language, such as ‘know’ and ‘resemble’, for example, have defective Perfective sub-paradigms, and there are no such forms as *\*xbaht* ‘I resembled’ or *\*afet* ‘she knew’. This paradigmatic morphological deficiency is however made up for by means of ‘suppletive’ periphrasis (Haspelmath, 2000; Otaguro, 2015), which fills in gaps in the paradigmatic cells with the aim to maintain paradigmatic symmetry and to overcome defectiveness. The Perfective paradigmatic cells of such a sub-set of stative verbs are filled through the use of the Perfective forms of *kien* ‘be’ along with the Imperfective forms. Therefore, the equivalent of a Perfective form in the paradigm of *jaf* ‘know’ would thus be: *kont naf* ‘I knew’, *kien jaf* ‘he knew’ and so on. In this way, *kien* + stative Imperfective combinations express a PAST TENSE, as opposed to the PAST HABITUAL interpretation we get when *kien* is combined with a non-stative Imperfective verb form.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup>For completeness, one should simply point out that for those statives that have a Perfective form, the *kien* + Imperfective combination yields the usual PAST HABITUAL reading.

In order to express HABITUAL ASPECT, stative Imperfectives require the use of the auxiliary *jkun*, since as discussed in §2.2.2.2, stative Imperfectives are not associated with a HABITUAL interpretation. More generally, Imperfective forms of the auxiliary ‘be’ are obligatory required in the presence of stative verbs in order for these to figure in specific contexts and constructions. Spagnol (2009, p. 14) refers to the presence of ‘preverbal’ Imperfective *jkun* followed by a stative verb as the ‘stative frame’. In the contexts determined below, where such a ‘stative frame’ is necessary (as identified in Spagnol (2007, 2009)), it is also possible for the auxiliary *jkun* to be substituted by the Imperfective forms of *jsir* ‘become’ and *jigi* ‘come’, which verbs Spagnol (2009, p. 20) refers to as ‘quasi-auxiliaries’ or ‘stativity markers’. In our account here, *jsir* and *jigi* are analysed as ASPECT-realizing auxiliaries, in parallel to the function of *jkun* in this context.<sup>60</sup>

Syntactic contexts where Imperfective statives require the presence of the auxiliary *jkun*:

1. **Contexts where a HABITUAL interpretation needs to be expressed:** Recall from §2.2.2.2 that Imperfective stative forms do not express any HABITUAL interpretations. With the presence of *jkun* they are able to, however;
2. **FUTURE TENSE (or what we here refer to as PROSPECTIVE ASPECT) realization:** \**ħa nixbah* ‘I will resemble’ but: *ħa nkun nixbah*;
3. **In the context of modals:** It seems modals such as the pseudo-verb *ghand-* and the impersonals *kel-* and *jkol-* (meaning ‘should’/‘have to’) do not solely impose a requirement that the lexical verb following them be an Imperfective form of the verb, but additionally for that verb to realize HABITUAL ASPECT potentially;

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<sup>60</sup>While we will not have anything more to say about the auxiliary *jie* ‘come’, one should mention that this auxiliary in both its Perfective and Imperfective forms, is the auxiliary that constructs resultative structures in Maltese. The auxiliary *sar* ‘become’, on the other hand, will be mentioned again in Chapter 4, where we will see that it can also function as an auxiliary that expresses Phasal ASPECTUAL values, apart from the Viewpoint ASPECTUAL value it realizes when functioning as a substitute of *jkun*.

4. **In specific ADJUNCT contexts:** E.g. in ADJ clauses introduced by *sabix* ‘in order to’, *kif* ‘how’, *meta* ‘when’. We here also add clauses introduced by the INJUNCTIVE *halli* ‘so that’.

Perfective statives, which are rather limited in number, given that one typically finds defective Perfective sub-paradigms, as just mentioned above, differ from non-stative counterparts, when combining with *jkun*. *Jkun* + Perfective statives only realize an IRREALIS MOOD feature-value at the syntactic level. The combination of *jkun* is otherwise still able to realize HABITUAL ASPECT in combination with non-stative Perfective verbs, as the contrast in (101) illustrates.

- (101) a. In-kun        ḥabbej-t-ek        ḥafna iktar ...  
 1-be.IMPV.SG love.PFV-1SG-2SG.ACC a.lot more  
 I would have loved you a lot more ...  
 IRREALIS MOOD expressed by *jkun* in the context of a Perfective stative
- b. In-kun        tlaq-t        ...  
 1-be.IMPV.SG leave.PFV-1SG ...  
 I habitually leave        HABITUAL ASPECT  
 I would have left        Non-stative lexical verb contexts - IRREALIS MOOD

Note that no restrictions on what features *jkun* can express are present in the context of Imperfective stative forms, such that both MOOD and ASPECT features can be realized at the syntactic level by *jkun*, as illustrated in (102).

- (102) Kon-t        in-kun        n-af        x'qed        j-i-ğri  
 be.PFV-1SG 1-be.IMPV.SG 1-know.IMPV.SG what.PROG 3-FRM.VWL-happen.IMPV.SGM  
 I would have known what is happening        IRREALIS MOOD  
 I used to know what is happening        HABITUAL ASPECT

Having provided the above overview of how the interpretations of specific auxiliary/particle + lexical verb combination may change or shift, table (2.6) below renders a fully-fledged representation of all the possible combinations of one form of *kien* followed by all the available morphological forms and the auxiliaries/particles discussed in the previous sections. Recall that it is **possible**



to have two different morphological forms of *kien* co-present in the same clause, as long as the Perfective form precedes any other form of *kien*. By adding the Perfective form of the auxiliary *kien* in front of the non-Perfective forms of *kien* in the table below, we simply end up with a PAST TENSE anchoring of whatever the semantic interpretation of the combination of non-Perfective *kien* along with the lexical verb or participle following it, is.<sup>61</sup> What we have just said is another way with which to state that *kien* is the **only** auxiliary that realizes a PAST TENSE feature-value at the syntactic level in Maltese. When it comes to the Imperfective counterpart, as discussed above, this may come to syntactically realize ASPECT or MOOD features, depending on the context in which it is present.<sup>62</sup> I remain somewhat hesitant about what claims to be made when Imperfective ‘be’ is a host for one of the *sa/se/ħa* clitics. That a PROSPECTIVE ASPECT value is what is being realized when the non-projecting *sa/se/ħa* clitics + Imperfective ‘be’ host are in V, is uncontroversial. However, due to the one-to-one mapping between the PROSPECTIVE ASPECT and FUTURE TENSE, when the Imperfective ‘be’ host is in I, it becomes almost difficult to exclude the possibility that a FUTURE TENSE value is being realised. In general, it is here

<sup>61</sup>The **only** combination that becomes impossible with the addition of *kien* is the *għad jkun* followed by a lexical verb form or participle, although this combination is nevertheless allowed in the context of a non-verbal PRED. Contrast the data in (i). As the facts stand at this point, it doesn’t seem clear why we have this contrast. We here simply point these data facts out and leave an actual understanding of why this should be the case, for future research.

- (103) a. Għad i-kun                    lagħab/j-i-lgħab                    ...  
           DISTAL 3-be.IMPV.SGM play.PFV.3SGM/3-FRM.VWL-play.IMPV.SGM  
           He will have become someone big in five years time
- b. \*Kien għad i-kun lagħab/j-i-lgħab
- vs.
- c. Kien                    għad i-kun                    tifel intelligenti kieku ma ħarbt-u-h-x  
           be.PFV.3SGM DISTAL 3-be.IMPV.SGM boy intelligent if        NEG mess.up.PFV.3-PL-3SGM.ACC-NEG  
           He would have been an intelligent boy if they hadn’t messed him up

<sup>62</sup>While our account is *close* to that of Eisele (1990, p. 177), when citing what Jelinek (1981) says with respect to Egyptian, it is not quite the same. Eisele claims that TENSE in Arabic is realized by the auxiliary, while ASPECT is a feature realized by the lexical verb. More specifically, ‘the first verb in the VP is marked for deictic temporal reference’ depending on the morphological form involved. For this reason, *kāna* in Egyptian comes to function as a marker of ‘deictic time reference in compound tenses’ (p. 185). ‘... the portion of the VP following the auxiliary verb then marks the embedded or non-deictic time reference, and that there are specific forms [i.e. the co-occurrence restrictions to render the appropriate interpretations] which are used to embed these time references’ (p. 185). The difference here is that we are assuming that it is **only** the non-Imperfective forms of the ‘be’ auxiliary that realize a TENSE feature.

being assumed that the only features able to be syntactically expressed in I, in Maltese, are TENSE, MOOD, DISTANCE and NEG. When none of these features are expressed by the auxiliary or particle in I, non-auxiliary/lexical verb-forms in I simply project some FINite feature indicative of the clause's finiteness. This thus explains why it is here being assumed that participle forms can only ever be in a V position, since these are non-finite, both in morphological and syntactic terms.

‘be’	Lexical V	Semantic Label/Interpretation <sup>63</sup>
<i>kien</i>	Perfective	PAST PERFECT
<i>kien</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	PAST HABITUAL (canonical word order)   PAST PROGRESSIVE (non-canonical word order)   PAST IRREALIS (syntactic context)
<i>kien</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	PAST
<i>kien</i>	Active Participle	PAST PROGRESSIVE
<i>kien</i>	Passive Participle	PAST PERFECTIVE
<i>kien</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	PAST PROGRESSIVE   PAST RESTRICTED HABIT <sup>64</sup>
<i>kien</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	PAST RESTRICTED HABIT
<i>kien</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	PAST PROSPECTIVE
<i>kien</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i> + Imperfective	PAST IMMINENCE
<i>kien</i>	<i>ghad</i> + Imperfective	PAST DISTAL   PAST IRREALIS
<i>jkun</i>	Perfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	HABITUAL PERFECT   IRREALIS PERFECT
<i>jkun</i>	Perfective <sub>stative</sub>	IRREALIS PERFECT

Table 2.6 –

‘be’	Lexical V	Semantic Label/Interpretation
<i>jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE
<i>jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	HABITUAL   IRREALIS
<i>jkun</i>	Active Participle	HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE
<i>jkun</i>	Passive Participle	HABITUAL PERFECTIVE   IRREALIS PERFECTIVE
<i>jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE   HABITUAL RESTRICTED HABIT   IRREALIS RESTRICTED HABIT <sup>65</sup>
<i>jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	HABITUAL RESTRICTED HABIT   IRREALIS RESTRICTED HABIT
<i>jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	HABITUAL PROSPECTIVE   IRREALIS PROSPECTIVE
<i>jkun</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i> + Imperfective	HABITUAL IMMINENCE   IRREALIS IMMINENCE

Table 2.6 –

‘be’	Lexical V	Semantic Label/Interpretation
<i>jkun</i>	<i>ghad</i> + Imperfective	IRREALIS DISTAL
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	Perfective	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE PERFECT
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE PROGRESSIVE
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	Active Participle	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE PROGRESSIVE
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	Passive Participle	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE PERFECTIVE
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE PROGRESSIVE   PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE RESTRICTED HABIT <sup>66</sup>
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	*
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i> + Imperfective	*
<i>se/sa/ħa jkun</i>	<i>ghad</i> + Imperfective	*
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	Perfective	RESTRICTED HABIT PERFECT
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	RESTRICTED HABIT PROGRESSIVE
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	RESTRICTED HABIT
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	Active Participle	RESTRICTED HABIT PROGRESSIVE
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	Passive Participle	RESTRICTED HABIT PERFECTIVE
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	RESTRICTED HABIT PROGRESSIVE
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	RESTRICTED HABIT PROSPECTIVE

Table 2.6 –

‘be’	Lexical V	Semantic Label/Interpretation
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i> + Imperfective	RESTRICTED HABIT IMMINENCE
<i>qed/qieghed jkun</i>	<i>ghad</i> + Imperfective	*
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	Perfective	IMMINENCE PERFECT
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	IMMINENCE PROGRESSIVE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	IMMINENCE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	Active Participle	IMMINENCE PROGRESSIVE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	Passive Participle	IMMINENCE PERFECTIVE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	IMMINENCE PROGRESSIVE   IMMINENCE RESTRICTED HABIT <sup>67</sup>
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i>	IMMINENCE PROSPECTIVE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i>	IMMINENCE IMMINENCE
<i>ser/sejjer jkun</i>	<i>ghad</i> + Imperfective	*
<i>ghad jkun</i>	Perfective	DISTAL IRREALIS PERFECT
<i>ghad jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[non-stative]</sub>	DISTAL HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   DISTAL IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE
<i>ghad jkun</i>	Imperfective <sub>[stative]</sub>	DISTAL HABITUAL   DISTAL IRREALIS
<i>ghad jkun</i>	Active Participle	DISTAL HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   DISTAL IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE

Table 2.6 –

‘be’	Lexical V	Semantic Label/Interpretation
<i>għad jkun</i>	Passive Participle	DISTAL HABITUAL PERFECTIVE   DISTAL IRREALIS PERFECTIVE
<i>għad jkun</i>	<i>qed/qieghed</i> + Imperfective	DISTAL HABITUAL PROGRESSIVE   DISTAL IRREALIS PROGRESSIVE   DISTAL HABITUAL RESTRICTED HABIT   DISTAL IRREALIS RESTRICTED HABIT <sup>68</sup>
<i>għad jkun</i>	<i>se/sa/ħa</i> + Imperfective	DISTAL HABITUAL PROSPECTIVE   DISTAL IRREALIS PROSPECTIVE
<i>għad jkun</i>	<i>ser/sejjer</i> + Imperfective	DISTAL HABITUAL IMMINENCE   DISTAL IRREALIS IMMINENCE
<i>għad jkun</i>	<i>għad</i> + Imperfective	*

Table 2.6: The periphrastic TENSE and ASPECT semantic interpretations associated with the combination of different forms of the **auxiliary** *kien* followed by a lexical verb or participle

<sup>63</sup>More work needs to be done on the actual semantic interpretation associated with Perfective lexical verb forms in Maltese/Arabic. For want of a better label, I here label the semantic information as PERFECT, since in the majority of cases, the English translation makes use of Perfect

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participial forms.

<sup>64</sup>The choice depends on whether the Imperfective verb has an associated active participial form. If this is available, then the reading can only be that of a PAST RESTRICTED HABIT.

<sup>65</sup>The choice depends on whether the Imperfective verb has an associated active participial form. If this is available, then the reading can only be that of a HABITUAL/IRREALIS RESTRICTED HABIT.

<sup>66</sup>The choice depends on whether the Imperfective verb has an associated Active participial form. If this is available, then the reading can only be that of a PROSPECTIVE/FUTURE RESTRICTED HABIT.

<sup>67</sup>The choice depends on whether the Imperfective verb has an associated Active participial form. If this is available, then the reading can only be that of a IMMINENCE RESTRICTED HABIT.

<sup>68</sup>The choice depends on whether the Imperfective verb has an associated active participial form. If this is available, then the reading can only be that of a DISTAL HABITUAL/IRREALIS RESTRICTED HABIT.



Before we conclude this section, it should be mentioned that although a focus on the auxiliary use of *jkun* is being highlighted in this chapter, one should not forget that this Imperfective form **still** maintains its lexical sense in the language, as illustrated in (104) below, for example, as well as from what one can in fact make out from the semantic interpretation outputs that obtain when it comes to several of the combinations involving *jkun* in one of its several morphosyntactic contexts, as illustrated in table (2.6).

- (104) Li għand-u j-kun, j-kun  
 COMP at-3SGM.ACC 3-be.IMPV.SGM 3-be.IMPV.SGM

Lit: That he has he is, he is

What has to be, would be

Further evidence that we are really dealing with a lexical use of *jkun* ‘be’ as opposed to an auxiliary comes from the interpretation of a RESTRICTED HABIT in the case of (105), which is in fact what we expect when statives combine with the auxiliary *qed/qiegħed*, as discussed in §3.2, based on Spagnol’s (2009, p. 20) account. (See also table (2.6)).

- (105) Qed in-kun id-dar kuljum (dal-aħħar)  
 PROG 1-be.IMPV.SG DEF-house everyday DEM.DEF-last.COMPAR

Lit: I am being at home everyday lately

RESTRICTED HABIT

Another context where we seem to be observing a lexical use of the Imperfective form ‘be’ is when *jkun* is in the context of a modal, such as the pseudo-verb *għand-*, in (106) below.

- (106) a. Għand-hom i-kun-u j-miss-u  
 at-3PL.ACC 3-be.IMPV-PL 3-touch.IMPV-PL

They should be touching

Vanhove et al. (2010, p. 9)

- b. Għand-hom i-kun-u għalq-u is-sittax-il sena  
 at-3PL.ACC 3-be.IMPV-PL close.PFV.3-PL DEF-sixteen-DEF year

Lit: They should have closed the sixteenth year

## 2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have been concerned with the realization of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese. We have tried to disentangle the morphology from both the semantics and the syntax, whilst at the same time, observing its interfaces with both of these language modules. We first considered the contribution of the individual morphological forms with respect to both TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT, where we illustrated how indeed a number of interesting mismatches arise with respect to the morphology and the semantics (§2.2). We here take this mismatch to be a potential indicator suggesting that at the syntactic level, a lexical verb in I does not project/realize any TENSE or ASPECT values. It must be stressed once again that this is not to say that no Temporal or ASPECTual information is expressed by lexical verb-forms in the absence of auxiliaries. Rather, it is simply that this information remains in the domain of the semantics without necessarily bearing anything to the syntax (i.e. in terms of feature-values at the *c*- and *f*-structure levels). On the other hand, however, when it is the syntax that contributes to the actual formation and expression of a number of TENSE and ASPECTual interpretations, i.e. via periphrastic analytic structures, both the auxiliaries and the lexical verbs/participles (in V) are able to contribute information at the *c*- and *f*-structure levels.

Our focus here was to look carefully at the contribution of auxiliaries that express PAST TENSE as well as Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese (§2.3). In doing so we have arrived at the conclusion that Imperfective *jkun* doubles its function as a MODAL auxiliary, in the language, apart from being a clear HABITUAL ASPECT auxiliary. Nevertheless we here consider HABITUAL ASPECT to be the primary feature-value realized by *jkun*, and not its secondary interpretation, unlike what Fabri (1995) posits. In this chapter we also came to observe that DISTANCE is an important feature in the Maltese grammar, with both IMMINENCE and DISTAL values being expressed through auxiliaries/particles. The relevance of the DISTANCE feature with respect to our quest of better understanding the expression of TENSE and Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese comes from the fact

that this feature can in Maltese only be interpreted with respect to the FUTURE TENSE interpretation, unless embedded under a PAST TENSE-realizing *kien*. In terms of TENSE realisations, we have posited that PRESENT TENSE in Maltese is essentially the absence of *kien*, since *kien* has been taken to be the **sole** TENSE-realizing auxiliary in Maltese. This thus means that a PRESENT TENSE feature-value can be present in the *f*-structure even if there is nothing that corresponds to it in I within the *c*-structure level. A PRESENT TENSE feature-value can in fact also be expressed syntactically through the presence of pronominal copulas in I, which copulas, concurrently also express POLARITY values. When it comes to interpretations associated with the FUTURE TENSE, we are here of the idea that DISTANCE (both its related IMMINENCE and DISTAL values), IRREALIS MOOD, and PROSPECTIVE ASPECT all come to relate with it, in one way or another. While we here specifically accounted for the *sa/se/ħa* clitics as non-projecting PROSPECTIVE markers of Imperfective hosts in V, one should mention that in principle, it remains a possibility for one to argue that when these forms are in I, they need not necessarily be expressing a FUTURE TENSE **feature-value**. Arguing for an analysis in this direction would allow us to maintain a neat system, whereby such *sa/se/ħa* + Imperfective forms, just as Perfective and Imperfective forms, realize an ASPECTUAL value when in V, while on the other hand, when in I, these simply come to express a FIN feature at the syntactic level.

Below is a summary of the features and their values that as we have proposed in this chapter, are realized at the syntactic level by the auxiliaries and particles discussed in this chapter.

- Viewpoint ASPECT values: {HABITUAL | PROGRESSIVE | PROSPECTIVE}
- TENSE values: PAST
- DISTANCE values: {DISTAL | IMMINENCE}
- MOOD values: IRREALIS

Table (2.7) provides us with a summary of the auxiliaries that construct the periphrastic TENSE

and Viewpoint ASPECT interpretations in Maltese, along with the feature-values expressed at the syntactic level, as well as the *f*-structure analysis we are proposing here for the different auxiliaries. Broadly we here propose that all the auxiliaries discussed in this chapter take an AUX-FEATURE. The exception to this, however, is the ASPECT-realizing Imperfective forms of ‘be’ when in the context of non-stative lexical verbs. It seems that in such contexts ‘be’ is functioning just as though it were itself a lexical predicate. An AUX-feature analysis where HABITUAL-realizing *jkun* is a co-head with another ASPECT-realizing form in the same *f*-structure is not be a possibility, since this would result in clashing ASPECTual values.

Auxiliary/particle form	Analysis	Feature-values realized in the syntax
<i>kien</i>	AUX-feature	PAST TENSE
<i>jkun</i> + stative		HABITUAL ASPECT
<i>jkun</i>		IRREALIS MOOD
<i>se/sa/ħa</i>		PROSPECTIVE ASPECT
<i>qed/qiegħed</i>		PROGRESSIVE ASPECT
<i>għad</i>		DISTAL DISTANCE
<i>ser</i>		IMMINENCE DISTANCE
<i>sejjer</i>		IMMINENCE DISTANCE
<i>jkun</i> in the context of a non-stative	AUX-PRED	HABITUAL ASPECT

Table 2.7: The set of auxiliaries and particles, their *f*-structure analysis, and the features expressed at the syntactic level



## Chapter 3

# Pseudo-verb AUXs and the realisation of ASPECT

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will consider in detail the behaviour of three pseudo-verbs: *ghodd-* meaning ‘almost’, *il-*, which we here gloss as ‘to’, and *ghad-* ‘still, yet, just’. We will argue that these function as some sort of auxiliaries (and particles, at times, as in the case of invariable *ghad*) that help express ASPECTual values in Maltese, when in combination with lexical verbs and participles. The pseudo-verbs in question have not been previously discussed in this light. Before describing in detail the morphosyntactic and functional behaviour of these pseudo-verbs, we first provide an overview of the properties that characterise pseudo-verbs as a separate class of words in the language (§3.2), and what has been said before about pseudo-verbs in the literature on Maltese and Arabic (§3.3). Essentially pseudo-verbs in Maltese and Arabic are characterised by the fact that they are derived from an array of stems, including synchronic/diachronic imperatives, prepositions, nouns and quantifiers. Most importantly, for our purposes here, these forms obligatorily inflect through the use of ACC and GEN pronominal/inflectional forms, otherwise used to realize

OBJ/OBL OBJ and POSS GFs respectively, instead of the usual NOM inflection. Because of this specific particular property we will be briefly reviewing the literature, and the discussions that have to do with non-canonical SUBJ realizations. This will be important for when we consider the array of agreement facts available across the three different pseudo-verbs discussed in §3.4. In §3.5, we focus on what one of the agreement behaviours appears to be telling us, as this comes to display what we think to be copy raising. §3.6 then embarks into a discussion of the hypothesis which we will be positing for the first time in the literature on Maltese, that these specific pseudo-verbs in Maltese contribute to the expression of Viewpoint ASPECT, more specifically the realisation of PERFECT ASPECT. §3.7 then concludes the chapter.

## 3.2 Pseudo-verbs in Maltese

The set of pseudo-verbs in Maltese includes predicates that function like verbs but are derived from nominal stems (e.g. *ħaqq-* lit. ‘justice’); prepositional stems (e.g. *bi-* lit. ‘with’); fused prepositional and nominal stems (e.g. *biħsieb-* lit. ‘with thought’); numeral stems (e.g. *waħd-* lit. ‘one’); quantifiers (e.g. *kull* lit. ‘all’); imperatives (e.g. *qis-* lit. ‘measure/consider’), and demonstrative locatives (e.g. *hemm* lit. ‘there’). The full set is provided in table (3.1).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>In table (3.1) we do not include the forms *kel-* and *jkol-*, unlike Comrie (1991), Haspelmath and Caruana (2000), Peterson (2009) and Stolz (2009). Rather, as clearly illustrated in Ambros (1998, p. 120), these forms are derived from the use of *kāna* or *yakūn* along with the preposition *li* and its attached pronoun. Such constructions are also present in Egyptian (Buell, 2009) (as represented in (i) below) and Palestinian (Boneh and Sichel, 2010). We here aim to suggest that the end result in Maltese is merely yet another instance an intense grammaticalisation. This construction in MSA is in Ryding (2005, pp. 371-372) referred to as *lām al-milk*, i.e. where the preposition *li* is used instead of a possessive predicate ‘to predicate the concept of belonging in both concrete and abstract senses’ (p. 371). As in the other vernaculars, when the temporal auxiliary precedes the preposition plus NP or pronoun, it is only the 3SGM forms *kāna* and *yakūn* that are available, irrespective of the nature of the possessor or possessed. Brustad (2000, p. 151) considers pseudo-verbs as belonging ‘to the verb phrase but are not fully verbal themselves’. This is also the way with which Ingham (1994a) looks at these pseudo-verbs.

- (i) a. *kān/yi-kūn*                      *liy-ya*              *ʔaṣḥāb*  
       be.PV.3SGM/3-be.IMP.SGM to-1SG.GEN friend.PL  
       I had friends

Egyptian: Buell (2009, p. 22)

The same follows in Hebrew. Falk (2006, pp. 102-103) comments that ‘[p]ossessive sentences in Hebrew have the structure: be - possessor (in the dative) - possessed’. Note that from (ii a) it is clear that substitution of the DAT-marked pronoun by a DAT-marked NP/DP is available in Hebrew. This is not the case in Maltese, where the attached pronominal form is an obligatory requirement.

The reason why these predicates are referred to as *pseudo-verbs* in the literature on Maltese (Comrie, 1982, 1991), Haspelmath and Caruana (2000) and Peterson (2009), and also in the cross-dialectal Arabic literature (Comrie, 1982, 2008; Lucas, 2009), is the fact that these predicates are predominantly derived from non-verbal stems. Notwithstanding this, such forms may clearly substitute verbal predicates and display similar properties, e.g. their use as both main or co-predicating predicates. With reference to their latter function, the pseudo-verbs *għad-* ‘still, yet’, *għodd-* ‘almost’, *għand-* ‘have to’, and *donn-* and *qies-*, both meaning ‘appear/as though/like’ are in Comrie (1982, p. 12) referred to as ‘quasi-auxiliaries’, whose function is to ‘indicate various tense-aspect or mood features of the sentence’. To enhance the verb-like analysis of such predicates, Comrie (1982, 1997, 2008) focuses upon two of the important properties which these predicates display in Maltese, Tunisian, Moroccan and Syrian. These include: The nature of the affixes involved, and the ability to take discontinuous negative affixes, when available, just as any other verbal predicate. In what follows we shall be discussing the essential properties which make these set of predicates distinct.

- 
- (ii) a. Haya            le-rina    sefer.  
           be.PST.3SGM DAT-Rina book  
           Rina had a book.
- b. Haya            l-i            keev roš  
           be.PST.3SGM DAT-1SG ache head  
           I had a headache.

Hebrew: Falk (2006, p. 102)

The reason for not adding the Maltese equivalent forms here is because I consider these to be of the impersonal type (Camilleri, 2015b), such that their morphological form is constructed of a fused form of the Perfective or Imperfective 3SGM forms of the auxiliary *kien* ‘be’, with attached DAT pronouns, as illustrated in (iii) below. (Recall the discussion in Chapter 2, fn. 31).

- iii Marija kel-l-ha                                    /    ħa    j-kol-l-ha                                    ħbieb  
       Mary    be.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGF /    PROSP 3-be.IMPV.SGM-DAT-3SGF friend.PL  
       Mary had/will have friends

<sup>2</sup>The pseudo-verbal use of *hemm*, which includes attached ACC pronominal forms appears to be only manifest in the the South-East Gozitan dialect of Ghajnsielem (Galea, 2012, pp. 28-29). ACC pronoun attachment is otherwise not possible in the Standard.

- i M'hemm-u-x  
       NEG.exist-3SGM.ACC-NEG  
       There isn't it/he / It/he does not exist

Ghajnsielem Gozitan dialect: Galea (2012, p. 29)

<sup>3</sup>Sutcliffe (1936, pp. 196-197) and Comrie (1982, p. 25) claim that the *il-* pseudo-verb is derived from *ħin* ‘time’ + DAT pronoun *l-i*, which then changed to *-ni* as a result of nasal assimilation. While this study is synchronic in nature, nevertheless I don't think this is the origin of this pseudo-verb. I consider the pseudo-verb to have come



Stem origin	Form	Probable etymology
LOC	hemm-	lit: ‘there’; meaning: ‘exist’ (Galea, 2012) (dialectal) <sup>2</sup>
P	għand-	lit: ‘at’; meaning: ‘have’ (possessive/modal) (Sutcliffe, 1936)
	fi-	lit: ‘in’; meaning: ‘contain/exist’ (Sutcliffe, 1936)
	bi-	lit: ‘with’; meaning: ‘have’ (Comrie, 1982)
	il-	lit: <i>lil</i> ‘to’; meaning: ‘long time’ <sup>3</sup>
P+ N	beħsieb-	lit: ‘with thought’; meaning: ‘intend’ (Peterson, 2009)
	fihħsieb-	lit: ‘in thought’; meaning: ‘intend’ (Camilleri, 2009)
NEG+P+N	ma f’għajn-GEN-x	lit: ‘not in eye-POSS’; meaning: ‘I don’t care’ (Aquilina, 1990) <sup>4</sup>
N	mohħ-	lit: ‘brain/mind’; meaning: ‘be attentive to/be concerned with/thinking about’
	ħsieb-	lit: ‘thought’; meaning: ‘be attentive to/be concerned with/thinking about’
	ħaqq-	lit: ‘justice’; meaning ‘deserve’, ‘whatif (modal)’ (Camilleri, 2009), (Spagnol, 2009)
NUM	waħd-	lit: <i>wieħed/waħda</i> ‘one’; meaning ‘alone’ (Peterson, 2009)
Quant	nofs-	‘half’ (Camilleri 2009) <sup>5</sup>
	koll-	lit: <i>kull</i> ‘all’; meaning: ‘full of’ (Ambros, 1998)
Imperative	qis-	lit: <i>qis!</i> ‘measure/consider’ (cf. <i>qies</i> ); meaning: ‘appear/as though/as if’ (Sutcliffe, 1936)
	donn-	lit: <i>*donn!</i> ‘believe!’ (cf. <i>dann</i> ‘suppose’ (Aquilina, 1987, p. 199)); meaning: ‘appear/as though/as if’ <sup>6</sup>
	għodd-	lit: <i>*għodd!</i> ‘reckon’ (cf. <i>għadd</i> ); meaning: ‘almost’ (Sutcliffe, 1936)
Verb	għad-	derived from <i>ġada</i> ‘he returned’ (citing Ambros, 1998, p. 197) <sup>7</sup>

Table 3.1: The set of pseudo-verbs in Maltese

about from the original preposition *lil*, which has, in its non-ALLATIVE use, grammaticalised as a DAT pronoun in Maltese (see Camilleri and Sadler (2012b), Sadler and Camilleri (2013)). The variation in form between *ilni* and *ili* in the 1<sup>st</sup> PERSON, may be akin to the unstable choice of the morphological form itself once the preposition started to function as a predicate/auxiliary of sorts. (Refer to the discussion below in §3.2.1.2). The reader here is also referred to Palestinian data in Boneh and Sichel (2010) who illustrate the use of the same pseudo-verb as a predicate that instantiates inherent possession. According to M. Allabadi (June 2012, p.c), just as in Maltese, this same pseudo-verb in Palestinian is also used to mean ‘long time’. This pseudo-verb in Maltese, as will be discussed in §3.4, when taking a default 3SGM attached ACC form, also comes to function as the adjunct meaning ‘ago’ in Maltese. Also refer to Hallman (ming), where *il-* along with its inflection may optionally form part of a larger construction with the verb *šār* ‘become’, and comes to express the Universal Perfect. See §3.6.1 for more detail.

<sup>4</sup>Although there may not be any plausible connection, one should however make reference to the fact that Mion (2013, p. 56) mentions the presence of the pseudo-verb *mā-ġin-GEN.prn-š* in Tunisian. Literally this is a negated form of the *ġayn* ‘eye’ in its GEN-suffixed form. This pseudo-verb functions as a non-volitional modal meaning ‘not to want to’. What’s interesting is that apart from being able to take verbal complements, this pseudo-verb can also take an OBL argument introduced by the very preposition *fi* ‘in’, as illustrated in (i).

i mā-ġin-ġi-š                      fī-ha  
 NEG-want-3SGF-NEG in-3SGF.ACC  
 I don’t want to

Tunisian: Mion (2013, p. 56)

<sup>5</sup>An illustration of the use of this pseudo-verb is the utterance in (i) below:

### 3.2.1 Pseudo-verb properties

#### 3.2.1.1 Strict pronominal attachment

What is specific to this set of predicates is that they are not conjugated with the usual NOM (unmarked) set of inflectional affixes, but take obligatory attached ACC/GEN pronominal forms. The Maltese pronominal forms, including the NOM affixes, are listed in table (3.2) below.

PNG	NOM		ACC	GEN
	Imperfective <sup>8</sup>	Perfective		
1SG	n-	-t	-ni	-i ~ -ja
2SG	t-	-t	-(V)k	-(V)k
3SGM	j-	∅	-u ~ -h ~ /-w/	-u ~ -h
3SGF	t-	-(V)t	-ha	-ha
1PL	n- -u ~ -w	-na	-na	-na
2PL	t- -u ~ -w	-t-u	-kom	-kom
3PL	j- -u ~ -w	-u ~ -w	-hom	-hom

Table 3.2: The set of bound NOM/ACC/GEN pronouns/inflections in Maltese (Camilleri, 2014b)

While ACC and GEN morphology in Maltese in non-pseudo-verbal contexts denotes the OBJ/OBL OBJ and POSS GFs, respectively, (see Camilleri (2011) and Sadler and Camilleri (2013) for more detail, and references therein), without further discussion at this point, we here take the ACC/GEN forms on the pseudo-verbs to be expressing the SUBJ GF. Peterson (2009, p. 190) provides the example in (107) to illustrate that the GEN *-i* on *għand-* cannot itself be the OBJ, given the presence of the pronominal form *lilek*.

i Sa	t-kun	nofs-ok	rieqd-a	għada
PROSP	3-be.IMPV.SGF	half-2SG.ACC	sleep.ACT.PRT-SGF	tomorrow
You will be half asleep tomorrow				

<sup>6</sup>Nejdi (Ingham, 1994a) has also developed the MSA *danna* ‘believe, think’ into a pseudo-verb. Its function, however, is that of an epistemic modal.

<sup>7</sup>Vanhove (1997) considers the obsolete verb \**għad* ‘say/repeat’ to be a possible etymon (i.e. in which case the original verb would have been *ʕawada*). For the invariable Syrian and Moroccan particle counterpart *ʕad*, which means ‘again’ and ‘then’, Brustad (2000, pp. 160-161) takes this to be derived from the verb ‘return’. Also see the data from Nejdi (Ingham, 1994a), Palestinian (Hoyt, 2000) and Jordanian (Al-Aqarbeh, 2011), where one finds the same pseudo-verb, meaning ‘still’.

<sup>8</sup>See Table (2.1) in Chapter 2 (§2.2.1) for the full set of Imperfective phonologically-conditioned allomorphs.

- (107) Jien għand-i lilek biex t-għin-ni  
 I at-1SG.ACC you.ACC in.order.to 2-help.IMPV.SG-1SG.ACC

I have you to help me

Peterson (2009, p. 190)

For this reason he takes the GEN form to be fulfilling the SUBJ GF. This is what we also believe to be the case here. However, Peterson's logic in reaching this conclusion is not valid, neither on morphological grounds nor with respect to valency. This is because apart from the possibility for predicates not to have SUBJs (see Kibort (2002, 2006, 2008a) and Falk (2006)), as made clear in Camilleri (2009, 2011) and Sadler and Camilleri (2013), non-bound pronominal forms are in Maltese morphologically-distinguished as NOM vs. non-NOM. Non-NOM forms such as *lilek* in (107) may in principle be realizing an OBJ $\theta$  GF, in which case, the *-i* could still be the OBJ argument of the prepositional head.

Unlike the usual OBJ pronouns we find attached to non-pseudo-verbs in the language, when attached to pseudo-verbs, such pronouns are obligatory, and their function is the same as that of the SUBJ-realizing NOM affixes (Peterson, 2009, p. 190), and cannot be substituted by NPs/DPs, but can be doubled. To highlight the obligatory nature of the ACC form with pseudo-verbs, Comrie (1982, p. 13) compares the behaviour of locative *għand* 'at', which still retains its preposition function elsewhere in the grammar, with that of the possessor and modal pseudo-verbal counterpart, which functions as a pseudo-verb meaning 'have'. He shows how while the ACC pronoun is optional in the locative construction, and the pronoun can be substituted by an NP/DP, this is not allowed in the possessive/modal construction, as exemplified in the ungrammaticality of the NP/DP-substitution in (108) vs. the NP/DP-substitution available in the locative construction in (109).

- (108) a. Għand-u bajda  
 at-3SGM.GEN egg

He has an egg

- b. \*Għand Pawlu bajda  
at Paul egg

Paul has an egg (i.e. he owns it)

Pseudo-verb - Comrie (1982, p. 13)

- (109) a. Il-bajda għand-u  
DEF-egg at-3SGM.GEN

The egg is at-him (at his place)

- b. Il-bajda għand Pawlu  
DEF-egg at Paul

The egg is at-him (at his place)

Preposition

The expression of the name of the actual referent when *għand-* functions as a possessive predicate, as well as when it functions as a modal, will look as follows in (110), where *Pawlu* comes to function as the SUBJ, and the *-u* on the pseudo-verb functions as agreement inflection, in line with how LFG accounts for pronouns that optionally function as agreement markers.

- (110) a. Pawlu għand-u bajda  
Paul at-3SGM.GEN egg

Paul has an egg

Possessive

- b. Pawlu għand-u j-mur l-iskola  
Pawlu at-3SGM.GEN 3-go.IMPV.SGM DEF-school

Paul must/has to go to school

The presence of obligatory ACC pronouns is related to specific constructions in Maltese. It is for example present in resumptive contexts (Camilleri, 2011, 2014a), (Camilleri and Sadler, 2011, 2012a); dative-shifted constructions (Sadler and Camilleri, 2013; Tucker, 2013; Camilleri et al., 2014a); non-selected dative constructions (Camilleri and Sadler, 2012b); default 3SGM and 3SGF non-referential pronouns (Spagnol and Camilleri, 2015); and experiencer arguments more broadly, i.e. where the experiencer argument in transitive psychological predicates tends to be always an attached pronoun (Alotaibi et al., 2013). The pseudo-verbs here, which are essentially themselves ‘experiencer predicates’ (Haspelmath and Caruana, 2000), representing both psychological and physiological predicates, cannot surface without the ACC/GEN pronouns, and the pronoun is

hence reinterpreted as being part of the lexical entry itself, i.e. as part of the inflection proper. Parallel arguments have been also used in Spagnol and Camilleri (2015) with respect to the obligatory surfacing of non-referential pronouns as part of the verb-form in Maltese. This thus explains the ungrammaticality of having an NP/DP substituting the pronoun in (108b). Based on the observed behaviour of such pronouns vis-à-vis pseudo-verbs, we will in various places below and in §3.3 eventually analyse such ACC/GEN pronouns on a par with the analysis of SUBJ inflection and agreement on verbs in the language more broadly, building closely on Bresnan (2001). Camilleri (2014b) in fact considers such ACC/GEN forms as suppleted forms with respect to NOM affixes, when these pronouns' function is to express a non-canonical SUBJ. As illustrated through (110), for completeness sake, while substitution of the ACC/GEN pronoun by an NP/DP is not possible, an NP/DP can however 'double' the pronoun in the usual left/right-periphery dislocations (in which case it is not real doubling that is involved, but rather the application of the Extended Coherence Condition (Bresnan and Mchombo, 1987), discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.1). 'Real' doubling would be present when no prosodic cues are able to distinguish a UDF from a GF (see the discussion in Camilleri (2011) and Čeplö (2014)), for example, in which case we have an agreement relation between the NP and the pronoun.

### 3.2.1.2 Different meaning from the source

As must have been clear from the use of *ghand* in (108) and (109) and from the translations of the pseudo-verbs in table (3.1), while the pseudo-verb and the non-pseudo-verb counterpart may be derived from the same stem, their semantics differs. (See also Brustad (2000, p. 152), who mentions how at one and the same stage, one may in fact find instability, when both the pseudo-verbs and the non-pseudo-verb counterparts exist simultaneously and with distinct meanings). The original prepositional stem in the case of *ghand* is the locative 'at'. In the pseudo-verbal use, this has developed as the possessive and modal 'have'.<sup>9</sup> Possibly the possessive use of

<sup>9</sup> '[T]he development of a "possessive verb" to a marker of deontic modality is quite common crosslinguistically (Heine, 1997, p. 187) and involves a semantic development' (Peterson, 2009, p. 194).

this preposition may have come about from a locative inversion construction, such that: ‘when locatives are preposed to subject position, and the subject is postposed to the object position, the locative is the subject of the clause, and the postposed subject is actually the object’ (Joshi, 1993, pp. 47-48).<sup>10</sup> As further support to this claim, one could hypothesise that there may have been a stage where it was the whole PP that functioned as a SUBJ. This is possible in Maltese, if we follow discussions such as those in Jaworska (1986) and Newmeyer (2003, pp. 154-165), for example.<sup>11</sup>

Meaning differences between the pseudo-verb vs. non-pseudo-verb counterparts are exhibited by: *qis-*, which means ‘measure/consider’, when used as a non-pseudo-verb, and ‘appear/as though/as if’ when used pseudo-verbally; *donn-*, which meant ‘think/believe/suppose’ diachronically, is synchronically used as a pseudo-verb meaning just like *qis-* ‘appear/as though/as if’; *koll-* derived from the quantifier ‘all’, and means ‘full of’, when used as a pseudo-verb; the preposition *fi-* which

<sup>10</sup>While I will not go into a discussion on differences between the locative vs. inverted locative uses and the locative vs. the possessive uses, interesting differences between the last two include the definiteness of the NP (possessed or located entity) as well as linear order differences.

<sup>11</sup>SUBJ PP instances in Maltese include the following:

- (i) a. Bejn il-ħamsa u s-sitta għand-u j-kun hin tajjeb biex  
 Between DEF-five CONJ DEF-six at-3SGM.GEN 3-be.IMPV.SGM time.SGM good.SGM in.order.to  
 n-i-l < t > aqgħ-u  
 1-EPENT.VWL-meet.IMPV.RECIP-PL  
 Between five and six should be a good time to meet
- b. Minn meta sa meta t-qies bħala telf ta' żmien?  
 from when till when PASS-measure.PFV.3SGM as.though waste.SGM of time  
 From when till when was considered as a waste of time?

As in English (Newmeyer, 2003, p. 163), such PP SUBJS can be coordinated (ii a), triggering resolved agreement, as opposed to what happens when clausal SUBJS are conjoined, where a 3SGM agreement must be maintained, hence the ungrammaticality of (ii b).

- (ii) a. Wara l-vaganzi tal-Milied jew fis-Sajf t-qies-u bħala  
 after DEF-holidays of.DEF-Christmas or in.DEF-Summer PASS-measure.PFV.3-PL as.though  
 l-aqwa propost-i  
 DEF-best.SUPERL proposal-PL  
 After the Christmas holidays or in Summer were considered as the best proposals PP SUBJ  
 coordination
- b. \*Li Marija t-o-ħroġ wehid-ha u li j-i-ġ-u  
 COMP Mary 3-FRM.VWL-go.out.IMPV.SGF alone-3SGF.ACC CONJ COMP 3-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV-PL  
 għal-i-ha, għoġb-u-ha  
 for-EPENT.VWL-3SGF.ACC please.PFV.3-PL-3SGF.ACC  
 Intended: That Mary goes out alone and that they come for her pleased her

literally means ‘in’ means ‘contain’ (as illustrated in (113a)), when functioning as a pseudo-verb, or as better captured in Sutcliffe (1936, p. 201), may be used existentially, particularly also to capture ‘part-whole relations’ (see Boneh and Sichel (2010) for parallel data in Palestinian); and *ghad-* (derived from *ʕad/baʕad*), which originally meant ‘repeat’ or ‘return’, and as a pseudo-verb means ‘still, yet’ or ‘just’. This pseudo-verb takes a non-inflecting/particle counterpart, which can only mean ‘still’ reading (but see §3.4.3 for more detail).

### 3.2.1.3 Negation

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, another property that identifies this set of stems plus ACC/GEN pronouns as pseudo-verbs, is the fact that negation can be realized through the use of the discontinuous *ma ...-x*. Comrie (1982, p. 16) mentions that this fact indicates that such stems + ACC/GEN pronouns are in fact ‘verb-like’, since this is the way negation is realized in the case of non-imperative finite verb-forms. The other negation strategy which may be used by such predicates is the one that makes use of inflected pronominal forms including *mhux*, which as also discussed in several places in Chapter 2, is one of the strategies used when negating participles or non-verbal predicates. While this represents the general/broad behaviour, the very presence of the discontinuous *ma ... -x* bi-partite negation is not conclusive proof in favour of a verb-like category, since there are other lexical categories in the language, which are not pseudo-verbs, and still make use of this sort of negation strategy, e.g. the adverb *qatt* ‘never’ (Lucas, 2014) and *tant* ‘a lot’. Additionally, as highlighted in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2.2), it is possible to have *mhux* negating (finite) Imperfective non-stative verb-forms, while *ma ... -x* could negate the particle *qed* in the dialect (§2.3.2), and was shown to be obligatory used as the strategy with which to negate the DISTAL DISTANCE particle *ghad* (§2.3.3), which two particles are themselves derived from non-finite forms. In the light of these facts, although Comrie (1991) considers verb-type NEG-realization as a criterion for pseudo-verb status in other Arabic varieties, he mentions how in the case of *ʕend-* ‘at’ in Moroccan, both the finite *ma ... -š* and non-finite *ma-ši* strategies of

verbal negation are available, as illustrated in (111) below.

(111) a. *ma* *ʕend-i-š* *le-ktab*  
 NEG at-1SG.GEN-NEG DEF-book  
 I don't have the book

b. *ma-ši* *ʕend-i* *le-ktab*  
 NEG at-1SG.GEN DEF-book  
 I don't have the book

Moroccan: Comrie (1991, p. 17)

Maltese does not allow for the strategy in (111b), at least when *ghand-* functions as a pseudo-verb. The same seems to be the case in Syrian (Comrie, 2008, p. 739), where the *mā* NEG marker is present in front of pseudo-verbs, as opposed to *mū*, which negates non-finite verbs and non-pseudo-verbs. Notwithstanding the pseudo-verbal status of the forms in table (3.1), in my dialect, which is more permissive than the Standard dialect described in Peterson (2009), the quantifier-derived pseudo-verbs *nofs-* and *koll-* and the numeral-derived *waħd-* are not able to realize a NEG feature by making use of the discontinuous *ma ...-x* strategy. Comrie (1991, pp. 20-22) mentions how in the case of Imperative-derived pseudo-verbs, the very realisation of negation through the *ma ...-x* strategy, further illustrates these pseudo-verbs' morphosyntactic (and semantic) development from their original source form, since negation of Imperative forms involves the use of syncretic 2SG and 2PL Imperfective forms, and a *-x* suffix, along with an optionally occurring *la* in front of the verb-form. Compare the two different uses of the Imperative stems *qis* in a negation context: (112a) when used non-pseudo-verbally and (112b) when used pseudo-verbally.

(112) a. *T-qis-x* *ħazin* *ghax* *ma* *j-i-bqa-x*  
 2-measure.IMPER.SG-NEG wrong because NEG 3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM-NEG  
 drapp.  
 drape

Don't measure wrongly, as not enough drape will remain.

Non-pseudo-verb use



- b. Ma qis-ni-x xi wiehed bla skola.  
 NEG appear/as.through-1SG.ACC-NEG some one.SGM without school  
 I don't look/seem/appear as though I am one without education Pseudo-verb use

### 3.2.1.4 GEN-to-ACC changes

On the basis of Comrie's (1982) proposal, if the ACC/GEN pronouns function as SUBJS of the pseudo-verbs, then we have an instance of a non-canonically-marked SUBJ (Camilleri, 2014b). This is rather common crosslinguistically (see e.g. Aikhenvald et al. (2001) and references therein). The fact that our pseudo-verbs (illustrative of non-canonically-marked SUBJ predicates) also have non-pseudo-verb counterparts is common in languages that do display non-canonically-marked SUBJS. Onishi (2001, p. 24) mentions 'that those predicates often have counterparts which require canonically marked arguments with some systematic meaning difference'. This is what we have in Maltese. In the case of pseudo-verbs derived from prepositional or nominal stems, the change in meaning is correlated with a small change in morphology from GEN to ACC, which change is only relevant with respect to the 1SG cell, i.e. ACC *-ni* vs. GEN *-i ~ ja*, given the otherwise systematic syncretism in the rest of the cells, as illustrated in table (3.2).<sup>12</sup>

- (113) a. Fi-ni l-piż  
 in-1SG.ACC DEF-weight  
 Lit: In me weight  
 I am heavily built Pseudo-verb - Comrie (1991, p. 16)  
 vs.

<sup>12</sup>This change in the pronoun's CASE form has also been discussed for other Arabic dialects (Comrie (1991, 2008), Brustad (2000)). For instance for Moroccan, Comrie (1991, p. 17) discusses *ʕemmer*, which means 'age', and which may form an *iḍāfa* through the use of the GEN pronoun. When this nominal stem is used pseudo-verbally, it means 'never'. When this is the case, it is possible to use either an *-i* or *-ni* attached form. The same is the case for the Levantine nominal-derived pseudo-verb *bedd-*, which takes GEN pronouns. The meaning of the non-pseudo-verb counterpart is 'requirement', but as a pseudo-verb it means 'want' (Comrie, 2008, pp. 738-739). Brustad (2000, p. 156) specifically discusses this CASE alternation with respect to the Syrian *ʕand-* 'have' and *fi-* 'can, be able'.

- b. Daħl-u            fi-ja  
 enter.PFV.3-PL in-1SG.GEN

Lit: They entered in me

They bumped/crashed into me

Non-pseudo-verbal use

One should mention, however, that not every reanalysed P- or N-derived pseudo-verb, necessarily underwent this change. Comrie (1991, p. 17) identifies *għand-* as the only pseudo-verb that retains an obligatory GEN *-i* form in the 1SG. Note that one could still argue that the GEN requirement emerges as a phonological residue of what is otherwise a broader constraint on nasals in the language. In fact, the 1PL form *għand-na* is expressed as: /a:n:a/. We can add other instances, here, which illustrate case changes, but which are in fact not necessarily as clear-cut. If we take the pseudo-verb *moħħ* literally ‘mind/brain’, and means ‘be attentive/be thinking (in a concerned manner) about s.th’ when used pseudo-verbally, the non-pseudo-verb obligatorily only requires a GEN form, when forming the Construct State. On the other hand, the pseudo-verb allows for either a GEN *-i* or ACC *-ni* pronominal form (114a). Yet, as illustrated in (114b), **only** the ACC *-ni* is available, when the pseudo-verb makes use of the discontinuous negative strategy to express NEG. However, when NEG is simply a feature within the same *f*-structure, but is not morphologically realized by the pseudo-verb’s morphological form, **either** of the ACC *-ni* or GEN *-i* forms are available on the nominal stem (114c). This contrast interestingly goes to show that there are other things which one has to consider, and it is not simply a matter of having a POL - feature-value in the *f*-structure, which conditions the GEN-to-ACC change. Rather, reference to the actual morphological form may be required. The pseudo-verb *ħsieb-*, lit. ‘thought’, but which means just like the pseudo-verb *moħħ-*, also involves the same distribution of the ACC and GEN pronouns, at least for speakers who allow for the GEN alternative (115). On the other hand, if we take the pseudo-verb *il-* ‘to’, this allows both ACC and GEN forms, irrespective of whether a *-x* is attached or not (116).

- (114) a. Kon-t/kien                      moħħ-ni/-i                      fi-k  
 be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM brain-1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN in-2SG.ACC  
 Lit: was my mind in you  
 I was concerned about you
- b. Ma moħħ-ni/\*-i-x                      fi-k                      il-hin                      koll-u!  
 NEG brain-1SG.ACC/\*1SG.GEN-NEG in-2SG.ACC DEF-time.SGM all-SGM  
 I am not thinking/concerned about you all the time
- c. Ma kon-t-x/kien-x                      moħħ-ni/-i                      fi-k!  
 NEG be.PFV-1SG-NEG/be.PFV.3SGM-NEG brain-1SG.ACC/1SG.GEN in-2SG.ACC  
 I wasn't concerned/thinking about you *moħħ-*
- (115) ħsieb-ni/-i                      fl-ikel,                      li                      ma  
 thought-1SG.ACC/-1SG.GEN in.DEF-food, COMP NEG  
 j-i-n-ħaraq-x!  
 3-FRM.VWL-REFL-burn.IMPV.SGM-NEG  
 I am paying attention to the food (so that God forbid) it burns! *ħsieb-*
- (116) a. Il-i/-ni                      ftit                      im-mur                      hemm, issa  
 to-1SG.GEN/1SG.ACC little/few I-go.IMP.SG there now  
 I have been going there for a bit, now
- b. M'il-i-x/m'il-ni-x                      li                      mor-t  
 NEG.to-1SG.GEN-NEG/NEG.to-1SG.ACC-NEG COMP go.PFV-1SG  
 It hasn't been a long time since I went *il-*

### 3.2.1.5 The stative nature of pseudo-verbs and its effects

It is clear from the semantics of these pseudo-verbs that if there is a SUBJ involved, this is not an agent, and is non-volitional. We here take this to be a consequence of the fact that these are psychological or physiological predicates, as the examples in (117) illustrate.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>See Camilleri (2015b) for more parallels with impersonal verbs, as accounts of psychological and physiological predicates fit with definitions of what constitutes the set of impersonal verbs in Maltese.

One definition of psychological and physiological predicates is that there is a ‘lack of a human agent controlling the depicted situation or event’. This can manifest itself in weather-verb including constructions, ‘bodily sensations and emotions’, and modal contexts, e.g. the Polish ‘“necessary to leave” construction’ (Siewierska, 2008, p. 27).

- (117) a. Bi-ni                    l-ġuħ  
          with-1SG.ACC DEF-hunger

Lit: with me hunger

I am hungry

- b. Għand-i                    l-ġhatx  
          at-1SG.ACC DEF-thirst

Lit: at me thirst

I am thirsty

- c. ħsieb-ni                    fi-k  
          thought-1SG.ACC in-2SG.ACC

Lit: thought-me in you

I am thinking of you/I am concerned about you

On an *a priori* assumption that we are dealing with non-canonically-expressed SUBJS (a more detailed discussion will follow in §3.3.4), then we observe a clear parallel between pseudo-verbs in Maltese and psychological and physiological predicates that display non-canonical marking on their SUBJS, crosslinguistically.<sup>14</sup> The psychological/physiological nature of most of these pseudo-verbs does not simply affect their SUBJ realisation, but also affects their Lexical ASPECT, where these pseudo-verbs ‘denote stative situations related to such notions as possession (*għand-*, *bi-*), inclusion (*fi-*, *koll-*), appearance (*donn-*, *għodd-*, *qis-*), mental states (*moħħ-*) ...’ (Spagnol, 2009, p. 17).<sup>15</sup> Much like other stative verbs such as *jaf* ‘know’, which as discussed in Chapter

<sup>14</sup>Burridge et al. (1990, p. 7), for instance, mentions that verbs such as ‘be hungry’ or ‘think’ are likely to participate in constructions with a non-canonically-marked SUBJ. Moreover, when specifically discussing ACC/DAT SUBJS in Middle Dutch, she claims that the reasons why the ACC or a more oblique case is assigned, as opposed to NOM, is because the SUBJ appears to be ‘acted upon in some way’. Such non-canonical marking reflects a ‘direct consequence of the semantics of the sentential verb - it signals the non-active involvement of the entity’ (pp. 6-7).

<sup>15</sup>Peterson (2009, p. 203, fn. 26) says the same for *għand-*: ‘the possessive pseudo-verb does not refer to an



relation, Peterson (2009, p. 191) highlights that this paradigm ‘is clearly suppletive, i.e. from a historical point of view, forms from two distinct sources with two different meanings have combined to become two different parts of a single possessive paradigm’. We here agree with the three-fold paradigmatic account. Our different take on the matter, however, has to do with what we believe to be the feature-values or interpretations expressed by these forms. We do not agree that the paradigm is really in a three-fold opposition realizing TENSE. Rather, while *għand-* expresses a PRESENT TENSE **interpretation**, *kel-* and *jkol-* express PERFECTIVE and HABITUAL ASPECT, respectively.<sup>18</sup>

Morphological form	Semantic interpretation
<i>għand-</i>	PRESENT TENSE
<i>kel-</i>	PERFECTIVE ASPECT
<i>jkol-</i>	HABITUAL ASPECT

Table 3.3: The suppletive morphological forms in the paradigm of possessor and modal ‘have’

The inability of *kien* to co-occur with *għand-*, in (118), could at face value suggest that this may be the result of morphological blocking, given the availability of *kel-*, which could in principle substitute the combination of *kien* and *għad-*. Although morphological blocking has been observed elsewhere in the language (Camilleri, 2015a), this need not be the reason why the *kien* and *għand-* combination should be blocked here, as Maltese displays multiple instances where both synthetic and analytic/periphrastic forms co-exist. Evidence that the ungrammaticality of (118) is not the result of morphological blocking comes from the fact that given the appropriate adjacency effects, it becomes possible for *kien* to precede *għand-*, as shown below. This suggests that in the relevant contexts, even when a PAST TENSE interpretation is involved, *għand-* may still be used, and need not be overridden by *kel-*. We take this to be our proof, here, that indeed, *għand-* cannot be realizing a PRESENT TENSE, contra Spagnol (2009). The PRESENT TENSE is simply the default **interpretation** that is associated with it. What is important is that linearly, the auxiliary and the pseudo-verb (in both its possessive and modal uses) are separated either

<sup>18</sup>In Chapter 2, fn. 31 we discussed why we are in this study arguing that *kel-* should not be associated with a TENSE realisation, but an ASPECTual one.

by an adjunct (119a) or a particle (119b).<sup>19</sup> Otherwise, strict adjacency of the auxiliary and the pseudo-verb *ghand-* is blocked by the morphological form *kel-*.

(119) a. Kon-t/kien                      ġa            għand-i            għaxar snin            meta  
           be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM already at-1SG.GEN ten            year.PL when  
           omm-i                              reġgħ-et                      tqil-a                      bit-tieni                      wild  
           mother.SGF-1SG.GEN again.PFV-3SGF pregnant-SGF with.DEF-second offspring  
           I already had 10 years when my mother was pregnant with the second offspring

b. Dakinhar                      kon-t/kien                                      għad għand-i                      m-mur  
           DEM.SGM.DEF.day be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM still            at-1SG.GEN 1-go.IMPV.SG  
           n-i-xtri  
           1-FRM.VWL-buy.IMPV.SG  
           That day I still had to go to buy

### 3.3 On the valency of pseudo-verbs in the literature

#### 3.3.1 Comrie (1982, 1991, 2008)

One of Comrie's (1982) (1991) concerns is understanding better what the subcategorisation frame of a number of the pseudo-verbs is. His main aim is the identification of properties that could identify the ACC/GEN pronominal forms as a SUBJ. Comrie starts off by presenting the two logical analyses vis-à-vis the encoding of the ACC pronoun: The attached ACC/GEN pronoun could in principle either be the SUBJ or the OBL OBJ. Comrie first considers what the GFs of the two NPs in the MSA equivalent of the possessive constructions using the pseudo-verb *ġind-*,

<sup>19</sup>Note that it is also possible to have the presence of *kien* if a pseudo-verb such as *ghodd-* precedes *ghand-* as in (i) below. However, since as we will see in §3.4.2 this pseudo-verb may well be a predicate in its own clause, then *kien* would not be in the same *f*-structure as *ghand-*.

i Kien                      ġhodd-ni                      għand-i                      n-e-rġa'                                      n-ti-k,  
           be.PFV.3SGM almost-1SG.ACC at-1SG.GEN 1-FRM.VWL-again.IMPV.SG 1-give.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC  
           dakinhar  
           DEM.SGM.DEF-day  
           I almost had to give you (money) again that day

are. Both NPs in (120) are marked with NOM case, which is itself not much of a clue. The GEN pronoun on the pseudo-verb is then correferential with the possessor.

- (120) ar-rağul-u      řinda-hu      l-kitāb-u  
 DEF-man-NOM at-3SGM.GEN DEF-book-NOM

The man has the book

MSA: Comrie (1991, p. 22)

A parallel Syrian possessive construction is the one in (121):

- (121) řehr-ak                      řand-o              rğal  
 son.in.law-2SG.GEN at-3SGM.GEN men

Your son in law has some men

Syrian: Comrie (2008, p. 739)

With respect to (121) Comrie (2008, p. 739) comments as follows:

‘In the Classical Arabic ancestor of the construction, *řehr-ak* would be considered a preposed topic, with the suffix on the preposition and a resumptive pronoun and *rğal* the subject of the clause, but there is evidence from different vernaculars of different degrees of reinterpretation of this construction in the direction of subject-verb-object. In Syrian Arabic, for instance, the position of *rğal* can be occupied by a direct object pronoun, as in *řand-i yā-ha* ‘I have it [fem]’, *bedd-o yā-kon* ‘he wants you [pl]’.

In many vernaculars, the item following the possessor predicate is incapable of triggering subject-verb agreement on an auxiliary realizing temporal reference, e.g. Syrian Arabic: *kān řan-na dyūf* ‘we had guests’ does not allow the third person plural *kān-u ...*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup>Hebrew possessive constructions (Falk, 2006, pp. 102-103), also mentioned in fn. (1), parallel impersonal verbs, where the most salient argument is DAT-marked. They involve an optionally agreeing ‘be’ auxiliary, with the alternative being the presence of a default 3SGM form. Unlike what we have been observing for Maltese and the Arabic vernaculars, in Hebrew possessive constructions using pseudo-verbs, agreement is not with the possessor, when present, but rather with the possessed NP. The data in (i) additionally display further constraints and correlations between case marking on the possessum and agreement on the auxiliary, such that according to Ziv (1976), as cited in Falk (2006), ACC marking on the possessum triggers default agreement on the auxiliary: ‘agreement with the absence of Case’ (Falk, 2006, p. 103).

- (i) a. Hayta/?haya                      l-i              mexonit kazot.  
 be.PST.3FSG/be.PST.3MSG DAT-1SG car.FSG such  
 I had such a car



While Comrie (2008) focuses upon linear order, with respect to the Syrian data, in Comrie (1982), one of the analytical reasonings he provides in favour of an ACC/GEN-expressed SUBJ, is the following: Since the ACC/GEN pronoun is the only inflectional morphology on the stem, then this must be taken to be encoding the SUBJ. (The same analysis follows for pseudo-verbs more broadly in Vanhove (1997, p. 270)). To further illustrate his point, he focuses on the possessive *ghand-*, *ghad-* ‘still, just’, *ghodd-* ‘almost’, *donn-* and *qis-* ‘appear/seem/as though’, which he refers to as ‘quasi-auxiliaries’ (p. 12). According to him, these pseudo-verbs display a ‘matching’ property whereby these are ‘followed by a finite verb with a subject affix corresponding to the direct object affix’. Comrie considers this behaviour as evidence that these ACC pronouns themselves express the SUBJ GF. It is important to highlight the fact that while this is often the case as in (122), it is not always so, although Comrie never mentions anything with respect to such facts.

(122) *Ghand-kom t-morr-u ukoll*  
 at-2PL.ACC 2-go.IMPV-PL as.well

Lit: At you you go as well

You should go as well

SUBJ agreement

(123a), for example, illustrates default 3SGM agreement on the pseudo-verb, where no agreement relation whatsoever with any of the predicate’s grammatical functions is involved. Moreover, (123b) illustrates agreement between the ACC/GEN pronoun on the pseudo-verb and the OBJ experiencer of the lexical predicate *ta* ‘give’. It should be mentioned here that this behaviour is not only a lexical fact of the pseudo-verbs illustrated below, but as we will discuss in detail in §3.4, other pseudo-verbs display similar behaviours.

---

b. ?Hayta/haya la-nu et ha-mexonit kazot od kše garnu be tel aviv  
 be.PST.3FSG/be.PST.3MSG DAT-1PL ACC DEF-car.FSG this still when live.PST.1PL in Tel Aviv

We had this car when we were living in Tel Aviv

Hebrew: Falk (2006, p. 103)

Just as in Maltese and Arabic, the possessed nominal was diachronically the SUBJ, and is unmarked for case. What differs in Hebrew is that the ‘historical’ SUBJ can still trigger agreement on the auxiliary verb. While this seems to be considered as the norm, ‘in actual spoken Hebrew, the possessed nominal appears to have been reinterpreted as an object’, which explains the ACC marking (Falk, 2006, p. 102).



- b. Għad-u/-ha                      kif/kemm qal-u-l-ha                      x'i-rid-u  
 still-3SGM.ACC/3SGF.ACC COMP      say.PFV.3-PL-DAT-3SGF what.3-want.IMPV.PL

They have just told her what they want

Similarly, in the case of *għand-*, while *ma* does not happen to be an appropriate piece of *c-*structure that is able to yield mismatched agreement, *mnejn* is. On its own, *mnejn* is a *wh-*pronoun literally formed from: *minn* ‘from’ and *fejn* ‘where’. When used right-adjacent to *għand-*, in its modal verbal use, the meaning becomes that of ‘maybe/perhaps’. In contrast to both (122) and (124b), as illustrated in (126), we are able to have a default 3SGM (126a), a non-SUBJ agreeing GEN pronoun (126b), as well as the usual SUBJ agreement (126c).

- (126) a. Għand-u      mnejn      t-mur      għada  
 at-3SGM.GEN from.where 3-go.IMPV.SGF tomorrow

Lit: At-him from-where she goes tomorrow / għand-u mnejn = might/perhaps

Maybe she goes tomorrow

Default agreement

- b. Għand-hom mnejn      qabad-hom                      in-nghas      u  
 at-3PL.GEN from.where catch.PFV.3SGM-3PL.ACC DEF-sleepiness.SGM CONJ  
 baqgħ-u      rieqd-in  
 remain.PFV.3-PL sleep.ACT.PTCP-PL

Lit: At him from-where catch them the sleepiness and they remained sleeping

They have maybe been overcome by sleepiness and remained asleep      OBJ agreement

- c. Għand-ha      mnejn      t-mur      għada  
 at-3SGF.GEN from.where 3-go.IMPV.SGF tomorrow

Lit: At-her from-where she goes tomorrow

She might go tomorrow

SUBJ agreement

In concentrating mainly on the GF status of the possessed NP, given his focus on the possessive construction in (1982, 1997), the evidence Comrie provides in support for a SUBJ GF of the ACC/GEN pronoun, is the fact that the possessed NP takes *lil/’l* marking, in conformity with the differential OBJ marking first discussed in Borg and Comrie (1984, p. 111). There they show how *lil/’l* marking is obligatory with personal names, optional with definite NPs, and marginal

with inanimates, while in the case of indefinites and abstract nouns, there is no such marking in OBJ position. (See Sadler and Camilleri (2013) for additional detail). From within an LFG perspective, it is clear for us that if the attached pronoun were an OBJ, then the presence of *’l Marija* **could not** itself be an OBJ, as having two OBJs would essentially violate the Biuniqueness Condition (refer to §1.1).<sup>21</sup>

(127) *Għand-i ’l Marija*  
 at-1SG.GEN ACC Mary

I have Mary

Comrie (1982, p. 14, ftn. 14)

Notwithstanding this reasoning, it is nevertheless possible to still have an OBJ - OBJ $\theta$  analysis for the possessor and possessum respectively, given that *lil/’l* marking is also available with OBJ $\theta$ . However, typically, these GFs are generally associated with experiencers, affectives, benefactives, recipients, goals, and raised possessors, and **not** the possessed items.

Another criterion that Comrie (1982, p. 14) makes use of, is reference to linear order: ‘Since the possessor, on this analysis, is a subject, it naturally comes first in the sentence, preceding the verb’. At this point I however question the validity of this argument based on linear order. The reason for saying this is because in principle, the NP preceding a verb could in Maltese be a syntacticised TOP that is *f*-identified/structure-shared with the SUBJ, since we have assumed that the ACC/GEN pronouns attributed to pseudo-verbs are identical to NOM inflections and thus take an optional PRED ‘PRO’ status. At this point, it is worth pointing out that Shibatani (2001, p. 314) mentions how ‘what is common to all these non-canonical [SUBJ-realizing] constructions is that they express states rather than activities. Because of this stative character, they typically trigger topicalisation’. Comrie (1997, p. 25) (and Comrie (2008) as mentioned in the beginning of this section) does in fact provide an analysis based on topicalisation as a diachronic possibility for the formation of these pseudo-verb-including structures, where an original TOP - resumptive pronoun construction is reanalysed as a SUBJ - inflectional agreement.

<sup>21</sup>However see Joshi (1993) and Alsina (1993) on how this can still be in principle worked out in LFG.

An argument which we may use to exclude the TOP analysis of the possessor comes from the ungrammaticality of (128).

- (128) \*’L Marija għand-ha bajda  
ACC Mary at-3SGF.GEN egg

Intended: As for Mary, she has an egg

While the inability of the possessor to take ACC/DAT-marking is taken in Comrie (1982) and Haspelmath and Caruana (2000, pp. 254-255) to be indicative of a SUBJ property, one should in general look more closely at details that are specific to the left-edge, where one would then be able to see that the ungrammaticality could be explicable through the fossilisation of broader diachronic topicalisation behaviours. Sadler and Camilleri (2013), for example, have observed that OBL OBJs bind TOPs without the presence of any *lil/’l* marking on the TOP (contrast the behaviour in (129)). This parallel behaviour does in fact apply more generally to pseudo-verbs (and also impersonals (Camilleri, 2015b)), and does not necessarily have to do only with diachronic OBL OBJ GF statuses, as illustrated from the non-preposition-derived pseudo-verbs in (130).

- (129) a. \*(Lilha), magħ-ha, (lilha) it-tifel ux?  
ACC.3SGF with-3SGF.ACC ACC.3SGF DEF-boy TAG

Lit: her, with her, her, the boy, right?

Intended: As for her, the boy’s with her, right?

- b. (Hi), magħ-ha, (hi), it-tifel ux?  
she with-3SGF.ACC she DEF-boy TAG

Lit: She, with her, she, the boy, right?

As for her, the boy’s with her right?

Sadler and Camilleri (2013, p. 41)

- (130) a. Int/\*lilek, għad-ek id-dar?  
you.NOM/you.ACC still-2SG.ACC DEF-home

As for you, are you are still at home?

- b. Hu/\*lilu, għodd-u waqa'  
he.NOM/him.ACC almost-3SGM.ACC fall.PFV.3SGM

It is he who almost fell

Notwithstanding the general behaviour we are overviewing here, (131) is an attested example where a long distance dependency is involved, and where the possessor NP **is** in TOP position, as opposed to the potentially hazy TOP/SUBJ nature of the possessor NP in (128), and here we **do** get *hl/l* marking. The only difference between (128) and (131), apart from a SUBJ vs. TOP distinction, could also be a matter of an immediate vs. long distance dependency distinction.<sup>22</sup>

- (131) 'L omm-i sab-u li għand-ha marda serj-a  
ACC mother-1SG.GEN find.PFV.3-PL COMP at-3SGF.GEN illness.SGF serious-SGF

As for my mother, they found that she has a serious illness

To shed more light on the TOP/SUBJ issue, we could here for the first time in the literature on Maltese consider a parallel with Rizzi (2004)'s discussion of the matter in Italian. We find that just as in Italian, certain quantified DPs cannot occur as TOPs in CLLD structures, but are on the other hand fully acceptable as SUBJs. Observe the difference between the grammaticality differences in (132).<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>We here simply propose this IDD vs. LDD distinction as a possible hypothesis for what seems to be taking place. It is clear, however, that more research needs to be done on behaviours that concern the peripheries in Maltese.

<sup>23</sup>For completeness, although more work still needs to be done on the matter, it should here be mentioned that in parallel to the discussion in Haddad (2014) on Lebanese, it is in fact possible to have (negatively) quantified TOPs bound by a DAT pronoun (as in (i)-(ii)), which pronoun however functions as a non-selected DAT, and is not associated with a recipient/goal type of argument. (For further discussions on non-selected DATs in Maltese, see Camilleri and Sadler (2012b)).

- i 'L ebda mara<sub>i</sub> ma j-a-hrab-i-l-ha<sub>i</sub> mill-iskola,  
DAT none woman NEG 3-FRM.VWL-escape.IMPV.SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF from.DEF-school  
bin-ha  
son-3SGF.GEN

Lit: To no woman, he runs away on-her from school, her son  
No woman, her son runs away on-her from school

- ii kil/walā 'imm<sub>i</sub> 'ibn-ā byihrib-l-ā<sub>i</sub> min l-madrasa  
every/no mother son-3SGF.GEN escape-DAT-3SGF from DEF-school

Every/No mother her son runs away on-her from school

Lebanese: Haddad (2014, p. 99)

- (132) a. \*Lill-ebda tifel ma ra-t-u Marija  
 ACC.DEF-none boy NEG see.PFV-3SGF-3SGM.ACC Mary  
 Intended: It is no boy, that Mary saw him \*CLLD-like construction involving the OBJ  
 GF
- b. L-ebda tifel ma ra 'l Marija  
 DEF-none boy NEG see.PFV.3SGM ACC Mary  
 No boy saw Mary QP = SUBJ

With this possible disambiguating factor in mind, the QPs in (133) must then be the SUBJs, with the ACC/GEN pronoun on the pseudo-verb functioning as an agreement affix.

- (133) a. Kull tifa għand-ha bajda  
 every girl at-3SGF.GEN egg  
 Every girl has an egg
- b. Ebda tifel ma bi-h il-ġuħ  
 none boy NEG with-3SGM.ACC DEF-hunger  
 No boy is hungry

Comrie (1991) considers yet another dimension of these pseudo-verbs' morphosyntax in order to try to search for clues (or lack thereof) for assuming a SUBJ status to the ACC/GEN pronoun. He considers the agreement facts that take place with the auxiliary *kien*. Once again he concentrates entirely on the pseudo-verb *għand-* in its possessive use.<sup>24</sup> With respect to the agreement on the auxiliary, Comrie envisages three possible scenarios: agreement with the possessor; agreement with the possessum; or with none of these arguments. He claims that in Maltese, using an utterance such as (134) to illustrate his point, since the auxiliary displays default agreement, where there is thus no agreement with any of the arguments, suggests that none of the arguments is actually the SUBJ.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup>There are many gaps in Comrie's description that additionally hinder his analytical outcome. Where relevant to our discussion, these will be pointed out in more detail in §3.4.

<sup>25</sup>Note that at this point I disagree with Comrie's account, as the default 3SGM on the auxiliary is due to the supplet nature of the possessive paradigm, as discussed in the previous section (table (3.3)), which is why I have chosen to analyse this verb-form as an 'impersonal', as opposed to a pseudo-verb. In the different sub-sections in §3.4 we will clearly demonstrate the actual agreement patterns displayed by the auxiliary when present in the contexts involving the pseudo-verbs being focussed upon in this chapter.

- (134) Il-mara se j-kol-l-ha tiġieġa  
 DEF-woman PROSP 3-be.IMPV.SGM-DAT-3SGF chicken

The woman will have a chicken

Comrie (1991, p. 23)

As illustrated through (135), Comrie has reached the wrong conclusion, when claiming that there is no agreement between the arguments of *għand-* and the auxiliary. What is clear from (135) is that the auxiliary may in fact optionally agree with the possessor, but never with the possessed NP.

- (135) a. Kien/kien-et ġa għand-ha tlett itfal, ta' tletin sena  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-3SGF already at-3SGF.GEN three children of thirty year

She already had three children at the age of thirty

Default/POSSr agreement

- b. \*Kien-u ġa għand-ha tlett itfal, ta' tletin sena  
 be.PFV.3-PL already at-3SGF.GEN three children of thirty year

She already had three children at the age of thirty \*Agreement with the possessum<sup>26</sup>

The agreement facts as they figure in Comrie (1991) align Maltese with the Levantine dialects, which display a tendency for 3SGM agreement on the auxiliary, although as he shows, in the Levantine dialects it is not uncommon to find a non-uniform behaviour across the different pseudo-verbs, as illustrated in (136) for Syrian (Cowell (1964, p. 414); Comrie (2008, pp. 739-740)). While the auxiliary may display agreement with the 'wisher' argument of the pseudo-verb *bedd-* 'want', agreement with the possessor in the case of the pseudo-verb *għand-* 'have', is not possible. In reality, the relevant Maltese data in (135) illustrates how the behaviour is very much as in Egyptian (as described in Buell (2009)), where the auxiliary may display default 3SGM or optional agreement with the possessor.

- (136) a. k̄an/ken-na bedd-na  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-1PL require-1PL.ACC

We wanted

<sup>26</sup> Agreement with *tfa* 'children' would have only been available if *għand* is used as a locative preposition, hence illustrating one other difference between the locative and the possessive construction, apart from the availability of the NP-substitution and the definite NP requirement of the NP SUBJ in the locative construction.



- b. \*ken-na      ʕan-na  
 be.PFV-1PL at-1PL.GEN

We had

Syrian: Cowell (1964, p. 414)

Western dialects allow for both default 3SGM agreement or some sort of agreement, although there is typically a preference for the default form. Yet, unlike in Egyptian, agreement is available with both the possessed or possessor NP in the Tunis and Meknes dialects of Tunisian and Moroccan, respectively, as illustrated in (137) by data from the Tunis variety, although the Moroccan dialect displays a preference for a default 3SGM in general.<sup>27</sup> For such dialects, Comrie (1991) mentions that the ‘possessive predicate construction has parallel alternative syntactic structures with different assignments of grammatical relations ...’ (p. 25).

- (137) a. k̄an-it      ʕand-i      dǧāǧa  
 be.PFV-3SGF at-1SG.GEN chicken.SGF

I had a chicken

Tunis dialect: Comrie (1991, p. 24)

- b. kun-t      ʕand-i      dǧāǧa  
 be.PFV-1SG at-1SG.GEN chicken.SGF

I had a chicken

Tunis dialect: Comrie (1991, p. 25)

In the light of this variation across the Arabic vernaculars, Comrie (1991, p. 25) ends up taking a more radical position than what one finds in Comrie (1982; 2008) and claims that: ‘In all the varieties of Arabic mentioned, it is possible for the verb to agree with nothing, i.e. to treat neither possessor nor possessum as subject’.

In the case of agreement-displaying constructions, he provides two alternative analyses: either to assume that the same predicate may have a different sub-categorisation frame; or that the construction allows either the possessor or possessum to be the “thematic” SUBJ, such that ‘the verb can agree with either of them (and is only prevented by morphological restrictions from agreeing with both) - indeed, on this analysis one might say that the default agreement, is just

<sup>27</sup>We shall be discussing parallel behaviours with respect to interactions between the agreement displayed on the auxiliary, if present, and the agreement displayed by the ACC/GEN inflection of the pseudo-verbs in §3.4.

another resolution of the conflict engendered by the presence of two subjects' (p. 25). The use of the default agreement may therefore arise in circumstances where there are two competing potential controllers. However, this is not the motivation for all cases in which we find a resort to the default. In the case of (135a) we observe that we are still able to get a default form, even if it is never possible for the possessum to agree with the auxiliary.<sup>28</sup> Specifically for Maltese, as a result of the agreement facts and *lil* marking (when necessary), on the possessed NP, Comrie (1991, p. 23) concludes that: 'This suggests that in Maltese, neither argument is subject'. Recall that this analysis differs from the one reached in Comrie (1982, p. 14), where he concludes that the possessor is a 'morphologically irregular' SUBJ, while the possessum is an OBJ.<sup>29</sup>

From an LFG perspective, concentrating on Comrie's (1991) account of non-complement taking pseudo-verbs, we have two possible analyses in hand, which will be further discussed in the light of the crosslinguistic literature in §3.3.4. Essentially we have what appears to be the most straightforward analysis, which in LFG terms would translate into: <SUBJ, OBJ>. Under this view, default agreement on the auxiliary would be analysed as a consequence of the SUBJ's non-canonical marking. Alternatively, we have an account along the lines of: <OBJ, OBJ $\theta$ >. The absence of a SUBJ would align with the SUBJless analysis, in which case there is no non-canonical marking involved, and the ACC/GEN morphology simply expresses the GFs otherwise realised in the grammar more broadly through the use of these forms. Under both of these analyses, the default agreement on the auxiliary can be accounted for either as being the result of a non-canonical SUBJ realisation, or alternatively, it could be due to the fact that the highest thematic role is not mapping onto the highest GF available in the language, and consequently, default 3SGM agreement is what we get. On the other hand, when agreement is available, this is with what is deemed to be the most salient thematic role in the clause and the highest GF

<sup>28</sup>In §3.4, we will go into a lot of detail with respect to when we can get default 3SGM agreement on the pseudos and/or the auxiliary *kien*.

<sup>29</sup>Comrie's (1991) account, which considers such pseudo-verbs to not make use of a SUBJ, aligns with Hermon (2001, p. 153)'s analysis of physiological data in Imbabura Quechua, where there she speculates that in principle we could get null dummy subjects, and the experiencer is a commonly marked OBJ, as opposed to a non-canonically marked SUBJ.

available.

### 3.3.2 Haspelmath and Caruana (2000)

Haspelmath and Caruana (2000) mention other possible SUBJ properties that one could consider: the presence of an imperative addressee; the fact that SUBJs control reflexives; as well as the availability of what they refer to as ‘raising’ to the OBJ position of *ried* ‘want’, as in the contrast in (138).

- (138) a. Ir-rid                    li        t-mur                    magħ-hom  
           1-want.IMPV.SG COMP 2-go.IMPV.SG with-3PL.ACC  
           I want that you go with them
- b. Ir-rid-ek                                    (li)    t-mur                    magħ-hom  
           1-want.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC COMP 2-go.IMPV.SG with-3PL.ACC  
           I want you to go with them

If we start off with the last SUBJhood property they propose, which we can here refer to as ‘pronominal raising’ (the term used in Maas (2009) with reference to the same verb *ried* ‘want’, to illustrate this same phenomenon), while not going into any detail here, one should at least mention that it has yet to be established whether it is OBJ raising that is involved, or prolepsis, in which case the argument is thematic and part of the matrix clause, or even further, a morphosyntactically mismatched construction where the pronoun is really the TOP of the embedded clause, although the morphology involves attachment at the matrix clause (see Soltan (2007), Camilleri (2015c)), or alternatively some other sort of non-argument pronominal morphology. One must also mention that this sort of ‘raising’ is only available with respect to pronominal forms. Such a behaviour is thus not available when NPs are involved. In general, therefore, I question how viable this test is to determine SUBJhood, given that we might not have raising at all involved. Moreover, it is not just the SUBJ GF that can be raised in Maltese (see Camilleri et al. (2014b) and §3.4 below). In any case, under Haspelmath and Caruana’s account, the ungrammaticality

of (139), in contrast to the grammaticality in (138), is taken to suggest that the ACC pronoun on the pseudo-verb *ghand-* is not much of a SUBJ, or rather, the ACC pronoun does not display the same set of SUBJ properties (in this case the alleged ‘raising-to-OBJ’ property), as the SUBJ of the lexical verb *mar* ‘go’ in (138).

- (139) \*Ir-rid-ek                      għand-ek    ...  
 1-want.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC at-2SG.GEN

Intended: I want you to have ...

Haspelmath and Caruana (2000, p. 263)

While Haspelmath and Caruana (2000) place different possible SUBJs in varied constructions against different SUBJhood properties to gauge the ‘SUBJness’ of the ACC/GEN/DAT pronouns they consider, one should here mention Newmeyer’s (2003, p. 153) comment that even though ‘not all properties of Subjecthood are shared [by possibly different sorts of SUBJs, this], does not entail that they need not be SUBJs’.

We here however believe that the ungrammaticality of (139) may be explicable in terms of the fact that *ried* ‘want’ requires an embedded Imperfective verb-form, or possibly some sort of ASPECTUAL value that *ghand-* is not able to realize. In support of this is the fact that it is still possible for the ACC pronoun on the pseudo-verb to be coreferential with the ACC pronoun on the matrix *ried*. This is illustrated in (140) below, where pseudo-verbs other than *ghand-* are also represented.

- (140) a. Ir-rid-ek                      (li)    t-kun              għad għand-ek    inqas              minn  
 1-want.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC COMP 2-be.IMPV.SG still    at-2SG.GEN less.COMPAR from  
 sittax-il      sena, meta n-e-rġa’                                      n-invista-k  
 sixteen-DEF year    when 1-FRM.VWL-again.IMPV.SG 1-check.up.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC

I want you to be less than sixteen years old when I check you again

- b. Ir-rid-ha                      (li)    t-kun              qis-ha                      ħad-et  
 1-want.IMPV.SG-3SGF.ACC COMP 3-be.IMPV.SGF as.through-3SGF.ACC take.PFV-3SGF  
 qatgħa  
 fright

I want her (to act) as though she took a fright

- c. Ir-rid-kom (li) t-kun-u għodd-kom wasal-t-u,  
 1-want.IMPV.SG-2PL.ACC COMP 2-be.IMPV-PL almost-2PL.ACC arrive.PFV-2-PL  
 qabel ma ċ-ċempl-u-l-i  
 before COMP 2-phone.IMPV-PL-DAT-1SG

I want you to have almost arrived, before you phone me

In (140), the presence of the auxiliary *jkun* in the context of these statives, provides right the appropriate syntactic context that allows us to observe that if ‘raising-to-OBJ’ were to be a ‘true’ criterion of SUBJhood, (if these constructions involve raising at all), then Haspelmath and Caruana have clearly missed out on the availability of such constructions, given that on the basis of what we have discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.4), we here assume that in the context of these statives *tkun* is taking a HABITUAL ASPECT-realizing auxiliary function.

With respect to the Imperative addressee test, the ungrammaticality of (141) illustrates that it is not possible to have such pseudo-verbs in Imperative contexts.

- (141) a. \*Għand-ek il-flus!  
 at-2SG.GEN DEF-money  
 Intended: Have the money!
- b. \*Qis-ek iblah!  
 as.though-2SG.ACC stupid.SGM  
 Intended: (Act) as though you are stupid!

Haspelmath and Caruana provide one example of a potential Imperative construction, which analysis they eventually dismiss, and consider (142) as a ‘main-clause subjunctive’ instead (p. 251). As a result, they take the DAT pronoun, in this case, (given the impersonal nature of *jkol-*), which parallels the ACC/GEN pronouns attached to pseudo-verbs, not to be displaying this specific SUBJ property. In their account, therefore, the SUBJ expressed by a DAT is considered as possibly less of a SUBJ than the canonically-coded SUBJ of non-pseudo-verbs.

- (142) I-kol-l-ok                    hniena minn-i  
       3-be.IMPV-DAT-2SG mercy from-1SG.ACC

Lit: It be on you mercy on-me

Have mercy on me

What we just mentioned above is essentially Haspelmath and Caruana's conclusion. However, we should here also mention Falk's (2006) reasoning as to what could be conditioning the inability of our stative psychological and physiological pseudo-verbs from participating in Imperative constructions. Falk (2006) argues that there are a number of reasons that could in principle explain the inability to express an Imperative addressee, in such constructions. These reasons do not imply that there is no SUBJ being realized, or that the SUBJ of the pseudo-verbs does not display similar properties to other non-pseudo-verbal SUBJS. Falk (2006, p. 59) comments that: 'An imperative verb will specify that one of its arguments is a second person pronoun. Given the relational hierarchy, the most likely argument to be thus specified will be the  $\widehat{GF}$ ' (i.e. the SUBJ in our case).<sup>30</sup> Given that 'someone can only be ordered to do something that they have control over ... only Agents can be addressees, and since Agents are invariably realized in the syntax as the  $\widehat{GF}$ , it follows that only the  $\widehat{GF}$  can be the addressee' (p. 59). This is exactly what we don't have in the case of our pseudo-verbs (and impersonals) here; i.e. an agentive SUBJ, and hence the lack of Imperative constructions could in fact be attributed precisely to this fact, which is a  $\theta$ -role related effect, and not necessarily a morphosyntactic effect. Having said this, however, and having highlighted a correlation between agentivity and imperative expressions, Falk (2006, p. 60) argues that 'non-agentive subjects can be the addressees of imperatives in some languages (including English), with a coerced agentive reading ...' as in (143). 'The coerced agentive reading follows from the semantic aspect of imperatives: the addressee must be understood as an Agent' (p. 60).<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>  $\widehat{GF}$  refers to the highest and most salient GF, without making specific and obligatory reference to the SUBJ, since languages or specific verb-forms and/or constructions may not display evidence of a SUBJ GF.

<sup>31</sup> Also see to Onishi (2001, p. 9) who claims that 'the majority of "impersonal verbs" [and other non-canonically-realised morphological forms] ... do not take imperative inflections', and Haspelmath (2001, p. 70), who states that: 'stative non-volitional predicates generally cannot be used in the imperative'.

(143) a. Be happy!

b. Be registered before the semester starts!

Falk (2006, p. 60)

With respect to their reflexive criterion, Haspelmath and Caruana (2000, p. 248) claim that it is only SUBJs that can control reflexives. In their discussion based on impersonals, but which they extend to pseudo-verbs, they claim that ‘an experiencer that lacks subject properties ... also lacks the ability to control reflexives’ (p. 251). To illustrate their point, they provide the example in (144) as proof:

(144) \*Hija nnifis-ha<sub>i</sub> t-o-ghġob 'l Lisa<sub>i</sub>  
 she self-3SGF.ACC 3-FRM.VWL-please.IMPV.SGF ACC Lisa

Intended: \*Herself pleases Lisa

Haspelmath and Caruana (2000, p. 251)

Haspelmath and Caruana’s argumentation is once again flawed, and the ungrammaticality of (144) has nothing to do with the experiencer properties or SUBJhood more generally, but with the fact that the antecedent should *f*-command (i.e. where on a GF-based hierarchy, a higher GF should bind lower one) the reflexive pronoun, which is not the case here.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, although not discussed anywhere in the literature on Maltese (but see (Camilleri, 2015c)), binding into reflexive pronouns is not necessarily a property of SUBJ antecedents. An OBJ GF in a ditransitive construction can itself be an antecedent of an OBJ $\theta$  GF, which goes to show that the ability to bind a reflexive is not a SUBJ identifier in Maltese.

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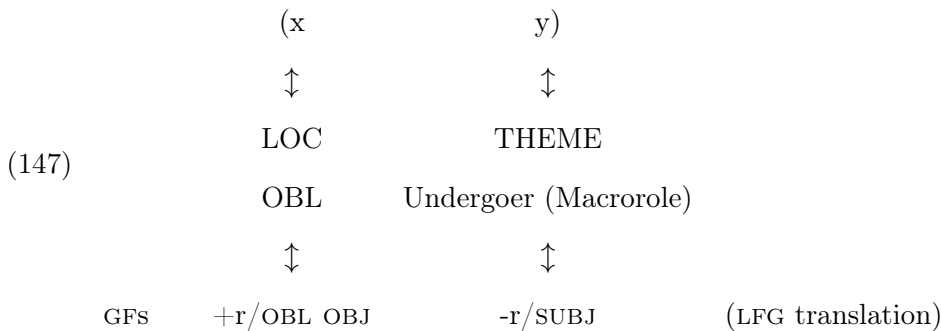
<sup>32</sup>Changing the linear order of the antecedent and the binder, hence resulting in a remapping of the GFs, will result in grammaticality, as illustrated in (i).

i Lisa<sub>i</sub> t-o-ghġob lilha nfiis-ha<sub>i</sub>  
 Lisa 3-FRM.VWL-please.IMPV.SGF ACC self-3SGF.GEN  
 Lisa likes/pleases herself

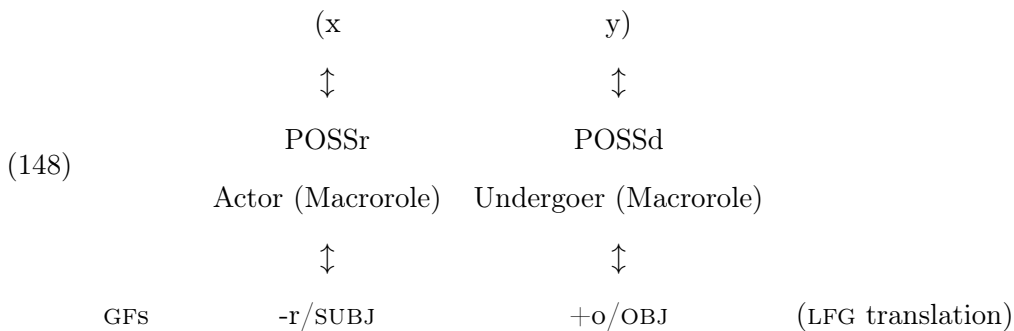




- *ghand*: be.at (x, y) with one macrorole - Undergoer (p. 199):



- *ghand*: have (x, y) with two macroroles - Actor and Undergoer (p. 199):



For him, ‘the pseudo-verb *ghand*- could be considered a “transitivized” version of the preposition *ghand*, i.e. the pseudo-verb has the expected number of macroroles for a predicate containing two arguments’ (p. 200). While I have imported the RRG analysis into a possible LFG analysis, I should highlight here that Peterson (2009) argues that: ‘... the pseudo-verb *ghand*- like the preposition *ghand* has no “subject position” ’ (p. 200). This parallels the conclusion maintained in Comrie (1991), as opposed to the view in Comrie (1982; 2008) and Haspelmath and Caruana (2000). To be able to capture the agreement facts and the inflection through the use of ACC/GEN pronouns without reference to SUBJ/OBJ notions, Peterson cites Van Valin (2005, p. 108): ‘All units contained within the predicate which are not invariable in form obligatorily mark for the highest ranking macrorole argument’ (p. 200), i.e. Actor/Possessor. In the case of the LOCative use of the preposition, there is one macrorole and agreement is with it and in the case of the possessive construction, given two macroroles, agreement is with the possessor, since Actor is a



ally/unselfcontrollably” involved in the situation’ (Onishi, 2001, p. 7), including ‘[t]he affectedness/involvement of an entity in an activity; The lack of control an entity has in an activity; The topic-worthiness of an entity’ (p. 9). Also see Barðdal (2011, p. 69), where she mentions how the marking of ACC/DAT SUBJS in Icelandic ‘denote[s] affectedness to a much higher degree than the Nominative Subject Construction’. From the grammaticalisation perspective of the debate, ‘oblique experiencers tend to develop to subject experiencers in the long run’ Verhoeven (2008, p. 251). SUBJS are allowed to function in this way because as Falk (2006, p. 38) states, the SUBJ GF ‘is not inherently linked to a particular thematic role’ but ‘[t]he SUBJ is the element with the function of expressing the hierarchically most prominent argument’ (p. 38) of the verb. For Falk (2006, p. 167), nothing ‘prevents morphological marking from mirroring thematic roles, informational status, or other non-syntactic properties’.

According to Haspelmath (2001, pp. 56-59), the presence of deviant SUBJ or OBJ marking is characterised by three conditions: ‘reference-related condition’, which involves deviant markings of the sort such as differential OBJ marking (e.g. Borg and Comrie, 1984, p. 111) and thus mainly have to do with the argument involved; ‘clause-related condition’, which entails the presence of differential markings based on negative/affirmative constructions etc; and ‘predicate-related condition’, where non-canonical marking has to do mainly with the meaning of the predicate involved. This is essentially the condition which we are concerned with in this chapter. One class of predicates which typically displays such non-canonical marking includes: ‘physiological states/events; [also known as ‘sensational predicates’ in Haspelmath (2001, p. 66)] and inner feelings/psychological experiencers’ (experiential/psychological predicates). Aikhenvald (2001, p. 179) also adds ‘involuntary results of processes’ apart from ‘mental and physical states’. In the case of physiological states, ‘[t]he non-canonically marked argument refers to the Patient who is physically affected by the state or event described by the predicate’ (Onishi, 2001, p. 26). ‘Syntactically they require at least one non-canonically marked NP which refers to the Patient/Experiencer. Some predicates also require an obligatory NP referring to a sensation, body

part or natural force' (Onishi, 2001, p. 25). Verbs of this type also include 'have'-type predicates where 'the subject is not an agent but is affected by the situation' (Haspelmath, 2001, p. 64). Additionally, another class of verbs that take 'experiencer-type' properties include 'modality predicates, i.e. predicates of possibility ("can", "may") [refer to the Maltese pseudo-verbs *għand-*, *ħaqq-* and impersonal *mess-*, which all provide modal features; as well as other pseudo-verbal predicates with this same function in Nejdī (Ingham, 1994a, p. 199)] and 'propositional attitude' verbs such as 'seem' and verbs of 'happening' (pp. 66-67). (See the discussion on the pseudo-verbs *donn-/qis-* to be discussed in §3.5 below, and Camilleri et al. (2014)).

What we conclude from the above is that the pseudo-verbs and their meanings in Maltese are themselves very typical of the sorts of predicates that show non-canonical marking crosslinguistically, where non-canonical marking is used to express specific thematic roles mapped onto SUBJ GFs.

### 3.3.5 Summary

In this section we have reviewed what has been said in the literature of Maltese and Arabic with respect to the nature of the ACC/GEN pronouns on the pseudo-verbs, and how it may or may not be associated with a SUBJ GF. The main contribution to this debate has been Comrie's different accounts with respect to these sort of predicates/'semi-auxiliaries', where we have shown, however, that there are a number of gaps and short-comings to his descriptive account, which in turn result in a number of issues for his analytical account, particularly when discussing the agreement facts of the complement-taking pseudo-verbs. In what follows below, we aim to primarily focus on the description of the morphosyntactic behaviours of three pseudo-verbs, as well as their alternating subcategorisation frames at times. Following that, we will eventually discuss what their contribution and their function is, with respect to the *f*-structure.

### 3.4 The pseudo-verbs *ghodd-*, *il-* and *ghad-*

In this section, we provide an in-depth description of three pseudo-verbs which we will be considering with respect to their contribution in the expression of ASPECT in Maltese. These pseudo-verbs are *ghodd-* meaning ‘almost, nearly’, *il-* meaning ‘to’ and *ghad-* ‘just, still’. Before saying anything with respect to their function in the language, we will focus on the morphosyntactic behaviours they display, particularly the agreement facts internal to the pseudo-verbs’ copredicational relations. In §3.5 we will then look closer at what could be the reason behind the agreement facts to be illustrated here. It is then in §3.6 that we provide a first account of how these pseudo-verbs further contribute to the realization of Viewpoint ASPECTual values in Maltese, and where, particularly due to their bleached semantics, we will be considering these pseudo-verbs to be functioning as auxiliaries.

#### 3.4.1 *ghodd-*

According to Cremona (1966, p. 76), as cited in Vanhove (1993), the use of the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* in (150a) provides an IMMINENCE value. She mentions that Aquilina (1965, p. 106), on the other hand, glosses *ghodd-* as ‘almost’.

- (150) a. Ghodd-u                    sejjer                    j-i-tlaq  
 IMMINENT-3SGM.ACC go.ACT.PTCP.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-leave.IMPV.SGM  
 He is about to leave                    Cremona (1966, p. 76) cited in Vanhove (1993, p. 208)
- b. Il-Milied                    ghodd-u                    wasal  
 DEF-Christmas.SGM almost-3SGM.ACC arrive.PFV.3SGM  
 Christmas almost arrived                    Aquilina (1965, p. 106) cited in (Vanhove, 1993, p. 209)

Vanhove claims that according to her young informants the meaning provided in Cremona is not used anymore, while for the sense of “presque” this ‘ne servit plus que dans quelques expressions figée du type’ (p. 209), such as that in (151).

- (151) Ghodd-u                    telaq  
 almost-3SGM.ACC leave.PFV.3SGM

He almost left

Vanhove (1993, p. 209)

One should here however clarify the facts. The IMMINENCE interpretation we get in (150a) **should not** be attributed to the pseudo-verb *ghodd-*. Rather, this comes from the use of the participle *sejjer*, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.3.3). In fact, the translation of this utterance should be something like: ‘He is almost about to leave’. Moreover, it is not the case that this meaning is not in use in the language anymore, and Vanhove’s claim that the ‘almost’ interpretation of this pseudo-verb is only synchronically manifest in fixed expressions is not true.

(151) shows that the pseudo-verb can be followed by a Perfective form, while (152) below shows how a Prospective lexical verb can also follow this pseudo-verb.<sup>33</sup> However, if a successive pseudo-verb follows *ghodd-* as in (153a), then the non-pseudo-verbal form can take any morphological form as required by the second pseudo-verb. While the meaning of *ghodd-* is ‘almost’ in all contexts, the overall semantic interpretation of the construction differs. The main interpretational split essentially relies on the presence or the absence of a Perfective or Prospective morphological form. (See §3.6 for more detail).

- (152) Ghodd-ok            ħa        t-a-qa’  
 almost-2SG.ACC PROSP 2-FRM.VWL-fall.IMPV.SG

You’re almost going to fall

This pseudo-verb can take any sort of agreement, i.e. a default 3SGM, agreement with the SUBJ of the lexical verb as well as agreement with non-SUBJ arguments, all shown in (153). (Also

<sup>33</sup>One should here mention perhaps an additional complication whereby in the dialect, such as in *Naxxari* (North-East), *ghodd-* sometimes substitutes the pseudo-verbs *donn-* and *qis-* (refer to §3.5), which essentially mean ‘as though’. For this reason, it is possible to encounter utterances such as (i), where we even find the presence of a PROGRESSIVE *qed* + Imperfective construction, for example.

i	Ghodd-ok	qed	t-o-qrob	biex	t-i-spiċċa
	almost-2SG.ACC	PROG	2-EPENT.VWL-draw.near.IMPV.SG	in.order.to	2-EPENT.VWL-finish.IMPV.SG
	It’s as though you are getting close to finishing				‘as though’
	You seem as though you’re almost getting close to finishing				‘almost’ + ‘as though’

(123b) in §3.3.1).

- (153) a. Hawn            għodd-u/-ni                            għand-i      n-e-rġa'  
 LOC.EXCLAM almost-3SGM.ACC/-1SG.ACC at-1SG.GEN 1-FRM.VWL-again.IMPV.SG  
 n-i-bda    n-ti-k  
 1-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG 1-give.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC

Here (it seems as though) I almost have to give you again (i.e. I almost owe you again)

Default/SUBJ agreement followed by pseudo-verb

- b. Jien u      Marija għodd-u/na                            waqaj-na  
 I      CONJ Mary almost-3SGM.ACC/-1PL.ACC fall.PFV-1PL

We almost fell

Default/SUBJ agreement with the SUBJ of the lexical verb

- c. Dit-tifla                            għodd-ha            ħa      j-waqqgh-u-ha,  
 DEM.SGF.DEF-girl.SGF almost-3SGF.ACC PROSP 3-CAUSE.fall.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC  
 hawn fin-nofs!  
 here in.DEF-middle

Lit: This girl almost-she they will cause her to fall, here in the middle

This girl, here in the middle as she is, she's waiting to be pushed over by them      OBJ  
 agreement

- d. Dit-tifla                            għodd-ha            qabd-u            magħ-ha            hawn!  
 DEM.SGF.DEF-girl.SGF almost-3SGF.ACC catch.PFV.3-PL with-3SGF.ACC LOC  
 X'inhi    m-werwr-a!  
 what.COP.3SGF PASS.PTCP-frighten-SGF

Lit: This girl almost-she they catch with her here how she frightened

(It seems as though) This girl has been bothered by them, how frightened she is!      OBL  
 OBJ agreement

It remains to be seen how best to characterise the pseudo-verb's function internal to the clause. A first account/approximation of their function will be developed in §3.6. In terms of the morphosyntax, non-SUBJ agreement on the pseudo-verb will prevent the presence of an NP in SUBJ position governing the agreement of the non-pseudo-verb, which is *qabad* 'catch' in (154), and hence the ungrammaticality of this construction.

- (154) \*It-tfal          ghodd-ha          qabd-u          magh-ha  
 DEF-children almost-3SGF.ACC catch.PFV.3-PL with-3SGF.ACC

Lit: Almost catch with her

(It seems as though) They almost caught up with her again how frightened she seems

The fact that in (153a-153b) we can get default or SUBJ agreement on the pseudo-verb doesn't tell us much as to what we should make of the syntactic structure constructed out of the pseudo-verb + the lexical verb. This is because we could in principle assume that the very presence of these verbs' non-canonical realization of the SUBJ may simply result in the optional default to 3SGM agreement. However, when the pseudo-verb displays non-default non-SUBJ agreement, it is not possible to have a SUBJ NP whose agreement feature values do not unify with those displayed by the pseudo-verb. While this fact explains the contrast between the grammatical judgements of (153d) and (154), we also take this to imply that the pseudo-verb and the lexical verb cannot be in the same clause. Rather, *ghodd-* heads its own clause, such that when it displays non-default non-SUBJ agreement, the SUBJ of the lexical verb **cannot** be shared. We here take the presence of the anaphoric binding observed between the SUBJ of the pseudo-verb and the OBL OBJ argument of *qabad* in (153d) to be representative of a copy raising construction, which we will discuss in detail in §3.5. For what concerns us in this section, we take these mismatched agreement facts to be suggestive of a bi-clausal structure.

What seems to be possibly marring the neatness of the facts, and what remains somewhat unclear, is the inability to have an auxiliary *kien* expressing the usual agreement with the *f*-structure's SUBJ when the pseudo-verb displays non-default non-SUBJ agreement. If *kien* and the pseudo-verb share the same *f*-structure, then one would imagine that there can only be one controller in the *f*-structure. Contrast the behaviour between (155) and (156).







SUBJ of the lexical verb would be accounted for rather neatly. Nonetheless, this account would still, on the other hand, need to explain and account for the persistent and preferable default agreement on the auxiliary, in such a context.

When it comes to facts on NEG marking, we find that this must be on the lexical verb as in (158), if this takes a Perfective form. If it is a Prospective form that is present, this has to be Positive in form, as the ungrammaticality of (159) illustrates, and would have to be expressed as in (160).

- (158) Ghodd-u/-hom                      ma wasl-u-x                      fil-hin!  
 almost-3SGM.ACC/-3PL.ACC NEG arrive.PFV.3-PL-NEG in.DEF-time  
 They almost didn't arrive on time

- (159) \*Ghodd-u                      m'hu                      ħa                      j-i-fdal                      xejn  
 almost-3SGM.ACC NEG.3SGM PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM nothing  
 Intended: There's almost not going to be anything left<sup>35</sup>

- (160) M'ghodd-u                      ħa                      j-i-fdal                      xejn  
 NEG.almost-3SGM.ACC PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM nothing  
 There's almost not going to be anything left

Notwithstanding the above data, *ghodd-* can be negated with the use of the *ma ...-x* NEG strategy, irrespective of the morphological form of the lexical verb that follows, as in (161).

- (161) a. Issa dik                      m'ghodd-hie-x                      qatl-it-ni?!!  
 now DEM.SGF NEG.almost-3SGF.ACC-NEG kill.PFV-3SGF-1SG.ACC  
 Lit: Now that not almost she killed me?  
 Hadn't she almost killed me?!

---

<sup>35</sup>It's important to mention that in the dialect, when *ghodd-* comes to mean 'as though', the utterance in (159) is grammatical, but then the meaning is: 'It's as though nothing will be left'.

- b. Int m'għodd-ok-x                      ħa      t-a-qa'                      minn hemm fuq?!!  
 You NEG.almost-2SG.ACC-NEG PROSP 2-FRM.VWL-fall.IMPV.SG from there up

Lit: You're not almost going to fall from up there?

Don't you see that you are almost going to fall from up there?!

However, the NEG marking seems to be simply a morphological effect that has nothing to do with the semantic interpretation yielded. The semantic content of (161) is positive, just as if no 'real' NEG is present. What is added here, however, is an exclamative interpretation, giving some sort of pragmatic effect. In fact, such NEG uses of *għodd-* are more likely to be found in colloquial uses of this pseudo-verb. Note that, even if we exclude the above exclamative constructions, NEG in the clause where *għodd-* is present, is still possible. This is the case when we have the auxiliary *kien*, as illustrated in (162).

- (162) a. Kien-u              għodd-hom              ma wasl-u-x              fil-ħin!  
 be.PFV.3-PL almost-3PL.ACC NEG arrive.PFV.3-PL in.DEF-time

They had almost not arrived on time

- b. Ma kien-u-x                      għodd-hom              ħa      j-a-sl-u                      fil-ħin,  
 NEG be.PFV.3-PL-NEG almost-3PL.ACC PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.PFV-PL in.DEF-time  
 dakinhar,                      mhux vera  
 DEM.SGM.DEF.day NEG true

It's not true. They weren't almost going to arrive on time that day

- c. Ma kien-u-x                      għodd-hom              ma wasl-u-x                      fil-ħin,              biss ...  
 NEG be.PFV.3-PL-NEG almost-3PL.ACC NEG arrive.PFV.3-PL-NEG in.DEF-time, but ...

They hadn't almost not arrived on time, but ...

Before we conclude our description of *għodd-* in the standard Maltese grammar, one should mention that although we are here concerned with uses of the pseudo-verb along with a verbal predicate (as well as interactions with other pseudo-verbs), for completeness, we should here add that this pseudo-verb can indeed be part of utterances where the lexical predicate is not a verb-form, but rather an NP (163), PP (164) or AP (165). We can assume that the function of the pseudo-verb in such contexts is that of a copula of some sort.

- (163) Dan      ġhodd-u                  isem      ta' tiffa  
 DEM.SGM almost-3SGM.ACC name.SGM of girl  
 This is almost a girl's name NP
- (164) a. Kien/kon-t                          ġhodd-ok      ġewwa  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-2SG almost-2SG.ACC inside  
 You were almost inside
- b. Kien/kon-t                          ġhodd-ok      fix-xifer  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-2SG almost-2SG.ACC in.DEF-edge  
 You were almost on the edge PP
- (165) Kien-et      ġhodd-ha      isbaħdakinhar,      milli                  hi                  illum  
 be.PFV-3SGF almost-3SGF.ACC beautiful.COMPAR DEM.SGM.DEF.day from.COMP she  
 today  
 She was almost more beautiful that day than she is now

### 3.4.2 *il-*

*il-* is derived from the preposition *lil* 'to', which synchronically functions both as an ALLATIVE marker as well as a DAT marker (Sadler and Camilleri, 2013). As discussed in §3.2.1.4, here too, a change from the prepositional to the pseudo-verbal status of *il-* has resulted in a change from GEN-to-ACC attached pronominal forms. However, this change, unlike in the case of the preposition-derived pseudo-verb *ġhand-*, is optional.<sup>36</sup> This pseudo-verb has not been given much attention in the previous literature on Maltese. Here we will look closely at five distinct uses of this pseudo-verb. We will then concentrate on the two uses of this pseudo-verb that involve a combination with lexical verbs.

- ADJ meaning 'ago'

The use of the pseudo-verb along with a default 3SGM agreement functions as an adjunct meaning

<sup>36</sup>While the 1SG inflection on the pseudo-verb results in the following ACC and GEN forms, respectively: *ilni* and *ili*, the 1SG forms of the bound and free/tonic DAT pronoun are *-li* and *lil*, respectively.



Lit: to-them dead

They've been dead for quite some time AP

- c. Kien/kon-na                      il-na              fil-kor  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-1PL to-1PL.ACC in.DEF-choir

We had been for quite some time in the choir PP

Below we now turn to consider the two uses of the pseudo-verb *il-* which we shall focus upon, i.e. the uses of *il-* in the presence of a verb or another pseudo-verb.

- 'long time/quite a bit' interpretation: lexical VP complement

The first use of *il-* as displayed through the examples in (169), I here take to be illustrating some sort of endurance in time that extends up to the present - the point of speech. The examples in (169) are also meant to display the array of paradigmatic possibilities, including which morphological verbal forms can follow this pseudo-verb.

- (169) a. Il-i/-ni                      (siegha) n-i-t-kellem/ma  
 to-1SG.GEN/-1SG.ACC hour      1-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV.SG/NEG  
 n-i-t-kellim-x  
 1-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV.SG-NEG  
 I have been talking for an hour/for a long time (if *siegha* is removed)      SUBJ AGR and  
 Imperfective form
- b. \*Il-u                      (siegha) n-i-t-kellem  
 to-3SGM.ACC hour      1-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV.SG  
 Intended: I have been talking for an hour/for a long time                      \*Default agreement
- c. \*Il-ha                      (siegha) n-kellm-u-ha  
 to-3SGF.ACC hour      1-talk.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC  
 Intended: She's as though we've been talking to her for an hour                      \*Non-SUBJ  
 agreement<sup>37</sup>
- d. \*Il-i/-ni                      t-kellim-t  
 to-1SG.GEN/-1SG.ACC REFL-talk.PFV-1SG

<sup>37</sup>Refer to the discussion further below however.





It has been more than a year that she's been having fever every time she worries (Agreement on pseudo-verb is with experiencer OBJ $\theta$  of lexical verb)

Agreement on the auxiliary *kien*, on the other hand, can display both agreement with the SUBJ of the pseudo-verb (itself agreeing with the SUBJ of the lexical verb), or default 3SGM (as in (171)), just in parallel with what was the case with *ghodd-* in this context (e.g. (155)). On the other hand, when it comes to agreement versions such as that in (170), where the pseudo-verb displays agreement with the non-SUBJ argument of the lexical predicate, just as in (156) in the case of non-default non-SUBJ agreement on *ghodd-*, only the 3SGM default form of the auxiliary *kien* is available (172). Once again, it is strange to see that *kien* doesn't agree with the SUBJ on *il-*, which is part of its clause, and simply defaults to 3SGM.

(171) Kien/kien-u/\*kon-t-u                      il-hom  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV.3-PL/be.PFV-2-PL to-3PL.ACC  
 j-a-qbd-u-kom                                  grizm-ej-kom  
 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV-PL-2PL.ACC through-PL-2PL.GEN  
 You have had sore throats for a long time                      Default or SUBJ AGR on *kien*

(172) Kien/\*kien-u/\*kon-t-u                      il-kom  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV.3-PL/be.PFV-2-PL to-2PL.ACC  
 j-a-qbd-u-kom                                  grizm-ej-kom  
 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV-PL-2PL.ACC through-PL-2PL.GEN  
 You have had sore throats for a long time                      Obligatory default *kien*

When it comes to NEG marking, we find that we can get the three possible scenarios, i.e. NEG marking on either the pseudo-verb or the lexical verb, or on both, where each of these three different utterances provides us with distinct interpretations.

(173) a. M'il-nie-x                      n-i-t-kellm-u  
 NEG.to-1PL.ACC-NEG 1-EPENT.VWL-RECIP-talk.IMPV-PL  
 We haven't been talking for a long time

b. Il-na              ma n-i-t-kellm-u-x  
 to-1PL.ACC NEG 1-EPENT.VWL-RECIP-talk.IMPV-PL-NEG  
 It's been a long time that we didn't speak

- c. M'il-nie-x                      ma n-i-t-kellm-u-x  
 NEG.to-1PL.ACC-NEG NEG 1-EPENT.VWL-RECIP-talk.IMPV-PL-NEG

It hasn't been a long time since we haven't spoken

- 'long time' interpretation: CP complement

Yet another syntactic context where *il-* can be followed by a verb is when *il-* comes to take a clausal argument that is introduced by a complementiser. Three different complementiser uses have been identified and each seems to impose its specific morphosyntactic constraints.

If we first consider the contexts where the complementiser *li* is used, as in (174), we observe that it is here possible for the pseudo-verb to display default 3SGM or SUBJ agreement with the SUBJ of the lexical verb. It is **not** possible for the pseudo-verb to display non-default non-SUBJ agreement (174c). The lexical verb must be Perfective in form. In terms of the interpretational difference between *il-* as used in this complementiser taking context, as opposed to *il-* in its asyndetic context (described just above), we find that the pseudo-verb functions as a locator of the event at some time, be it a 'long time' (some sort of endurance), an hour or a year, before the 'now', i.e. the point of speech. Possibly this could explain why a Perfective morphological form is mostly used in this context. (See below however).

- (174) a. Il-u                      (zmien)/(sena)      li      mor-t      hemm  
 to-3SGM.ACC time.SGM/year.SGF COMP go.PFV-1SG there

It has been a long time/a year since I went there

Default agreement

- b. Il-i/-ni                      (zmien)/(sena)      li      mor-t      hemm  
 to-1SG.GEN/-1SGM.ACC time.SGM/year.SGF COMP go.PFV-1SG there

It has been a long time/a year since I went there

SUBJ agreement

- c. \*Il-ha            li            t-kellim-na                            magħ-ha  
 to-3SGF.ACC COMP RECIP-talk.PFV-1PL.ACC with-3SGF.ACC

Intended: It has been a long time that we talked with her            \*Non-default non-SUBJ  
 agreement

The two other complementisers which can follow *il-* are *ma* and *biex*. There is essentially no discussion on the use of *ma* as a complementiser in Maltese, (but see Camilleri and Sadler (2016)). *Biex* on the other hand literally means: ‘in order to’. However, in this context, it is not introducing an ADJ clause, but rather parallels English ‘to’ in introducing an embedded clause (also see Haspelmath (1989) and Heine and Kuteva (2002, pp. 247-248) with respect to this sort of grammaticalisation crosslinguistically).<sup>39</sup> These two complementisers require the presence of Imperfective verb forms. Yet, in colloquial or possibly dialectal speech, it is possible to find a Prospective form following *biex* (e.g. 176a). Another difference which the constructions with the complementisers *ma* and *biex* display, as opposed to the constructions with *li*, is that there is less of an acceptance of the use of the default 3SGM ACC pronoun for some speakers, although such constructions appear to be ameliorated if one adds a temporal adverb following the pseudo-verb, and preceding the complementiser.

There seems to be a distinction in the interpretation of *il-* depending on the complementiser that is used. The use of the complementiser *ma* yields the same meaning as in the contexts in (174), where the complementiser *li* is used.<sup>40</sup> When we have *biex*, the meaning is one where we get some sort of ‘have been longing to X’, such that it becomes somewhat clearer that the function of this developed use of *biex* may well be equated to the use of English ‘to’ as it introduces infinitival clauses. Additionally, the use of *biex* and the requirement of Imperfective morphology

<sup>39</sup>Falk (2001, pp. 145-146) does in fact analyse English ‘to’ as a complementiser, which can only be present if no TENSE feature exists in the clause.

<sup>40</sup>It is for this reason that I have above been careful to say that it is simply a ‘possibility’ to think that the use of the Perfective morphology of the lexical verb in the complement argument of the pseudo-verb is being used to match the interpretation. Here we find that with the complementiser *ma*, whilst having the same interpretation, an Imperfective form is used this time. Also refer to Chapter 2 (§2.2.2.2), where we have specifically mentioned that Imperfective forms following *il-*, are associated with a Perfective or Perfect interpretation.

in its domain, at least in this context, could also enhance the view held in Hallman (2015) that the Imperfective is syntactically non-finite.

- (175) a. Marelli kemm il-u/-na ma n-i-l<t>aqgh-u  
EXCLAM how to-3SGM.ACC/-1PL.ACC COMP 1-EPENT.VWL-meet.RECIP.IMPV-PL

My God how long it has been since we met!

- b. Marelli il-u/-na (fuq sena) ma  
EXCLAM to-3SGM.ACC/-1PL.ACC on year.SGF COMP  
n-i-ltaqgh-u  
1-EPENT.VWL-meet.RECIP.IMPV-PL

My God how long it has been since we met!

- (176) a. T-af kemm il-u/-ni/-i biex ħa  
2-know.IMPV.SG how to-3SGM.ACC/-1SG.ACC/-1SG.GEN in.order.to PROSP  
n-i-ġi!  
1-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV.SG

Do you know how long I have been wanting to come!

Highly colloquial

- b. Il-i/-ni/-?u ħafna/żmien twil biex  
to-1SG.GEN/-1SG.ACC/-3SGM.ACC a.lot/time.SGM long.SGM in.order.to  
n-i-ġi n-żur-ek!  
1-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV.SG 1-visit.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC

I have been longing to come to visit you for a long time

*Il-* followed by a complementiser (i.e. a CP complement) allows for agreement with the non-SUBJ argument of the following lexical verb: *ma* (177a), *biex* (177b) and *li* (177c), with the anaphoric-binding also allowed to be long distance, as in (178).

- (177) a. Marija il-**ħa** fuq sena ma j-a-qbad-**ħa**  
Mary to-3SGF.ACC on year COMP 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SGM-3SGF.ACC  
d-deni  
DEF-fever.SGM

Lit: Mary to-her over a year to-her that fever catches her

It's been over a year since Mary had fever (and possibly it seems that she might have it again ... or not necessarily, because she may look fine)

OBJ

- b. **Il-ha**                      **biex**              **j-waqqgħ-u-ha**  
 long.time-3SGF.ACC in.order.to 3-push.down.CAUSE.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC  
 It's been a long time since they have tried to bring her down - she has been expressing  
 this feeling since OBJ

- c. **Il-hom**    **li**        **ta-t-hie-l-hom**                      **dik**        **it-tbezbiza**  
 to-3PL.ACC COMP give.PFV-3SGF-3SGF.ACC-DAT-3PL DEM.SGF DEF-warning.SGF  
 Lit: It has been a long time on-them since she gave that warning to them  
 It's been a long time since she gave them that warning (and hence by the looks of it  
 they seem to be in for another one soon) OBJØ

- (178) Int **qas il-ek**              **xejn**    **li**        **semgħ-u**        **li**        **j-rid**  
 you NEG to-2SG.ACC nothing COMP hear.PFV.3-PL COMP 3-want.IMPV.SGM  
**i-keççi-k**  
 3-expel-IMPV.SGM-2SG.ACC  
 Lit: You not to-you nothing that they heard that he wants he fires you  
 It seem on-you that it has not been a long time at all that they heard that he wants to fire  
 you COMP COMP COMP|XCOMP OBJ

We now turn to consider what goes on in terms of agreement when the auxiliary *kien* is present. We find that just as in the case of both *għodd-*, as discussed in the previous section, and *il-* in VP-complement contexts, the auxiliary *kien* may display default or agreeing behaviours when the pseudo-verb agrees with the SUBJ of the lexical verb, as illustrated in (179).

- (179) a. **Jien kien/kon-t**                      **il-ni/-i**                      **li**        **mor-t**  
 I    be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-1SG to-1SG.ACC/-1SG.GEN COMP go.PFV-1SG  
 I had long gone/left
- b. **Marija kien/kien-et**                      **il-ha**                      **ma/biex**  
 Mary   be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-3SGF to-3SGF.ACC COMP  
**t-a-ra-k**  
 3-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV.SGF-2SG.ACC  
 Mary had long wanted to see you

Unlike the case with *għodd-* and *il-* when present in non-complementiser contexts, when *il-*



marks a clear clause boundary, such that it becomes impossible for *kien* to agree with the SUBJ of the lexical verb that is not in its clause.

- (182) Kien/\*kien-et                    il-u                    ffit    li            telq-et  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-3SGF to-3SGM.ACC a.little COMP leave.PFV-3SGF  
 It's been quite a bit of time since she left

Having said this, however, changing the complementiser's form to *ma* or *biex*, and hence the other associated morphosyntactic changes with respect to the lexical verb's form, results in a distinct behaviour. As illustrated in (183), default agreement on *il-* in the context of a *ma* or *biex* complementiser allows for **both** a default or agreeing *kien*.

- (183) Kien/kon-na                    il-u                    ma/biex n-i-l<t>aqgh-u  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV-1PL to-3SGM.ACC COMP    1-EPENT.VWL-meet.RECIP.IMPV-PL  
 It'be quite a bit of time since we met

When it comes to the NEG facts, NEG marking must be on the pseudo-verb *il-*. Therefore, even if the data with the agreement facts described just above seem to suggest a bi-clausal syntactic structure, it is nonetheless not possible to have NEG marking in any one of the clauses. Rather, *il-* followed by a complementiser seems to constrain the lexical verb's morphological form to be positive.

- (184) a. M'il-hie-x                    li            xtra-t-u  
 NEG.to-3SGF.ACC-NEG COMP buy.PFV-3SGF-3SGM.ACC  
 She hasn't bought for a long time
- b. Ma kin-it-x/kien-x                    il-ha            li  
 NEG be.PFV-3SGF-NEG/be.PFV.3SGM-NEG to-3SGF.ACC COMP  
 xtra-t-u  
 buy.PFV-3SGF-3SGM.ACC  
 She hadn't bought for a long time





We first start with Vanhove's (1993, p. 194) claim that: 'suivi de pronoms suffixes [i.e. when functioning as a pseudo-verb] *ġad* est un adverbe qui signifie "encore".<sup>42</sup> The negative equivalent would then be 'no longer'/'not anymore'. This is not always the case, however, and in fact, this pseudo-verb's meaning is highly dependant on the morphosyntax of the construction in which it is found, as we will see below, such that the interpretations associated with *ġhad-* differ on the basis of the morphological aspectual form of the lexical verb, the verb's POLARITY value, and the presence/absence of a complementiser. The observations to follow have never been discussed for Maltese, and for this reason, a full description of the facts will be provided, including a review of a number of claims present in the literature, which do not quite describe the facts as they really are.

Stolz (2009, p. 159) mentions that *ġhad-* and the following lexical verb can be 'interrupted' by what he refers to as the 'adverbs' *kemm* 'how much' and *kif* 'how', considered as complementisers in this study. He claims that when the pseudo-verb is not followed by *kemm* or *kif*, it functions as 'a marker of continuation' meaning 'still'. Then he continues that: 'Only with *kemm* or *kif* does *ġhad-* convey the meaning of English *only just*' (p. 159). This is not correct, however, as we will see below. Stolz (2009, p. 159) also appears to imply that the very presence of one of these complementisers is what allows the lexical verb following the pseudo-verb to take a Perfective form, when claiming that: 'Without the addition of *kemm* or *kif*, the sentences [in (185)] would be ungrammatical ... '. A similar description is in fact present in Vanhove (1997, pp. 278-279).

- (185) a. Alda kien-et            ġhad-ha            kemm            bdie-t            ...  
           Alda be.PFV-3SGF just-3SGF.ACC how.much start.PFV-3SGF  
           Alda had (only) just started ...  
Stolz (2009, p. 158)

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<sup>42</sup>Incidentally this is the way Alqassas (fort) treats *baġad-* in Jordanian, i.e. that it's category is that of an adverb, unlike the predicate or semi-auxiliary status of sorts that Comrie (1982) and Brustad (2000) associate with these pseudo-verbs, for example.

- b. Kon-t        għad-ni        kif bdej-t        ...  
 be.PFV-1SG just-1SG.ACC how start.PFV-1SG

I had just started ...

Stolz (2009, p. 159)<sup>43</sup>

While it is true that the constructions in (185) would have been ungrammatical without the presence of the complementiser, once again, however, this is not the whole picture. A NEG form of the Perfective is in fact possible in the absence of a complementiser (186a). In fact, as shown in (186b), the utterance becomes completely ungrammatical when one of the complementisers is present.

- (186) a. Ghad-ni        ma wasal-t-x  
 still-1SG.ACC NEG arrive.PFV-1SG-NEG

I still haven't (yet) arrived

- b. \*Ghad-ni        kif/kemm        ma wasal-t-x  
 still-1SG.ACC how/how.much NEG arrive.PFV-1SG-NEG

Intended: I still haven't arrived

- c. Ghad-ni kif/kemm wasal-t

As opposed to Stolz' claim above, i.e. that the 'just' meaning is only possible in the presence of either of *kif* or *kemm*, the data in (187) below clearly illustrates that we get a 'just' interpretation associated with *għad-*, **even** if no complementiser is present. The associated restriction, with respect to this construction, i.e. where *għad-*, without the presence of the complementiser takes a 'just' interpretation, is that we have to have Imperfective forms that must also be POSITIVE in form.

- (187) a. Ghad-ni        n-a-sal  
 just-1SG.ACC 1-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG

I have just arrived

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<sup>43</sup>On the basis of Stolz' (2009) claim above, what we have here is really an 'only just' interpretation and not a continuative one.

- b. Ġhad-ni      n-i-dħol!                      Ti-ni                      ċans!  
 just-1SG.ACC 1-FRM.VWL-enter.IMPV.SG give.IMPER.2SG-1SG.ACC chance

I have just come in! Give me some time.

Fabri (1995, p. 341) also falls short in providing the complete representative description of the use of this pseudo-verb. He claims that: ‘*ġhad-* combined with the bare Imperfective, the Progressive or the Prospective’ form of the lexical verb yields the ‘still’ and ‘yet’ meanings (188), while when in the presence of *kemm*, ‘*ġhad-* expresses the fact that something happens only a short while before speech time. It can only select a bare Perfective form’. (Note that the data just presented in (187) already provides a distinct description of the actual data facts.) While it is true that *kemm* (as well as *kif* (see (189))) are only present when we have a ‘just’ interpretation, nevertheless, it is also possible to have Imperfective and active participial morphological forms following *kemm/kif*, and not just Perfective forms, and interestingly, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2.2), the interpretations associated with these is just the ones that are by default associated with the Perfective form, i.e. both its bounded ASPECTual interpretation, as well as its PAST TENSE reference. Additionally, we here illustrate that the very presence of these complementisers is **only** obligatory when a **Positive** Perfective form follows them, as illustrated through the contrast between (186b) and (186c). This thus implies that while for Fabri the data in (189a)-(189c) is deemed as ungrammatical, these are perfectly grammatical for me, and the fact that parallel data is present in the MLRS Corpus, further sustains my intuitions here, and I will not be glossing these as ungrammatical. Note that through (189a-189c), the complementiser can be omitted.

- (188) a. Jien ġhad-ni      n-i-kteb  
 I      still-1SG.ACC 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG

I am still writing

- b. Jien ġhad-ni      qed/ħa      n-i-kteb  
 I      still-1SG.ACC PROG/PROSP 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG

I am still writing/I am still going to write

- (189) a. Jien *għad-ni* kemm *in-qum*  
 I just-1SG.ACC how.much 1-wake.up.IMPV.SG  
 I have just woken up Fabri (1995, p. 341) - ungrammatical for Fabri, however
- b. Kien *għad-u* kemm *j-a-sal*  
 be.PFV just-1SG-3SGM.ACC how.much 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SGM  
 He had just arrived MLRS - (kemm) is optional here
- c. *Għad-ni* kemm *gej* minn *vaganza*  
 just-1SG.ACC how.much come.ACT.PTCP.SGM from holiday  
 I have just come back from a holiday MLRS - (kemm) is optional here
- d. *Għad-u* kif *telaq*  
 just-3SGM.ACC how leave.PFV.3SGM  
 He has just left

Vanhove (1997, p. 271) provides the example in (190). This is completely ungrammatical for me. Given the nature of her data, which is taken from recorded spontaneous speech, it is not farfetched to consider that this utterance could have involved some sort of a hedging effect. The utterance would have been totally grammatical if the auxiliary preceded the pseudo-verb, or some sort of complementiser came before the Perfective auxiliary.

- (190) *għax għad-ek kon-t qed t-neħħi l-prezz-ijiet*  
 because still-2SG.ACC be.PFV-1SG PROG 2-CAUSE.remove.IMPV.SG DEF-price-PL  
 because you were still removing the prices Vanhove (1997, p. 271) - ungrammatical for me

We have so far discussed the morphological lexical forms allowed, the complementisers and interpretations involved. What is still to be discussed are the different constraints on the nature of the agreement behaviours. When Comrie (1982, p. 12) stated that pseudo-verbs including *għad-* must display agreement with the SUBJ of the following lexical verb, as mentioned in §3.1, this only covered one of the agreement behaviours associated with *għad-*. The morphosyntactic behaviours of the pseudo-verbal use of *għad-* is as follows in table (3.4).





The facts with respect to the the agreement on *kien* when *ghad-* takes a default form, parallel the behaviour we had in the case of *kien* in the context of *il-*, at least when this took CP complements introduced by *li*. The difference here is that a default form of the pseudo-verb does not require the presence of a complementiser, as in (196).

- (196) Kien/\*kien-u                      ghad-u                      ma qal-u-l-hie-x  
       be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV.3-PL still-3SGM.ACC NEG say.PFV.3-PL-DAT-3SGF-NEG  
       x'ha                      t-a-ghmel  
       what.PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGF  
       They still hadn't told her what to do

When it comes to the NEG facts, here we find an exact parallel with what was the case of *il-* in VP complement contexts. When *ghad-* itself takes VP complements, we get the three possible scenarios, i.e. NEG on the pseudo-verb; on the lexical verb; and on both.

- (197) a. M'ghad-nie-x                      n-i-fhm-u  
       NEG.still-1PL.ACC-NEG 1-FRM.VWL-understand.IMPV-PL  
       We no longer understand
- b. Ghad-na                      ma n-i-fhm-u-x  
       still-1PL.ACC NEG 1-FRM.VWL-understand.IMPV-PL-NEG  
       We still don't understand
- c. M'ghad-nie-x                      ma n-i-fhm-u-x  
       NEG.still-1PL.ACC-NEG NEG 1-FRM.VWL-understand-IMPV-PL-NEG  
       We no longer don't understand

Given the description provided here, it is thus interesting that when we have an *ghad-* followed by an Imperfective form of the lexical verb, such as *qara* 'read', in the absence of a complementiser, as in (198a), the interpretation is in principle ambiguous, although it would be fully disambiguated if specific ADJs are involved, as well as the context in which it is present. On the other hand, when *ghad-* takes a NEG form as in (198b), disambiguation takes place, such that it is only the continuative 'still' interpretation that is available. The 'he hasn't just read' reading would **only** be available with the addition of a complementiser, as in (198c). This thus implies that NEG-

marking on the pseudo-verb results in some changes to the representation of the morphosyntactic facts in table (3.4), such that the complementiser becomes obligatory.

- (198) a. Ghad-u                    j-a-qa  
           GhAD-3SGM.ACC 3-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV.SGM  
           He is still reading (don't disturb him!)  
           He just read (last Sunday. Don't ask him again today)
- b. M'ghad-u-x                    j-a-qa  
           NEG.still-3SGM.ACC-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV.SGM  
           He is no longer reading
- c. M'ghad-u-x                    kemm/kif            j-a-qa  
           NEG.still-3SGM.ACC-NEG how.much/how 3-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV.SGM  
           He hasn't just read

When it comes to the behaviour of NEG marking in the case of *ghad-* when this takes CP complements, we observe a parallel with when *il-* takes CP complements, such that NEG can only be marked on *ghad-*. Note that the ungrammaticality of (199b) follows from the requirements imposed by the complementiser itself, as illustrated in the representation in table (3.4), where it is only positive morphological forms that are allowed.

- (199) a. Mhux vera! M'ghad-ek-x                    kemm/kif            t-a-sal!  
           NEG true NEG.still-2SG.ACC-NEG how.much/how 2-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG  
           It's not true. You haven't just arrived!
- b. \*Ghad-ek            kemm/kif            ma t-a-sal-x/ma  
           still-2SG.ACC how.much/how NEG 2-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG-NEG/NEG  
           wasal-t-x  
           arrive.PFV-1SG-NEG  
           Intended: You have just not arrived

The final pieces of pseudo-verbal data which concern us here are instances where *ghad-* does not appear to follow a lexical verb. I do not have instances such as (200) in mind, where clearly there is an elided lexical predicate involved. Rather, what I want to discuss are instances such



as (201)-(204) below.

- (200) a. Mor-t            t-kellm-u?  
           go.PFV-2SG 2-talk.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC  
           Did you go to talk to him?
- b. Le, għad-ni.        Għala?  
           no still-1SG.ACC why  
           No, not yet. Why?

In the presence of predicates that are PPs (201) or NPs (202), *għad-* never takes a default form. The question to ask at this point is whether the pseudo-verb here functions as a real predicate or whether we may want to posit that its behaviour in such non-verbal constructions, is one that parallels a copular function, such that we assume that obligatory agreement on the pseudo-verb is determined by the very SUBJ of the P or N PRED in the *f*-structure, under a mono-clausal *f*-structure analysis for such constructions. Agreement on *għad-* becomes optional once again when we have another element in the construction (as in (203), which in this case is the pseudo-verb *għand-*), that is able to realize the necessary agreement feature values. What is interesting to observe between (201) and (203), is that the presence/absence of a default taking *għad-* parallels the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of the use of the invariable *għad*.

- (201) a. Kon-t/kien                                    għad-ni/\*-u                                    ta' hmistax-il    sena  
           be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM still-1SG.ACC/\*-3SGM.ACC of    fifteen-DEF year  
           I was still fifteen years old
- b. \*Kon-t għad ta' hmistax-il sena
- (202) Ghad-ek tifla  
           still-2SG girl.SGF  
           You are still a girl (i.e. you haven't yet grown up)
- (203) a. Kon-t/kien                                    għad-ni            għand-i            biss hmistax-il    sena  
           be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM still-1SG.ACC at-1SG.GEN only fifteen-DEF year  
           I still only had fifteen years old

- b. Kon-t/kien                      għad-u              għand-i      biss hmistax-il    sena  
 be.PFV-1SG/be.PFV.3SGM still-3SGM.ACC at-1SG.GEN only fiveteen-DEF year  
 I still only had fiveteen years old
- c. Kon-t/kien għad għand-i biss hmistax-il sena

What we have below are colloquial utterances which I will consider to be no different from the ones above, i.e. where the PRED is ‘time’, even if in (204b) this is elided. Similar occurrences need not solely involve ‘time’, but an AP for example, as in (204c), which can also be elided, as the brackets around *ftit żgħira* ‘a little young’ are meant to illustrate. Also see Vanhove (1997, p. 271).

- (204) a. Għad-u              l-ħin  
 still-3SGM.ACC DEF-time.SGM  
 It’s still time Vanhove (1997, pp. 271-272)
- b. Għad-u              biex              im-morr-u  
 still-3SGM.ACC in.order.to 1-go.IMPV-PL  
 It’s still time to go (i.e. it’s still early)
- c. Għad-ha              (ftit    żgħir-a)              biex              t-o-ħroġ  
 still-3SGF.ACC a.little small/young-SGF in.order.to 3-FRM.VWL-go.out.IMPV.SGF  
 weħid-ha  
 alone-3SGF.ACC  
 She’s still a little young to go out on her own

Finally, for completeness we consider the use of the invariable *għad*, which we have seen in (203), in contrast to (201b), to be able to substitute the **default** use of the pseudo-verb, and which form can only mean ‘still, yet’, and never ‘just’. However we also observe that *għad* can appear in contexts where no form of the pseudo-verb can appear. The invariable particle, but not the inflecting pseudo-verb can be used in the presence of an existential or a default 3SGM lexical verb as in (205a)-(205b). In (205c)-(205d), however, the invariable particle can be optionally present in a context where the pseudo-verbal counterpart needs to display obligatory agreement. (206), on the other hand, provides us with an instance where both the particle *għad* and the



the different sorts of agreement patterns we have discussed with respect to three pseudo-verbs discussed in this section. Following this discussion we will then be able to hypothesise what these pseudo-verbs' function could be in the overall grammar, particularly in the domain of ASPECTual realisations and interpretations.

pseudo-verb	AGR on pseudo-verb	AGR on <i>kien</i>
ghodd-	Default   SUBJ AGR non-SUBJ AGR	Default   SUBJ AGR Default
il- (VP COMP)	SUBJ AGR non-SUBJ AGR	Default   SUBJ AGR Default
il- (CP COMP)	Default (and COMP FORM = <i>li</i> ) Default (and COMP FORM = <i>ma/biex</i> ) SUBJ AGR non-SUBJ AGR	Default Default   SUBJ AGR Default   SUBJ AGR Default   non-SUBJ AGR
ghad-	Default SUBJ AGR	Default Default   SUBJ AGR
ghad- (VP COMP)	non-SUBJ AGR	Default
ghad- (CP COMP)	non-SUBJ AGR	Default   non-SUBJ AGR
invariable <i>ghad</i>		Default   SUBJ AGR

Table 3.5: A summary of the agreement patterns on the AUX *kien* with respect to the agreement on the pseudo-verb

### 3.5 Copy raising and pseudo-verbs

We have briefly mentioned the term copy raising in §3.4 above as a possible explanation for the agreement facts which we have observed. The phenomenon of copy raising (CR) in Maltese was first discussed with respect to the lexical verb *deher* 'seem' as well as the pseudo-verbs *donn-* and *qis-* in Camilleri et al. (2014b). We review the account of copy raising provided in that study, as I believe that it could be used to account for the agreement behaviours we have here. In CR constructions (Rogers, 1973), instead of the usual (forward) raising constructions where we typically have a SUBJ that raises out of an embedded clause into a non-thematic GF position in the higher clause, we have a counterpart 'thematic position occupied by a pronominal copy'. In English, this pronominal copy must be present in a 'a tensed clause complement introduced

by one of the particles *like*, *as if*, or *as though*', which Potsdam and Runner (2001, p. 462), following Maling (1983) and Heycock (1994), take to be prepositions (207). The same analyses follow in Asudeh and Toivonen (2006, 2012) and Landau (2011). The focus of such constructions in Fujii (2007, p. 302) is the fact that CR 'involves overt raising out of a finite CP'.

(207) There seems like **there** are problems Potsdam and Runner (2001, p. 454)

Asudeh and Toivonen (2006, p. 16; 2012, pp. 322, 336), just like Fujii (2007, p. 296) treat the matrix SUBJ as a non-thematic GF, even if there are differences between usual raising constructions and CR ones. Of most importance is the fact that as Asudeh and Toivonen (2012, p. 340) illustrate, the copy pronoun need not be the highest available SUBJ, and additionally, the copy is not restricted to the usual SUBJ GF, contrary to what we find in non-copy raising constructions. The copy in CR constructions may additionally be an OBJ or POSS in English. For Maltese it was in fact shown that all the available GFs in the language are available for this copy pronoun, such that the anaphoric dependency involved can be stated as follows in (208), which essentially represents the possible anaphoric-binder GFs of the matrix SUBJ. (208) additionally states that in the non-highest COMP (i.e. COMP<sup>+</sup>), the copy can in fact be in SUBJ position, following data such as that in (209), where Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 196) mention how this 'would be appropriate in a scenario in which the addressee has been to an interview for a child-minding post, and some aspect of his/her demeanour indicates that the prospective employers ('they') have seen that the addressee can deal well with children'.

(208)  $(\uparrow\text{SUBJ})\sigma = ((\uparrow\text{COMP} \neg\text{SUBJ} \mid \uparrow\text{COMP}^+ \{\text{SUBJ} \mid \text{OBJ} \mid \text{OBJ}\theta \mid \text{POSS} \mid \text{OBL} \text{OBJ}\})\sigma \text{ ANTECEDENT})$  Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 196)

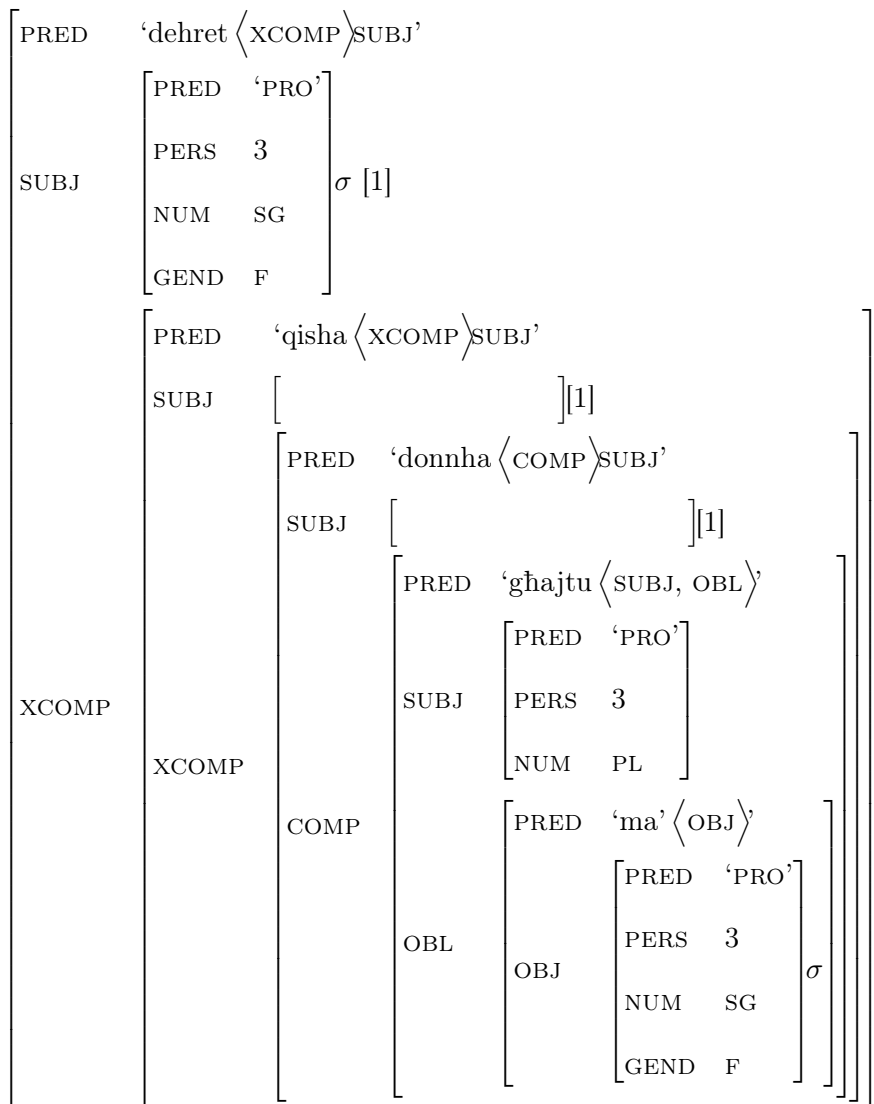
- (209) **T-i-dher**                      li      ġa      j-af-u                      li      **t-af**  
 2-FRM.VWL-appear.SG COMP already 3-know.IMPV-PL COMP 2-know.IMPV.SG  
**t-mur**                      mat-tfal  
 2-go.IMPV.SG with.DEF-children

You seem (from some positive and upbeat aspect of your demeanour) as though they already know that you know how to deal with children      Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 196)

Analyses vary as to the status of the matrix SUBJ's thematicity. While Asudeh and Toivonen (2006, 2012) and Fujii (2007) take the SUBJ to be non-thematic, Potsdam and Runner (2001, pp. 455-456) only assume that the SUBJ is non-thematic when the pronominal copy is itself in an embedded SUBJ position. It is assumed to be non-thematic otherwise. Moreover, for Landau (2009, p. 343), the construction where the copy is not in SUBJ position is only an 'apparent CR'. Another property specific to this construction, other than the presence of a copy pronoun and 'raising' that is not restricted to be out of a SUBJ GF, is the fact that chained raising/double raising is available, as long as the chaining is local (Alsina, 2008, p. 18). This was in fact how the sentence in (210) was analysed in Camilleri et al. (2014, pp. 192-193), i.e. as a series of raising chains, where the co-occurring pseudo-verbs were taken to be raising predicates themselves, and where the non-thematic SUBJ was anaphorically-bound to the obligatory pronominal copy in OBL OBJ position. The relevant *f*-structure follows below. (211) on the other hand illustrates a long distance anaphoric-binding relation without the mediation of internal local chaining.

- (210) Dehr-**et**                      qis-**ha**                      donn-**ha**                      ġhajt-u  
 seem.PFV-3SGF as.though-3SGF.ACC as.though-3SGF.ACC shout.PFV.3-PL  
 magħ-**ha**  
 with-3SGF.ACC

She seemed as though they shouted at her      Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 193)



- (211) John qis-u (bhal) Marija qal-et li hu  
 John as.though-3SGM.ACC as.though Mary say.PFV-3SGF COMP he  
 wegga’ lil Rita  
 hurt.CAUSE.PFV.3SGM ACC Rita

John seems as though Mary said that he hurt Rita

The availability of three ‘seem/as.through/as.if’ predicates simultaneously seems to allow us to demonstrate what appears to be a constraint on the anaphoric-binding dependency path between the non-thematic matrix SUBJ and the copy. The ungrammaticality of (212), which is ungram-

matical irrespective of the order in which *deher* and the pseudo-verbs appear, implies that it is not possible to have the matrix SUBJ being anaphorically-bound with the COMP XCOMP XCOMP non-SUBJ GF when COMP SUBJ = COMP XCOMP SUBJ and COMP XCOMP SUBJ = COMP XCOMP XCOMP SUBJ (i.e. when chained SUBJ raising is present).

- (212) \*Dehr-et            donn-hom            qis-hom            kellm-u-ha            ħażin  
 appear.PFV-3SGF as.through-3PL.ACC as.through-3PL.ACC talk.PFV.3-PL-3SGF.ACC bad

Intended: She seemed as though they talked badly to her

Simply to give the full overview of the facts, it should be mentioned that the pseudo-verbs *qis-* and *donn-* may interact with prepositions and complementisers that are assumed to head CPs. Just as in English, Arabic (the complementiser *kaʔanna* (Salih, 1985)) and Hebrew (the complementiser *ke-ilu* followed by *še* ‘that’ (Lappin, 1984)), Maltese makes use of special prepositions as well as fused preposition-headed complementisers in the context of such CR constructions. Maltese differs from English and Arabic, but parallels closely with Hebrew. In Maltese we are able to have the presence of the preposition *bħal* ‘like’ or the complementiser *bħal(likieku)* ‘as though’, which interestingly just like the Hebrew complementiser is built out of the preposition ‘like’ and the counterfactual complementiser, which is otherwise not used in CR constructions as in (213). The pair in (214) from Hebrew illustrates how the same preposition + complementiser introduces both CR and non-CR constructions. On the other hand, as illustrated through the ungrammaticality of (215) for Arabic, the complementiser *kaʔanna* is not possible in non-CR contexts.

- (213) Qis-ha                            bħal(likieku) m'għarf-it-ni-x  
 as.through-3SGF.ACC as.if                            NEG-recognise.PFV-3SGF-1SG-NEG

As though she didn't recognise me

No CR

- (214) a. (ze) nireh    ke-ilu še    ħaim sameaħ  
 it    appears as-if    COMP Haim (is.happy)

It appears as if Haim is happy

No CR



- b. ḥaim nireh ke-ilu še hu sameaḥ  
 Haim appears as-if COMP he happy

Haim appears as if he is happy

CR - Hebrew: Lappin (1984, p. 247)

- (215) a. badat-i l-bint-u kaʔanna-hā katab-at-i  
 seem.PFV-3SGF-INDIC DEF-girl-NOM as-if-3SGF.ACC write.PFV-3SGF-INDIC  
 r-risālat-a  
 DEF-letter-ACC

The girl seemed as if she wrote the letter

CR MSA: Salih (1985, p. 138)

- b. \*t-abdū ʔalay-ha wa kaʔanna al-awlād-a  
 3-seem.IMPV.SGM-INDIC on-3SGF.GEN CONJ as-if DEF-children-ACC  
 y-akrah-ūna John  
 3-hate.IMPV-PL-INDIC John

Intended: She seems as though the children hate John No CR - MSA: Camilleri et al.  
 (2014, p. 186)

A pertinent part of the discussion on CR, since Rogers (1973), involved reference to the fact that the matrix SUBJ that is itself coreferential with the pronominal copy entails a perceptual source (Psource), specifically an individual Psource.<sup>45</sup> Before discussing this fact with respect to CR, it is worth mentioning here that when normal SUBJ-to-SUBJ raising is involved, as in (216) below, as Landau (2011, pp. 787-788) would have it, ‘some perceptual event is entailed, owing to the lexical semantics of perceptual source verbs’, and in fact, verbs such as ‘appear/seem’ and ‘as.though’ pseudo-verbal predicates may be considered as the ‘most bleached perceptual source verbs’. What we have in (216) is an event Psource, as opposed to an individual Psource entailment, which we would have otherwise had if CR is involved.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>45</sup>Psource is not to be understood as a thematic role/argument: ‘Psource is not a thematic role assigned to a semantic argument’ (Asudeh and Toivonen, 2012, pp. 136, 142). Rather, it is a semantic entailment conditioning the participant, in this case that which takes the syntactic function of a SUBJ, which can either come from some aspect of the individual, or from something in the context (i.e. event Psource), which tells us more about the SUBJ with respect to what is reported by the verb.

<sup>46</sup>It should here in fact be added that individual Psource qualification may also follow from reporting a first-hand witness as in (i) below, which involves the use of the pseudo-verb *il-* ‘long time’.

- i Smaj-t-hom j-ghid-u li il-ha ma  
 hear.PFV-1SG-3PL.ACC 3-say.IMPV-PL COMP long.time-3SGF.ACC NEG  
 j-a-qbad-ha d-deni  
 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SGM-3SGF.ACC DEF-fever

- (216) Donn-hom/-u/qis-hom/-u qed  
 as.through-3PL.ACC/-3SGM.ACC/as.through-3PL.ACC/-3SGM.ACC PROG  
 j-a-qra-w ktieb tajjeb xi kwiet hawn!  
 3-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV-PL book.SGM good.SGM what silence EXIST

It's as though they are reading a good book, how quiet it is!/They're as though they're reading a good book

Asudeh (2011, p. 23) however provides data from English (e.g. (217)), with structural equivalents of the type in (218a) and (219) for Maltese, where the SUBJ of the 'seem' predicate is a Psource, even if it is thematic and not associated with an embedded pronominal form. Landau's (2011) take on the matter differs, such that on the contrary, according to him, it is when the SUBJ is **not** a Psource that English displays CR, and when there is CR involved, this is only 'apparent', as the matrix SUBJ is taken to be thematic (Landau, 2009, p. 343; Landau, 2011, p. 786). Landau builds his account on that of Lappin (1984, p. 241), who essentially considers the SUBJ of 'seem + as if' as thematic, as opposed to the non-thematic SUBJ of 'seem'.

- (217) Alfred seems like Harry's hurt Thora

In Camilleri et al. (2014) these pseudo-verbs' subcategorisation frame has been identified. This was primarily made possible when it was shown that while in the majority of the instances, the pseudo-verbs could in fact substitute *deher*, i.e. the 'seem' predicate, there was one particular context where this was not the case. This specific context was when the SUBJ of the matrix predicate had no corresponding controllee in the embedded clause, but was nevertheless not default in form.<sup>47</sup> The contrast in (218) was thus taken to imply that while *deher* may in fact take a **thematic** SUBJ in one of its subcategorisation frames, apart from the <(COMP/XCOMP)>SUBJ frames, this was shown to not be the case for the pseudo-verbs, such that these always displayed non-thematic SUBJS.

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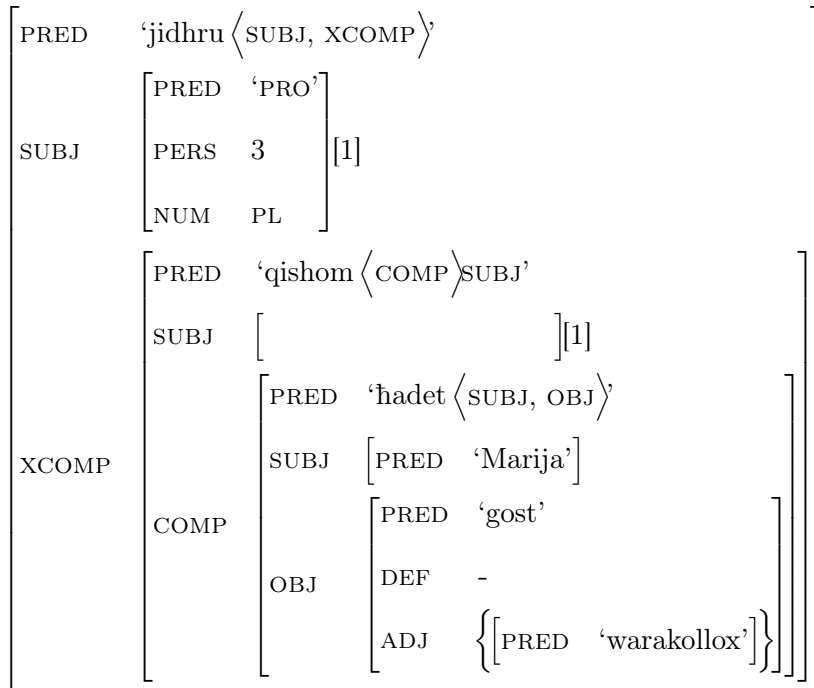
I heard them say that it's been a long time since she had fever  
 I heard them say that she hadn't had fever for a long time

<sup>47</sup>Also see Chapter 4, §4.4.2.4 where we provide a context where this time, *deher* is not possible to substitute the pseudo-verbs *qis-* or *donn-*.

- (218) a. T-i-dher (li) Marija/hi ħad-et gost  
 2/3-FRM.VWL-seem.IMPV.SG(F) COMP Mary/she take.PFV-3SGF fun  
 You/she<sub>i</sub> seem(s) like Mary<sub>j</sub> enjoyed herself; Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 198)
- b. \*It-tfal qis-hom Marija ħad-et gost  
 DEF-children as.through-3PL.ACC Mary take.PFV-3SGF fun  
 Intended: The children appear as though Mary enjoyed herself

**Co-occurrence** of the pseudo-verbs with *deher* is nevertheless possible (219), with its *f*-structure following below.

- (219) J-i-dhr-u qis-hom Marija ħad-et gost warakollox!  
 3-FRM.VWL-seem.IMPV-PL as.through-3PL.ACC Mary take.PFV-3SGF fun after.all  
 They seem as though Mary had fun after all Camilleri et al. (2014, p. 198)



Although not made explicit in Camilleri et al. (2014), we here assume that the 3PL agreement on the pseudo-verb in (219) is derived from a parasitic morphological relation between the *deher* ‘seem’ predicate and the pseudo-verb, given that *qis-* in (219) could have in fact taken a 3SGM form. See below. Before we delve into this morphological effect in more detail, I should here provide the underlying account of how default 3SGM morphology is dealt with. When we have

default 3SGM agreement present, we here assume that this follows from an analysis whereby employment of default morphology in the Maltese grammar is present when a given (non-thematic) SUBJ takes no PRED value. The availability of such an analysis, i.e. the lack of a PRED value is well-employed vis-à-vis dummy or expletive arguments in LFG (Bresnan, 2001, p. 238). Berman (2003, pp. 49-61) motivates a parallel analysis for the SUBJ of impersonal passive constructions and verbs that lexically-assign a non-NOM Case to their SUBJs in German. Not having a PRED as a semantic feature in the SUBJ's *f*-structure does not entail that there is no SUBJ GF at all. Rather, the SUBJ's *f*-structure is filled in by an AGR feature whose value is an *f*-structure whose own values for PERSON, NUMBER and GENDER are 3SGM, which morphosyntactic information is represented through the verb-form's morphology, without there being any semantic interpretation, apart from there being no thematic argument involved. This parallels the way pronominal incorporation is analysed in LFG, except that pronominal incorporation also involves the additional presence of a PRED 'PRO'. It is the lack of such a PRED 'PRO' which entails that the SUBJ is PREDless: '... the verbal agreement morphology introduces a subject in the *f*-structure, namely a subject without a semantic feature' (Berman, 2003, p. 59). A predicate taking a non-thematic SUBJ that is not involved in any functional or anaphoric relation will thus take the information in (220) in its lexical entry. The presence of the optional feature FORM (following Berman (2003, p. 71)) would account for the availability of *huwa*, which is the non-contracted free 3SGM.NOM pronoun in Maltese, and which we here claim to function as an expletive pronoun in certain contexts (e.g. (221)).

(220) predicate - V - '*phon form*<COMP>SUBJ'

(↑ SUBJ PERS) = 3

(↑ SUBJ NUM) = SG

(↑ SUBJ GEND) = M

((↑ SUBJ FORM) = *huwa*)



- (223) a. Jeg hadde villet [lest boka]  
 I had want.PTCP read.PTCP book.DEF  
 I would have liked to read the book Parasitic
- b. Jeg hadde villet [lese boka]  
 I had want.PTCP read.INF book.DEF  
 I would have liked to read the book Non-Parasitic - Norwegian: (2001, p. 201)
- (224) Gräset behövs klippas  
 grass.DEF needs.PRES.PASS cut.BASE.PASS  
 The grass needed to be cut PASSIVE copying - Swedish: Sells (2001, p. 22)
- (225) Han prøvade o stekte en fisk  
 he try.PST CONJ fry.PST a fish  
 He tried to fry a fish TENSE copying - Swedish: Wurmbrand (2010, p. 1)
- (226) Han hade velat kunnat simmat  
 he had want.PTCP can.PTCP swim.PTCP  
 He would have liked to be able to swim Recursive parasitism - Swedish: Wurmbrand  
 (2010, p. 8)

What's crucial to the above constructions and data pairs is that as the use of the term 'redundant' implies, this is 'vacuous parasitism' i.e. there is 'no semantic difference in interpretation' (Wiklund, 2001, p. 201), such that '[t]he interpretation of a parasitic supine always equals that of an infinitive, i.e. the non-parasitic counterpart' (p. 204) for example, and in the case of (224), Sells (2001, p. 22) states that 'the morphology is marking that the **clause** is passive, not that the verbs themselves are necessarily passive'. The availability of such parasitic morphology is taken to be indicative of the 'restructuring property' of the non-matrix predicate involved, where it is observed how '[r]estructuring infinitives have a very close relation to the matrix verb' (Wiklund, 2001, p. 222).

With this brief review of what constitutes parasitic morphology, we thus observe that possibly our account of the 3PL morphology on the pseudo-verb *qis-* in (219), which as illustrated in

(227), could have also been a default 3SGM form, may well be an instance of such parasitic morphology, with the SUBJ-sharing between *deher* and *qis-* being the means with which the parasitic agreement can be realized (in the case of (219)), since a thematic SUBJ is not available for such pseudo-verbs.

(227) J-i-dhr-u                      qis-u                      Marija had-et                      gost warakollox!  
 3-FRM.VWL-seem.IMPV-PL as.though-3SGM.ACC Mary take.PFV-3SGF fun after.all

They seem as though Mary had fun after all

So essentially, an important difference between parasitic morphology and CR is that there is **no** associated change in the sentence's interpretation when parasitic morphology is involved. Note that agreement mismatches of this sort also feature in what I here refer to as the modal pseudo-verbs *ghand-* meaning 'have' and *haqq-*, lit: 'justice', which takes the meaning of what I gloss as 'what if'.<sup>48</sup> Observe the behaviour of the mismatches below in (228) and (229), which yield no

<sup>48</sup>Vanhove et al. (2009) omit any reference to this modal predicate in Maltese. However, they do mention the use of *haqq-* lit. 'truth' in Egyptian, which is also a pseudo-verb, to be expressing a modal function. They refer to the 'grammaticali[sation of] certain nominal and prepositional constructions' to 'express the intersubjective values [of which the use of *haqq-* in Maltese can be perceived as] of necessity and obligation' (p. 26). See Mion (2013, p. 58), however, who illustrates how the use of the same pseudo-verb *haqq-* in Tunisian expresses a modal of obligation within a conditional projection.

i *haqq-ik*    *t-irūḥi*                      *t-aḡayyari*                      *hdūm-ik*  
 truth-2SGF 2-go.IMPV.SGF 2-change.IMPV.SGF clothe-2SGF

You should go and change your clothes

Egyptian: Vanhove et al. (2009: 26)

Note that although not discussed elsewhere in the literature on Maltese, *haqq* is in fact associated with yet another meaning, where it functions as an equivalent to the lexical verb 'deserve' in English, which can in fact be disambiguated from the modal meaning through a number of morphosyntactic distinctions (Camilleri, MS). With respect to the nature of this sort of modal pseudo-verb in Maltese, If we consider the role of 'what if' in English, we observe that this is illustrating an instance where while typically a *wh-* in SpecCP is not followed by an item in C, here we actually do observe the cooccurrence of the *wh-*pronoun 'what' and the complementiser 'if'. Possibly, however, the *what* in 'what if' is not in a SpecCP position as in reality this is not part of an interrogative structure where it would then be anaphorically- or functionally-bound with some GF at the bottom of the path. Rather, the whole 'what if' seems to be situated in C possibly projecting some sort of TYPE feature to the overall clause (Louisa Sadler, p.c, March, 2015). Positing such an analysis, where the non-'deserve' use of *haqq-* projects a CLAUSE TYPE feature yielding some sort of 'counterfactual' or 'exclamative' values, would be plausible, given that from a possible string of pseudo-verbs, *haqq-* always comes first, and it is only a UDF in Spec-CP, that can precede it, (as in (ii)). In fact, this modal use of *haqq-* is the only verb-like element that is not on the periphery, but internal to the clause, that can precede the auxiliary *kien*.

ii Issa Marija, *haqq-u/-ha*                      *ghad-ha*                      *ma qal-u-l-hie-x!*  
 now Mary what.if-3SGM.ACC/3SGF.ACC still-3SGF.ACC NEG say.PFV.3-PL-DAT-3SGF-NEG

Now as for Mary, what if they still didn't tell her!





*ħaqq-* in (228) and (229) respectively, if we really want to think of these pseudo-verbs as possible feature-bearers only, in the *f*-structure.<sup>49</sup>

With CR as a possible reason why we get the different agreement patterns between the pseudo-verbs discussed in this chapter and the following lexical verb, we can now move on to consider what the actual contribution these three pseudo-verbs could be providing to the overall ASPECTUAL system of Maltese.

### 3.6 ASPECT and the pseudo-verbs *għodd-*, *il-* and *għad-*

Following our morphosyntactic account of the three pseudo-verb plus lexical verb construction, we now consider in more detail the semantic interpretations associated with these pseudo-verbs, and whether any of these interpretations are reflected as syntactic features in the *f*-structure. Essentially our discussion of the semantic interpretation of at least two of these pseudo-verbs requires us to engage in a discussion on the PERFECT (§3.6.1). In §3.6.2 we specifically discuss the pseudo-verb *għodd-* with respect to what is in the literature referred to as the *avertive* and *proximative* constructions.

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<sup>49</sup>I leave this as an open question, however, since if we take the behaviour of *għand-* with respect to the agreement on *kien*, this displays the same behaviours we have been observing across §3.4, such that we get agreement with the SUBJ of the lexical verb when the pseudo-verb takes a default form (i), while the use of 3SGM *kien* alone is what's available when we have non-default non-SUBJ agreement present on the pseudo-verb, as in (ii).

- i Kien-et/kien                      għand-u      mnejn      t-mur              tajjeb kieku  
 be.PFV-3SGF/be.PFV.3SGM at-3SGM.GEN from.where 3-go.IMPV.SGF good if  
 ħallej-t-ħa                      t-i-studja  
 leave.PFV-2SG-3SGF.ACC 3-EPENT.VWL-study.IMPV.SGF  
 She may have done well if you allowed her to study
- ii Kien/\*kien-u/\*kien-et                      għand-hom mnejn      qabd-it-hom  
 be.PFV.3SGM/be.PFV.3-PL/be.PFV.3-SGF at-3PL.GEN from.where catch.PFV-3SGF-3PL.ACC  
 ras-hom                      t-u-ġaġħ-hom  
 head.SGF-3PL.GEN 3-FRM.VWL-hurt.IMPV.SGF-3PL.ACC  
 Lit: Was at-them from.where catch-them their head hurt-them  
 Perhaps they had contracted a headache

### 3.6.1 PERFECT ASPECT and *ghad-/il-*

The Viewpoint ASPECTUAL values we have discussed so far in the previous chapter have all been concerned with different ways with which the internal structure of a given situation can be viewed. Here, however, while we classify the PERFECT as a value of ASPECT, it should be kept in mind that as Comrie (1976, p. 52) claims, the PERFECT ‘tells us nothing about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation’. The PERFECT value thus ‘refers to a past situation which has present relevance’ (p. 12).<sup>50</sup> Just like with the PROSPECTIVE ASPECTUAL value, the PERFECT also involves a relation between two points, i.e. ‘a state relating to an anterior and posterior situation, respectively’ (Ritz, 2012, p. 886). The literature is however not necessarily all in agreement with the fact that the PERFECT should be analysed as an ASPECTUAL value. Jespersen (1931, p. 47) conceives of the PERFECT as a sub-type of the PRESENT TENSE that is however able to be linked with a PAST time reference. For McCoard (1978), the PERFECT equates to an INDEFINITE PAST value, where an event that has taken place in the past is nonetheless not anchored to a specific time, hence the theory of the ‘extended now’, where we get a ‘past-including-the-present’ account. (Also see Ritz (2012)).

While since Jespersen (1924, p. 269) the notion of the PERFECT has always had the ‘result’/‘completive’ part focussed upon, Comrie (1976, p. 52) specifically highlights the ‘relevance’ interpretation, where there is a **continued** relevance of a situation that has happened in the past, at the present point. Comrie essentially provides four distinct uses of the PERFECT:

1. Perfect of persistent situation (=Universal)
2. Experiential Perfect (=Existential)
3. Perfect of result (=Present Relevance)

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<sup>50</sup>From an LFG perspective, Butt and Rizvi (2010, p. 8) also consider the PERFECT as an ASPECTUAL value. Glasbey (2001, p. 472), on the other hand assumes a separate feature PERFECT in her account, whose values are {+ | -}. This feature is distinguished from both VIEWPOINT, whose values are {Perfective | Imperfective}, as well as TIME REF, whose values are {PST | PRES | FUT}.

## 4. Perfect of recent past (=Hot News)

Binnick (1991, p. 98) associates the use/interpretation of the Perfect of persistent situation with the Universal Perfect in Jespersen (1924, p. 84), where this interpretation indicates that ‘a state of affairs prevailed throughout some interval stretching from the past to the present’, as in (230).

(230) I have been waiting for three days

Michaelis (1997, p. 9) considers the PRESENT PERFECT to be a means with which ‘a speaker can locate an event in a history while simultaneously relating that event to a state of affairs which obtains at the present time’, and the ‘communicative function ... is that of signalling the “present relevance” of a past event’. That the PERFECT is also part of the ASPECTUAL category is maintained by Brinton (1988). She in fact brings out four distinct interpretations of the PERFECT (p. 10).<sup>51</sup>

1. **Resultative Perfect** ‘refers to a past situation which has present results, effects, and relevance’.

(231) I have eaten lunch

2. **Continuative Perfect** ‘refers to a situation which began in the past and persists up to, and perhaps even beyond, the present’.

(232) a. We have known him since ...

b. He has sung in the choir for years

3. **Perfect of Experience** ‘refers to a situation which has occurred once or repeatedly before the present’.

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<sup>51</sup>One should mention here how according to Denison (1992), at times the PERFECT realisation can be substituted by the PRESENT TENSE, for communication in the past’, as in the pair in (i) suggests:

- (i) a. Jim tells me that the forecast is bad
- b. Jim has told me that the forecast is bad

(233) a. I have been abroad many times

b. I have read the novel

4. **Perfect of recent past** ‘refers to a situation which occurred in the immediate past’.<sup>52</sup>

(234) a. John has just left

b. Bill has recently received an award

Although she gives these four distinct classifications of the ‘aspectual meanings’ associated with the PERFECT value, Brinton mentions how it is possible to conceive of the Resultative and the Continuative interpretations to be the major distinctions, with the Perfect of Experience and the Perfect of Recent Past then being identified as part of the Resultative interpretation. For Brinton (1988, p. 12), the Completion interpretation that has been associated with the PERFECT, cannot be retained, since ‘a past situation can be relevant to the current moment in one of two ways, either with respect to the present consequences of the complete situation (resultative perfect) or by its actual continuance up to the present moment (continuative perfect). In the latter, the situation is not complete’ (p. 12). In fact this is something which Michaelis (1997) seems to miss out on, when defining the PERFECT as follows: ‘... it denotes that state which obtains at some point following the time at which the reference situation culminates’ (p. xv). If this definition implies that the relevance to the present comes after ‘culmination’, then Michaelis must be simply associating completeness with the PERFECT value. Brinton (1988, pp. 14-15) clearly states that: ‘Whereas the perfective views a situation as *discrete*, the perfect views it as somehow *connected* to the present state’, and due to the very Continuative interpretation that can be allowed, ‘[t]he perfect is not incompatible with the meaning of incompleteness’. Note that while Michaelis’ definition of the PERFECT just cited above appears to be somewhat limited, she nonetheless mentions the Continuative as one of the different implications of the available current relevance in her list of interpretations associated with the Perfect, provided below.

<sup>52</sup>Johnson (1981, p. 149) provides the term ‘Short Perfect’ for this PERFECT interpretation.

1. **Resultative** ‘The result of a past event obtains now’.

(235) The police have arrested the man responsible

2. **Existential** ‘One or more events of a given type are arranged within a present-inclusive time span’.<sup>53</sup>

(236) Harry has visited twice this week

3. **Continuative** ‘A state that began in the past obtains throughout a present-inclusive time span’.

(237) That store’s been there for years

Michaelis (1997, p. 115) also shows how it is in fact possible to have the same PRESENT PERFECT syntactic expression that associates with distinct semantic interpretations. In the case of (238), we can associate both a Resultative or Existential reading. (See also Portner (2003)).

(238) I’ve made toast

Under a Resultative reading, the implication is one where toast is available. On the other hand, the Existential interpretation ‘implies nothing about the conditions which obtain at present (there may or may not be toast available at present); it is simply used to assert that toast-making took place in the speaker’s history’. If we however specify that the toast-making event took place, e.g. ‘at noon’, the rendered reading will only be that of a Resultative Perfect.

The PERFECT construction in general can be attributed the ‘aspectual property’ of stativity (Michaelis, 1999, p. 166). (See also Hallman (fort)). If we are possibly on the right track in hypothesising that the three specific pseudo-verbs under discussion here contribute to the syntactic expression of the PERFECT in Maltese, then the fact that the PERFECT constructions are themselves correlated with stative ASPECT, then this seems to match up with the Lexical ASPECT of these very same pseudo-verbs, as discussed in §3.2.4. Before we discuss our hypothesis as to

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<sup>53</sup>This equates to Brinton’s (1988) Perfect of Experience.

how we believe that Maltese pseudo-verbs contribute to the expression of PERFECT ASPECT, it should be mentioned that as Brustad (2000, p. 180) argues, the ‘English perfect is often used to translate the Arabic perfective’. This also follows for Maltese, which is possibly why the quest of any consideration of the PERFECT as an ASPECTUAL value in Maltese has never been considered, outside of combinations including the presence of a Perfective or Prospective form of the auxiliary *kien* along with a Perfective lexical verb.<sup>54</sup> We want to claim that for Maltese, more specifically, it is the interpretation of the **Existential Perfect** and the **Resultative Perfect** that are expressed through **Perfective morphological forms**. This thus allows us to posit that unlike the broader division which Brinton ends up making for English, whereby she groups the Perfect of Experience/Existential Perfect and the Perfect of Recent Past with and under the Resultative reading, which are then in contrast with the Continuative Perfect, we here argue that the distinct PERFECT meanings expressed **syntactically** in Maltese, are the **Continuative/Universal Perfect**, and the **Perfect of Recent Past**.<sup>55</sup> We will see below how the distinct **semantic** interpretations are not in a one-to-one unambiguous mapping with the morphosyntactic expression, necessarily. We thus here want to specifically keep the Continuative/Universal and the Perfect of Recent Past distinct from one another, and in turn distinct from the rest of the other Perfect interpretations.

Given this background on the PERFECT value and its associated interpretations, it seems to me that it’s rather clear that the Continuative/Universal PERFECT reading is expressed through the pseudo-verbs *ghad-* ‘still’ when these taking VP complements, as well as *il-*. Recall from our discussion in §3.4.3 that when *ghad-* is required to obligatorily take a VP complement it is associated with the meanings ‘yet, still’. According to Michaelis (1997, p. 153), the PRESENT PERFECT interacts with stative adverbs such as ‘already’ and ‘still’, as well as the aspectual

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<sup>54</sup>Recall from Chapter 2 (§2.3.1.2) that combinations with *jkun*, on the other hand, gave us distinct interpretations, which included HABITUAL ASPECTUAL realisations as well as IRREALIS MOOD.

<sup>55</sup>In general, according to Ritz (2012), it is in fact the norm to have the expression/realization of the PERFECT through the presence of an analytic construction.

adverb ‘yet’ (p. 161).<sup>56</sup> For Binnick (1991, p. 300), ‘already’ and ‘yet’ are ‘time adverbials’, however. The adverb ‘still’ denotes the continuance of a situation ... through to the present tense’ (p. 160) and is ‘compatible with negated Perfect contexts’ (p. 183), as illustrated in (239c).

- (239) a. Għad-ni      m-mur      l-iskola  
 still-1SG.ACC 1-go.IMPV.SG DEF-school  
 I still go to school
- b. M’għad-ni-x                      n-a-qra  
 NEG.still-1SG.ACC-NEG 1-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV.SG  
 I am no longer reading
- c. Għad-ni      ma wasal-t-x  
 still-1SG.ACC NEG arrive.PFV-1SG-NEG  
 I haven’t yet arrived/I still haven’t arrived                      CONTINUATIVE PERFECT

As we here claim that the Continuative/Universal PERFECT interpretation is in Maltese also expressed/realised through the use of the pseudo-verb *il-*, it has incidentally just recently been discussed in Hallman (fort) that Syrian also expresses this PERFECT interpretation through the use of the same cognate *il-*, which can optionally be attached to the verbal host *ṣār* ‘become’. Hallman (fort) illustrates how in Syrian, the main characteristics of the Universal PERFECT construction is the presence of a stative predicate combining with *il-*, which he analyses as the DAT pronoun that realises the predicate’s external argument/SUBJ, along with the obligatory presence of a durative adverb (240).

- (240) a. (muna) ila                      xamst iyyām bi-l-ħabis  
 Muna 3SGF.DAT five day.PL in-DEF--jail  
 Muna/she has been in jail for five days (→ she is still in jail)                      Hallman (fort, p. 1)
- b. \*muna ila                      bil-ħabis  
 Muna 3SGF.DAT in-DEF--jail  
 (Muna/She has been in jail)                      Syrian: Hallman (fort, p. 2)

<sup>56</sup>Note that reference to English ‘still’ is simply here making reference to the non-adversative use of ‘still’.

The morphosyntactic requirements of the Universal PERFECT construction using *il-* in Maltese differ somewhat from what one finds in Syrian, at least as reported in Hallman (2015). One crucial difference is that the temporal ADJ is not obligatorily in Maltese, as illustrated in the equivalent of (240) in (241) and (242).

- (241) Il-ha               (ħamest ijiem) il-ħabs  
to-3SGF.ACC five       day.PL DEF-prison

She has been in prison for five days (and she's still here)/She has been in prison for a long time (and she's still there)

- (242) a. Il-ni               (mis-7)       n-i-kteb                       (mis-7)  
to-1SG.ACC from.DEF-7 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG from.DEF-7

I have been writing since 7 o'clock/I've been writing for a long time

- b. Il-na               (ħames snin)   parti mill-kor               (ħames snin)  
to-1PL.ACC five       year.PL part from.DEF-choir five       year.PL

We have been five years part of the choir   CONTINUATIVE PERFECT

Other morphosyntactic differences one finds when comparing the Maltese construction including *il-* with the Syrian equivalent, is the fact that *il-* can take CP complements, as also discussed in §3.4.2.

- (243) Marija il-ha               (sent-ejn) li       ħarg-et                       mill-ħabs  
Mary to-3SGF.ACC year-DU   COMP go.out.PFV-3SGF from.DEF-prison

It's been two years since she left prison/It's been a long time since she left prison

The Perfect of Recent Past is expressed through the use of *ghad-* in the context of CP complements (244a) as well as in contexts where the optionally VP complement construction means 'just' (244b). Recall that as discussed in §3.4.3, the latter contexts are restricted to Imperfective or PROG-marked Imperfective lexical verbs and active participles which must be POS in form, and where the VP could be substituted by a CP complement with the insertion of a either of the complementisers *kemm* or *kif*.



- (244) a. Ġhad-ni kemm/kif wasal-t/n-a-sal  
 just-1SG.ACC how.much/how arrive.PFV-1SG/1-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG

I just arrived

- b. Ġhad-ni n-a-sal  
 just-1SG.ACC 1-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SG

I just arrived

PERFECT of Recent Past

We will be assuming that these pseudo-verbal auxiliaries, which seem to still function as PREDs in themselves, due to the behaviour we have displayed across §3.4 for each, including the differences that result depending on NEG placement variations, and agreement facts, **do** realize an ASPECT PERFECT feature value internal to the clause's *f*-structure. We here also mention the fact that an interpretation such as the PAST PROGRESSIVE for example, which can come about from the combination of the Perfective form of the auxiliary *kien* and the presence of the auxiliary *qed/qieghed* is still present and entailed in a sentence such as (245), notwithstanding the additional PERFECT value that the presence of *ghad-* imparts to the construction. The very presence of two distinct/clashing ASPECTUAL values is taken to imply that the pseudo-verb auxiliary and the lexical verb, which is itself part of a periphrastic construction realising the PROGRESSIVE **must** be in separate *f*-structures, such that the auxiliary heads its own individual *f*-structure.<sup>57</sup>

- (245) Kon-t ġhad-ni qed n-i-kteb  
 be.PFV-1SG still-1SG.ACC PROG 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG

I was still writing

PAST (Continuative) PERFECT PROGRESSIVE

It is then the semantics, once it interacts **both** with the nature of the auxiliary involved, as well as the morphosyntactic context, that is able to yield and disambiguate between the respective CONTINUATIVE vs. RECENT PAST interpretations derived out of the syntactically-built PERFECT

<sup>57</sup>Recall from our discussions in §3.4 that data such as (245) have been used as evidence in support of the fact that the Temporal and ASPECTUAL interpretations yielded through the combination of an auxiliary such as *kien* along with a lexical verb, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.4), can **still** be maintained and entailed, albeit in the context of some additional interpretation, such as a Perfect of Recent Past reading, for example, even if *kien* and the lexical verb are not co-heads internal to the same *f*-structure.

in Maltese. We here also assume that these pseudo-verbs' *c*-structure position is in V, as one expects on the basis of the fact that these are expressing an ASPECTUAL value. The I position remains unfilled, and in the absence of any element heading I, a default PRESENT TENSE reading is understood. When I is filled in by *kien*, for example, then we get a PAST TENSE anchoring.

### 3.6.2 The Avertive (and Proximative) and *ghodd-*

We could think of *ghodd-* as providing us with what Kuteva (2001, p. 77) refers to as an *Avertive* construction that is mainly expressed through 'auxiliation' (p. 77)/'expressed in many cases by a verbal periphrastic construction consisting of a main verb and another verb' (pp. 78-79), although there exist languages where this meaning is in fact expressed through affixes, as in Aranda; a Pama-Nyungan language of Australia. The Avertive 'is treated as a linguistic expression standing for a verb situation which was on the verge of taking place but did not take place' (Kuteva et al., 2015, p. 4).<sup>58</sup> Evidence supporting the fact that *ghodd-* must be functioning as some sort of auxiliary, comes from the fact that *ghodd-* allows for inanimate SUBJS, as in (246). The meaning associated with this interpretation is: 'was on the verge of V-ing but did not V' (p. 77), i.e. an 'expression of an action that was potentially imminent but did not ultimately get realized' (p. 78) ... 'the action was on the point of occurring, yet did not occur'. The meaning is thus the one we otherwise get through the use of 'almost', 'nearly' or 'just about'.

- (246) Ghodd-hom      t-kemmx-u                      l-ħwejjeġ  
 almost-3PL.ACC REFL-wrinkle.PFV.3-PL DEF-clothes

The clothes almost got wrinkled

Avertive construction

According to Kuteva (2001, p. 84), the main interpretational characteristics of the Avertive construction is: Imminence, Pastness and Counterfactuality. Imminence in Kuteva (2001, p.

<sup>58</sup>Kuteva et al. (2015, p. 4) provide the example in (i) below from Southern American English, which they take to be expressing precisely this construction.

i I **liketa** had a heart attack  
 I almost had a heart attack

101) is analysed as an ASPECTUAL value, or more precisely as a Phasal ASPECT value, such that an Avertive construction involves reference to the Aspectual, Temporal and Modal domains. In languages that display Perfective vs. Imperfective morphological distinctions, ‘the main verb slot in the Avertive structure is filled out by a perfective verb’ (Kuteva et. al., 2015, p. 4). On the basis of this fact, they define the construction as a ‘structure which stands for a bounded verb situation - viewed as a whole - which was on the verge of taking place in the past, but didn’t’ (p. 4).<sup>59</sup> This is as it were the opposite of the Proximative (also refer to Chapter 4), which essentially ‘defines a temporal phase located close before the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb’, and semantically ‘only’ denotes the ‘imminence’ of the situation. For Maltese, *ghodd-* + Prospective gives us just that, as in (247). However, one should here mention, that even when the lexical verb is Perfective in form, we can **still** get a PROXIMATIVE reading, as in (248). Choosing between an Avertive or a Proximative construction appears to be dependent on the lexical semantics of the verb, when we have a *ghodd-* + Perfective combination.

(247) (Kien)            ghodd-ha            ha            t-a-ghmel            ix-xita  
 be.PFV.3SGM almost-3SGF.ACC PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGF DEF-rain

Rain was/is almost going to fall    Proximative construction with Prospective lexical verb

(248) Ghodd-hom            nixf-u            l-hwejjeg  
 almost-3PL.ACC dry.PFV.3-PL DEF-clothes

The clothes have almost dried (they haven’t yet, but very soon they will)    Proximative construction with Perfective lexical verb

What I want to say here is that unlike the phasal verb *gorob* ‘draw near’, for example, (see Chapter 4), which in itself expresses this Phasal ASPECT value, ‘[w]hereas the avertive can, typically, be used in past contexts only, the proximative can be used in both past and non-past contexts’ (Kuteva 2001, p. 95). In pp. 102-103 she discusses Nahuatl, where in fact one affix is able to express the interpretations associated with both the Avertive and Proximative constructions,

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<sup>59</sup>One could mention that the counterfactuality which this pseudo-verb provides to the construction could itself be related to the fact that one of the meanings of the lexical verb *ʕadd* in Modern Standard Arabic (but not in the dialects), is ‘reckon; consider counter to fact’.

which is very much what we can say with respect to the use of *ghodd-*, and where the distinct interpretations are to be disambiguated on the basis of their contextual distribution. Kuteva in fact proposes that the latter function comes out of the former, as a result of the loss of ‘particular specificities of its meaning, namely the counterfactual as well as the pastness element’ (p. 103), which is why for her, the Proximative only maintains a relevance to ASPECT, i.e. imminence. As discussed in Kuteva et al. (2015, p. 5), Heine (1992) identified the Proximative as an “almost”-ASPECT. The same structure thus is providing us with either ‘*be about to do something* (irrespective of whether the context is past or non-past) or else *was just about to do something but never did it* in past contexts ... this is an ambiguity characteristic of the so called “functional overlap” stage, where a historically earlier and a historically later function for the same form coexist’ (p. 108).

As made more specific in Kuteva et al. (2015), the Avertive for them is more of what they refer to as a ‘semantically elaborate grammatical category’. These structures essentially ‘relate to more than one conceptual-semantic domain simultaneously’ (p. 3). The elaboration of the category entails the following:

- Counterfactuality of foregrounded degree of verb situation realization
- Foregrounded degree of verb situation realization: full
- Resultative degree of verb situation realization: Zero
- Imminence
- Pastness
- Perfectivity

Given the above set of semantic interpretations associated with the Avertive construction, the question to ask at this point is how the construction’s interpretation and its syntax differs from that of a construction that yields a PAST PROSPECTIVE reading. The two constructions are con-

trusted in (249). What overlapping semantic interpretations exist between the two constructions are nevertheless distinct with respect to their syntactic realisation. Primarily both constructions make reference to a past event. This event has definitely not taken place, when expressed through the Avertive construction. A counterfactual interpretation with respect to the event in the PAST PROSPECTIVE construction is likely, but not necessary. Moreover, while the PERFECTIVE interpretation in the Avertive construction is expressed by the lexical verb, in the PAST PROSPECTIVE construction, it is only the auxiliary ‘be’ that is Perfective in form, and as made clear in Chapter 2 (§2.3.1), this does not realise PERFECTIVE ASPECT. Additionally, while the semantic interpretation of both the constructions in (249) is in the PAST, at the **syntactic** level, however, it is **only** the PAST PROSPECTIVE construction that is expressing TENSE PAST. The Avertive construction in (249a) is anchored in the PRESENT TENSE. It is only through the presence of the auxiliary *kien* that we get PAST TENSE as an expression at the syntactic level. Evidence for this comes from the PAST PERFECT interpretation we get with respect to (250), which at the same time **still** entails all the other interpretations associated with the Avertive construction.

- (249) a. Ġhodd-ni        xtraj-t        il-libsa  
 almost-1SG.ACC buy.PFV-1SG DEF-dress  
 I (have) almost bought the dress Avertive
- b. Kon-t        ħa        n-i-xtri        l-libsa  
 be.PFV-1SG PROSP 1-FRM.VWL-buy.IMPV.SG DEF-dress  
 I was going to buy the dress PAST PROSPECTIVE
- (250) Kon-t        ġhodd-ni    xtraj-t        il-libsa  
 be.PFV-1SG almost-1SG buy.PFV-1SG DEF-dress  
 I had almost bought the dress PAST PERFECT

Apart from a comparison with the construction realising the PAST PROSPECTIVE, the Avertive will need to be contrasted with constructions that display *frustrated initiation*. While in Chapter 4 we will have more to say with respect to the FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value, what suffices to mention here is that a *frustrative initiation* (as opposed to a *frustrative completion*),

‘encodes a past verb situation which was about to begin but was frustrated before initiation’ (p. 13). What distinguishes the interpretations associated with the Avertive construction and *frustrative initiation* is the fact that in the case of the Avertive, what is focussed upon is the fullness of the event, which relates with the boundedness interpretation of the Perfective. On the other hand, it is the initial phase of the event that is focused upon, in *frustrative initiation* constructions. The difference in the interpretation between the two constructions comes out clearly in Maltese, as in order to be able to make reference to only the initiation phase of the event, we would need to make use of the aspectualiser *beda* ‘start’ for example (once again see Chapter 4 for a more detailed account of Phasal ASPECT in Maltese), as in (251). *Frustrative completion* is not as relevant for us here, given that while ‘the Avertive, and the Frustrated Initiation structures could have been potentially realisable and yet remained unrealised’, in the case of *frustrated completion*, ‘the verb’s situation had begun, but it could not be completed. In other words, there was an attempt to bring an initiated verb situation to an end, but this attempt was unsuccessful ...’ (p. 17). In Chapter 4 we will discuss how the FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value is in Maltese only relevant with respect to the event’s completion, rather than its initiation.

- (251) Ghodd-ni            bdej-t            miexi                            bil-mod,            imma waqaf-t  
 almost-1SG.ACC start.PFV-1SG walk.PROG.PTCP.SGM with.DEF-way but stop.PFV-1SG  
 hesrem  
 all.of.a.sudden

I (have) almost started proceeding slowly, but I stopped all of a sudden

Having established that the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* together with a Perfective lexical verb in Maltese builds an Avertive construction (apart from a Proximative one, in which case the pseudo-verb comes to function as some sort of aspectualiser auxiliary), which in fact expresses all of the associated semantic interpretations listed in Kuteva et al. (2015), the question now is what to make of this auxiliary with respect to its syntactic representation at the *f*-structure. I do believe that that the Avertive, seen as some sort of ‘elaborate grammatical category’ in Kuteva et al. (2015), should be equated to a feature-value that is then available at the syntactic level. However,

rather than claiming that the Avertive stands for some ‘grammatical’ feature that cuts across the domains of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD, I here posit that *ghodd-*, apart from being a PRED-bearing auxiliary that syntactically and semantically heads its own *f*-structure, is possibly additionally providing to the whole utterance, some sort of pragmatic force, whereby just as in LFG we can posit  $\text{CLAUSE TYPE} = \text{INTERROGATIVE}$  or  $\text{EXCLAMATIVE}$ , for example, here we can perceive of *ghodd-* as a force whose pragmatic effect is to convey to the hearer that an event *almost* took place, but it didn’t. If this is a tenable hypothesis, then the lexical entry for *ghodd-* is to include  $(\uparrow\text{CLAUSE TYPE}) = \text{AVERTIVE}$ , associated to which is the whole set of semantic interpretations that cut across the domains of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD categories, at least when in the context of a Perfective verb form in its complement clause whose lexical semantics allows for the whole construction including *ghodd-* to render this reading, as opposed to the reading we otherwise get in a Proximative construction. On the other hand, when it comes to the *ghodd-* + Prospective lexical verb construction, the pseudo-verb can be automatically attributed with a PROXIMATIVE ASPECT feature-value, apart from a PRED value. (See Camilleri (2016) for more detail on the Avertive and Proximative constructions using the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* in Maltese).<sup>60</sup>

### 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter we have established further support for our claim that we are dealing with non-canonically expressed SUBJS in the case of these pseudo-verbs. Additionally, we aimed to improve upon previous descriptive claims which at times fell short from representing the real array of the morphosyntactic behaviours available in Maltese. We have particularly highlighted the array of agreement behaviours available for the pseudo-verbs discussed here, and where we also hypothesised that some specific agreement behaviours could be indicative of CR-type constructions. More important, in the realm of this study, we have provided our reasons as to why the three pseudo-verbs *ghad-*, *il-* and *ghodd-*, are best treated as auxiliaries that function

<sup>60</sup>See Chapter 4 (§4.2.2.9) for more discussion on the PROXIMATIVE ASPECTUAL value.

as AUX-PREDS in the *f*-structure. The invariable *ghad*, on the other hand, is assumed to simply bear a feature value. For the first time in the literature of Maltese, we have posited a hypothesis where the pseudo-verbs *ghad-* (and the invariable *ghad*) and *il-* apart from being associated with a PRED value, also realise PERFECT ASPECT feature-value in the *f*-structure (as illustrated through the *f*-structure representations of the examples in (245) and (243), repeated below as (252) and (253), respectively). While *il-* is only ever associated with a Continuative/Universal PERFECT interpretation at the *s*-structure, the interpretation of the PERFECT ASPECT value in the *f*-structure when *ghad-* is present depends on the constituency and morphosyntax of the complement. We have seen that *ghad-* in the context of obligatory VP complements is associated with a Continuative interpretation while when in the context of optional VP/CP and obligatory CP complements, a Perfect of Recent Past reading is expressed. The ASPECT PERFECT expressed by the invariable auxiliary *ghad* is semantically interpreted as a Continuative. In the case of the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* we saw how its interpretation is constructionally-built, and is heavily dependent on the morphosyntax of the lexical predicate that heads its complement. In the context of a Perfective lexical verb, *ghodd-* provides a force in the clause that translates into a CLAUSE TYPE attribute with value AVERTIVE in the *f*-structure it heads (as illustrated in the *f*-structure representation of (250) repeated below (254)). The semantics then associates all the distinct interpretations that cut across the categories of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD, accordingly. On the other hand, when the pseudo-verb is in the context of a Prospective lexical verb, *ghodd-* realises a PROXIMATIVE ASPECT value. The presence of this construction as well as others, where we have distinct ASPECTual values associated with the auxiliary and the lexical verb, respectively, provide us with additional evidence that at least the three pseudo-verbal auxiliaries reviewed in this chapter, along with the lexical predicate entail a bi-clausal/bi-tiered *f*-structure analysis.

- (252) Kon-t          ghad-ni          qed    n-i-kteb  
          be.PFV-1SG still-1SG.ACC PROG 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG

I was still writing



PRED	‘ghadni	⟨XCOMP⟩	SUBJ’									
TENSE	PAST											
ASPECT	PERFECT											
SUBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">‘PRO’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PERS</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">1</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">SG</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘PRO’	PERS	1	NUM	SG	[1]				
PRED	‘PRO’											
PERS	1											
NUM	SG											
XCOMP	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">‘nikteb</td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">⟨SUBJ⟩’</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">ASPECT</td> <td colspan="2" style="padding-left: 10px;">PROG</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">SUBJ</td> <td colspan="2" style="padding-left: 10px;">[</td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘nikteb	⟨SUBJ⟩’	ASPECT	PROG		SUBJ	[		[1]	]
PRED	‘nikteb	⟨SUBJ⟩’										
ASPECT	PROG											
SUBJ	[											

(253) Marija il-ha                    (sent-ejn) li            ħarg-et                    mill-ħabs  
 Mary to-3SGF.ACC year-DU    COMP go.out.PFV-3SGF from.DEF-prison

It’s been two years since she left prison/It’s been a long time since she left prison

[	PRED	‘ilha	⟨	XCOMP	⟩	SUBJ	’							
	TENSE	PRESENT												
	ASPECT	PERFECT												
	SUBJ	[	PRED	‘Marija’	]	[	1	]						
		PERS	3											
		NUM	SG											
		GEND	F											
	XCOMP	[	PRED	‘ħarget	⟨	SUBJ, OBL	⟩	]						
		COMP FORM	‘li’											
		ASPECT	PERFECTIVE											
		SUBJ	[							]	[	1	]	
		OBL	[	PRED	‘minn	⟨	OBJ	⟩	]		[	PRED	‘ħabs’	]
		OBJ	[	DEF	+	]	]	]		]	]			
	ADJ	{ [ PRED ‘sentejn’ ] }												

(254) Kon-t            ħodd-ni    xtraj-t            il-libsa  
 be.PFV-1SG almost-1SG buy.PFV-1SG DEF-dress

I had almost bought the dress

PRED	‘ghoddni <XCOMP>SUBJ’																						
CL TYPE	AVERTIVE																						
TENSE	PAST																						
SUBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">‘PRO’</td> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PERS</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">1</td> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black;">[1]</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">NUM</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">SG</td> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘PRO’		PERS	1	[1]	NUM	SG														
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PRED	‘xtrajt <SUBJ, OBJ>’																						
ASPECT	PERFECTIVE																						
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OBJ	<table style="border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">PRED</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">‘libsa’</td> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black; padding-right: 10px;">DEF</td> <td style="padding-left: 10px;">+</td> <td style="border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> </table>	PRED	‘libsa’		DEF	+																	
PRED	‘libsa’																						
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## Chapter 4

# Phasal Auxiliaries in Maltese

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the syntax of a set of verbs which function as auxiliary predicates expressing Phasal ASPECT in Maltese is looked at. These predicates are referred to as ‘aspectual/phasal/begin-class’ verbs in the literature (Newmeyer, 1975, p. 8).<sup>1</sup> Phasal ASPECT is rather a ‘miscellaneous’ sort of ASPECT, in terms of exponence (Binnick, 1991, p. 202), and its realisation in some languages may be through affixation or the use of particles. It ‘may also be marked by auxiliary verbs such as aspectual verbs (“aspectualisers”) - *start, stop, cease, continue, resume*, and the like’ (Binnick, 1991, p. 202) in English, which in fact represents the ‘periphrastic sort’ of realisation (p. 207). Alternatively, Bower (2006, p. 25) mentions how aspectualiser verbs which realize information that has to do with the trajectory of the event, including a focus upon inception, duration, completeness, and so on, may be light verbs in some languages.

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<sup>1</sup>While Newmeyer calls ‘aspectual’ all ‘lexical items whose semantic role is to function as one place predicates of arguments which contain entire propositions’, one should here mention that Newmeyer is also including ‘happenance/occurrence’ predicates such as ‘seem’. We will be using the same terminology, i.e. ‘aspectual/phasal’, but in a narrow sense, reserving it only to Phase-expressing verbs, as is the case across the literature more broadly.

Phasal ASPECT fits in the broader definition of the category of ASPECT such as that provided in Johnson (1981, p. 152): ‘Verb aspect involves reference to one of the temporarily distinct phases in the evolution of an event through time. The key point here is that an event is said to evolve through a series of temporal “phases”’. Under this definition of what constitutes the ASPECTual category, both Phasal ASPECT and Viewpoint ASPECT (discussed in Chapters 2-3), come to participate as equal yet distinct values and dimensions in the study of grammatical ASPECT. **Mainstream** accounts of ASPECT however seem to only concentrate on Viewpoint and Situational (i.e. *aktionsart*) ASPECT (e.g. Smith 1997), with Phasal ASPECT not given any sort of equal attention. In this chapter we will concentrate on what we take to be a second dimension to grammatical ASPECT, since Phasal ASPECT in Maltese, as we will argue, is expressed through auxiliaries. Once again, as made clear from the start of this study, we do not consider interactions with Lexical/Situation ASPECT here.<sup>2</sup>

The literature contains a number of conflicting views with respect to the identification of Phasal ASPECT. Palmer (1974), distinguishes the category of PHASE from that of ASPECT. Binnick (1991, pp. 207-209) refers to Phasal ASPECT as a dimension of ASPECT that denotes ‘phases or phase sequences’ or in other words reference to ‘parts of events’. In this respect, Phasal ASPECT differs from Viewpoint ASPECT, where the situation/event is viewed with respect/in relation to ‘the temporal frame against which it is set’ (Binnick, 1991, p. 213), i.e. understood through Reference and Event Times in a neo-Reichenbachian-based framework. Phasal ASPECT does not make reference to the temporal unfolding of given situations. This encompasses more or less the general difference between Viewpoint and Phasal ASPECT, which in turn makes them distinct dimensions to the ASPECTual category. Terminological and conceptual confusion is highlighted in (Brinton, 1988, p. 52): ‘Traditionally, the “phase” or “point” aspects (ingressive and egressive)

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<sup>2</sup>From the outset one should mention that the discussion in this chapter will also have nothing to do with Phasal analyses of Lexical/Situation ASPECT. In fact, Lexical/Situation ASPECT has not figured in any of our discussions within this study. For discussions on the interaction of Phasal and Lexical ASPECT the reader is referred to Timberlake (1985) and Croft (2009).

are considered subcategories of the PERFECTIVE'.<sup>3</sup> Perfectivity and Phase cannot be conflated, however. As Brinton claims, apart from the non-association of Reference and Event Times with respect to Phasal ASPECT, perfectivity differs from Phasal ASPECT more generally on the basis of punctuality, since unlike the PERFECTIVE, 'phase aspects are punctual in that they focus on either the beginning or endpoint of a situation' Brinton (1988, p. 52). The view that in some way Phasal ASPECT is at times conflated with notions of Perfectivity and Progressiveness and the like, is also mentioned in Michaelis' (1988, p. 51) overview of the literature.

An important distinction which Michaelis (1998) makes reference to with respect to the difference between Viewpoint and Phasal ASPECT is that Viewpoint ASPECT 'does not make reference to the primitive *event*' (p. 51), i.e. the *reference situation*, defined as: 'The situation denoted by the verb-phrase complement of a construction expressing phasal aspect' (Michaelis, 1998, p. xvi) in periphrastically-realised Phasal ASPECT constructions. On this view, which parallels our understanding here, upheld in this chapter, Phasal ASPECT is: 'A set of aspectual distinctions involving relations between a background situation (the reference situation) and a situation located relative to the reference situation (the denoted situation)' (Michaelis, 1998, p. xv), i.e. 'that situation whose aspectual character is encoded by the auxiliary head of a construction expressing phasal aspect' (p. xiii), at least in languages that express such ASPECTUAL values through auxiliaries. The denoted situations, i.e. the inceptive/egressive, continuation, duration, termination/cessation etc. themselves constitute the **classification of phases** of a situation or a sub-situation in a given language, which in Maltese are expressed by a set of phasal/aspectualiser items that periphrastically express the aspectualiser construction whilst '[s]emantically, they assert occurrence or non-occurrence of their associated propositions with respect to one or more points in time' (Newmeyer, 1975, p. 25).<sup>4</sup> Another identifier in Maltese which may suggest

<sup>3</sup>Recall from chapter 2 (§2.2.2.1) that the classic definition of the PERFECTIVE is when 'the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into various individual phases that make up the action of entry' Comrie (1976, p. 3).

<sup>4</sup>The same understanding of where the notion of phases should fit, is in fact also maintained in Kuteva (2001, p. 101), who specifically claims that: 'Aspectuality, for instance, can be subdivided into the perfective and the

that we should keep Viewpoint and Phasal ASPECT apart, comes from the fact that these are expressed by different means. Viewpoint ASPECT in Maltese is expressed through verbal and participial morphology as well as auxiliaries and invariable particles that function as auxiliaries (Chapters 2-3). In this chapter, we will see that Phasal ASPECT is expressed through a set of verbs that whilst used as lexical verbs elsewhere in the language, come to function as auxiliary-like predicates.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to understand the syntax of the set of aspectualisers in Maltese, the distinct semantic Phasal ASPECT values involved and their associated interpretations internal to the periphrastic **aspectualiser construction**, where they take VPs or CPs as complements at the *c*-structure level, whose functional head (i.e the PRED internal to the clausal complement) represents the denoted situation. The Maltese phasals/aspectualisers include: *beda* ‘begin’, *baqa* ‘lit: ‘remain’, *kompla* ‘continue’, *qabad* lit: ‘catch’, but in this context meaning ‘start to do s.th suddenly’ or ‘be on the verge of doing s.th’, *qorob* ‘draw close’, *sar* ‘become’, *laħaq* lit: ‘reach, achieve’, also meaning ‘manage’, *reġa* lit: ‘repeat, return’, also meaning ‘again’.

The verbs under discussion here also function as lexical predicates elsewhere in the language, and when they do so, they may have radically different meanings sometimes. Some of these predicates may in fact sometimes display broad and general semantics themselves, even when functioning as lexical predicates (Bower, 2006, p. 25). We will be argue here that this class of predicates may be at a relatively earlier stage of grammaticalisation, when compared with the auxiliaries discussed in Chapters 2-3, although the degree of desemanticisation involved is noticeable. Vanhove (1993, p. 102) and Vanhove et al. (2010, p. 320) discuss desemanticisation as an initial indicator of grammaticalisation for Maltese auxiliary verbs more broadly, and Stolz and Ammann (2008)

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imperfective domains with respect to the notion of boundedness/unboundedness of the action [which constitutes Viewpoint ASPECT]; with respect to the notion of phase, it can be regarded into imminent, inceptive [etc.] ...’.

<sup>5</sup>Note that the auxiliaries *sejjer*, *qieghed*, and Imperfective *jkun* where in Chapter 2 also shown to still function as lexical predicates in the language.

discuss this fact specifically with respect to a sub-set of the phasal verbs to be discussed here.<sup>6</sup> One should here mention, however, that the availability of bleached meaning that in turn triggers a grammaticalisation process, is not solely a property of auxiliaries, but also of light verbs (Seiss, 2009, p. 510). Light verbs are not used as lexical verbs elsewhere (Seiss, 2009, p. 506). Choi (2003, pp. 7-9), however, provides serial verb data where the lexical verb counterpart of the verbs that participate in the serial verb construction take distinct literal meanings. Neither a light verb nor a serial verb analysis can be motivated for phasal verbs/aspectualisers in Maltese. Rather, we will here argue for an account that analyses phasals/aspectualisers as auxiliaries that may be thought of as being still at an early stage in their grammaticalisation process. Note that, as we will see, these verbs do not behave homogeneously and in fact should not all be conceived of as being at the same stage on the grammaticalisation cline. In fact we will see that we might possibly have evidence suggesting that indeed a sub-set of these verbs display higher degrees of what Lehmann (1993, p. 13) refers to as the ‘desententialization’ process, (discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.3)), than others. Given this fact, we will argue in §4.4 that it could well be the case that the same phasal verb could in principle be associated with distinct analyses, depending on the morphosyntax of the aspectualiser construction in which it participates. This should come to no surprise, if we are to be able to account for the fluidity of these verbs as they come to establish themselves as grammatical markers of some sort in the course of time.

Most of the verbs discussed here have been the subject of inquiry in Vanhove (1993), Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997), Stolz and Ammann (2007, 2008) and Maas (2009). While Vanhove (1993) analyses these as auxiliaries, Maas (2009) considers aspectualiser constructions to be mono-clausal complex predicates. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) and Stolz and Ammann (2007, 2008), provide no particular analysis for these verbs. This chapter aims to primarily fill in a number of descriptive gaps and rectify wrong descriptions. Moreover, ample evidence for a bi-clausal aspectualiser construction at the *f*-structure level will be provided, where such phasal

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<sup>6</sup>In Stolz and Ammann (2008) only CONTINUATIVE phasal verbs are discussed.



verbs are analysed as PRED-bearing auxiliaries in the language. In this respect, therefore, the aspectualiser and the lexical verb come to function as semantic and functional heads of their own individual *f*-structures, and it is not the case that we can motivate a complex predicate analysis, which entails a single *f*-structure, where both the phasal and the lexical predicate come to both function as the complex semantic predicate of the same *f*-structure. All conclusions reached here will be mainly driven by syntactic and morphosyntactic behaviours/considerations, whilst drawing from and building upon a number of insights and analytical tests discussed in Alotaibi et al. (2013). We will additionally assume that Phasal ASPECT and its values are **not** to be considered as syntactic features or properties, and will hence not figure in the *f*-structure. Having said this, however, the expression/realization of these values is syntactic, and in Maltese this requires an auxiliary whose semantics is representative of the semantics of the phase it denotes, followed by a lexical verb. The phasal auxiliary vs. the non-auxiliary lexical counterpart are assumed to be identified through the distinct lexical entries they are associated with, which include the distinct semantics and the varied morphosyntactic constraints imposed that distinguish between the two. Issues that arise with respect to considerations of the event structure of such aspectualiser constructions will not be delved into. Neither will the semantic implications of the Phasal ASPECTual values, although we will have to discuss the semantic value in some way in §4.2. I leave such concerns for future research.<sup>7</sup>

After having mentioned where Maltese phasal verbs have been previously discussed, and have additionally formulated from the outset the view/understanding of the aspectualiser construction

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<sup>7</sup>In this respect, my account admittedly glosses over issues yielded by detailed studies of serial verb constructions with respect to event structure. Aikhenvald (2006, p. 1) defines such constructions as ‘describ[ing] what can be conceptualised as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are those of monoverbal clauses, and they have just one tense, aspect and polarity value’. The verbs involved in such constructions ‘express a single, perhaps complex event, rather than a series of distinct events’ Wechsler (2003, p. 2). (Also see Baker (1989, p. 547), Durie (1997, p. 289) and Choi (2003, p. 9)). If we consider this to be a standard definition of what a serial verb construction is, then we can see that from the analysis of the data to follow in this chapter, particularly if we follow Schachter (1974, p. 14) and Larson (1991, pp. 186-187) in assuming that verb serialisation can be also used to yield effects otherwise realized via complementation, apart from conjunction and secondary predication, we would be safe to conclude that we are not dealing with serial verb constructions here, even if we will not be saying anything with respect to event structure.

in this study, it would seem useful to consider what the literature on the Arabic counterparts has to say, given that the set of aspectualisers in Maltese is very similar to those present in different Arabic dialects (as illustrated in Maas (2009), for example), except for a very small sub-set that come from a Romance source. Approaches to phasal verbs in the Arabic literature are somewhat varied. Harrell (1962) analyses the Moroccan counterparts as auxiliaries on a par with *kān* ‘be’, except that the function of the auxiliary differs from that of *kān*, in that information other than TENSE is being provided in the overall construction. In her discussion of Egyptian aspectualisers, Jelinek (1981, pp. 88-89) mentions that such verbs ‘are the only verbs other than K-W-N’ which can embed other verbs that are ‘always imperfect’, with no intervening material. She however does not classify them as auxiliaries. For Mitchell and Ḥasan (1994), these verbs are ‘copulas’ just like *kān*. Eisele (1992, p. 154) also considers such aspectualiser verbs to be on a par with *kān*, arguing that just like *kān*, they allow different sorts of predicates. Cowell (1964, p. 452)’s account refers to the Syrian phasal verbs as ‘linking verbs’ that take clausal complements. Firanescu (2010), on the other hand, refers to parallel Syrian verbs, in particular *beʔaʔ* ‘remain’, as an auxiliary. The same follows in Saddour (2010, pp. 124-125)’s description of aspectualiser verbs such as *mezzal* ‘still is’, *sbah* ‘become’, *bdā* ‘begin’ in Tunisian dialects. Hoyt (2002, p. 10), in passing, refers to the Palestinian verb *kām* lit. ‘rise’ used with an inceptive function as an auxiliary. According to Eisele (1992, p. 154), the function of the aspectualiser construction is to indicate ‘temporal contrasts’. This differs from Harrell’s (1962) understanding, since Harrell distinguishes the aspectualisers from *kān* by virtue of the fact that information **other** than TENSE is expressed by them. Brustad (2000, p. 142) also refers to such verbs as ‘temporal verbs’ that contribute to the ‘narrative contour’ (p. 192) as they come to highlight different aspects of an event or a series of them. Holes (2004, p. 223) concentrates on the function of these verbs. He claims that these verbs realize ‘idiomatized’ aspectual distinctions, expressed through asyndetic verb string formations ‘in which both verbs are inflected in the normal way’. Such ASPECTUAL values include the ‘inceptive (‘to start to’), ingressive (‘to be on the point of’), iterative (‘to keep on’), durative (‘to be in the process of’), terminative (‘to stop doing s.th’) etc’. Maas (2009, p.

117), who discusses aspectualiser verbs across the Arabic vernaculars in some detail, provides what for him is a mono-clausal complex predicate analysis of the aspectualiser construction. He defines these constructions as complex predicates on the basis of the following properties:

1. The presence of agreeing morphology on both the phasal and the verb expressing the reference situation, demonstrating a shared SUBJ;<sup>8</sup>
2. The construction's asyndeticity;<sup>9</sup>
3. Non-independent temporal selection between the verbs involved;
4. NEG expressed on the phasal verb;
5. Valency is defined by the lexical verb/reference-situation denoting verb;
6. In most grammaticalised contexts, the lexical verb is likely to be morphologically Imperfective;
7. In the most grammaticalised contexts, 'strong cohesion doesn't allow the insertion of adjuncts or complements'

These criteria define complex predicate constructions in Maas' (2009) use of the term, in his account of the Maltese and Arabic vernacular periphrastic aspectualiser constructions.<sup>10</sup> We will not dispute the terminology here, since in general, we will see that aspectualiser constructions cannot be mono-clausal complex predicates, and the properties which he claims define such aspectualiser constructions (at least with respect to the Maltese data), are not entirely true. In

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<sup>8</sup>Note that GF-sharing of the structural subjects and other logical arguments need not entail complex predicate formations. In fact, Foley and Olson (1985, p. 18), Baker (1989, p. 513), Collins (1997, p. 462), Osam (2003, p. 17), Essegbey (2004, p. 476), and Velazquez-Castillo (2004, p. 199) refer to such properties specifically as defining criteria for serial verb constructions. (Refer to Hiraiwa and Bodomo (2008) for differing arguments, however). For Shibatani (2009, p. 270), such 'argument-sharing results from the integration of separate sub-events into a unitary macro event at a conceptual level'.

<sup>9</sup>Lehmann (1993, p. 8) uses the term 'verb serialization', where while not making any reference to serial verb constructions specifically, he however uses this term to refer to the combination of verbs 'without the intervention of any connectives which might make explicit the relation among them'.

<sup>10</sup>In the LFG framework in which we are analysing our data, the term *complex predicate* is used to refer to constructions that involve the unification of predicates and their PRED values, yielding to a merger of the argument-structure (Alsina, 1993, Butt, 1995). The aspectualiser construction in Maltese is **not** a complex predicate, on the basis of this understanding of the term.

this overview of what is said with respect to phasals/aspectualisers in Arabic, it is clear that these predicates are in some way distinct from other verbs in the language, and in fact are treated as auxiliaries/copulas/linking verbs of some sort. There is agreement that functionally, there is some sort of (semantic) feature they express, even if there is disagreement on the exact nature of what is expressed.

This introduction served to anchor our understanding of how we are characterising Phasal ASPECT in this study, whilst providing the first indications of how we will be analysing aspectualiser constructions in Maltese. It is now possible to move on to look in detail at the set of phasal verbs themselves and the nature of aspectualiser constructions in Maltese. §4.2 introduces these aspectualisers. In this section, we will also be concentrating on providing a better understanding and a definition of the semantic values of the different Phases that are syntactically-expressed in Maltese. §4.3 then provides an overview of the major analytical works on aspectualiser verbs crosslinguistically, while §4.4 provides the analytical evidence in support of the analysis to be proposed for aspectualisers in Maltese; i.e. an AUX-PRED analysis, and where phasals parallel the syntax of raising predicates. §4.5 then concludes our discussion on phasals/aspectualisers in Maltese.

## 4.2 The Maltese aspectualiser construction

Phasal ASPECT in Maltese is syntactically realized through the presence of a phasal or aspectualiser verb that canonically precedes the lexical verb denoting the reference situation. In this section we introduce all the phase values which Maltese seems to be able to express, whilst introducing the aspectualisers along with the morphosyntactic constraints imposed on the lexical verb/participle (§4.2.1). §4.2.2 then goes into more detail to discuss the different phasal values individually, and the morphosyntactic contexts they are associated with, drawing heavily from the pioneering description in Vanhove (1993), whilst doing our best to fill in the gaps and provide

a better synchronic understanding of the affairs.

To start with, table (4.1) provides us with a working definition of the different phasal values we will be motivating for Maltese, which will be discussed in detail in §4.2.2. This is simply meant to help the reader make sense of some phase labels, before we eventually embark on a detailed discussion of the Phasal ASPECTUAL values.

Phase label	Definition
Proximative	The phase that indicates that the event is ‘close’ to happening (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 24).
Inceptive	The phase denoting ‘that event whose time of occurrence is the same as the time at which the reference situation (event or state) begins’ (Michaelis, 1998, p. xiv).
Durative	The prolonging of a situation in time, without necessarily implying anything about its initiation.
Continuative	It ‘implies that a result state has not been reached yet because the event/situation is depicted as being continued at the reference time (and possibly also beyond)’ (Stolz and Amman, 2008, p. 172).
Resumptive	Refers to the phase expressing ‘the beginning (again) of a situation’ (Brinton, 1988, p. 61).
Completive	The phase representing the ‘closure’ of an event (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994, p. 57).
Success	The phase denoting the event’s actual success (or lack of it, i.e. FRUSTRATIVE Phase), and not solely its happening (Carlson, 1996, p. 59).
Repetitive	The phase that indicates that the action is repeated (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 21)
Terminative	‘Indicates that an event stops but not necessarily that it is completed’ (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 18).
Finitive	The phase indicating ‘ending up (doing) X’ (Lehmann, 1998, pp. 12-13).

Table 4.1: The definition associated with the different Phase labels required in the account of Maltese aspectualisers

#### 4.2.1 The aspectualisers and the combinatorial morphological dependencies

The full list of aspectualisers in Maltese is provided in table (4.2). This combines data from Vanhove (1993), Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 82; pp. 231-234), Maas (2009), as well as other verbs, including *wasal* ‘arrive’, which I provide with both a ‘proximative’ meaning, or

a ‘success’ interpretation when meaning something like ‘manage’, and the verb *heda* ‘cease’.<sup>11</sup> (See §4.2.2. for more detail). Additionally, based on the contrast in (255), I propose that there are two uses of *spiċċa* ‘end, finish’. The Maltese literature only mentions this verb with respect to its expression of a COMPLETIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value. However, as illustrated in (255b), *spiċċa* also expresses a FINITIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value. This phase is in fact also expressed by the aspectualiser *safa* ‘end up’, which we are here also adding to the list of phasal auxiliaries in this study.

- (255) a. *Spicċa*                      *j-i-n-kiteb*                                      *fl-1975*  
           end.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-write.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-1975

It finished being written in 1975 (i.e. could have started being written three years earlier) TERMINATIVE

- b. *Spicċa*                      *j-i-n-kiteb*                                      *fl-1975*  
           end.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-write.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-1975

It ended up being written in 1975 (i.e. could have been planned to be written three years earlier, but the actual starting data is 1975) FINITIVE

Table (4.2) and table (4.3) are meant to represent in two distinct layouts the morphological/formal possibilities allowed for the verbs that build the aspectualiser construction, i.e. the aspectualiser ( $V^1$ ) and the lexical verb/participle ( $V^2$ ). According to Maas (2009, p. 117), the  $V^1$  within the aspectualiser construction, i.e. the aspectualiser, is that which conditions the morphological form of the  $V^2$ . He demonstrates that Arabic vernaculars in general, display the following five possible  $V^1$ - $V^2$  morphological combinations internal to aspectualiser constructions:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup>I am adding this phasal verb on the basis of a highly fossilised aspectualiser constructions of the sort in (i), present in liturgical texts, for example. Note that while this verb form does function as a lexical verb in the language as well, it is mainly Imperfective forms of the verb that are used. However, one does encounter uses of the Perfective *heda* as an aspectualiser in Biblical texts.

i *Qatt ma t-e-dha*                                      *t-ħabbar*  
           never NEG 3-FRM.VWL-cease.IMPV.SGF 3-news.CAUSE.IMPV.SGF  
           She never ceases to keep spreading the news Liturgical Text

<sup>12</sup>These morphological dependencies and relations between  $V^1$  and  $V^2$ , as we will see in §4.3 below, follow closely from Lehmann’s (1993) descriptive account of clause linkage and desententialisation introduced in Chapter 1 (§1.3). Lehmann mentions how the ‘[p]artial dependence of the tense of the subordinate clause on that of the main clause

1. Perfective V<sup>1</sup> - Imperfective V<sup>2</sup>
2. Perfective V<sup>1</sup> - Perfective V<sup>2</sup>
3. Perfective V<sup>1</sup> - Participial V<sup>2</sup>
4. Imperfective V<sup>1</sup> - Imperfective V<sup>2</sup>
5. Participial V<sup>1</sup> - Imperfective V<sup>2</sup>

Concentrating specifically on Maltese, he then claims that one only finds the combinations in (1), (2) and (4) (Maas, 2009, p. 118). This does not quite capture the facts, however. **All** the combinations from 1-4 are in fact available, as illustrated in (256).<sup>13</sup> Moreover, other sorts of combinations that do not figure in Maas' list should be added, as in (257), where we find the following possible constructions: Imperfective V<sup>1</sup> - Participial V<sup>2</sup> (257a) and Participial V<sup>1</sup> - Participial V<sup>2</sup> (257b).<sup>14</sup> Note that it is **not** the case that all these different combinatorial possibilities appear for all the phasal verbs. Rather, this is precisely what tables (4.2)-(4.3) aim

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occurs already at a level of weak desententialisation' (p. 19), and higher integration of the subordinate into the main clause correlates positively with its desententialisation (p. 26). Note that such sort of dependencies are also present across serial verb constructions, for example, as clearly stated in Crowley (2002) when mentioning how in the Oceanic serial verb constructions he considers, 'there is a close dependence between the mood and polarity categories that are marked on the first verbs in the series, and the categories which are marked on the second verb' (p. 57). Across the aspectualiser constructions we will be considering here, the **crucial** dependency that exists is with respect to the ASPECTUAL morphological forms of the two verbs (or participle in V<sup>2</sup>) involved. Selectional restrictions across aspectualiser constructions are in fact also present in English. For example, '[a]spectualisers occur freely in the progressive when followed by *to* V complements, but they occur rarely, or never, when followed by V-ing complements' (Brinton, 1988, p. 90). Also see Lamiroy (1987) who specifically concentrates on a number of semantic and morphosyntactic constraints imposed on the embedded verb by the different aspectualiser verbs in French.

- (i) a. John is beginning/starting to write a novel  
 b. \*John is beginning/starting writing a novel Brinton (1998, p. 90)

<sup>13</sup>One should here mention that the combination in (5) involving a Participial V<sup>1</sup> - Imperfective V<sup>2</sup> is in principle available in Maltese, as in (i) below. However, this dependency does not figure internal to aspectualiser constructions. Rather (i) represents an adative asyndetic construction involving the verb 'go' (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 155).

- i Sejjer                      n-iekol  
 go.ACT.PTCP.SGM 1-eat.IMPV.SG  
 I am going to eat Active participial V<sup>1</sup>-Imperfective V<sup>2</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Additional elaborations with Prospective and Progressive forms should have also been mentioned in Maas' (2009) account. This detail for Maltese is made explicit in tables (4.2)-(4.3).





to be ungrammatical instances. This is not the case, however, and the extensive presentation of all the  $V^1$ - $V^2$  combinations per phasal verb in table (4.2) is aimed to rectify the description and provide a fully-fledged categorisation of all the available combinatorial possibilities. From the tables below we observe that all of the aspectualisers allow for an Imperfective lexical verb form, except for the FRUSTRATIVE function of *baqa'* and the COMPLETIVE function of *laħaq* when this is itself Perfective. Additionally we observe how the different combinations cross-classify Phasal values, and no single Phase value is necessarily associated with aspectualisers which take lexical verbs that display the same set of verb forms. This is in fact what the different layouts of tables (4.2)-(4.3) below are meant to illustrate.

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup> - V <sup>2</sup> Dependencies
baqa' 'be left'	CONTINUATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
żied 'add'		PFV - IMPV   ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
komplu 'continue'		PFV - PFV   IMPV   ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
qagħad 'sit/stay'	DURATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
heda 'cease'	TERMINATIVE	IMPV - IMPV
waqaf 'stop'		PFV - IMPV   ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
temm 'end'	COMPLETIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
spicċa 'finish'		PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
laħaq 'reach'		PFV - PFV; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
baqa' 'remain'	FRUSTRATIVE	PFV - PFV
laħaq 'reach'	SUCCESS	PFV - PFV   IMPV; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
wasal 'arrive'		PFV - PFV   IMPV; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
ħasad 'harvest' (V)	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
telaq 'leave'		PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP - IMPV
fetaħ 'open'		PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
beda 'begin'		PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; PROSP - IMPV   ACT.PTCP; PROG - IMPV
sebaħ 'dawn' (V)		PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
sar 'become'		PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROG; PROSP   PROG - IMPV

Table 4.2 –

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup> - V <sup>2</sup> Dependencies
rama ‘build/arm’		PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
qabad ‘catch’		PFV - PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
ħabat ‘crash’		PFV - PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
ħasel/seħel ‘happen’		PFV - PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
qam ‘wake up/stand’		PFV - PFV   IMPV; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
reġa’ ‘repeat/return’	REPETITIVE	PFV - PFV   PROG   ACT.PTCP; ACT.PTCP - ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
ssokta ‘resume’	RESUMPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
safa ‘end up’	FINITIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
sar ‘become’		PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROG; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
spiċċa ‘end up’		PFV - PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV   ACT.PTCP
ħabat ‘crash’	PROXIMATIVE	PFV   IMPV - IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP; PROSP   PROG - IMPV
wasal ‘arrive’		PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV
qorob ‘be near’ <sup>15</sup>		PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG - IMPV

Table 4.2 –

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup> - V <sup>2</sup> Dependencies
Table 4.2: The set of aspectualisers in Maltese, the phases they express, and the morphological dependencies imposed		

<sup>15</sup>Both the PROXIMATIVE-realizing *wasal* and *qorob* are the only aspectualiser that obligatorily require the presence of a complementiser to introduce the embedded clause headed by the lexical predicate, and where COMP FORM = *biez*.

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup>	V <sup>2</sup>
<i>baqa</i> ‘be left’	CONTINUATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>qagħad</i> ‘sit/stay’	DURATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>ssokta</i> ‘resume’	RESUMPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>safa</i> ‘end up’	FINITIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>heda</i> ‘cease’	TERMINATIVE	IMPV	IMPV
<i>baqa</i> ‘remain’	FRUSTRATIVE	PFV	PFV
<i>laħaq</i> ‘reach’	COMPLETIVE	PFV IMPV   PROSP   PROG	PFV IMPV
<i>temm</i> ‘end’	COMPLETIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>spicċa</i> ‘finish’	COMPLETIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>ħasad</i> ‘harvest’ (V)	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV

Table 4.3 –

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup>	V <sup>2</sup>
<i>fetaħ</i> ‘open’	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>wasal</i> ‘arrive’	PROXIMATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>qorob</i> ‘be near’	PROXIMATIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>telaq</i> ‘leave’	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP	IMPV
<i>laħaq</i> ‘reach’	SUCCESS	PFV IMPV   PROSP   PROG	PFV   IMPV IMPV
<i>wasal</i> ‘arrive’	SUCCESS	PFV IMPV   PROSP   PROG	PFV   IMPV IMPV
<i>qam</i> ‘wake up/stand’	INCEPTIVE	PFV IMPV   PROSP   PROG	PFV   IMPV IMPV
<i>komplu</i> ‘continue’	CONTINUATIVE	PFV IMPV   PROSP   PROG	PFV   IMPV   ACT.PTCP IMPV
<i>ħasel/seħel</i> ‘happen’	INCEPTIVE	PFV	PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP

Table 4.3 –

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup>	V <sup>2</sup>
		IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>spiċċa</i> ‘end up’	FINITIVE	PFV	PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>reġa</i> ‘repeat/return’	REPETITIVE	PFV	PFV   PROG   ACT.PTCP
		IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
		ACT.PTCP	ACT.PTCP
<i>sar</i> ‘become’	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROG
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>sar</i> ‘become’	FINITIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROG
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>qabad</i> ‘catch’	INCEPTIVE	PFV	PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		IMPV	IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>ħabat</i> ‘crash’	INCEPTIVE	PFV	PFV   IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		IMPV	IMPV   PROG   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>żied</i> ‘add’	CONTINUATIVE	PFV	IMPV   ACT.PTCP

Table 4.3 –

Form	Phase Label	V <sup>1</sup>	V <sup>2</sup>
		IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>waqaf</i> ‘stop’	TERMINATIVE	PFV	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
		IMPV   PROSP   PROG	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
<i>beda</i> ‘begin’	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP	IMPV   ACT.PTCP
		PROG	IMPV
<i>sebaħ</i> ‘dawn’ (V)	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>ħabat</i> ‘crash’	PROXIMATIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROSP   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV
<i>rama</i> ‘build/arm’	INCEPTIVE	PFV   IMPV	IMPV   PROSP   PROG   ACT.PTCP
		PROSP   PROG	IMPV

Table 4.3: The grouping of aspectualisers on the basis of the V<sup>1</sup>-V<sup>2</sup> dependencies they illustrate





- (258) Imbagħad bqaj-t                      n-i-kteb                      il-poeżija  
 Then            remain.PFV-1SG 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG DEF-poem  
 I then continued writing the poem

Stolz and Amman (2008) consider *baqa'* to be the most grammaticalised, when contrasted with all verbs expressing CONTINUATIVE phasal ASPECT. This they consider to be the effect of the higher degree of desemanticisation it displays (p. 177). They take this fact to also be the basis for this verb's qualification as an auxiliary or quasi-auxiliary (p. 181).<sup>17</sup>

Vanhove (1993) and Stolz and Amman (2008) discuss other CONTINUATIVE 'auxiliaries' in Maltese, including *kompl*, *ssokta* 'continue', *żied* 'add' and *reġa'* lit: 'come back', all of which verbs are typically found in contexts where the lexical verb in V<sup>2</sup> internal to the aspectualiser construction, is a verb of saying. Other verbs in V<sup>2</sup> position are of course possible, as in (259) below.<sup>18</sup>

- (259) Żied                                      j-a-ghdab  
 increase.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-become.angry.IMPV.SGM  
 He continued to get more and more angry

When the verb *kompl* 'continue' is not directly followed by a lexical predicate, as in (260), *kompl* comes to function as a lexical predicate.

- (260) Ir-rappreżentant              kompl                      li              r-rid                      ukoll  
 DEF-representative.SGM continue.PFV.3SGM COMP 1-want.IMPV.SG as-well/also  
 n-e-hmeż                                      kopja tal-karta                      tal-identitá  
 1-FRM.VWL-attach.IMPV.SG copy of.DEF-card.SGF of.DEF-identity

The representative continued that I must also attach a copy of my identity card    MLRS

However, things are not quite so clear, as (261) is not quite a parallel of (260). I don't consider

<sup>17</sup>Vanhove (1993, p. 265) mentions how unlike the case in Maghrebi dialects, *baqa'* in Maltese has not yet developed as an invariable ASPECT-realizing marker such as *baqi* 'still/not yet' has. Also see Chatar-Moumni (2012, p. 8). Chatar-Moumni p. 9 additionally mentions how *baqi* in Moroccan is also associated with an ITERATIVE Phasal ASPECTual value, at least when the lexical predicate takes an Imperfective form.

<sup>18</sup>We will here not be classifying the verbs *reġa'* 'repeat' and *ssokta* specifically meaning 'resume' and not simply 'continue' in the discussion of CONTINUATIVE phasal verbs, but will refer to the Phasal values expressed by these aspectualisers as REPETITIVE (§4.2.2.6) and RESUMPTIVE (§4.2.2.7), respectively.

the corpus example in (261) as grammatical, at least in my dialect, since I do not allow for the use of the complementiser *li* to come in between the two verbs internal to the aspectualiser construction. For speakers for whom (261) is possible, one might argue that the presence of *li* could be suggestive of some sort of a less cohesive dependency between *komplā* and the lexical verb internal to the aspectualiser construction. (Also see §4.4.1.4).

- (261) Dan      l-istess    proċess      se      j-kompli                  li  
          DEM.SGM DEF-same process.SGM PROSP 3-continue.IMPV.SGM COMP  
          j-i-n-firex    fl-isptar-ijiet      l-oħr-a  
          3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-spread.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-hospital-PL DEF-other-PL

This same process will continue to be spread in the other hospitals MLRS

An important difference between (260) and (261), such that it is only (261) that can be considered as an aspectualiser construction, is the fact that (261) involves the same SUBJ across the clauses, as opposed to the change in the SUBJ in (260). The difference across speakers, at least in the case of *komplā* as part of an aspectualiser construction, which is what concerns us here, is that while some seem to allow for the lexical verb to be introduced by the complementiser *li*, others like me make no use of any complementiser at all.

#### 4.2.2.2 Durative

The DURATIVE ASPECTUAL value focusses upon the prolonging of the referential situation, which yields a *keep doing X* interpretation. The DURATIVE-denoting aspectualiser in Maltese is *qagħad* literally ‘stay, sit’. In Chapter 2 (§2.3.2) we have shown how the active participial counterpart to this verb functions synchronically as a PROGRESSIVE-realizing auxiliary. This verb is a posture verb (just like *qam* ‘wake, stand’ to be discussed in §4.2.2.5), which class of verbs commonly end up functioning as aspectualisers, according to Bovern (2006, p. 24). Heine and Kuteva (2002, pp. 193-194, 276) show that posture verbs in general become PROGRESSIVE/DURATIVE/CONTINUATIVE markers of some sort, and specifically mention that verbs of the

type ‘sit’ and ‘stay’ tend to become DURATIVE markers through time.<sup>19</sup> The equivalent of this verb in other Arabic dialects however is used as an INCEPTIVE aspectualiser (Vanhove, 1993, p. 156). In Maltese, however, an INCEPTIVE interpretation only arises in the presence of another aspectualiser verb co-occurring with *qagħad*. In (262), it is the aspectualiser *qabad* ‘catch’ that is being used to express the INCEPTIVE Phasal ASPECT. (Also see to §4.2.2.5).

- (262) **T-o-qgħod**                      **t-a-qbad**                      t-i-bki                      kull x’hin  
 3-FRM.VWL-stay.IMPV.SGF 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SGF 3-cry.IMPV.SGF all what.time  
 im-morr-u      n-a-ra-w-ha  
 1-go.IMPV-PL 1-FRM.VWL-see.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC

Lit: She stays she catches she cries every what time we go we see her

She stays starting crying whenever we go to see her                      Vanhove (1993, p. 157, ex. 6)

Vanhove (1993) makes it clear that distinctions between DURATIVE and CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECT values are necessary, independent of Maltese. The difference resides in the fact that the DURATIVE phase, unlike the CONTINUATIVE, makes reference to a situation which is prolonged in time, but need not have started at the time preceding the point of the time reference in which the event is being situated. Duration in time thus implies no evidence that the process has started before the point of the time reference being established by the grammatical TENSE and ASPECT system, and consequently, there is no CONTINUATION ASPECT involved. The fact that there is **no** situation **already** taking place prior to the Reference Time is made clear in (263), where the continuation of an already ongoing event is signalled through *baqa’*, while endurance of the ‘searching’ event not only didn’t happen, as signalled through the NEG marking on the aspectualiser *qagħad*, but it also didn’t even start.

- (263) **Baqgħ-u**                      għaddejj-in.                      Ma **qagħd-u-x**                      i-fittx-u  
 remain.PFV.3-PL pass.ACT.PTCP-PL. NEG stay.PFV.3-PL-NEG 3-search.IMPV-PL

<sup>19</sup>The use of this verb here, along with the use of *qam* ‘wake, stand’ as aspectualisers, differ from common collocations in (i), where the lexical meaning of these predicates is retained.

i ll-hin                      koll-u t-qum                      u      t-o-qgħod!                      M’għand-ek-x                      kwiet!  
 DEF-time-SGM all.SGM 2-wake.up.IMPV.SG CONJ 2-FRM.VWL-sit.IMPV.SG NEG.at-2SG.ACC-NEG stillness  
 You are all the time standing and sitting! You don’t have any stillness!

fi-ha  
in-3SGF.ACC

Lit: They kept going. They did not stay searching in it Vanhove (1993, p. 158, ex. 7)

Vanhove hypothesises that the fact that *qagħad* is synchronically not associated with a CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECT value in Maltese, could be a result of the aspectualiser's development out of a diachronic INCEPTIVE Phasal interpretation associated with the same verb, as is this aspectualiser's use in other Arabic dialects. The example in (264) is an utterance which Vanhove cites from De Soldanis (1735), where *noqogħdu* might be interpreted as having an INCEPTIVE function. Possibly, this could explain why a DURATIVE interpretation appears closer to an INCEPTIVE than a CONTINUATIVE interpretation, since there is no start of a process prior to the point at which the time reference refers to.

(264) Merħba bi-k,                    ġej-t                    fil-waqt                    biex                    **n-o-qogħd-u**  
welcome with-2SG.ACC, come.PFV-1SG in.DEF-time in.order.to 1-FRM.VWL-stay.IMPV-PL  
n-i-t-ħaddt-u-ha  
1-EPENT.VWL-RECIP-talk.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC

Welcome. You came at the appropriate time to start/keep talking about it Vanhove  
(1993, p. 159, ex. 11) citing De Soldanis (1735)

Vanhove's hypothesis thus implies that the desemanticisation development of *qagħad* is as follows: 'sit' > 'start' > 'endure', with a middle stage where the duration and the inception of the event denoted by the lexical predicate representing the reference situation are either ambiguously encoded, or are encoded simultaneously.

#### 4.2.2.3 Terminative and Completive

Cinque (2003, p. 55) distinguishes between TERMINATIVE ASPECT and COMPLETIVE ASPECT. The latter 'marks the termination of a bounded process at its natural end point', as would be the interpretation when using 'finish', for example, while TERMINATIVE ASPECT 'marks the termination of an unbounded, or bounded process at an arbitrary point', as the use of 'stop', 'quit'

and ‘cease’ would imply. Brinton (1988, p. 86) brings out the difference as follows: ‘With *stop* and *quit*, the situation is ended before the goal is reached, whereas with *finish* or *complete*, the goal has been attained’. With this we therefore come to observe a closeness between the Viewpoint ASPECTual PERFECTIVE value, telic Lexical ASPECT and the COMPLETIVE Phasal ASPECT value. Through different ways, these distinct values entail that the situation is bounded. Vanhove (1993, p. 108) following Aquilina (1987, pp. 720-721), as well as Maas (2009, p. 123) simply mention TERMINATIVE ASPECT with respect to Maltese. Based on this rather fine distinction discussed in Cinque (2003), I will reserve the TERMINATIVE ASPECTual value to the aspectualiser *heda* ‘cease’, which we have in this study, added to the list of aspectualisers, as well as *waqaf* ‘stop’ (as in (265)). Note that even though it is a TERMINATIVE ASPECTual value rather than a COMPLETIVE value which is being expressed by *waqaf*, it is possible for *waqaf* to be used in the context of inherently telic verbs as well as atelic ones.

- (265) a. Waqaf                      j-a-qa’    fl-ahħar!  
           stop.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-fall.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-last.COMPAR  
           He stopped falling down finally!    Telic
- b. Waqaf                      j-i-rbaħ    dejjem hu!  
           stop.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-win.IMPV.SGM always he  
           He stopped being the one who’s always winning!    Telic
- c. Waqaf                      j-i-lgħab    magħ-hom  
           stop.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-play.IMPV.SGM with-3PL.ACC  
           He stopped playing with them - Aspectualiser function    Non-telic  
           He stopped to play with them - Lexical function

Observe the interesting difference that obtains, depending on the presence of a telic vs. non-telic verb internal to the aspectualiser construction. Telic predicates do not result in the ambiguous interpretation of *waqaf*, i.e. it can **only** be interpreted as an aspectualiser. On the other hand, non-telic lexical predicates as in (265c) affect *waqaf* in a way such that it comes to take an ambiguous syntactic function, where it can be analysed both as a lexical predicate or as a

TERMINATIVE aspectualiser.

I will associate the COMPLETIVE Phasal ASPECT value with the aspectualisers *temm* ‘end’ (as in (266)), one of the meanings of *spicċa* ‘finish’ (i.e. when not being used to express FINITIVE ASPECT, whose associated meaning is the resultative ‘end up’ (see Lehmann (1993) and §4.2.2.8)), and *laħaq* meaning ‘achieve’ (at least on one of its aspectualiser meanings), whose lexical counterpart means ‘reach, graduate, be promoted’.<sup>20</sup> COMPLETIVE markers derived from ‘finish’ verbs are rather common crosslinguistically (Heine and Kuteva, 2002, p. 134; Heine, 2003, p. 594).

- (266) U ġara li waqt li l-Iżrael kien qed  
 And happen.PFV.3SGM COMP moment COMP DEF-Israel be.PFV.3SGM PROG  
 i-temm j-o-qtol lill-abitant-i koll-ha ...  
 3-end.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-kill.IMPV.SGM ACC.DEF-inhabitant-PL all-PL ...  
 And it happened that while Israel was ending killing all the inhabitants ... Google<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup>The one important distinction between the aspectualiser *laħaq* and the non-aspectualiser raising lexical predicate *laħaq* meaning ‘occur/happen’ is the fact that only the latter displays agreement mismatches, such that it may optionally take a default 3SGM, as in the examples below:

- (i) a. Laħaq/laħq-et kel-l-ha frott tajjeb  
 reach.PFV.3SGM/reach.PFV-3SGF be.PFV-DAT-3SGF fruit good.SGM  
 It was the case/It did happen that it once had good fruit  
 She in the past did have good fruit  
 b. Laħaq/lħaq-na ma dom-nie-x daqshekk  
 reach.PFV.3SGM/reach.PFV-1PL NEG be.late.PFV-1PL-NEG as.much.as.like.that  
 It did happen (before) that we did not stay this late  
 We did happen (before) to not have stayed this late

<sup>21</sup>It is interesting to mention here that according to Brustad (2000, pp. 195-196), the presence of the verb *tamm*, whose literal meaning is ‘complete’ is present across all Arabic dialectal regions. However, when functioning as an aspectualiser (or ‘narrative contour verb’ in Brustad’s terminology), in Moroccan we get a CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECT value expressed, i.e. ‘continue’, while in Egyptian and Syrian the aspectualiser expresses the DURATIVE ‘keep/remain’. The use of the Maltese cognate *temm* as an aspectualiser thus remains closest to its original lexical meaning.

(267) Niżel                      iż-żewġ    taġ-iet            li            laħaq                      tela'  
 descend.PFV.3SGM DEF-two DEF-step-PL COMP reach.PFV.3SGM ascend.PFV.3SGM

He went down the two steps he had already/just went up<sup>22</sup> Vanhove (1993, p. 110, ex. 4)  
 citing Aquilina (1987)<sup>23</sup>

Given the data in (266) and (267), it should here be pointed out that although a COMPLETIVE Phasal value is closer to the PERFECTIVE Viewpoint ASPECTual value, nonetheless, it is only *laħaq* that obligatorily requires a Perfective form of the lexical verb when *laħaq* itself is Perfective, internal to the aspectualiser construction realizing the COMPLETIVE Phase value. In (267) the use of *laħaq* also involves an ‘achievable’ undertone to it. In fact, this will trigger the discussion in the following section where we assume that another Phasal ASPECT value is expressed by *laħaq*, and this has to do with the ‘success’ or lack of ‘success’ of the event’s completion.

#### 4.2.2.4 Success or Frustrative

The other Phasal ASPECT value expressed by *laħaq* is what Cinque (1998, p. 137) refers to as SUCCESS, where the meaning parallels that of the lexical verb ‘manage’, with the FRUSTRATIVE value then being understood as ‘not manage’. The latter interpretation comes out through the negation on the aspectualiser as in (268). It follows then, that for Maltese, the same verbal form cannot be used to express both values at once. It is rather through a polarity distinction marked on the aspectualiser that we get a value difference, at least in the case of *laħaq*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Cinque (1998, p. 137) provides the term ‘retrospective’ ASPECT to mean ‘to have just’. The reader is here reminded that we have discussed the interpretation of ‘just’ that is brought out through the use of the pseudo-verb *ghad-* in Chapter 3 (§3.4.3; §3.6).

<sup>23</sup>Recall from §2.1 (table (4.2) that when *laħaq* as a V<sup>1</sup> is within an aspectualiser construction and takes a Perfective form, it can only be followed by a Perfective V<sup>2</sup> lexical verb, at least when the Phasal ASPECT value being expressed by *laħaq* is a COMPLETIVE one. Refer to §4.2.2.4 below for other values associated with this aspectualiser.

<sup>24</sup>Recall that we have made reference to the FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECT value in Chapter 3 (§3.6) when discussing how the Avertive construction in Maltese differs in its interpretation from a construction that involves FRUSTRATIVE initiation.



(268) Ma lħaq-t-x mor-t  
 NEG reach.PFV-1SG-NEG go.PFV-1SG

I did not manage to go

Carlson (1996, p. 59) discusses a SUCCESS-realizing morpheme in Salishan languages. He mentions that this is ‘typically used to indicate that an accomplishment takes place and succeeds only through an extra effort’. The endurance of some substantial effort for the achievement/fulfilment of the particular event/reference situation, underlies the real meaning of the SUCCESS Phasal ASPECT value we are here proposing to exist for Maltese.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, Kuteva et al. (2015, p. 24) also cite the presence of a “frustrative mood” marker in Hup and Tariana, two Amazonian languages. Such a marker expresses interpretations such as the following: the failure of an action; knowledge that the action ‘is bound to fail’; or where the success of the action is uncertain. Binnick (1991, p. 204) cites Keniston (1936) who makes reference to an EFFECTIVE phasal ASPECT, which we can here view as some sort of umbrella term that incorporates both SUCCESS and FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECT values, when making reference to this Phasal value with respect to Spanish *llegó* ‘managed’ in: *Llegó a ser* ‘He managed to be’. Binnick, on the other hand groups this phasal value with the class of ‘phases of beginning’, i.e. Inceptive aspectualisers. For Maltese, grouping this aspectualiser with INCEPTIVE expressing aspectualisers is not a possibility. Rather, it would best fit with right the opposite sort of aspectualisers, i.e. those realizing EGRESSIVE/COMPLETIVE Phasal ASPECT. Note that while aspectualisers expressing these Phasal ASPECTUAL values have not been discussed previously in the literature on Maltese, we believe that there is in fact ample data that support the recognition of this additional value. What we are additionally claiming here is that the SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL values in Maltese are only with respect to the reference situation’s **completion**, and **not** its

<sup>25</sup>Note that the aspectualiser *lħaq* could indeed be substituted with the impersonal verb *rnexxa-*, which is the lexical predicate meaning ‘manage’ in Maltese, and the meaning of (268) would be retained. Additionally, Heine and Kuteva (2002, pp. 45-46) mention that verbs such as ‘arrive’ with the meaning of ‘arrive at, reach’, crosslinguistically tend to become ability or SUCCESS markers. (This thus accounts for why we also find *wasal* ‘arrive’ functioning as a SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE aspectualiser in Maltese, as will be shown below). The reason for mentioning this here is because although *lħaq* doesn’t mean ‘arrive’, ‘reach’ is one of its lexical meanings. Accepting this fact, it doesn’t seem as radical then, to attribute and associate this Phasal ASPECT value with this specific aspectualiser.

initiation. This could explain why we have *laħaq* being able to express both COMPLETIVE and SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE, as **both** Phasal values in Maltese target reference to the end part of the event.

Note that on the basis of the following data from the MLRS Corpus, taken from a football commentary, which while rather odd for me, may well be accepted in such a genre, results in a small morphosyntactic difference between the aspectualiser *laħaq* when used to express a COMPLETIVE vs. a SUCCESS aspectualiser. As illustrated in table (4.2) a Perfective *laħaq* with a SUCCESS interpretation allows for **both** a Perfective or Imperfective form of the lexical verb internal to the aspectualiser construction. As mentioned in §4.2.2.3, on the other hand, the COMPLETIVE counterpart only allows for the Perfective form of the lexical verb.

(269)	...	gie		m-blukk-at		minn Darmanin biex		Dronca
	...	come.PFV.3SGM		PASS-block-PTCP.SGM		from D		so.that D
	laħaq			i-tajjar		fil-hin		minn halq Ivan Woods
	reach.PFV.3SGM			3-CAUSE.fly.IMPV.SGM		in.DEF-time from		mouth I W
	...	was blocked from Darmanin so that Dronca reached/managed to shoot away on time		from Ivan Woods' possession		SUCCESS: Perfect V <sup>1</sup> -Imperfect V <sup>2</sup> - MLRS		

Just as *laħaq* is associated with two distinct Phasal ASPECTual values, so too is *baqa'*, discussed in §4.2.2.1 above with respect to the CONTINUATIVE ASPECTual value. Interestingly *baqa'* only allows a Perfective lexical verb when this functions as an aspectualiser expressing a SUCCESS ASPECTual value (as shown in tables (4.2)-(4.3) in §4.2). This is not the case when it functions as a COMPLETIVE aspectualiser, however.<sup>26</sup> The constraint we observe, however, as demonstrated in (270a), when the lexical verb following *baqa'* is Perfective in form, is that this must always be Negative in form or else the clause involving the lexical verb must involve negation in some way, as in (270b). (Also see the discussion in §4.4.1.2).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup>These morphological dependency changes between the V<sup>1</sup> - V<sup>2</sup> internal to the aspectualiser construction once the Phasal ASPECT value changes, seems to fit in with Noonan (2007, p. 142)'s comment when saying that: 'Aspectual and/or tense distinctions within the set of complement-types in a given language can be exploited with phasal predicates to create contrasts in meaning'.

<sup>27</sup>It is rather interesting to observe that Moroccan exhibits the exact same constraint with the invariable

- (270) a. Marr-et tfajla oħr-a waraj-h u baqgħ-et ma  
 go.PFV-3SGF young.girl another-SGF after-3SGM.ACC CONJ remain.PFV-3SGF NEG  
 rritorna-t-x  
 return.PFV-3SGF-NEG

Another young woman went after him and failed to return Vanhove (1993, p. 270, ex. 1)

- b. Baqgħ-et ma marr-et xejn/imkien  
 remain.PFV-3SGF NEG go.PFV-3SGF nothing/nowhere

She failed to go at all/anywhere

FRUSTRATIVE

This requirement is not discussed in Vanhove (1993). The comment Vanhove (1993, p. 270) provides with respect to *baqa'* in (270a), is that it is here **not** functioning as an aspectualiser, and the only aspectualiser function associated with *baqa'* is the CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value. However, she specifically states that the utterance in (270a) implies ‘not managing/not succeeding/failure to X’, such that there is no relation with a: ‘She continued/kept not returning’, which would have otherwise been the interpretation associated with the CONTINUATIVE function of *baqa'*. More generally, Vanhove (1993, p. 265) assumes that the presence of *baqa'* followed by a Perfective lexical verb does **not** yield a CONTINUATIVE ASPECTUAL interpretation. This is true, as shown above. Therefore, in line with this statement, as well as with what we have just said about the morphosyntax of this construction, i.e. the Perfective morphological lexical verb form and the consequential Negative requirement, when *baqa'* is not being used to express a CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECT value, in which case it must take a Perfective form itself, we link all this to what in Cinque’s (1998, p. 137; 2003, p. 62) terminology is labelled as the FRUSTRATIVE ASPECT. Note that in this way we are departing from Vanhove’s account, when saying

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aspectualiser *baqi*. ‘In non-negative contexts, *baqi* occurs only with the Imperfective. Of course, an example like [(i a)] is not possible; an achieved event cannot continue to go on’ (Chatar-Moumni, 2012, p. 9).

- (i) a. (ħmed) baqi ma-ġa l-d-dar  
 Ahmed yet NEG-come.PFV.3SGM to-DEF-house  
 Ahmed has not yet come at home Moroccan: Chatar-Moumni (2012, p. 8)
- b. \*baqi ġa l-d-dar  
 yet come.PFV.3SGM to-DEF-house  
 Intended: He has not yet come at home Moroccan: Chatar-Moumni (2012, p. 9)

that across (270a), *baqa'* is in fact **is still** functioning as an aspectualiser. It is however here not expressing CONTINUATIVE Phasal ASPECT, but a FRUSTRATIVE one. It is rather interesting to think that the FRUSTRATIVE Phasal interpretation is here being derived through a constructional effect, since in principle it is **not** the placement of NEG on the phasal, as is the case with *laħaq*, that is realizing the opposite of the SUCCESS interpretation, i.e. the FRUSTRATIVE. Rather, it is the Perfective and Negative form of the lexical verb along with the Perfective form of the phasal that yields the FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECT value.

We can provide independent evidence that could further motivate our addition of SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE Phasal values to the list of Phase labels in Maltese, as well as the claim that the FRUSTRATIVE interpretation comes about through a constructional effect, even if (271) may itself be a fossilised/idiomaticised expression. So in (271) we primarily observe the presence of an **optionally** repeated form of Perfective *baqa'*, **as well as** a following clause introduced by either a *biex* or *sa ma* (i.e. a preposition plus complementiser), whose predicate must **not** be Negative in form. Through both the Perfective *baqa'* aspectualiser on its own, and when optionally repeated, it is precisely a 'manage/achieve' interpretation that is yielded, i.e. a SUCCESS reading. Moreover, just as appears to be the implication behind the SUCCESSIVE ASPECTUAL value, a special effort/persistence or an 'against all odds' interpretation does in fact underlie (271).

(271) Baqa'                      (baqa')                      {biex / sa    ma}    daħal                      l-Università  
           remain.PFV.3SGM    remain.PFV.3SGM    to        /    until    COMP    enter.PFV.3SGM    DEF-university

Lit: He remain remain to/until he entered the University

He persisted such that/until he managed to enter university                      SUCCESS

Just as *baqa'* allows for a Perfective lexical verb form when a SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECT value is expressed, which also requires it to be Perfective in form, so too is the case when *wasal* lit. meaning 'arrive' takes a SUCCESS interpretation as opposed to a PROXIMATIVE one (discussed in §4.2.2.9), when this aspectualiser itself is Perfective in form. Refer back to tables (4.2)-(4.3) to see the differences in the dependencies internal to the aspectualiser constructions,

depending on the Phasal ASPECT value being realized by *wasal* ‘arrive’, and see §4.2.2.9 for more discussion on the use of this aspectualiser.<sup>28</sup>

- (272) a. Wasl-u (biex) qal-u/j-ghid-u li ...  
 arrive.PFV.3-PL in.order.to say.PFV.3-PL/3-say.IMPV-PL COMP  
 Lit. They arrive in.order.to say that ...  
 They managed to say ... SUCCESS
- b. Mhux qed j-a-sl-u j-ghid-u l-verità  
 NEG PROG 3-FRM.VWL-arrive-PL 3-say.IMPV-PL DEF-truth  
 They are not managing to say the truth FRUSTRATIVE

#### 4.2.2.5 Ingressive/Inceptive

The phase marking the start of the reference situation is referred to as INCEPTIVE (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997)/INGRESSIVE (Maas 2009). Vanhove (1993) and Stolz and Ammann (2007) make use of the term INCHOATIVE to refer to this value. ‘Inchoative’ is in fact the term Binnick (1991, p. 203) uses with reference to the processes which are beginning and are leading to a state. The same follows in Letuchii (2004). I choose not to use this term, as according to Newmeyer (1975, p. 63), all phasal verbs are inchoative, and hence I want to keep this inherent nature of phasals apart from the values they come to express.

The key INCEPTIVE aspectualiser is *beda* ‘start’ as in (273), whose lexical verbal meaning is also ‘start/begin’.<sup>29</sup> The behaviour of *beda* follows well-known paths of change. Heine and

<sup>28</sup>Note that instances such as (i) below do not constitute an aspectualiser construction. Rather, the NEG-marked Imperfective *ma jdumx* lit. ‘NEG take long’ merely functions as an XADJ associated with a manner interpretation, which is a common feature of Imperfective verb-forms in general (Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997).

i Huwa t-tama-t li dan l-apparat j-a-sal  
 COP.3SGM REFL-hope-PASS.PTCP.SGM COMP DEM.SGM DEF-apparatus.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SGM  
 ma j-dum-x  
 NEG 3-take.long.SGM-NEG  
 It is hoped that this apparatus will not take long to arrive MLRS

<sup>29</sup>Vanhove (1993, p. 246) mentions that in Tunisian the cognate form expressing INCEPTIVE ASPECT is fixed to an invariable Imperfective 3SGM form: *yebda* ‘start’. See Saddour (2010) and Mion (2013) however.

Kuteva (2002, p. 52) demonstrate a crosslinguistic tendency for ‘begin/start’ predicates to become INCEPTIVE markers of some sort.

- (273) Se          n-i-bda                                  n-i-kteb  
 PROSP 1-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG  
 I will start to write

Vanhove (1993, p. 247), following Aquilina (1987), mentions that the aspectualiser *beda* ‘start’ is not only used to refer to the beginning of events, but citing Aquilina (1987, p. 94), *beda* also functions ‘as an auxiliary verb in interrogative statements to express indecision in finding an expedient regarding the main action expressed in the verb’. An example of this usage is in fact already present in Stumme (1904) (274).<sup>30</sup> Note that the function of the aspectualiser *beda* here **still** expresses an INCEPTIVE/INGRESSIVE Phasal ASPECT value, but it adds an indecisive undertone to the construction, i.e. in this case the inability to start taking a decision. I here agree with this nuance in meaning. Note that it is not the *wh*-pronoun *kif* along with the *beda/qabad* combination that is expressing the indecisive inception in (274), as this same indecisive meaning with respect to the event’s inception is also present in other interrogative contexts, as illustrated in (275).

- (274) Kif n-i-bda                                  n-a-għmel                                  biex          ma  
 how 1-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG 1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG in.order.to NEG  
 n-i-n-qabad-x?  
 1-EPENT.VWL-PASS-catch.IMPV.SG-NEG  
 Lit: How I start I do so that I not get caught?

What shall I do to not get caught? Vanhove (1993, p. 247, ex. 2) citing Stumme (1904)

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<sup>30</sup>*Qabad* lit: ‘catch, grab’, which is another INCEPTIVE realizing phasal verb (see below), would have also been a good substitute of *beda* here (as in (275b)).

- (275) a. Meta n-i-bda n-għid-l-u?  
 when 1-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SG 1-say.IMPV.SG-DAT-3SGM

Lit: When I start I say to him?

When should I (start) telling him?

- b. X'n-a-qbad  
 what.1-FRM.VWL-grab.IMPV.SG  
 n-i-kteb/n-a-għmel/n-għid-l-u?  
 1-FRM.VWL-write.IMPV.SG/1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG/1-say.IMPV-DAT-3SGM

What should I (start) writing/doing/telling him?

From the very nature of the inchoative meaning of the verb *sar* 'become', in parallel to other Arabic dialects (e.g. Syrian (Mitchell and ElHassan, 1994, p. 87)), this verb too is able to express an INCEPTIVE phase (Vanhove, 1993, p. 259). As discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.3), additional evidence favouring an auxiliary status or at least evidence in favour of the initiation of auxiliatation, comes from the co-occurrence of the bleached use of the auxiliary and its lexical verb counterpart. This is illustrated through (276) in the case of aspectualiser *sar* and its lexical verbal counterpart.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Recall from Chapter 2 (§2.4) that *sar* 'become' has already been associated with an auxiliary function, even if, as we will see below in §4.4.2, this involves a distinct analysis from the auxiliary status which this same verb has when used as an aspectualiser. The auxiliary function associated with the non-aspectualiser *sar* is demonstrated when it substitutes *jkun* 'be' or *jigi* 'come' in the context of stative lexical verbs in a number of syntactic contexts including PROSPECTIVE reference as in (i), modal reference (ii), temporal adverbial contexts (iii) and purpose clauses (iv). *Sar* in such contexts is obligatorily required here, as its absence leads to ungrammaticality, as (i b) illustrates.

- (i) a. ħa j-sir j-i-xbah  
 PROSP 3-become.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-resemble.IMPV.SGM  
 He will (come to) resemble Prospective
- b. \*ħa j-i-xbah
- ii Għand-u j-sir j-af  
 at-3SGM.GEN 3-be.IMPV.SGM 3-know.IMPV.SGM  
 He should get to know Modal context
- iii Kif/meta s-sir t-af ...  
 how/when 2-become.IMPV.SG 2-know.IMPV.SG  
 When you get to now Temporal adverbial context
- iv Sabiex sar j-i-sta' j-kellim-ni  
 in.order.to become.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-can.IMPV.SGM 3-speak.IMPV.SGM-1SG.ACC  
 In order to have been able to talk to me Purpose clause





*ħasad*, whose literal meaning is otherwise ‘harvest’.

(278) J-a-ħsad i-kanta  
 3-FRM.VWL-harvest/fright.IMPV.SG 3-sing.IMPV.SGM

Lit: He harvests he sings

He starts singing all of a sudden

In their discussion of aspectualiser verbs, Maas (2009, pp. 123-125) and Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 233) provide the form *rema* ‘throw away’ as another INCEPTIVE aspectualiser, as in (279). From Maas’ Neo-Arabic survey, the use of this aspectualiser seems to only exist in Maltese.

(279) Rema j-a-ħlef  
 throw.away.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-swear.IMPV.SGM

Lit: He threw away he swear

He started swearing Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 233)

Even though Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) and Maas (2009) provide the form *rema* associated with the lexical verb ‘throw away’, the dialectal form, as well as data from the MLRS Corpus, which we take to be Standard representations, as in (280) below, involve the form *rama*, whose literal meaning is ‘build, arm, assemble’, derived from Italian *armare* ‘arm, equip’. In fact, at this point, we should here add that it is somewhat confusing that while Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) provide the form for ‘throw away’, i.e. *rama*, they gloss this form as ‘prepare’. If the source of this INCEPTIVE phasal verb is in fact from the Italian/Sicilian verb meaning, such that the origin is ‘arm, equip’ and not ‘throw away’, then this might explain why it is only present in Maltese and no such counterpart exists in the other Arabic dialects.

(280) Rama j-i-dgħi /  
 arm.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-blaspheme.IMPV.SGM /  
 j-i-rrakkunta-l-i / j-fajr-i-l-ha  
 3-EPENT.VWL-narrate.IMPV.SGM-DAT-1SG / 3-hit.IMPV.SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF

He started blasphemising/narrating to me/hitting her

MLRS

The verb (or verbs) *rama* ‘build, arm’/*rema* ‘throw away’ also yield a certain suddenness/instantaneouity to the situation. According to Vanhove, it is the very ‘throw’ interpretation that seems to contribute to the impulse reflected in the suddenness of the INCEPTIVE phase. Whatever the original lexical meaning is, what is certain is that this aspectualiser form is bleached, and can co-occur with its lexical counterpart (whichever that may be), as illustrated in (281).

- (281) Rema/Rama  
 throw.away/arm.PFV.3SGM  
 j-a-rma/j-a-rmi kollox  
 3-FRM.VWL-arm.IMPV.SGM/3-FRM.VWL-throw.away.IMPV.SGM everything  
 waħd-u  
 alone-3SGM.ACC  
 He started building/throwing everything on his own

*Fetaħ*, whose lexical means is ‘open’, also expresses an INCEPTIVE Phasal value. Vanhove (1993, p. 254) takes a metaphoric development that follows from a metaphoric use of ‘open’ to mean ‘start’ as the potential trigger that could have led to the initiation of the auxiliatation process of *fetaħ*, particularly in the dialectal variety, where this aspectualiser is more widespread. The examples in (282) are Standard Maltese data, however. The INCEPTIVE function associated with *fetaħ* is also present in Stumme’s (1904) data, as cited in Vanhove (1993, p. 255).

- (282) a. Fetaħ j-gorr  
 open.PFV.3SGM 3-complain.IMPV.SGM  
 Lit: He opened he complains  
 He started complaining Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 233)
- b. Moħħ-u xegħel u fetaħ  
 mind-3SGM.GEN light.PFV.3SGM CONJ open.PFV.3SGM  
 j-i-t-kellem kemm kien-u tajb-in  
 3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV.SGM how.much be.PFV.3-PL good-PL  
 His mind lit and he started to talk about how good they were MLRS

*Telaq*, which literally means ‘leave’, in its intransitive lexical use, also functions as an INCEPTIVE aspectualiser in particular constructions. This meaning, in parallel with the hypothesis proposed

for *fetaħ*, could have come about from the physical or the metaphorical use of the lexical meaning. The close relations that exist between the lexical verb's meaning and its auxiliary counterpart may be taken to follow from the very 'motion' semantics of this predicate. Seiss (2009, p. 508), for example claims that: 'That an auxiliary still carries some of its original meaning in certain contexts is especially common of auxiliaries which develop from posture or motion verbs'. What we must add here is that, as was exactly the case with INCEPTIVE *qabad*, where instead of the COMPLETIVE Phasal value which verbs such as 'seize' grammaticalise into, crosslinguistically, as mentioned above, the INCEPTIVE Phasal value which is expressed by Maltese *telaq* 'leave' is once again the opposite value which one finds crosslinguistically, when comparing the Phasal ASPECTUAL value expressed by aspectualisers whose source is 'leave'. Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 190) only mention the development of the verb 'leave' into EGRESSIVE/COMPLETIVE expressing markers.

- (283) Ghin-t-ha                      ftit,    biss ma    dam-it-x                      ma  
 help.PFV-1SG-3SGF.ACC a.little but NEG take.long.PFV-3SGF-NEG COMP  
 telq-et                      t-a-ħdem                      għal ras-ha  
 leave.PFV-3SGF 3-FRM.VWL-work.IMPV.SGF for head-3SGF.GEN

I helped her a bit, but she did not take long to start working on her own (not a case where she left to another room to work on her own, however)

Another aspectualiser auxiliary that expresses an INCEPTIVE phase is *ħabat*, whose literal meaning is 'crash'. When behaving as a raising predicate it means 'happen/occur'. Once again, we are here able to combine the aspectualiser verb and its lexical counterpart as in (284). Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997, p. 233) do not associate an INGRESSIVE ASPECTUAL interpretation with *ħabat*, unlike what we are doing here, at least in this section. Rather, they **only** mention that *ħabat* can be 'used to mean that a situation is on the verge of starting to obtain', which would, in Cinque's (2003, p. 137) terminology, be a PROSPECTIVE Phasal ASPECT value, or PROXIMATIVE in Kuteva et al. (2015) (also see §4.2.2.9), with both values referring to the closeness of occurrence. We will here clearly show that *ħabat* is in fact associated with two distinct Phasal ASPECT values. The INCEPTIVE and PROXIMATIVE values associated with *ħabat*, along

with the different lexical uses, are demonstrated rather clearly as follows in (284). (284) illustrates **four** ‘crash’ verbs, with the first being the raising ‘happenstance/occur’, the second and third function as aspectualisers, with the second ‘crash’ specifically yielding the ‘be about to/be on the verge’ PROXIMATIVE interpretation and the third yielding the INCEPTIVE interpretation. The fourth *ħabat* is the lexical predicate actually meaning ‘crash’.

- (284) *ħabat*[occur]    *ħabt-et*[PROX]    *ħa*    *t-a-ħbat*[INCEP]  
 crash.PFV.3SGM crash.PFV-3SGF PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-crash.IMPV.SGF  
*t-a-ħbat*[LEX.V]                      *kuljum, dik*              *is-sena*.  
 3-FRM.VWL-crash.IMPV.SGF everyday, DEM.SGF DEF-year.SGF

It happened she was on the verge of starting to crash everyday, that year

Corpus data such as (285) brings out the synchronic ambiguity between the INCEPTIVE and ‘be on the verge to’ (PROXIMATIVE) interpretations with respect to the aspectualiser *ħabat*. The data in (286) is however clearer and the interpretation associated with *ħabat* is an INCEPTIVE one.

- (285) *Fejn j-a-ħbat*                                      *se j-ammetti*              *xi ħaġa*  
 where 3-FRM.VWL-crash.IMPV.SGM PROSP 3-admit.IMPV.SGM some thing.SGF

Where he started/he is on the verge of admitting something ... - INCEPTIVE/PROXIMATIVE  
 MLRS

- (286) *Ma ħabt-it-x*                      *t-għib*                      *it-tifkir-a*  
 NEG crash.PFV-3SGF-NEG 3-disappear.IMPV.SGF DEF-memory-SGF

The memory did not start disappearing - INCEPTIVE                                      MLRS

*Sebaħ* ‘dawn’ is another INCEPTIVE aspectualiser verb which also has a ‘be about to’ (PROXIMATIVE) undertone to it. The same follows with *ħasel*, which literally means ‘wash’. The alternants of this verb are *ħesel* and *seħel* in the dialects, such that they are not homophonous with the *ħasel* ‘wash’.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>In parallel to what we discussed in the case of *ħabat* lit. ‘crash’, *seħel* in the dialect, in particular, also takes a ‘happenstance/occur’ use (i), for which a raising analysis would apply.

*i Kif ra*                      *li seħel*                      *ħa t-erġa*  
 how see.PFV.3SGM COMP be.about.to.PFV.3SGM PROSP 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGF

- (287) Jekk j-i-sbaħ    j-i-tlagħa-l-i  
         if    3-FRM.VWL-dawn.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-go.up.IMPV.SGM-DAT-1SG  
         n-kisser                  kulma    hawn  
         1-break.IMPV.SG all.that here

If I get to the point where I lose it I will break all that is here Vanhove (1993, p. 262, ex. 2)

- (288) In<t>ebaħ                          li        hasel                          qieghed  
         realise.REFL.PFV.3SGM COMP came.to.idea.PFV.3SGM sit.ACT.PTCP.SGM  
         j-e-rģa'    j-għholli                          leħn-u                          zzejjed  
         3-FRM.VWL-again.IMPV.SGM 3-increase.CAUSE.IMPV.SGM voice-3SGM.GEN a.lot/extra

He realised that he started increasing his voice a lot, once again Vanhove (1993, p. 258, ex. 1)

The remaining INCEPTIVE aspectualiser listed in the previous literature is the posture verb *qam*, literally ‘wake up, rise’. This verb’s function does not appear to be as bleached as it is in other Arabic vernaculars. However (289) does offer us with a clear instance where *qam* has an INCEPTIVE interpretation.

- (289) L-ilħna        qam-u                          lkoll        f’daqqa j-għajjt-u        għalenija  
         DEF-voice.PL wake.up.PFV.3-PL together in.hit    3-shout.IMPV-PL joyful.PL

Lit: The voices woke up together at once shouting joyfully

The voices rose up together at one go shouting joyfully

For the first time, we should here mention that one context exists, mainly in colloquial and ‘low/vulgar’ speech, where the use of *qam* is undoubtedly laden with an initiation interpretation, and whose function is close to the function of the verb in (289), even if uses of *qam* otherwise tend to be associated with the literal ‘wake up/rise (from sleep, or the physical upward movement)’ meaning. The initiation being referred to here, through the use of the aspectualiser, is the

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t-e-rfa'    id-ha                          ...  
         3-FRM.VWL-lift.up.IMPV.SGF hand-3SGF.GEN

Lit: How he saw that it was about to she will repeat she raises her hand again ...

As he saw that she was about to raise her hand again ...

In the dialect I somehow find that this verb is really losing its INCEPTIVE interpretation, and is functioning predominantly as a ‘happenance’ predicate.

'coming to one's senses at that very present moment'. This 'low' use of the aspectualiser *qam* involves a default 3SGM morphological form and inflection via the attached DAT pronoun, with the CP including the lexical verb headed by the complementisers *li* or *bicx*.

- (290) Issa qam-i-l-ha    li        t-rid  
 now wake.up.3.PFV.SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF COMP 3-want.IMPV.SGF  
 t-biddel    il-kors?!        Fl-aħħar    sena?!  
 3-change.CAUSE.IMPV.SGF DEF-course. in.DEF-last.COMPAR year?

Lit: Now that it wakes up on-her that she wants she changes the course?! In the final year?

Is it now that she starts to want to change her course? In her final year?

#### 4.2.2.6 Repetitive

While Vanhove (1993) attributes the aspectualiser value ITERATIVE to the aspectualiser *reġa'* lit. 'again, repeat', also meaning 'return' in certain uses, I choose to use the term 'repetitive' following Lehmann (1998) and Cinque (1998, p. 137).<sup>34</sup> By using this term, I won't be mixing the use of the term 'iterative' that refers to the Lexical ASPECT of verbs such as 'drip', with the Phasal ASPECT value of *reġa'*. *Reġa'* as an aspectualiser provides us with a syntactic construction that refers to a process or state that has already been done once before and is being repeated for one or more times (Vanhove, 1993, p. 275). The data in (291) illustrate the interpretation yielded by such a phasal verb.

- (291) a. Reġgħ-et    marr-et  
 repeat.PFV-3SGF go.PFV-3SGF

She went again

- b. Qed j-e-rġgħ-u    j-i-ġ-u  
 PROG 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV-PL 3-FRM.VWL-come.IMPV-PL

They are coming again

<sup>34</sup>As pointed out in Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 259) and Heine (2003, p. 595), ITERATIVE markers are indeed typically derived from verbs meaning 'return'.

It is not just the verb form that can be used with this aspectualiser function, but also the active participial counterpart *riegà'*, as illustrated in (292) below:<sup>35</sup>

- (292) Issa fejn riegà' sejr-a  
 now where repeat.ACT.PTCP.SGF go.ACT.PTCP-SGF  
 Now where is she going? Vanhove (1993, p. 278, ex. 10)

Vanhove discusses this aspectualiser in detail, as it is one of the few phasal auxiliaries in her data where she observes that the asyndeticity between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb could be broken, as the (functional) SUBJ of both verbs can come in between the V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup>. (Also see the discussion in §4.4.1.4 for more detail). A sentence such as (293), however, is in reality ambiguous, in the absence of any intonation markers. The only interpretation Vanhove provides is that where 'Anna' is considered as the SUBJ of the construction. The other interpretation is one where *tergà'* does not function as an aspectualiser but as an ADJ of sorts (see below).

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<sup>35</sup>The data including the active participle seem to provide interesting behaviour with respect to the Viewpoint ASPECTUAL dimension discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2.3). When either the Perfective or the active participial form of the phasal auxiliary is followed by an active participial form of the lexical predicate, the rendered semantic interpretation is the same, i.e. a PROGRESSIVE interpretation.

- (i) a. Reġġh-et ġejj-a  
 repeat.PFV-3SGF come.ACT.PTCP-SGF  
 She is coming again  
**Not:** She came again  
 b. Riegà' ġejj-a  
 repeat.ACT.PTCP.SGF come.ACT.PTCP-SGF  
 She is coming again

On the other hand, when one substitutes the active participial form of the lexical predicate which itself expresses PROGRESSIVE ASPECT with a periphrastic Progressive construction including the particle *qed/qieghed* and an Imperfective lexical verb, the Perfective form of the aspectualiser is this time **not** associated with a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, but maintains its default morphological - semantic association. While the contrast here reiterates how a difference **does** exist between the syntactic Progressive construction and the correlated morphological active participial forms, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.3.2), the additional question one might ask here is whether a tighter relation internal to the aspectualiser construction is present between the aspectualiser *reġġa'* and the following lexical predicate when this is an active participial form than when it takes another sort of morphological form.

- ii Reġġh-et qed t-i-ġi  
 repeat.PFV-3SGF PROG 3-FRM.VWL-comes.IMPV.SGF  
 She started coming again

- (293) Imbagħad t-e-rġa'                          Anna t-a-għti-na                          ...  
and.then 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGF Ann 3-FRM.VWL-give.IMPV.SGF-1PL.ACC  
And then Ann once again gives us ...                          Vanhove (1993, p. 276, ex. 2)

Recall from the representation of the Maltese inflectional verbal paradigm in Chapter 2 (§2.2.1) that the form of *terġa'* is an Imperfective form that is syncretic, i.e. expressing both 2SG or 3SGF morphosyntactic values. We will see below that the Imperfective sub-paradigmatic forms in the paradigm of *reġa'*, in particular, seem to have embarked on a grammaticalisation path of their own, such that the form *terġa'* in (293) may in fact not be realizing 3SGF morphosyntactic values that identify 'Anna' as its SUBJ via agreement. Rather, the form *terġa'* could here well be the syncretic 2SG form, whose meaning has developed into something like 'yet again'. If this is the case, then one would expect a pause before 'Anna'. The meaning involved would be: 'And then, yet again, Anna gives us ...', such that this presents itself as a possible interpretation with respect to (293).

When it comes to the example in (294), Vanhove provides no comment about what this piece of data should or could be illustrating. The reason for saying this here is because in (294), *reġa'* is **not** functioning as a REPETITIVE aspectualiser, even if there is no doubt on the matching 1SG agreement on the forms *nerġa'* and *għandi*. The meaning of *nerġa'* here is more of: 'and also'. In this case, once again, a pause after *nerġa'* is expected.

- (294) N-e-rġa'                          għand-i      żewġ injam-iet oħr-a  
1-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG at-1SG.GEN two wood-PL other-PL  
Lit: I repeat at me two wood (pieces) other  
And again, I have two other pieces of wood                          Vanhove (1993, p. 276, ex. 3)

Such examples are more likely to be found in natural-occurring data, which explains why they figure prominently in Vanhove's (1993) data. Vanhove only refers to the further grammaticalised development she observes with respect to the use of *reġa'*, particularly to its Imperfective forms, when she comes across data where an Imperfective form of *reġa'* and the lexical verb do not



display the canonical aspectualiser  $V^1$  - lexical verb  $V^2$  linear order internal to aspectualiser constructions, as in (295).<sup>36</sup>

- (295) a. Imbagħhad in-ġib    il-moxt    n-e-rġa'  
and.then 1-get/bring.IMPV.SG DEF-comb 1-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG

And then, I get the comb, once again

- b. Issa ħi    j-i-bqagħh-l-ha    biċċa    oħr-a  
now VOC 3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM-DAT-SGF piece.SGF another-SGF  
j-e-rġa'  
3-FRM.VWL-again.IMPV.SGM

Now, you, she will have another piece left, again                          Vanhove (1993, p. 281, ex. 2/1)

We may want to take the data in (295) to possibly be telling us that once the usual/canonical  $V^1$ - $V^2$  linear order internal to the aspectualiser construction is disrupted, further independent grammaticalisation of the phasal auxiliary may be hypothesised to start taking place. Nonetheless, when this additional grammaticalisation starts taking place, agreement is still maintained, notwithstanding the syntactic shift, and is therefore not lost immediately or as a consequence of the syntactic shift. Agreement loss seems to be synchronically more present and widespread across the Imperfective sub-paradigmatic forms as these develop into some sort of clausal adjunct/discourse particle. The 2SG Imperfective form in (296), for example, functions as a clausal

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<sup>36</sup>Note that the non-aspectualiser use of the Imperfective forms of *reġa'* need not necessarily imply a change in word order, or even distinct agreement. Rather, a change in the utterance's prosodic contours, which I here distinguish rather clearly through the use of commas, is in fact enough to distinguish the function realized by *jerġa'* in an utterance like (i), where it bears **no** phasal interpretation.

- i J-e-rġa',    mar                          hemm u    ma qal-i-l-nie-x  
3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGM go.PFV.3SGM there CONJ NEG say.PFV.3SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-1PL-NEG  
Lit: He repeats, he went there and he didn't tell us  
Then again, he went there and he didn't tell us

Yet another example that clearly illustrates the further development out of the already grammaticalised aspectualiser status of *reġa'*, is (ii) below.

- ii Reġa'    helicopter j-i-t-tawwl-i-l-na  
repeat.PFV.3SGM helicopter 3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-CAUSE.lengthen.IMPV.SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-1PL  
dalghodu  
DEM.DEF.morning

There (you are) again, a helicopter peeping at us this morning

Vanhove (1993, p. 282)

adjunct meaning ‘even further, even more, and still’.<sup>37</sup>

- (296) T-e-rga’                              dak              mar  
       2-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG DEM.SGM go.PFV.3SGM  
       j-ghid-i-l-ha                              ...  
       3-say.IMPV.SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF

Even further, he went to tell her ...

Vanhove simply provides the data in (297) as instances where she observes no agreement with the SUBJ of the following verb. In fact, such data merely illustrates that indeed the function of *reġa*’ (or at least the Imperfective forms in its paradigm), in such utterances, is no longer that of a phasal auxiliary that periphrastically builds the aspectualiser construction. It is not only the case that agreement matching is no longer necessarily maintained, but additionally, the morphological dependencies which the original aspectualiser verb imposed on the lexical verb in V<sup>2</sup> position are not maintained either. Evidence for this comes from (297b), where a Perfective lexical verb is in the scope of the Imperfective form of *reġa*’, which is otherwise not possible when *reġa*’ functions as an aspectualiser.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup>Note that Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 184) specifically provide data where they illustrate how ITERATIVE ASPECTUAL forms could indeed come to mean ‘still’. In general, one can here add that Maltese does in fact display parallel sorts of developments elsewhere in the system, where a synchronic auxiliary has in fact **also** developed into a sentential adjunct. This I believe to be the case with *ġie* ‘come’, for example, even though its grammaticalisation has not been discussed previously in the literature of Maltese. In its fossilised Perfective 3SGM form followed by the complementiser *li*, at least in its original status, given that this complementiser is now phonologically clearly part of the new adjunct word-form, we get the form: *ġieli* meaning ‘sometimes, often’. In this case, the grammaticalisation could have been out of some sort of raising function which the lexical use of the verb may have had, given the fossilisation of the 3SGM form in particular, and the presence of the complementiser. Synchronically, therefore, just like *reġa*’, *ġie* has both a lexical and an auxiliary status, and has also grammaticalised as part of a sentential adjunct. Its auxiliary function is manifest when used to form resultative constructions, as well as when its Imperfective form is used with statives, as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.4).

<sup>38</sup>Another development of the 2SG/3SGF and 3SGM Imperfective forms, is illustrated through the one-word answer in (i) below. Its function is one of awe (positive or negative) or sarcasm, and could in this context be substituted through the use of adjunct *ukoll* ‘as well’. If we keep in mind this further development, we could use this as a piece of strong evidence in favour of our auxiliary analysis, as opposed to a light verb analysis, since, following Butt and Lahiri (2002) and Butt and Geuder (2003), light verbs cannot become additionally grammaticalised, and are themselves conceived of as being the end of the grammaticalisation process. Auxiliaries, on the other hand, are able to grammaticalise further, taking distinct routes of grammaticalisation.

- (i) a. Mor-t              Londra ta!  
       go.PFV-1SG London DISCOURSE.PRT!  
       I went to London

- (297) a. T-e-rġa', dawk it-toroq li j-a-ġħt-u  
 2-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG DEM.PL DEF-road.PL COMP 3-FRM.VWL-give.IMPV-PL  
 mill-Belt ġħar-Rabat kien-u ġħad-hom ma sar-u-x  
 from.DEF-City for.DEF-Rabat be.PFV.3-PL still-3PL.ACC NEG become.3.PFV-PL-NEG

And also, those roads that lead from Valletta to Rabat had not yet been done Vanhove (1993, p. 282)

- b. U dawn j-e-rġa', dak iż-żmien mhux talli  
 CONJ DEM.PL 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGM DEM.SGM DEF-time NEG of.COMP  
 kien-u j-o-rbt-u sigġu ...  
 be.PFV.3-PL 3-FRM.VWL-tie.up.IMPV-PL chair ...

And even more at that time, it is not only that they used to tie up a chair ... Vanhove (1993, p. 283)

#### 4.2.2.7 Resumptive

The reason for adding this phase separately here is because the interpretation of the aspectualiser *ssokta* vis-à-vis the reference situation is not a CONTINUATIVE one, even if this is how Vanhove (1993) classifies this auxiliary. The exact meaning of *ssokta* is 'resume', and following Bennett and Partee (1978, p. 16) as cited in Brinton (1988, p. 60), I shall refer to the phase which *ssokta* imparts, as RESUMPTIVE, which just like 'resume' and 'recommence' in English 'these express the beginning (again) of a situation' (Brinton, 1988, p. 61), even if Brinton herself classifies this phasal with the rest of INGRESSIVE aspectualisers. Newmeyer (1975, p. 25) brings out the difference between 'keep/continue' vs. 'resume' as follows: '*Keep* and *continue* assert occurrences after the temporal reference point, where occurrence before that point is normally presupposed. *Resume* asserts occurrence after presupposed non-occurrence, which was itself preceded by a presupposed occurrence'. The same can in fact be said for the contrast between the aspectualisers

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b. J-e-rġa'!  
 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGM  
 Lit: He repeats  
 as well ! (good for you)

*kompl*a and *ssokta*, at least for those speakers who care to thoroughly distinguish between the slight meaning differences between these verbs.

- (298) Issokkta                      j-i-t-behren                                      meta ra-ha  
 resume.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-anger.IMPV.SGM when see.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC  
 fuq ir-ramel    miexj-a                                      bil-mod                                      lejn    in-naħa                      ...  
 on DEF-sand walk.ACT.PTCP-SGF with.DEF-manner towards DEF-side.SGF ...

He continued to grow angry when he saw her on the sand walking slowly towards the side

...

MLRS

Just as was the case with CONTINUATIVE *kompl*a (discussed in §2.2.1), data from the corpus provides instances where the complementiser *li* is able to introduce the clause following *ssokta* ‘resume’. Once again, in my dialect, I would require a tighter asyndetic behaviour and the complementiser is not possible. However, I will not gloss the example as ungrammatical, given that there could indeed be speakers (such as the one who wrote the following in (299)) for whom the presence of a complementiser may in fact be a possibility.

- (299) F’kaž-ijiet fejn    is-superviżur                      m-a-ħtur                                      ta’  
 in.case-PL where DEF-supervisor.SGM PASS.PTCP-FRM.VWL-appointed.SGM of  
 student                      ma j-kun-x                                      j-i-sta’  
 student.SGM NEG 3-be.IMPV.SGM-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-can.IMPV.SGM  
 j-i-ssokta    li                      j-i-pprovdli                                      ...  
 3-EPENT.VWL-continue.IMPV.SGM COMP 3-EPENT.VWL-provide.IMPV.SGM

In the case where an appointed supervisor of a student is not able to continue LIT: that

he provides a supervision ...

MLRS

#### 4.2.2.8 Finitive

Just like the RESUMPTIVE phase discussed in the previous section, the FINITIVE here is my addition to the phase classification available in Maltese, in order to clearly bring out the interpretational differences yielded by the use of the aspectualisers *spiċċa* ‘finish, end’ as well as *sar* ‘become’. While *spiċċa* was discussed in §4.2.2.3 as expressing COMPLETIVE Phasal ASPECT (e.g. (300a), repeating the data from §4.2.1), *spiċċa* also yields a FINITIVE interpretation as in

(300b) in contrast to the COMPLETIVE interpretation in (300a). Data with *safa* ‘end up’, which we have in this chapter added to the list of phasals, is presented in (301).

- (300) a. *Spicća j-i-n-kiteb fl-1975*  
 end.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-write.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-1975  
 It finished being written in 1975 (i.e. could have started being written three years earlier) COMPLETIVE
- b. *Spicća j-i-n-kiteb fl-1975*  
 end.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-write.IMPV.SGM in.DEF-1975  
 It ended up being written in 1975 (i.e. could have been planned to be written three years earlier, but the actual starting data is 1975) FINITIVE

- (301) *Sfaj-na n-i-t-kellem-u wehid-na*  
 end.up.PFV-1PL 1-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV-PL alone-1PL.ACC  
*bil-ġenn li ħakim-na*  
 with.DEF-craziness.SGM COMP control.PFV.3SGM-1PL.ACC

We ended up talking on our own to ourselves with the madness that overcame us

The utterance in (302) present in Vanhove’s (1993, p. 259) data seems to provide us with a FINITIVE function of the aspectualiser *sar*, since Vanhove herself refers to the interpretation of this aspectualiser, at least as used in (302) as ‘end up knowing’. Recall that we have discussed *sar* in §4.2.2.5 with respect to its role as an INCEPTIVE aspectualiser. In (302) the aspectualiser is followed by the stative lexical verb *jaf* ‘know’. Interestingly she reports parallel phasal interpretations of *sar* with other stative lexical verbs such as: *stkerrah* ‘dislike’, *beza* ‘be afraid’, *jixbah* ‘resemble’, *fehmem* ‘understand’ and *ħabb* ‘love’. Possibly, the nature of the lexical predicate’s semantics internal to the aspectualiser construction could well be affecting the Phasal ASPECT value expressed by *sar*, since an INCEPTIVE value is also expressed through the same aspectualiser.<sup>39</sup> This provides us with additional evidence that the *s*-structure does in fact have a big role to play in the interpretation of aspectualiser constructions.

<sup>39</sup>Recall from Chapter 2 (§2.4) and §4.2.2.5 that the other non-aspectual auxiliary function of *sar* is in fact correlated with the presence of stative predicates in certain constructions.

- (302) Dak        hekk        kien-u        j-sir-u        j-af-u        bi-h  
 DEM.SGM like.that be.PFV.3-PL 3-become.IMPV-PL 3-know.IMPV-PL with-3SGM.ACC

That, like that they used to get to know about it                      Vanhove (1993, p. 259, ex. 3)

#### 4.2.2.9 Proximative

With the PROXIMATIVE Phasal ASPECTual value what I have in mind is reference to the use of the aspectualisers *qorob* lit. ‘be close/near’, *ħabat* lit. ‘crash’ and *wasal* lit. ‘arrive’ when meaning ‘be close to’.<sup>40</sup> Recall how in Chapter 3 (§3.6) we have compared and contrasted the construction involving the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* followed by a Prospective form, with the construction involving the aspectualiser *qorob*. Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) already make reference to the ‘be on the verge’ interpretation associated with *ħabat*, as discussed in §4.2.2.5. Kuteva (2001, p. 92) discusses how the PROXIMATIVE could be taken to equate to Comrie’s (1976, 1985) PROSPECTIVE and ‘immediate future’. Heine (1992), on the other hand, first refers to the interpretation yielded by proximatives as the ‘almost’ ASPECT. Kuteva defines the PROXIMATIVE as: ‘a temporal phase located close before the initial boundary of the situation described by the main verb’, which according to her, while being ‘a purely aspectual gram, its essential characteristic [is] *imminence*’.

In (303), in order to remove any possible ambiguity with respect to the Phasal ASPECT value expressed by the aspectualiser, since as discussed in §4.2.2.5, *ħabat* is also associated with an INCEPTIVE interpretation, I have purposely used *beda* ‘start’, the INCEPTIVE aspectualiser, so that it is clear that it is not *ħabat* that is functioning as the INCEPTIVE phasal verb. The INCEPTIVE and PROXIMATIVE interpretations associated with *ħabat* can also be distinguished on the basis of the morphological dependency allowed when the aspectuliser in V<sup>1</sup> is Perfective in form. It is **only** when the aspectualiser expresses INCEPTIVE ASPECT that we are able to get a Perfective

<sup>40</sup>Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 335) clearly mention the relation between lexical items meaning ‘near’ and their development as PROXIMATIVE ASPECTual markers of some sort.

lexical verb-form when *ħabat* is Perfective.<sup>41</sup> The aspectualiser meaning of *qorob* clearly derives from its lexical use. In fact, given the nature of the obligatory requirement for a complementiser to introduce the lexical predicate in V<sup>2</sup> position internal to the aspectualiser construction (304) (see also the discussion in §4.4.1.4), *qorob* may be considered as the least grammaticalised of all the aspectualisers being discussed here.

- (303) T-a-ħbat[PROX]                      ħa      t-i-bda[INCEP]                      t-a-qta'  
 3-FRM.VWL-crash.IMPV.SGF    PROSP    3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGF    3-FRM.VWL-cut.IMPV.SG  
 qalb-ħa                      kultant  
 heart-3SGF.GEN    every.a.lot

Lit: She crashed she will start she cuts her heart sometimes

She is (habitually) on the verge of starting to lose hope sometimes

- (304) Qed    n-o-qorb-u                      biex                      n-a-sl-u  
 PROG    1-FRM.VWL-be.close.IMPV-PL    in.order.to    1-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV-PL

Lit: We are getting close in.order.to we arrive

We are close to arrive

In the case of *wasal*, literally meaning ‘arrive’, instead of some sort of COMPLETIVE phasal interpretation one would expect in association with the aspectualiser counterpart of this lexical verb, we have in §4.2.2.4 shown how when functioning as a phasal auxiliary, *wasal* expresses a SUCCESS/FRUSTRATIVE interpretation, depending on the polarity of its morphological form. Here we are additionally associating this aspectualiser with a ‘be about to’ interpretation. When this is the case, the complementiser *biex* must be present, as illustrated through (305). (305a) additionally illustrates the possibility of having both the PROXIMATIVE aspectualiser along with the lexical predicate counterpart internal to the very aspectualiser construction. What’s rather interesting to observe here, is that although the aspectualiser is Perfective in form, the reading is not associated with a PERFECTIVE interpretation. The same is the case when the aspectualiser *qorob* ‘be close to’ is used in its Perfective form. Rather, what we have is a PRESENT TENSE

<sup>41</sup>None of the V<sup>2</sup> lexical verbs internal to the PROXIMATIVE aspectualiser construction can be Perfective in Maltese. (See table (4.3) in §4.2.1).

interpretation (as discussed in Chapter 2 (§2.2.2.1)).

- (305) a. Wasl-u                      biex                      j-a-sl-u  
           arrive.PFV.3-PL in.order.to 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV-PL

Lit: They arrived in.order.to they arrive

They are close to arrive

- b. La    j-a-sal    biex                      j-i-tlaq,  
       when 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SGM in.order.to 3-FRM.VWL-leave.IMPV.SGM  
       t-halli-h-x  
       2-leave.IMPER.SG-3SGM.ACC-NEG

When he arrives in.order.to he leaves, don't let him

When he's close to leave, don't let him

### 4.2.3 Summary

Table (4.4) summarises the accounts in Vanhove (1993), Borg and Azzopardi-Alexander (1997) (BAA) and Maas (2009). This is then contrasted with table (4.5), which in turn summarises the full set of phasal auxiliaries in Maltese, including their original lexical meaning and the meaning they come to express when functioning as aspectualisers, which we will be assigning with an auxiliary status, as identified in this study.



<b>Aspectualiser</b>	<b>Vanhove (1997)</b>	<b>BAA (1997)</b>	<b>Maas (2009)</b>
<i>baqa</i> ‘remain’	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE
<i>zied</i> ‘add’	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE
<i>kompl</i> ‘continue’	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE	
<i>ssokta</i> ‘resume’	CONTINUATIVE	CONTINUATIVE	
<i>qagħad</i> ‘stay’	DURATIVE		DURATIVE
<i>ħasad</i> ‘harvest’ (V)	INCHOATIVE		
<i>fetaħ</i> ‘open’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE	
<i>telaq</i> ‘leave’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE	INCHOATIVE
<i>beda</i> ‘start’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE	INCHOATIVE
<i>sebaħ</i> ‘dawn’ (V)	INCHOATIVE		
<i>qabad</i> ‘grasp’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE	INCHOATIVE
<i>ħasel/seħel</i> ‘happen’	INCHOATIVE		INCESSIVE
<i>qam</i> ‘wake up’	INCHOATIVE		INCHOATIVE
<i>ħabat</i> ‘crash’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE   ‘be about to’	INCHOATIVE
<i>sar</i> ‘become’	INCHOATIVE		TERMINATIVE
<i>rema</i> ‘throw’	INCHOATIVE	INGRESSIVE	INCHOATIVE
<i>reġa</i> ‘return’	ITERATIVE	ITERATIVE	TERMINATIVE
<i>laħaq</i> ‘reach’	TERMINATIVE		TERMINATIVE
<i>temm</i> ‘end’		TERMINATIVE	TERMINATIVE
<i>spiċċa</i> ‘finish’		TERMINATIVE	
<i>heda</i> ‘cease’			
<i>waqaf</i> ‘stop’			
<i>wasal</i> ‘arrive’			
<i>safa</i> ‘end up’			
<i>qorob</i> ‘draw near’			

Table 4.4: A summary of the previous accounts discussing Maltese aspectualisers

Aspectualiser	Original meaning	Grammaticalised meaning	Phasal value
<i>baqa'</i>	'remain, be left, stay'	'keep, continue'   'manage'	CONTINUATIVE   SUCCESS
<i>zied</i>	'add'	'continue'	CONTINUATIVE
<i>komplā</i>	'continue'	'continue'	CONTINUATIVE
<i>qagħad</i>	'sit, be placed, stay'	'keep, endure'	DURATIVE
<i>heda</i>	'cease'	'stop'	TERMINATIVE
<i>waqaf</i>	'stop'	'stop'	TERMINATIVE
<i>temm</i>	'end, finish'	'end, finish'	COMPLETIVE
<i>spicċa</i>	'end, finish'	'finish'   'end up'	COMPLETIVE   FINITIVE
<i>laħaq</i>	'reach, graduate, be promoted'	'finish'   'manage'	COMPLETIVE   SUCCESS
<i>wasal</i>	'arrive'	'manage'   'be close to'	SUCCESS   PROXIMATIVE
<i>ħasad</i>	'harvest' (V)	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>fetaħ</i>	'open'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>telaq</i>	'leave'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>beda</i>	'start'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>sebaħ</i>	'dawn' (V)	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>qabad</i>	'grasp, grab, seize, catch, bother'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>ħasel/seħel</i>	'happen, occur'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>qam</i>	'wake up, stand'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>rama</i>	'arm, build'	'start'	INCEPTIVE
<i>ħabat</i>	'crash'	'start'   'be close to'	INCEPTIVE   PROXIMATIVE
<i>sar</i>	'become'	'start'   'end up'	INCEPTIVE   FINITIVE
<i>reġa'</i>	'return'	'repeat, again'	REPETITIVE
<i>ssokta</i>	'resume'	'resume'	RESUMPTIVE
<i>safa</i>	'end up'	'end up'	FINITIVE
<i>qorob</i>	'draw near/close'	'be close to'	PROXIMATIVE

Table 4.5: The Maltese spectualiser auxiliaries, their origin and the Phasal ASPECT values expressed

### 4.3 Aspectualiser syntax in the crosslinguistic literature

Semantically we have established that Phasal ASPECT should be considered as a separate dimension to the ASPECT category that is parallel and alongside with Viewpoint and Situation ASPECT. In this section, we will mainly consider what the crosslinguistic literature has to say with respect to the syntactic analysis of phasal verbs and the aspectualiser constructions they participate in. We will in the following section argue for an analysis whereby Maltese phasals are auxiliaries that display behaviours of raising predicates. Crosslinguistically, aspectualisers could be light verbs, as in Urdu, for example, where these differ from auxiliaries or other lexical predicates, and form complex predicates (Butt and Ramchand, 2005), i.e. ‘structures where each component of the complex predicate contributes to the predicate information normally associated with a head’ (Bowern, 2006, p. 4).<sup>42</sup> Michaelis (1998, p. 84) refers to the aspectualiser class of verbs as semi-auxiliaries, pre-theoretically, and provides them with a raising analysis. She claims that they display ambivalent behaviour in that ‘they partake of semantic properties of “true auxiliaries” while also exhibiting certain behavioural properties of main verbs’ (p. 85) due to the non-imposition of any thematic role specification on these aspectualiser verbs’ SUBJ. The same argument is present in Noonan (2007, p. 141). Brinton (1988, p. 65) specifically mentions that aspectualisers ‘are semantically and functionally more ‘like auxiliaries than lexical verbs’. In parallel to the auxiliary ‘BE’, aspectualisers cannot precede Perfect “have” ’ (p. 69). Citing Huddleston (1976, p. 338), she states that there is no difference in this regard ‘between BE and such other aspectual verbs’ (p. 69). In general, Brinton (1988, p. 73) clearly states that ‘the acquisition of the syntactic features of auxiliaryhood in English is slow and arbitrary [given that the NICE properties are not even exhibited, for example], while the semantic change is instantaneous; thus, at any synchronic stage, one would expect such a continuum’. This claim in fact parallels what has been reviewed in Chapter 1 (§1.3).

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<sup>42</sup>The INCEPTIVE aspectualiser *lag* lit: ‘be attached’, is however analysed as a control verb and not as a light verb (Butt, 2003, p. 14).

Fukuda (2008) considers English phasal verbs to be ambiguous, in that on the one hand, they display raising properties such as the presence of an expletive subject, active/passive synonymy and the availability of idiom chunk SUBJ (p. 172).<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, however, if raising entails a bi-clausal construction, then the semi-ungrammaticality of (306), where each clause takes its own temporal anchoring, is unexplained.

(306) a. ??Yesterday, John began to leave tomorrow

b. ??Today, the law ceased to have its effect tomorrow                      Fukuda (2008, p. 174)

Apart from not being independently temporally located, i.e. there is an ‘inability of *begin* to co-occur with TENSE and ASPECT independently of its complement’ (Newmeyer, 1975, p. 26), the ‘complements of aspectualiser verbs cannot encode grammatical aspect, neither progressive nor perfective’ (Fukuda, 2008, p. 174). This fact can however be understood through a broader inability to realize independent deictic time reference in such aspectualiser constructions. Rather, their time reference is itself dependent on the time reference expressed by the phasal/aspectualiser verb/auxiliary (Noonan 2007).

Discussions in the literature do point at syntactic behaviours suggesting that aspectualisers could be analysed as control verbs. Landau (2004, p. 835) states that phasals are control verbs. A property which such verbs display that makes them seem like control verbs is the possibility of an Imperative form in their paradigms, even when used as aspectualisers. Given the availability of the Imperative form, Fukuda (2007, p. 63) claims that this ‘suggests that [such verbs] must be able to select an animate subject’. More broadly, an Imperative form implies the presence of a thematic argument. Apart from the presence of these Imperative forms, another behaviour that suggests a control-like behaviour is the fact that it is possible for an aspectualiser to be embedded under a control verb. According to Newmeyer (1975, p. 29), however, these properties do not

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<sup>43</sup>Refer to Fukuda (2007, pp. 21-22), however, where he illustrates how for Japanese, ‘selectional restrictions on subjects, is not a strong piece of evidence [for raising] as it has been assumed’, and that ‘the acceptability of idiomatic expressions with aspectual verbs is determined by their compatibility with certain aspectual specifications’.

entail a control analysis for such aspectualiser verbs. With respect to the issue of agentivity, Newmeyer (1975, p. 29) argues that: ‘It seems to be the case that *begin* (and the other verbs of its class) can take agents only when their complement verbs can do so’. Falk (1984, 2003, 2008), for example, provides a raising analysis for phasals such as *stop*, *keep* and *begin*, notwithstanding these properties.

Additional possible control-like behaviours come from the fact that aspectualisers such as *begin* can take a thematic OBJ argument. Real SUBJ-to-SUBJ raising verbs would never take such an argument, since their only thematic argument is the proposition. If a verb is a raising predicate and takes an OBJ GF, then it is the OBJ that is non-thematic and the predicate is thus in a SUBJ-to-OBJ raising relation with its embedded predicate. Landau (2003, p. 448) argues that the presence of a complementiser is an indicator of control-like behaviour in Hebrew. When approached with verbs which seem to display ambiguous behaviours, such that they do not seem to fit easily with either set of control vs. raising verbs, Landau (2003) assumes that the compatibility with the presence of a complementiser, if at all available, is suggestive of a control analysis. This thus explains the analytical contrast provided for the following pair from Hebrew in (307), suggesting that the same aspectualiser can in fact be provided with an ambiguous control and raising analysis, depending on whether it allows or disallows the presence of a complementiser.

- (307) a. Rina xadla (me-) le‘ acben et Gil  
 Rina stopped (COMP) to irritate ACC Gil  
 Rina stopped irritating Gil Control
- b. Ha-muzika ha-ro‘ešet xadla (\*me-) le‘ acben et Gil  
 DEF-music DEF-noisy stopped (COMP) to irritate ACC Gil  
 The noisy music stopped irritating Gil Raising - Hebrew: Landau (2003, p. 448)

Another piece of data that is frequently discussed in the literature on aspectualisers is the issue of passivisation. *Finish* and *begin* in English are two aspectualiser verbs that may be used in

their passive form, as illustrated in (308). As the OBJ of the embedded verb becomes the SUBJ of *finish*, we observe what the literature refers to as ‘long passivisation’. Fukuda (2008, p. 177) defines instances of ‘long passives’ as: ‘passivization of an embedded object with the passive morpheme appearing **only** [my emphasis] on the matrix predicate’. According to Fukuda (2007, p. 77), the very fact that such aspectualiser verbs can undergo passivisation seems to point at a control verb analysis, where such verbs have a thematic external argument, since passivisation involves the very suppression of such an argument. As in (309), Cinque (1998, p. 145) illustrates how in Italian, *finire (di)* ‘end up’ (309), *cominciare* and *iniziare* ‘begin’ (Cinque, 2003, p. 54) may participate in long passive constructions as well.

(308) a. When the pies and cakes were finished baking, it was about ...

b. until the streets were finished washing ...

Fukuda (2008, p. 178)

(309) Quell-e cas-e fur-ono finit-e di costruire ne-gli ann-i  
 DEM-PLF house-PLF be.PST.REM-3PL finish.PST.PTCP-PLF of build.INF in-PLM year-PLM  
 cinquanta  
 fifty

These houses were finished building in the ‘50’s

Cinque (1998, p. 145)

The syntactic dependencies which appear to exist between the phasals/aspectualisers and the ‘dependent’ lexical verb representing the referential situation is according to Lehmann (1993) a process that results in the dependency internal to the aspectualiser construction becoming tighter and more cohesive, as further ‘desententialization’ takes place. In the same vein, Cinque (2003, p. 50) analyses such constructions (including (309)) as involving an instance of clause-reduction. Given such a process, it is no longer possible to speak of embedding or a ‘complex’ syntactic structure, (i.e. including more than one clause), since they appear to become one complex predicate. Evidence that suggests strong desententialisation includes the way negative polarity is realized, for example. The ‘embedded/dependent verb may no longer be able to be independently negated’ (Lehmann, 1993, p. 13). Desententialisation thus affects ‘the degree to which the linked propositions are interlaced’, which involves reference to the explicitness of the

linking of the same propositions, i.e. whether a syndetic or asyndetic relation exists (p. 22). As discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.3), and repeated here, Lehmann differentiates this process from that of grammaticalisation. The latter ‘is a diachronic process and a synchronic continuum which leads from lexical to grammatical items ...’ (Lehmann, 1993, p. 16), even if ‘strong grammaticalisation presupposes either advanced desententialisation or advanced interlacing’ (p. 26). (310) represents Lehmann’s (1993) trajectory of desententialisation. Prior to the onset of this process, we have a sentence, where along the path we then end up with a nominalised expression, which is how he perceives of non-finite forms.

(310) Sentence - constraints on/loss of modal elements > constraints on/loss of tense and aspect  
 > dispensability of completeness > loss of personal conjugation > conversion of subject  
 into onlique > no polarity > dispensability of subject constraints on complements - Nom-  
 inalizations and Verbal Nouns.

The path of desententialisation

Lehmann (1993, p. 15)

This section aimed to provide a brief review of what is said in the literature vis-à-vis the syntax of phasals, particularly with respect to their treatment as control vs. raising predicates.

#### 4.4 A syntactic account of aspectualisers in Maltese

In this section we will explore arguments that can be posited in favour of an AUX-PRED analysis of the Maltese phasals/aspectualisers, where aspectualiser constructions are analysed as structures that are bi-clausal at the *f*-structure. In §4.4.1 we will build upon the arguments provided in Alotaibi et al. (2013, pp. 13-17) that motivate the bi-clausal analysis of this construction, where the aspectualiser neither realizes a simple feature, nor is part of a complex predicate. Rather, it lexically heads its own *f*-structure. As we go through our analytical argumentations, we will also tackle issues which previous accounts of such verbs in Maltese have glossed over or misrepresented. Once again, our focus remains purely syntactic, and will be only concerned with

arriving at the most appropriate *f*-structure representation of these aspectualiser constructions. We won't be giving much importance to the *c*-structure evidence, as considerations related with the *c*-structure would not permit us to decide one way or another with respect to the *f*-structure. As discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.1) and as we will also discuss below, evidence for structured and non-flat *c*-structures does not necessarily correlate with a bi-clausal *f*-structure, given that the model's parallel architecture allows for such non-isomorphisms to exist.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in Chapter 2 (§2.3.2)/(§2.4), through evidence from VP scrambling and topicalisation, we have mentioned that a hierarchical IP/VP *c*-structure should be motivated for Maltese. This was nevertheless associated with mono-clausal *f*-structures, in a number of instances, when discussing Temporal and ASPECTual auxiliaries.

Establishing that our aspectualiser constructions are bi-clausal is not enough however. Just as a number of ambiguous analytical accounts were shown to be available for English aspectualisers as reviewed in §4.3, we need to establish whether we are dealing with control or raising predicates, or perhaps predicates which display properties of both sets of verbs.<sup>45</sup> There seems to be ample evidence in favour of a raising analysis for such phasals in Maltese, including the presence of default 3SGM agreement, chained raising of PREDless SUBJ GFs, inanimate SUBJS and the availability of idiom chunk SUBJS, as we will explore in §4.4.2. In §4.4.3 we will then discuss Imperative and long passive constructions, where a raising/non-thematic SUBJ analysis is somewhat weakened, and more of a potential restructuring account seems fit. While we shall be acknowledging these facts as they are, the reader should be reminded that language is not static, and while we may here seem to be providing a more or less similar account of phasal/aspectualiser verbs in Maltese, variation across them exists, as we will see. Possibly too, their distinct behaviours at times may suggest that we are dealing with phasals that are at different stages of grammaticalisations and at different stages on the desententialisation cline, which may explain

<sup>44</sup>Also see Muansuwan (2001)'s and Weschler's (2003) account of directional serial verbs in Thai, where while a monoclausal *f*-structure is motivated, the correlated *c*-structure isn't flat.

<sup>45</sup>Recall that Falk (2003, 2008), as discussed in Chapter 1 (§1.2), does in fact allow a non-raising AUX-PRED analysis for certain auxiliaries.



these verbs' fluctuating behaviour at times.

#### 4.4.1 Bi-clausal aspectualiser constructions: The evidence

##### 4.4.1.1 Modification

Vanhove (1993, p. 242) provides the data in (311) to highlight the fact that *beda* 'begin' does not require strict adjacency with the following lexical verb. In this case, the ADJs *kull sena* 'every year' as well as *dejjem* 'always' come in between. Depending where we decide to place the adjunct *kull sena* in the *f*-structure, different meanings result: 'Every year he started always decreasing'; or 'He started always decreasing every year'. In its position in (311), the adjunct *dejjem* 'always' can however only be interpreted with respect to the verb 'decrease'. Changes to the syntactic placement of *kull sena*, such as if moved to either periphery of the utterance, results in *dejjem* taking on a parallel ambiguous interpretation.

- (311) Beda                      kull    sena dejjem i-naqqas  
       start.PFV.3SGM every year always 3-CAUSE.decrease.IMPV.SGM  
       He started decreasing/reducing every year    Vanhove (1993, p. 242, ex. 2)

While (311) may not be the best of examples that can bring out the distinct interpretations, a more definitive use of the modification test in favour of a bi-clausal structure is the presence of data such as the following in (312), where what we have are in fact two ADJs that rather clearly target the clauses separately.

- (312) Minn xi    xahar        il-u                bde-w                j-i-t-kellm-u  
       from some month.SGM to-3SGM.ACC start.PFV.3-PL 3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-talk.IMPV-PL  
       kuljum    fuq Skype  
       every.day on Skype

Lit: From a month to-him they started they talk everyday on Skype

From a month ago they started talking everyday on Skype

While the linear positioning of the ADJ *ħafna* 'a lot' in (313a) unambiguously modifies the lexical

predicate, in principle, *il-ħin kollu* ‘all the time’ may in fact target either of the verbs involved, resulting in a change in meaning.<sup>46</sup> The same follows for the ADJS *bilgri* lit. ‘with.running’ meaning ‘hurriedly’ in (313b). In (314), due to the presence of the complementiser, which we take to provide us with a clausal boundary, *biss* ‘only’ only targets the first clause.

- (313) a. Jekk j-i-bqa’    il-ħin                          koll-u    j-iekol                          ħafna  
if      3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM DEF-time.SGM all-SGM 3-eat.IMPV.SGM a.lot

If he stays all the time eating a lot ... / If he stays eating a lot all the time Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 17)

- b. Żied                          bilgri                          j-għid-l-i    li                          ...  
add.PFV.3SGM with.DEF-running 3-say.IMPV.SGM-DAT-1SG COMP

He hurriedly added to tell me that ... / He added to tell me hurriedly that ... MLRS

- (314) Baqagh-l-u    biss biex j-i-n-għaqad    mal-...  
remain.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGM only to 3-EPENT.VWL-REFL-join.IMPV.SGM with.DEF-...

The only thing that is left is that he joins with the ... MLRS<sup>47</sup>

#### 4.4.1.2 Negation

When it comes to negation, (excluding considerations of metalinguistic negation (Horn, 1985)), the aspectualisers display split behaviours, and generalisations cannot be made on the basis of the different Phasal ASPECT being expressed. The INCEPTIVE aspectualisers *telaq* (as in (315)), *fetaħ*, *qam*, *ħasad*, *seħel*, *sebaħ* and *ħabat*; PROXIMATIVE *qorob* and *wasal*; TERMINATIVE *waqaf* and *heda*; COMPLETIVE *temm* and *spiċċa*; CONTINUATIVE *żied* (as in (316)); FINITIVE *safa*, and *laħaq* in both its SUCCESS and COMPLETIVE Phase ASPECT value expressions, only allow negation to be marked on them, and not on the lexical verb with which they form the aspectualiser construction, even if semantically there is no reason as to why this should be the case.

<sup>46</sup>This would be in parallel to what would have been the case with *dejjem* in (311) if *kull sena* were not present.

<sup>47</sup>In §4.4.1.4 below we discuss further the use of complementisers, such as the complementiser *biex* in this example.

- (315) a. Ma telaq-x j-i-mxi  
 NEG leave.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-walk.IMPV.SGM

Lit: He did not leave he walks

He did not start walking<sup>48</sup>

- b. \*Telaq ma jimxix

- (316) a. Ma n-żid-x n-i-dneb iżjed ...  
 NEG 1-add.IMPV.SG-NEG 1-FRM.VWL-sin.IMPV.SG more.COMPAR

I do not continue sinning

Maltese prayer<sup>49</sup>

- b. Ma żid-t-x irqad-t  
 NEG increase.PFV-1SG-NEG sleep.PFV-1SG

I did not continue sleeping

Vanhove (1993, p. 273, ex. 4)

The DURATIVE *qagħad* (as in (317)); CONTINUATIVE *komplā*; RESUMPTIVE *ssokta*; INCEPTIVE *beda* (as in (318)), *rama* and *qabad* (as in (319)), PROXIMATIVE *ħabat*, REPETITIVE *reġa'*; FINITIVE *spiċċa*; SUCCESS *wasal*; CONTINUATIVE uses of *baqa'*, and both the INCEPTIVE and FINITIVE functions of *sar* allow for negation to be marked either on the aspectualiser or on the lexical verb, or on both. Note that as discussed in §4.2.2.4, when *baqa'* is used as an aspectualiser expressing a FRUSTRATIVE phase, this obligatorily requires the Perfective form of the lexical verb internal to the aspectualiser construction to be Negative in form (unless the following verb is in fact a repetition of *baqa'*). Hence, in such a construction, it is the V<sup>2</sup> that obligatorily requires to be NEG-marked. In the case of the aspectualisers that allow for negation to be expressed on either them or the lexical verb, changes in meaning are involved, depending on which verb, negation is expressed. This fact further shows us that we are clearly dealing with a bi-clausal structure. On the other hand, the fact that some aspectualisers only allow negation to be expressed on themselves, suggests that these aspectualisers impose a constraint where they do not allow the

<sup>48</sup>Note that this sentence could be ambiguous as *telaq* 'leave' could be taking on a lexical meaning, such that the sentence's interpretation could be: 'He has not gone for a walk'.

<sup>49</sup>Note that with this example I want to show that Stolz and Amman's (2008, p. 181) claims that 'there is not a single instance of *żied* being negated' and that '*żied* is exclusively in the perfective and only with a subject in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Person singular or plural', are not true of the data.

polarity of the lexical verb within the aspectualiser construction to be Negative. In principle, however, there is no real reason why such a sub-set of aspectualisers should be displaying this restriction.

- (317) a. Ma n-o-qgħod-x in-kellm-ek darb'oħr-a  
 NEG 1-FRM.VWL-stay.IMPV.SG-NEG 1-speak.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC once.SGF.another-SGF  
 I won't stay speaking to you next time
- b. Qagħad ma j-kellim-ni-x għall-gimgha shiħa  
 stay.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-speak.IMPV.SGM-1SG.ACC for.DEF-week.SGF complete-SGF  
 He stayed not talking to me for a whole week Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 17)
- c. Ma n-o-qgħod-x ma n-kellm-ek-x  
 NEG 1-FRM.VWL-stay.IMPV.SG-NEG NEG 1-speak.IMPV.SG-2SG.ACC-NEG  
 darb'oħr-a  
 once.SGF.another-SGF  
 I won't not stay speaking to you next time
- (318) a. Ma bdej-t-x n-a-ħdem  
 NEG start.PFV-1SG-NEG 1-FRM.VWL-work.IMPV.SG  
 I didn't start working Vanhove (1993, p. 247, ex. 1)
- b. Issa n-i-bda ma n-sajjar-l-ek-x  
 now 1-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG NEG 1-CAUSE.become.IMPV.SG-DAT-2SG-NEG  
 Now I will start not cooking for you (any more) Vanhove (1993, p. 248, ex. 2) citing  
 Stumme (1904)
- c. Ma bdej-t-x ma n-a-ħdim-x  
 NEG start.PFV-1SG-NEG NEG 1-FRM.VWL-work.IMPV.SG-NEG  
 I didn't start not working
- (319) a. N-a-qbad ma m-mur-x iktar  
 1-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SG NEG 1-go.IMPV.SG-NEG more.COMPAR  
 I will start not going anymore

- b. Ma qbad-t-x tlaq-t mill-ewwel kemm jien injorant!  
 NEG catch.PFV-1SG-NEG leave.PFV-1SG from.DEF-first how.much I ignorant.SGM

I did not leave immediately, how ignorant I am!

- c. Ma qbad-t-x ma mor-t xejn kemm jien ċuċ  
 NEG catch.PFV-1SG-NEG NEG go.PFV-1SG nothing how I ignorant.

Lit: I didn't grab I didn't go nothing how.much I ignorant

How ignorant I am I should have not even gone at all

In tables (4.2)-(4.3) and in our other discussions through the different sub-sections in §4.2.2, it was shown that the same verb can in principle be used to express different Phasal ASPECT values. When this was the case, we encountered instances where distinct morphological dependencies were observed across the  $V^1$  and  $V^2$  internal to the distinct aspectualiser constructions a particular phasal is associated with. This is in fact something which we also observe with respect to NEG placement. So for example *wasal* lit. 'come' is in (320) shown to allow for NEG-marking on either of the two verbs internal to the aspectualiser construction when it is associated with a SUCCESS Phasal ASPECT value. On the other hand, NEG-marking is only present on the aspectualiser when this takes a PROXIMATIVE interpretation.

- (320) a. Jekk forsi wiehed j-a-sal ma  
 if perhaps one.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV.SGM NEG  
 j-a-qbil-x magħ-hom ...  
 3-FRM.VWL-agree.IMPV.SGM-NEG with-3PL.ACC

If perhaps someone manages not to agree with them ...

MLRS

- b. Ma wasal-x seraq għallinqas  
 NEG arrive.PFV.3SGM-NEG steal.PFV.3SGM for.DEF.less.COMPAR

He did not manage to steal at least

SUCCESS

- (321) a. Fadal-l-u hawn. Ma wasal-x biex  
 remain.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGM here. NEG arrive.PFV.3SGM-NEG in.order.to  
 j-i-tlaq  
 3-FRM.VWL-leave.IMPV.SGM

He's still got some time here. He is not about to leave (as yet)

- b. \*Wasal biex ma j-i-tlaq-x  
arrive.PFV.3SGM in.order.to NEG 3-FRM.VWL-leave.IMPV.SGM

Intended: He is about to not go

PROXIMATIVE

In the case of *sar* ‘become’, which was shown to function as an auxiliary elsewhere in the language, particularly when used instead of the Imperfective form of the auxiliary ‘be’ when preceding stative verbs in a number of syntactic contexts (refer to Chapter 2 (§2.4)), we seem to observe no meaning difference between the pair in (322)-(324). A change in NEG placement is not correlated with a change in meaning.<sup>50</sup>

- (322) a. Sar-et ma t-i-fhim-x x’jien  
become.PFV-3SGF NEG 3-FRM.VWL.understand.IMPV.SGF-NEG what.I  
n-għid-i-l-ha dal-aħħar  
1-say.IMPV.SG-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF DEM.SGM.DEF-last.COMPAR

She started/has become such that she doesn’t understand what I am telling her, lately

- b. Ma sar-it-x t-i-fhem x’jien  
NEG become.PFV-3SGF-NEG 3-FRM.VWL.understand.IMPV.SGF what.I  
n-għid-i-l-ha dal-aħħar  
1-say.IMPV.SG-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3SGF DEM.SGM.DEF-last.COMPAR

She started/has become such that she doesn’t understand what I am telling her, lately

<sup>50</sup>The AUX-feature analysis which *sar* ‘become’ is associated with in the context of periphrastic TENSE and ASPECT formations could in principle here be affecting the behaviour of the aspectualiser use of this same auxiliary. Possibly, therefore, this could for us here be an important piece of evidence suggesting that the different aspectualisers are in fact at different positions on some sort of grammaticalisation cline, with *sar* being one of the most highly grammaticalised aspectualisers, where as it comes to display a more advanced stage of grammaticalisation, the likelihood that it no longer projects its own PRED value increases. It is on the other hand however not possible to claim that the behaviour of the two auxiliary functions associated with *sar* are indeed one and the same. Apart from the different semantics, and the different contexts in which they appear, i.e. where one use is strictly with statives, and the other is a phasal auxiliary that allows for a combination with different sorts of verbs, here we also mention a morphosyntactic distinction illustrated through the contrast in (i). While an Imperative use of the non-aspectualiser *sar* ‘become’ is available in the non-aspectualiser construction, this is not possible in the aspectualiser construction counterpart.

- (i) a. Sir af/qis-ek/ixbah  
become.IMPER.2SG know.IMPER.2SG/as.through-2SG.ACC/resemble.IMPER.2SG  
Come to know/as though/resemble Non-aspectualiser auxiliary  
vs.  
b. \*Sir aghmel xogħol-ok tajjeb  
become.IMPER.2SG do.IMPER.2SG work-2SG.GEN good.SGM  
Intended: Start doing your work well Aspectualiser auxiliary

- (323) a. Sar                                    ma j-obdie-x  
 become.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-obey.IMPV.SGM-NEG  
 He has become such that he is not behaving
- b. Ma sar-x                                    j-obdi  
 NEG become.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-obey.IMPV.SGM  
 He is not behaving
- (324) a. Sar                                    ma j-a-ghmil-x                                    li  
 become.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM-NEG COMP  
 n-ghid-l-u  
 1-say.IMPV.SG-DAT-3SGM  
 He has started/become such that he doesn't do what I tell him
- b. Ma sar-x                                    j-a-ghmel                                    li  
 NEG become.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM COMP  
 n-ghid-l-u  
 1-say.IMPV.SG-DAT-3SGM  
 He has started/become such that he doesn't do what I tell him

When *sar* 'become' functions as an auxiliary, it is available in default 3SGM form (also see §4.2.1), although not previously mentioned anywhere in the literature. While the same meaning idiosyncrasy is available, even when *sar* takes the default form, such that no interpretational differences arise depending on whether NEG is marked on *sar* or on the lexical verb, there is however a difference with respect to the way NEG can be expressed. While the agreeing *sar* can take an attached *-x* form (as illustrated in (322b)), this is not the case with the default version of *sar*, as illustrated in the contrast between (325a)-(325b) vs. (325c). The attachment of the NEG *-x* form is therefore **impossible** when a **default** 3SGM form of the aspectualiser (without any additional DAT morphology) is used. This correlation between the Negative form of the verb and the default 3SGM form of the verb has also not been discussed before in the literature on Maltese.

- (325) a. Sar                                    ma t-i-swa                                    xejn    ghaxar lir-i  
 become.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-FRM.VWL-cost.IMPV.SGF nothing ten    pound-PL

daż-żmien  
DEM.SGM.DEF-time

Ten pounds have come to cost nothing this day and age

- b. Ma sar t-i-swa xejn għaxar lir-i  
NEG become.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-cost.IMPV.SGF nothing ten pound-PL  
daż-żmien  
DEM.SGM.DEF-time

Ten pounds have come to cost nothing this day and age

- c. \*Ma sar-x t-i-swa għaxar lir-i  
NEG become.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-cost.IMPV.SGF ten pound-PL  
daż-żmien  
DEM.SGM.DEF-time

Ten pounds have come to cost nothing this day and age

If we now consider the verb *baqa'* 'remain', we see that this verb provides us with interesting behaviours with respect to NEG placement. While we will be discussing *baqa'* in more detail in §4.4.2.1 below, for what concerns us in this section, *baqa'* is one of those auxiliaries that allows for the expression of NEG on both the aspectualiser or the lexical verb. As discussed in §4.2.2.4, the availability of a Perfective lexical verb form following the aspectualiser when a FRUSTRATIVE Phasal value is being expressed, must also be associated with a Negative form. While the data in (326) simply demonstrate how NEG placement can be on either or both the aspectualiser and the Imperfective lexical verb when *baqa'* expresses the CONTINUATIVE, the contrast between (327a)-(327b) vs. (327c) brings out the fact that when *baqa'* takes a Perfective lexical predicate, in which case it must be expressing a FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECT value, this must also be NEG in form. Additionally, it is not possible for *baqa'* to be itself negated in this context, as the ungrammaticality of (327d) is meant to show.

- (326) a. Ma baqa-x j-iekol  
NEG remain.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-eat.IMPV.SGM

He didn't keep/continue eating



- b. Baqa'                      ma j-iekol-x  
 remain.PFV.3SGM NEG 3-eat.IMPV.SGM-NEG  
 He continued not eating
- c. Ma baqa-x                      ma j-iekol                      xejn      tal-inqas  
 NEG remain.PFV.3SGM-NEG NEG 3-eat.IMPV.SGM nothing of.DEF-less.COMPAR  
 He didn't continue to not eat anything, at least                      CONTINUATIVE
- (327) a. \*Baqa'                      kiel  
 remain.PFV.3SGM eat.PFV.3SGM  
 Intended: Lit: He remained he ate
- b. \*Ma baqa-x kiel
- c. Baqa'                      ma kiel-x  
 remain.PFV.3SGM NEG go.PFV.3SGM-NEG  
 He managed to be in the state of not having eaten
- d. \*Ma baqax ma kielx                      FRUSTRATIVE

Table (4.6) summarises the distribution of the aspectualisers with respect to their behaviour when it comes to the NEG facts.

NEG on the aspectualiser only	NEG on V <sup>1</sup> or V <sup>2</sup> or both
<i>telaq</i> - INCEPTIVE	<i>qagħad</i> - DURATIVE
<i>fetaħ</i>	<i>komplu</i> - CONTINUATIVE
<i>qam</i>	<i>baqa'</i>
<i>ħasad</i>	<i>beda</i> - INCEPTIVE
<i>seħel</i>	<i>rama</i>
<i>sebaħ</i>	<i>qabad</i>
<i>ħabat</i>	<i>sar</i> - INCEPTIVE   FINITIVE
<i>wasal</i> - PROXIMATIVE	<i>ħabat</i> - PROXIMATIVE
<i>qorob</i>	<i>reja'</i> - REPETITIVE
<i>waqaf</i> - TERMINATIVE	<i>ssokta</i> - RESUMPTIVE
<i>heda</i>	<i>wasal</i> - SUCCESS
<i>spicċa</i> - COMPLETIVE	<i>spicċa</i> - FINITIVE
<i>temm</i>	
<i>laħaq</i> - COMPLETIVE   FRUSTRATIVE	NEG on V <sup>2</sup> only
<i>zied</i> - CONTINUATIVE	<i>baqa'</i> - FRUSTRATIVE
<i>safa</i> - FINITIVE	

Table 4.6: A summary of the NEG placement facts

## 4.4.1.3 Scoping effects

The data in this section provide clear evidence in favour of a bi-clausal analysis as opposed to evidence in favour of a complex predicate formation or an AUX-feature analysis of such aspectualisers, in which case we would have a mono-clausal *f*-structure. Consider (328). Here we see that primarily, the ADJs *biss* ‘only’ and *f’daqqa waħda* ‘all of a sudden’, at least on the basis of one intonation which I have in mind, only target the aspectualisers *baqa* ‘remain’ and *rama* lit: ‘arm’, respectively. Additionally both the aspectualisers scope over both the coordinated lexical verbs. *Rama* in (328b), for example, demonstrates the inception of both the shouting and the blaspheming events simultaneously. Both these events remain distinct from one other, yet take place concurrently. The same follows in (329).

- (328) a. Ma baqgħ-u-x                      biss i-ħobb-u              u      j-bus-u              ’l xulxin  
 NEG remain.PFV.3-PL-NEG only 3-love.IMPV-PL CONJ 3-kiss.IMPV-PL ACC each.other  
 weħid-hom  
 alone-3PL.ACC  
 They didn’t only remain loving and kissing each other on their own Stolz and Amman  
 (2008, p. 180) - CONTINUATIVE
- b. Rama              f’daqqa              waħd-a, j-għajjat              u  
 arm.PFV.3SGM in.beating.SGF one-SGF 3-shout.IMPV.SGM CONJ  
 j-i-dgħi,    u      ħadd ma seta’  
 3-FRM.VWL-blaspheme.IMPV.SGM CONJ no.one NEG be.able.PFV.3SGM  
 j-waqqf-u.  
 3-CAUSE.stop.IMPV.SGM-3SGM.ACC  
 He started all of a sudden shouting and blaspheming, and no one could stop him IN-  
 CEPTIVE

- (329) Ma n-af-x                              kif ma bedie-x  
 NEG 1-know.IMPV.SG-NEG how NEG start.PFV.3SGM-NEG  
 j-i-dgħi    u      j-għajjat  
 3-FRM.VWL-blaspheme.IMPV.SGM CONJ 3-shout.IMPV.SGM  
 I don’t know how he didn’t start blaspheming and shouting

We here propose a phrase structure rule that expands the  $\bar{I}$  node in the following way:  $\bar{I} \rightarrow$

VP CONJ VP, where we have coordination at the complement clause level, which *c*-structure complement will be mapped onto an XCOMP GF (refer to §4.2). The reason for opposing some sort of CP → IP CONJ VP rule, which would have otherwise implied that the aspectualiser is only targeting the INCEPTIVE Phase of the lexical verb in the first conjunct, comes from the impossibility to have something like (330). If the second lexical verb *għajjat* ‘shout’ was really outside of the scope of *beda*, then we would expect this to take a Perfective form, but in fact, it is not possible. Since *beda* scopes over it as well, i.e. forms an aspectualiser construction with it, then the lexical verb in V<sup>2</sup>, when *beda* is in V<sup>1</sup>, cannot be Perfective.

- (330) \*Ma n-af-x                    kif ma bedie-x                    j-i-dgħi  
       NEG 1-know.IMPV.SG how NEG start.PFV.3SGM-NEG 3-FRM.VWL-blaspheme.IMPV.SGM  
       u    għajjat  
       CONJ shout.PFV.3SGM

Intended: I don’t know how he didn’t start blaspheming and didn’t shout

#### 4.4.1.4 Ways with which the the V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> do not remain linearly adjacent

In §4.4.1.1 we demonstrated that ADJs targeting either of the clauses could linearly come in between the two verbs in the aspectualiser construction. Here we further illustrate how, although aspectualiser constructions in Maltese are canonically asyndetic, nevertheless it is becoming increasingly possible, I would say, to insert some complementiser or another in between the two verbs internal to the aspectualiser construction.

The aspectualiser verb *qorob* ‘lit: draw near/close’ expressing a PROXIMATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value, obligatorily requires the presence of *biex*, as illustrated in (331). The presence/absence of this same complementiser with respect to *wasal* lit. meaning ‘arrive’, is determined by the Phasal ASPECTUAL value expressed by this aspectualiser. When expressing a SUCCESS (or FRUSTRATIVE if the aspectualiser’s form is NEG) phase (discussed in §4.2.2.4), the presence of *biex* is optional, as in (332). On the other hand, when *wasal* expresses a PROXIMATIVE Phasal ASPECTUAL value,



- b. Kompla                    biex            j-ghid  
 continue.PFV.3SGM in.order.to 3-say.IMPV.SGM

He continued to say

- c. Spicča                    biex            hareg                    tellief  
 end.up.PFV.3SGM in.order.to go.out.PFV.3SGM lose.ACT.PTCP.SGM

He ended up such that he came out as a loser

MLRS

Apart from *biex*, there is also data with the classic complementiser *li* (Camilleri and Sadler, 2015). The presence of *li* is typically present in contexts where emphasis or fronted material is present, as illustrated through (335) below.<sup>51</sup>

- (335) a. Spicča                    (li)    LANQAS j-ieħu                    gost ma j-af                    kif  
 end.up.PFV.3SGM COMP not.even 3-take.IMPV.SGM fun NEG 3-know.IMPV.SGM how

He ended up (such that) not even how to enjoy himself, did he know how

- b. Bdie-t,                    (li),    kuldarba li                    n-kellim-ha,                    t-hares  
 start.PFV-3SGF COMP every.once COMP 1-talk.IMPV.SG-3SGF.ACC 3-look.IMPV.SGF  
 in-naħa                    l-oħr-a  
 DEF-side.SGF DEF-other-SGF

She started, (such that), every time I talk to her, she looks to the other side<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>Other redundant complementiser uses even in natural word order contexts are also found in the MLRS corpus. I should mention, however, that these examples, at least in my dialect, would be ungrammatical, since I would not make use of the complementiser in such contexts.

- (i) a. ... u                    j-i-spicča                    li                    j-i-tlef                    kollox  
 ... CONJ 3-EPENT.VWL-end.up.IMPV.SGM COMP 3-FRM.VWL-lose.IMPV.SGM everything  
 ... and he ends up such that he loses everything                    MLRS
- b. ... dan                    l-istudent                    spicča                    li                    n-talab                    i-halli  
 ... DEM.SGM DEF-student.SGM end.up.PFV.3SGM COMP PASS-ask.PFV.3SGM 3-leave.IMPV.SGM  
 l-kulleġġ  
 DEF-college  
 ... this student ended up such that he was asked to leave the college                    MLRS

<sup>52</sup>Note that data such as (i) below, displaying the same syntactic structure as (335), and which is in fact grammatical, poses serious issues to the overall bi-clausal raising analysis which we will be motivating for Maltese aspectualiser predicates in §4.4.2. Possibly, we would need to ensue some sort of partial control analysis, which itself would then entail that the embedded clause maps onto a COMP GF (Haug, 2013). In general, this availability complicates further our account of *sar*, given that in plenty other contexts (e.g. §4.4.1.2 with respect to its behaviour vis-à-vis NEG placement), we have in fact seen how it is at a more advanced stage of grammaticalisation than other sorts of aspectualisers, where it almost appears plausible to provide this phasal with an AUX-feature. Here however we are now faced with a possible control type analysis, which makes *sar* look more like a lexical verb than an auxiliary at a more advanced stage on the grammaticalisation cline.



‘catch, seize, grab, bother’ is being used as an aspectualiser referring to the INCEPTIVE phase of the ‘create’ event, and the lexical verb *ħalaq* ‘create’ is introduced by the optional *billi*. The very INCEPTIVE value which *qabad* is expressing in (339), such that there is no reference to any one of the meanings associated with its lexical use, convincingly demonstrates that in fact, *billi* can here be clearly identified as a ‘real’ complementiser that can come in between the two verbs that build the aspectualiser construction. Given that the semantics of the lexical verb *beda* and its phasal auxiliary counterpart are close, the distinction between (336) and (337) doesn’t come out as strongly as it does in the case of *qabad*, where there is a very sharp semantic difference between the lexical use and the phasal auxiliary counterparts.

- (339) a. X’għand-u                      j-a-għmel?  
           what.at-3SGM.GEN 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM  
           What does he require to do?
- b. Xejn.      J-a-qbad                                      (billi)      ma  
           nothing. 3-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.SGM with.COMP NEG  
           j-o-ħloq-x                                      iktar                      problem-i  
           3-FRM.VWL-create.IMPV.SGM-NEG more.COMPAR problem-PL  
           Lit: Nothing. He catches by he does not create more problems  
           Nothing. He should (start by) not create(ing) more problems.

What the data reviewed in this section point out to, apart from evidence in favour of a bi-clausal *f*-structure analysis involving a XCOMP clausal argument, is that raising constructions (as we will argue in §4.4.2), may themselves be clearly introduced by complementisers in Maltese. This claim is in fact further corroborated by the data facts related with the raising predicate *deher* ‘seem’ discussed in Camilleri et al. (2014b), where it was shown how the XCOMP could optionally be introduced by the *li* complementiser. One should keep in mind, however, that a CP at the *c*-structure level need not necessarily imply syntactic finiteness or the obligatory presence of a SUBJ (Sells, 2007).

The following data set illustrates the presence of elements other than complementisers break-

ing the linear adjacency between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb. One such way involves the availability of a non-neutral linear ordering, such as when the lexical verb can be fronted/preposed.

(340) a. Mar sal-bank, laħaq, minn dak il-ħin  
 went.PFV.3SGM until/to.DEF-bank, reach.PFV.3SGM from DEM.SGM DEF-time  
 He went to the bank, he managed, from that time

b. U j-i-bki, beda  
 CONJ 3-FRM.VWL-cry.IMPV.SGM start.PFV.3SGM

And crying, he started

Vanhove (1993, p. 242, ex. 3)

Another way is the possibility to have floated quantifiers coming in between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb, as in (341):

(341) a. (In-nies) qabd-u kollha j-għajt-u  
 DEF-people catch.PFV.3-PL all 3-shout.IMPV-PL  
 All the people started shouting

b. Sfa-w kollha j-għix-u weħid-hom  
 end.up.PFV.3-PL all 3-live.IMPV-PL alone-3PL.ACC

They all ended up living alone

No pauses are required before or after *kollha* ‘all’, and the quantifier **should not** be understood as the SUBJ, but rather as a floated quantifier that can be interpreted in either the matrix or the embedded clauses (also see Davies and Dubinsky (2004, p. 54)).

Another syntactic element that can come in between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb is some sort of right-dislocated UDF. Consider (342), taken from Vanhove (1993, p. 242). In the absence of any identifications such as punctuations that could have otherwise helped us to better interpret the syntax-prosody interface of this utterance, we should not think of *ż-żargħa* ‘sown seed’ as the SUBJ of the lexical verb *jisfar* ‘become yellow’, even if ‘sown seed’ seems to occupy the canonical position for SUBJs, i.e. in front of the verb.



- (342) Wara Mejju Ġunju diġà j-i-bda ż-żargħa  
 after May June already 3-FRM.VWL-starts.IMPV.SGM DEF-sown.seed.SGM  
 j-i-sfar  
 3-EPENT.VWL-become.yellow.IMPV.SGM  
 After May June, the sown crops start to become yellow Vanhove (1993, p. 242, ex. 1)

On condition that *jisfar* ‘become yellow’ is a complement, and not some sort of apposition, the most neutral analysis of (342) is to think of ‘sown seed’ as the post-posed syntactic argument of the aspectualiser, which is concurrently the semantic SUBJ of the lexical verb.<sup>53</sup> The underlying claim here is that Maltese allows UDFs or dislocated pieces of syntax to come in between a predicate and its arguments, even in aspectualiser constructions. This is in fact true of non-clausal arguments as well, as illustrated through (343).

- (343) a. J-i-bża’, it-tifel, mill-film-s tal-ġlied  
 3-FRM.VWL-be.afraid.IMPV.SGM DEF-boy from.DEF-film-PL of.DEF-fighting  
 Lit: He is afraid, the boy, from films of fighting  
 The boy is afraid from films involving fighting
- b. Mor-t, jien, ix-xogħol, mhux bħal-ek, ja għazzien!  
 go.PFV-1SG I DEF-work NEG like-2SG.ACC VOC lazy.SGM  
 Lit: Went, I, the work, not like you oh lazy  
 I went to work, unlike you, you lazy one!
- c. T-a-qra, int, gazzett-i?  
 2-FRM.VWL-read.IMPV.SG you newspaper-PL  
 Do you read newspapers?

To summarise, therefore, we have seen that canonically the aspectualiser construction is built through the asyndetic combination of a V<sup>1</sup> aspectualiser auxiliary followed by a V<sup>2</sup> lexical predicate. The linear adjacency between the two verbs can be primarily broken through the presence of ADJS, floated quantifiers, and the very presence of syndetic markers, i.e. complementisers. Such complementisers do not solely include the usual *li*, but we have presented data which

<sup>53</sup>Following our discussion in §4.4.2, the function of the post-posed argument, which is a UDF, is in this case functionally-bound to the aspectualiser’s SUBJ, which is itself a raised SUBJ.

makes use of *bix* and *billi*. Additionally, we have illustrated how as a result of the possibility to topicalise/dislocate the whole VP (as also mentioned in Chapter 2 (§2.4), which in fact gave us the evidence we needed to claim that the Maltese *c*-structure ought display some level of hierarchical behaviour), the  $V^1$ - $V^2$  order need not be maintained. We have also illustrated the relative freedom with which UDFs can come in between a matrix predicate and its arguments. The presence of dislocated material in general, was shown to sometimes further trigger the presence of a complementiser, although this is not itself a necessity. Complementisers, however, were shown to redundantly appear even in canonically ordered aspectualiser constructions.

#### 4.4.1.5 Aspectualiser stacking

Maltese allows for the presence of multiple aspectualisers in a single utterance, and the following are representations of the different sorts of relations available for Maltese.<sup>54</sup>

- (344) a. T-e-rġa-x    t-i-bda  
       2-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG-NEG 2-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SG  
       t-o-qghod    t-kompli/ż-żid  
       2-FRM.VWL-stay.IMPV.SG 2-continue.IMPV.SG/2-add.IMPV.SG  
       id-dejjaq-ni  
       2-CAUSE.bother.IMPV.SG-1SG.ACC

Lit: Don't repeat you start you stay you continue/add you bother me

Don't start to keep bothering me again      REPETITIVE < INCEPTIVE < DURATIVE <  
 CONTINUATIVE

<sup>54</sup>Cinque (1998, p. 138, 151) mentions that the stacking of aspectualisers is possible, and in fact comes up with a hierarchy of their ordering.

- b. Spiċċaj-t            qbad-t            in-kompli            n-a-ġħmel  
 end.up.PFV-1SG catch.PFV-1SG 1-continue.IMPV.SG 1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG  
 kollox            waħd-i  
 everything alone-1SG.ACC

Lit: I ended up I caught I continue I do everything alone

I ended up starting to continue doing everything on my own. FINITIVE < INCEPTIVE  
 < CONTINUATIVE

This aspectualiser stacking data appears to suggest that **if** we take these auxiliaries to be realizing Phasal ASPECT **features**, then clearly, we would have clashes in the Phase values they realize, if they are to be part of a single *f*-structure. It is therefore more likely that these aspectualisers are auxiliaries that project their own PRED value in the *f*-structure. The same follows if we were to think of the possibility that these aspectualisers form complex predicates with the lexical verb.

#### 4.4.1.6 Pseudo-coordination

The final piece of evidence that we list here in favour of a bi-clausal analysis only makes reference to one aspectualiser. At least synchronically, a pseudo-coordinate construction is only available with respect to the aspectualiser *qabad* lit. ‘catch, grab’, which expresses an INCEPTIVE Phasal ASPECT value, and which, as discussed in §4.2.2.5, adds a tinge of abruptness to the inception of the event denoted by the lexical predicate.<sup>55</sup> We will here see that a restricted use of *reġa*’

<sup>55</sup>According to Bower (2006, p. 11), ‘[t]ypically when a language has only one light verb it is “do” or “make”; other verbs that tend to participate in such constructions include: Motion verbs such as “go” and “come”; “give”; and verbs of trajectory e.g. “catch” and “fall”’. In general, for us, *qabad* is a rather interesting verb, as just as *sar* ‘become’ was shown to synchronically have both aspectualiser and non-aspectualiser auxiliary functions, *qabad*, whose one of its literal meanings is ‘catch’, synchronically also displays two non-lexical predicate functions. Apart from the INCEPTIVE aspectualiser function we have been discussing, in the absence of a proper physiological predicate, *qabad* followed by an appropriate nominal, such as in (i)-(ii) below, seems to function as a light verb, in parallel to the function of the verbs *ta* ‘give’ and *ġħamel* ‘do’ in certain contexts.

- i Qabad-ni                    l-bard  
 catch.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC DEF-cold.SGM  
 Lit: Catch me the cold  
 I felt cold/I had shivers all over
- ii Qabad-ni                    l-ġuħ  
 catch.PFV.3SGM-1SG.ACC DEF-hunger

'repeat', also provides us with a parallel behaviour, and we will be discussing this below because in general, such pseudo-coordinate structures have not been previously discussed in the literature of Maltese.

Pseudo-coordination (Hopper and Tragoult (2003), De Vos (2004), Bjerre and Bjerre (2007), Lødrup (2013)), as its name suggests involves the presence of coordinated clauses along with a conjunction, in this case *u* 'and', but its syntax is not symmetric, as one would expect out of a coordinated construction. Lødrup (2013, pp. 14-15) discusses the notion of pseudo-coordination with respect to a set of posture verbs, e.g. *sitter* 'sit' and *ligger* 'lie' in Norwegian. Posture verbs in general are known to end up functioning as aspectualisers, crosslinguistically. Refer to §4.2. Lødrup mulls over the possibility that the pseudo-coordinated data he considers could involve evidence favouring a complex predicate construction. In fact, he cites Wiklund (2007) who 'considers the first verb in pseudocoordinates [as a] light verb' (p. 14). Lødrup (2013) eventually analyses the Norwegian data as 'biclausal subordination constructions in which the first verb takes a verbal complement whose grammatical features agree with the second verb'. Bjerre and Bjerre (2007, pp. 7-8) mention that Danish pseudo-coordinate constructions 'exhibit properties of both coordination and subordination', and eventually they analyse the posture verb or intransitive motion verb in the first conjunct as itself requiring a co-predicate, through which account, they aim to yield the subordination effects observed. Additionally, they mention that the SUBJ argument of the second conjunct is constrained to be unsaturated, as there is never an overt SUBJ in the second conjunct. This thus forces structure-sharing across the SUBJ GF of both verbs (pp. 18-20). The matching of features other than the morphosyntactic ones on the SUBJ of the two pseudo-coordinated verbs is also a requirement in the Danish pseudo-coordinate structures. The verbs involved match one another with respect to TENSE and FINiteness features (Bjerre and Bjerre, 2007, p. 9).

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I am hungry

When functioning as an aspectualiser, *qabad* can in principle participate in the following two types of aspectualiser constructions (345).

- (345) a. Qabd-et            marr-et        / kiel-et  
           catch.PFV-3SGF go.PFV-3SGF / eat.PFV-3SGF  
           Lit: She caught/grasped she went/ate  
           She just left all of a sudden/She started eating in an instant    Asyndetic construction
- b. Qabd-et            u        marr-et        / kiel-et  
           catch.PFV-3SGF CONJ go.PFV-3SGF / eat.PFV-3SGF  
           Lit: She caught/grasped and she went/ate  
           She just left all of a sudden/She started eating at an instance    Pseudo-coordination<sup>56</sup>

An important difference between the two different aspectualiser constructions is that the dependency requirements between the two verbs involved in the construction may vary. These dependencies are illustrated through (346)-(347):

The  $V^1 - V^2$  morphological dependencies available internal to the non-pseudo-coordinate aspectualiser construction, as represented in table (4.2).

- (346) a.  $V^1$  PFV -  $V^2$  PFV | IMPV | PROG | PROSP | ACT.PTCP  
           b.  $V^1$  IMPV -  $V^2$  IMPV | PROSP | PROG | ACT.PTCP  
           c.  $V^1$  PROSP | PROG -  $V^2$  IMPV  
           d.  $V^1$  IMPER -  $V^2$  IMPER

<sup>56</sup>Note that corpus examples such as (i) **do not** illustrate an aspectualiser  $V^1$  - lexical verb  $V^2$  pseudo-coordinated construction. Rather, it is the lexical use of *qabad* which we have here.

i Il-messaġġ            għand-u        j-kun            lill-gvern            biex        dan  
           DEF-message.SGM at-3SGM.ACC 3-be.IMPV.SGM ACC.DEF-government in.order.to DEM.SGM  
           i-biddel            ir-rotta        li        qabad            u        j-nehhi            l-arroganza  
           3-change.IMPV.SGM DEF-route.SGF COMP catch.PFV.3SGM CONJ 3-CAUSE.remove.IMPV.SGM DEF-arrogance  
           tiegħ-u  
           of-3SGM.ACC  
           The message must be that the government should change the route he has caught and remove his arrogance  
           MLRS

The  $V^1 - V^2$  morphological dependencies available internal to the pseudo-coordinate aspectualiser construction.

- (347) a.  $V^1$  PFV -  $V^2$  PFV | PROSP<sup>57</sup>  
 b.  $V^1$  IMPV | PROSP | PROG -  $V^2$  IMPV  
 c.  $V^1$  IMPER -  $V^2$  IMPER

Differences hold between the presence of the lexical verb *qabad* internal to a real coordinated structure vs. the aspectualiser counterpart in a pseudo-coordinated construction. While coordination proper involves some distributed material in all of the conjuncts involved, this is not the case in pseudo-coordinated constructions. The different structures in (348) below display this important contrast. In both the two constructions the extraction of *Marija*, which functions as a UDF, is possible. However, in the *real* coordinate construction, the UDF **must** display an anaphoric dependency with the OBJ in **both** conjuncts, while on the other hand, in the same topicalisation construction when a pseudo-coordinated construction is present, the anaphoric relation is **only** relevant with respect to the OBJ of the predicate in the second conjunct, which is in fact the XCOMP OBJ, under the analysis we are advocating here.

- (348) a. 'L Marija, qabad u bies-ha  
 ACC Mary catch.PFV.3SGM CONJ kiss.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC  
 Lit: As for Mary, he caught and kissed her  
 As for Mary, he kissed her all of a sudden Pseudo-coordination

<sup>57</sup>THE AVAILABILITY OF  $V^1$  PFV -  $V^2$  PROSP COMES FROM EVIDENCE FROM THE GRAMMATICALITY OF THE CORPUS EXAMPLE IN (I).

I MINKEJJA DAN GĦAJT-I-L-HOM U QABAD U SE  
 NOTWITHSTANDING DEM.SGM CALL.PFV.3SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-3PL, CONJ CATCH.PFV.3SGM CONJ PROSP  
 J-I-BDA MINGĦAJR MA TALAB GĦAS-SOSPENSJONI  
 3-FRM.VWL-START.IMPV.SGM WITHOUT COMP ASK.PFV.3SGM FOR.DEF-SUSPENSION  
 TAR-REGOLAMENT-I  
 OF.DEF-REGULATION-PL  
 NOTWITHSTANDING THIS HE CALLED THEM AND PROCEEDED TO START WITHOUT ASKING FOR THE SUS-  
 PENSION OF REGULATIONS MLRS

- b. 'L Marija, qabad-ha u bies-ha  
 ACC Mary catch.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC CONJ kiss.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC  
 As for Mary, he caught/grabbed her and kissed her Coordination

Vanhove's (1993) data also involves one instance of a pseudo-coordinated aspectual construction. In her account, however, she takes the data in (349) to be indicative of the 'non-auxiliary status' of *qabad* 'catch', since the asyndetic relation between the two verbs is broken. As we have been showing through a number of examples across §4.4.1.1-§4.4.1.5, the presence of asyndeticity should not be considered as a defining property of aspectualiser constructions in Maltese, even if they prototypically are asyndetic. Moreover, as illustrated through Chapters 2-3, the different auxiliaries we have looked at seem to suggest that adjacency with the lexical verb is in fact not a property or criterion for auxiliary-hood in general in Maltese.

- (349) U imbagħad qabad u telaq  
 CONJ then catch.PFV.3SGM CONJ leave.PFV.3SGM  
 And then he just left (all of a sudden) Vanhove (1993, p. 248, ex. 1)

It is worth mentioning here, since not much attention has been given to this fact, that pseudo-coordinated constructions in Arabic also involve verbs with 'aspectual meanings' (Ross, 2014, p. 3). Existing examples in the literature are the following:

- (350) a. fāda wa-ṣarraḥa  
 return.PFV.3SGM CONJ-declare.PFV.3SGM  
 Lit: He returned and declared  
 He repeated his declaration MSA: Badawi et al. (2003, p. 422)
- b. kamā sabaqa wa-waʿada l-raʾīsu  
 as happen.before.PFV.3SGM CONJ-promise.PFV.3SGM DEF-president.SGM  
 Lit: As happened before and promised the president  
 As the president had previously promised

- c. kamā sabaqa                      wa-qul-nā  
 as    happen.before.PFV.3SGM CONJ-say.PFV-1PL

Lit: As happened before and we said

As we have previously said

MSA: Badawi et al. (2003, p. 433)<sup>58</sup>

- (351) riġif                      wa    ġimal-ha  
 return.PFV.3SGM CONJ make.PFV.3SGM-3SGF.ACC

He made it again

Palestinian: Ross (2014, p. 3)

According to Ross (2014, p. 4), ‘clearly there is a widespread tendency in language for subordination (and several other systems) to develop out of coordination’. Possibly from this we can infer that he considers the synchronic state of affairs for the Arabic data he discusses as involving an embedded structure. Note that with respect to the pseudo-coordinated contexts above, we will not be able to agree with what Holmes (2004, p. 268) claims with respect to the use of the conjunction *waw* synchronically, which he takes to imply the simultaneity of two events or consecutive ones. To illustrate his point he provides the following example in (352) with *qāma* ‘get up’. Holmes mentions nothing in relation to this verb’s INCEPTIVE function, and simply focuses upon the lexical verb’s meaning, showing that (352) can imply either two consecutive events, or a simultaneous one. What we would have wanted to see through this example is an interpretation where we would have been able to get: ‘He started laughing’, whereby we would have been able to see the use of *qāma* as an aspectualiser within a pseudo-coordinated construction, in parallel to its function in non-pseudo-coordinated aspectualiser constructions.

- (352) qāma                      wa    qahqaha  
 got.up.PFV.3SGM CONJ laugh.PFV.3SGM

He got up and laughed (consecutive)

He stood up laughing (simultaneous)

Arabic: Holmes (2004, p. 268)

The other Maltese aspectualiser that displays a pseudo-coordinate construction is the cognate

<sup>58</sup>This utterance suggests that it is in fact possible to have agreement mismatches, at least in MSA, internal to this sort of pseudo-coordinated construction, as opposed to the obligatory agreement that is required in Maltese, for example.



to the Palestinian *riġiġ* in (351): *reġa'* lit: 'return', which realizes a REPETITIVE Phasal ASPECT value, as discussed in §4.2.2.6. *Reġa'*, however, as an aspectualiser, was shown to have developed further in Maltese, such that it has come to function as some sort of conjunction or discourse particle, especially when used in the Imperfective 3SGM and 2SG forms. The latter form is in fact the only form that is available internal to pseudo-coordinated constructions, as illustrated in (353), where it seems to yield a fossilised construction along with the only lexical predicate that can follow in  $V^2$  position: *tgħid* 'say', which displays the same morphosyntactic values as *reġa'*. While (353) is a pseudo-coordinated construction, nonetheless, the function of *reġa'* here, is **not** that of an aspectualiser. Diachronically, however, it can be hypothesised that *reġa'* **did** have an aspectualiser function in this construction. Evidence for this I take to reside in the fact that synchronically, *tgħid* is a suppletive form in the paradigm of *qal* 'say', but which diachronically belonged to the paradigm of the now obsolete verb *\*għad* 'repeat' (Camilleri, 2014b, p. 94). Possibly we could here hypothesise that as the 'repeat' meaning related with forms such as *tgħid* was lost, reinforcement of this meaning must have been made possible through the presence of *reġa'* as a REPETITIVE Phase-bearing predicate. Moreover, since we know that pseudo-coordinate constructions as alternatives to the canonical aspectualiser constructions are available, at least given the synchronic availability of this in the case of *qabad*, then a structure such as (353) might well have been itself an aspectualiser construction diachronically.

(353) T-e-rga'    u        t-għid  
 2-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SG CONJ 2-say.IMPV.SG

Lit: You repeat and you say  
 even further, additionally

#### 4.4.2 Evidence in favour of a raising analysis

In the previous section we have established that broadly we can conceive of the Maltese aspectualiser constructions as being bi-clausal in nature. See §4.4.3, however, where we might in fact

require a mono-clausal analysis for the structures represented therein, which seem to involve tighter cohesion between the phasal auxiliary and the lexical verb. For the moment, the data so far helps us exclude an AUX-feature or a light verb analysis where the phasal auxiliary builds a complex predicate with the lexical verb. In this section we will now provide evidence in favour of the AUX-PRED analysis, where the auxiliary, as a predicate, involves raising properties. We will in this section see that although a raising analysis applies across the board, it doesn't mean that these aspectualisers need impose the same set of constraints.

#### 4.4.2.1 Agreement facts

One of the most important properties that is highlighted in the discussions of aspectualisers, and perhaps auxiliaries in general, is the structure-shared SUBJ between the aspectualisers and the lexical verb. In Maltese, we find that, at least in their aspectualiser uses, the verbs *sar* 'become' (mentioned in §4.4.1.2), *baqa* 'remain' and *reġa* 'repeat' allow a default 3SGM form.<sup>59</sup> Consider (354), where *sar* 'become' can display either a default or an agreeing form.<sup>60</sup>

(354) *Sar/sar-et*   *ma t-i-swa*   *xejn*  
 become.PFV.3SGM/become.PFV-3SGF NEG 3-FRM.VWL-cost.IMPV.SGF nothing  
*il-ħajja*  
 DEF-life.SGF

It became such that life costs nothing, i.e. futile

Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 19)

Data from Hijazi shows us that the equivalent of (354), involving a default 3SGM form, is not possible.

(355) *ṣār-et/\*ṣār*   *ma ti-swa*   *ħāġah al-ħayāh*  
 become.PFV-3SGF/become.PFV.3SGM NEG 3.SGF-cost.IMPV thing DEF-life.SGF

Life becomes (such that) it costs nothing

Hijazi: Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 19)

<sup>59</sup>We are here not mentioning the phasals *seħel/ħabat/laħaq*, as these only allow for a default 3SGM form in their non-aspectualiser use, i.e. when meaning 'happen/occur'. For this reason, they will not figure in our discussion here.

<sup>60</sup>Possibly, the availability of such default forms further enhance our claim that we are not dealing with a light-verb, given that one of the properties of light verbs, as opposed to auxiliaries, as summarised in Seiss (2009, p. 510), is that they display full morphology and non-defective paradigms.

This however does not imply that within the dialects, verbs always necessarily show SUBJ agreement. Holes (2004, p. 223), for example, provides data from Gulf Arabic illustrating that the actual verbs present in the asyndetic structure need not always display full agreement, as in (356) (also refer to the Egyptian data in (357)). The question then is what conditions the difference between (355) and (356).<sup>61</sup>

(356) *sār*                      *l-ī*                      *sāfa u*                      *ana wāgif*                      *ihni*  
 became.PFV.SGM to-1SG.ACC hour CONJ I stand.ACT.PTCP.SGM here

Lit: It became to me hour and I standing here

I have been standing here for an hour                      Gulf Arabic: Holes (2004, p. 233)

(357) *baʔā-l-i*                      *muddah kibīr-a ʔāfid*  
 be.left.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG time.SGF big-SGF sit.ACT.PRT.SGM

I have been sitting for a long time                      Egyptian: Olmstead and Gamal-Eldin (1982, p. 71)

Turning our attention to perhaps the most interesting aspectualiser, *baqa* ‘remain’ (discussed in §4.2.1.1 and §4.2.1.4), we do not only see that this takes a default form, as in (358), but it is additionally possible for *baqa* to take an attached DAT pronoun on the verb, which agrees with the SUBJ of the lexical verb within the aspectualiser construction, as in (359).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>61</sup>Note that *sar* ‘become’ can in Maltese also take DAT inflection. However, this is only possible when we have no following verbal predicate, as in (i) below, in which case I do not consider *sar* to be functioning as an aspectualiser. Contrast this with the ungrammaticality of (ii) when the DAT is attached to the default 3SGM form of *sar* internal to an aspectualiser construction.

i *Sar-i-l-na*                      *l-ħin*                      (*biex im-morr-u*)  
 become.PFV.3SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-1PL DEF-time in.order.to 1-go.IMPV-PL  
 Lit: It becomes on-us time in order we go  
 It is time for us to go

ii \**Sar-l-i*                      *ma n-a-ghmil-x*                      *ħafna xogħol*  
 become.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG NEG 1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG-NEG a.lot work  
 Intended: I started not having to do a lot of work

In Maltese, data in (i) parallels the Palestinian data in (iii).

iii *šār-l-na*                      *sanat-ēn*                      *hon*  
 become.IMPV.3SGM-DAT-1PL year.SGF-DU here  
 We have been here for two years

Palestinian: Firanesu (2010, p. 88)

<sup>62</sup>The attachment of DAT pronouns on the Syrian cognate *beʔa* ‘remain’ is also available. However, when this is the case, no aspectualiser construction is involved. This parallels the examples in (i)-(iii) in the previous footnote.

i *ħadēš*                      *beʔi-l-o*                      *hōnʔ*  
 how.long stay.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGM here

- (358) Baqa'/Baqaġħl-i    n-a-ġħmel                                  xeġġħa    xoġġħol  
 remain.PFV.3SGM/remain.PFV.3SGM.DAT-1SG 1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG smacking work

Lit: It remains on-me that I do smacking work

I still have to do a lot of work

- (359) Baqa'/Baqaġħ-l-hom                                  j-a-ġħml-u                                  dan                                  koll-u  
 remain.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3PL 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV-PL DEM.SGM all-3SGM.ACC

Lit: It remains on-them they do all this

They still have to do all this

Firanescu (2010) reports the availability of a default 3SGM form in the case of *beʔa* ‘remain’ in Syrian that can also be present in an aspectualiser construction: ‘when the complement of the linking verb is itself a verb, there is a manifest tendency that *beʔa* lose the agreement, or with other words it may be replaced by a frozen form, fixes at the 3<sup>rd</sup> person’ (p. 128), as illustrated in (360). Agreement is nonetheless possible, as the substitution by the 2SGF *bʔiti* illustrates, displaying agreement with the SUBJ of the lexical verb *tħebbi* ‘you.SGF.love’.<sup>63</sup>

- (360) *beʔa*/*bʔit-t-i*/*baʔd-ik*    *t-ħebb-i*                                  Feiruz?  
 remain.PFV.3SGM/remain.PFV-2SG-F/still-2SGF.ACC 2-love.IMPV.SG-F Feiruz

Still remains a fact that you love F?/Do you still love F? or Have you kept loving F?/Do you still love F?    Syrian: Firanescu (2010, p. 129)

When *baqa'* is followed by a complement argument, it results in the following three-fold paradigm (361) below: agreement between the two verbs (361a), default 3SGM (361b) and default 3SGM along with a DAT pronominal attachment. Across this three fold paradigmatic distinction, while there is a clear CONTINUATIVE aspectual interpretation in (361a), this is not quite the case in (361c)-(361b), where the ‘lack, remain’ lexical use is what we seem to be retaining, rather than any sort of CONTINUATIVE ASPECT association.

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How longer will he stay/remain here?

Syrian: Firanescu (2010, p. 134)

<sup>63</sup>The pseudo-verbal form *baʔd-ik* ‘you still’ is in fact an alternative for the same meaning. Recall that as discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.4.3), the Maltese counterpart is the pseudo-verb *ġħad-* meaning ‘still, just’.

- (361) a. Jien bqaj-t                    im-mur            id-dar  
 I    remain.PFV-1SG 1-go.IMPV.SG DEF-house/home  
 I still keep going (to visit) home
- b. Baqa'                            im-mur            id-dar  
 remain.PFV.3SGM 1-go.IMPV.SG DEF-house/home  
 It still remains I go to the house  
 Not: Kept going home
- c. Jien baqaġh-l-i                                    m-mur            d-dar  
 I    remain.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG 1-go.IMPV.SG DEF-house/home  
 Lit: It remains on-me that I go home  
 I still have to go to the house

Although I have here presented *baqa'* as though it was one and the same verb, possibly, we are dealing with two different uses of *baqa'* here which could have well developed independently of each other. In fact, the two versions of *baqa'* impose distinct morphosyntactic constraints on the following lexical verbs. (362) represents the V<sup>1</sup> - V<sup>2</sup> dependencies across the CONTINUATIVE aspectualiser construction as presented in table (4.2), while (363) represents the distinct array of dependencies allowed by the default *baqa'*.

(362) V<sup>1</sup> PFV | IMPV | PROSP | PROG - V<sup>2</sup> IMPV | ACT.PTCP                    Agreeing *baqa'*

(363) a. V<sup>1</sup> PFV(+DAT) - V<sup>2</sup> IMPV

b. V<sup>1</sup> IMPV+DAT | PROSP+DAT | PROG+DAT - V<sup>2</sup> IMPV<sup>64</sup>                    Default *baqa'*

This data with *baqa'* seems to suggest that the availability of a default form followed by a clausal argument does not render an aspectualiser construction. Rather, in such contexts *baqa'* is being used in its lexical form, where it is clearly a raising predicate. From this we then deduce that when functioning as an aspectualiser, obligatory agreement is necessary. The very availability of agreement loss may be taken as evidence for an independent development of this verb. That *baqa'*

<sup>64</sup>This in fact implies that a default 3SGM Imperfective form that takes a clausal argument cannot surface without the presence of a DAT form, as opposed to the Perfective counterpart.

turns out to be representing two co-current synchronic developments is not a surprise. We have seen this with the aspectualiser and non-aspectualiser auxiliary functions of *sar* ‘become’, and the aspectualiser and light verb uses of *qabad* ‘catch’. What we can add here is that agreement loss does not seem to be the end path of this verb’s development, however. Rather, as a substitute to the agreement loss, non-selected DAT pronouns (see Camilleri and Sadler (2012b)) are attached onto the verb. Once these DAT pronouns grammaticalise further and become obligatory parts of the verb form, *baqa*’ + DAT will end up being an impersonal predicate. Once this process arrives at its end point, it would not be far-fetched to hypothesise that *baqa*’ + DAT impersonal verb comes to grammaticalise as an ASPECT-realizing auxiliary in itself, possibly as some sort of PERFECT CONTINUATIVE marker, for example. In general, therefore, it turns out that the loss of agreement need not imply that we are necessarily dealing with a phasal counterpart of the lexical verb.<sup>65</sup> Rather, we find that it is only *sar* that exhibits default agreement when used as a phasal auxiliary.

#### 4.4.2.2 Inanimate SUBJS and idiom chunks

A perhaps more standard test in favour of raising which applies more generally than the default 3SGM agreement property which we have reviewed above, is the possibility of inanimate SUBJS such as meteorological NPs, as well as idiom chunks without resulting in a non-idiomatic meaning.<sup>66</sup> Such data is also available in the case of these aspectualisers. (364) illustrates a

<sup>65</sup>This is in fact the reason why we have here not added *fadal* ‘remain, be left’ to our list of aspectualisers, although listed in Maas (2009). *Fadal* takes a defective paradigm that only includes Perfective and Imperfective 3SGM forms. Just like *baqa*’ it is also developing as an impersonal verb. Synchronically, since the grammaticalisation is not complete, the meaning is still one of: ‘It remains (on-me)’.

i	Fadal-(l-i)	n-a-għmel	xi	affar-ijiet
	remain.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG	1-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG	some	thing-PL
	It remains (on-me) that I do some things			
	I still have to do some things			

<sup>66</sup>Note that this test would have otherwise not been apt to decide between an AUX-feature vs. AUX-PRED analysis for these phasals, unless having previously established that the aspectualiser construction takes a bi-tiered *f*-structure analysis, given that an idiom chunk would have been just as possible in the presence of an auxiliary in a mono-clausal/mono-tiered *f*-structure.

meteorological SUBJ shared between the aspectualiser and the lexical predicate (364a) or light verb (364b). Note that what's specifically interesting with respect to the data in (364) is that we have the SUBJS *x-xita* 'the rain' and *xebgħa šħana* lit. 'smacking heat', meaning 'a lot of heat' in the respective sentences, not able to neutrally occur in front of the matrix aspectualisers *baqa* 'remain' and *beda* 'start'. In passing, although much more work needs to be done in this domain, here I just wish to note that in these sentences, one could possibly argue that rather than forward raising, it is backward raising (Potsdam and Polinsky, 2012) that is involved, i.e. where there is only 'covert' raising to the matrix, but linearly, the SUBJ is retained as an overt DP in the embedded clause.<sup>67</sup> If this hypothesis is correct, it would account for why we are not able to get a neutrally ordered pre-verbal SUBJ in (364), but we nonetheless get agreement marked on the aspectualiser in the matrix. While this is simply one possible hypothesis, what is clear is that these do not illustrate our usual raising constructions, where there is no structural evidence, except the presence of agreement, that the SUBJ is really in the matrix, and not in the embedded clause.

(364) a. Baqgħ-et                    nieżl-a                    x-xita  
           remain.PFV-3SGF down.ACT.PTCP-SGF DEF-rain.SGF

Lit: She remained downing the rain

It kept raining

b. Bdie-t                    t-a-għmel                    xebgħa    šħana  
           begin.PFV-3SGF 2-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SG smacking heat.SGF

Lit: She started she does smacking heat

It started being very hot

Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 19)

The data below provides a number of idioms that involve a SUBJ position which we are able to manipulate by adding in an array of aspectualisers whilst still retaining the idiomatic meaning.

<sup>67</sup>It is here interesting to mention that in Potsdam and Polinsky's (2012) study of backward raising in Adyghe, the predicates that allow for this sort of raising are in fact aspectualisers such as 'begin' and 'stop'.

- (365) Alla, skont il-muntanja, (j-i-bqa')  
 God according DEF-mountain 3-FRM.VWL-remain.IMPV.SGM  
 j-ti-ha s-silġ  
 3-give.IMPV.SGM-3SGF.ACC DEF-ice/snow

Lit: God according to the mountain keeps giving snow

God will never give you more than you can handle Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 19)

- (366) Frar fawwar (j-żid / j-i-bda /  
 February overspill.ACT.PTCP-SGM 3-add.IMPV.3SGM / 3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGM /  
 sar / j-arma) j-i-mla l-bjar  
 become.PFV.3SGM / 3-arm.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-fill.up.IMPV.SGM DEF-well.PL

Lit: February overspiller increases/starts/comes to/starts he fills the wells

February overfills the wells (because of the rain)

- (367) Il-qattus-a għaġġel-ijja, friegħ għomj-a (t-e-rġa' /  
 DEF-cat-SGF hurry.ACT.PTCP-SGF offspring blind-PL 3-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.SGF /  
 t-kompli / t-i-bda / t-i-shel)  
 3-continue.IMPV.SGF / 3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGF / 3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGF  
 t-a-għmel  
 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGF

Lit: The cat hurried, offspring blind repeats/continues/starts/be about to start she does

Take your time to do things. No hurry.

#### 4.4.2.3 Chained raising of 3SGM morphology

Another piece of evidence that suggests that these aspectualisers have a non-thematic SUBJ is the behaviour of chained raising when the main lexical verb is an impersonal verb. Such verbs, following the description in Comrie (1982) and Haspelmath and Caruana (2000) are in Maltese default 3SGM verbs that obligatorily require the presence of a DAT or ACC pronoun that as argued in Camilleri (2015b) may well be a DAT/ACC SUBJ. Instances of such impersonal verbs are provided below. (Also see the discussions in Chapter 3 (§3.3.2)).

- (368) a. Jien irnexxie-l-i n-i-rbaħ  
 I manage.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG 1-FRM.VWL-win.IMPV.SG



I managed to win

- b. Marija kel-l-ha l-flus  
 Mary be.PFV.3SGM-DAT-3SGF DEF-money

Mary had the money

- c. Aħna fadl-i-l-na dil-libsa  
 we remain.PFV.3SGM-EPENT.VWL-DAT-1PL DEM.SGF.DEF-dress  
 x'in-ħit-u  
 what.1-sew.IMPV-PL

We still have this dress to sew

If our account of impersonal verbs is on the right track, then what the aspectualisers are doing is simply chaining the PRED-less 3SGM morphology that is present on the impersonal. The fact that such a chaining of 3SGM morphology is available, goes to show that the SUBJ of the aspectualiser auxiliaries may in fact be either non-thematic, or indeed PREDless (see the discussion in Chapter 3 (§3.6)), in which case, a default association with a 3SGM morphological form is present, just as we observe in (369)-(370) below.

- (369) (Qorob                      biex) j-e-rġa'                      (j-a-qbad)  
 be.closer.PFV.**3sgm** to    **3**-FRM.VWL-repeat.IMPV.**sgm** **3**-FRM.VWL-catch.IMPV.**sgm**  
 j-i-bda                                      **j-kol-l-i**                                      mara    t-ġhin-ni  
**3**-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.**sgm** **3**-be.IMPV.**sgm**-DAT-1SG woman 3-help.IMPV.SGF-1SG.ACC  
 fid-dar  
 in.DEF-house

Lit: He close to it repeats it starts it begins it be on-me woman she helps me in the house

I am close to once again start having a woman helping me in the house    Alotaibi et al.

(2013, p. 19)

- (370) Rama                      / ħasel                      reġa'                      qis-u  
 arm.PFV.**3sgm** / wash.PFV.**3sgm** repeat.PFV.**3sgm** as.though-3SGM.ACC  
 ħabat                                      ħa    **j-i-ftil-l-i**  
 be.on.the.verge.of.PFV.3SGM PROSP **3**-FRM.VWL-decide.abruptly.PFV.**sgm**-DAT-1SG  
 ġħaċ-ċikkulata  
 for.DEF-chocolate

Lit: He started he repeats as though he was on the verge of long.for.all.of.a.sudden for the  
 chocolate

I started as though I was on the verge of craving for chocolate again

#### 4.4.2.4 The constrained presence of copy raising

Copy raising, discussed in Chapter 3 (§3.5), in our discussion of pseudo-verbal behaviour, is allowed in such contexts as well. **However**, this is somewhat constrained, and is not as freely available as in the case of pseudo-verbs. In contrast with the other Arabic vernaculars, as in (371), the path involved in the case of Maltese aspectualisers cannot be COMP\* but COMP<sup>+</sup>, with the first COMP PRED being additionally constrained to either of the pseudo-verbs *qis-/donn-*, as in (372), and a substitution with the main raising predicate *deher* ‘appear’ is not possible, as the ungrammaticality of (372a)-(372b) illustrates. Note that we take this to imply that in such contexts, these aspectualisers subcategorise for a COMP GF. The same was the case with respect to when *sar* takes a default 3SGM form in §4.4.2.1. Irrespective of the XCOMP/COMP GF we are mapping the clausal complement with, what the copy raising data helps us to establish further

is that we are dealing with a raising predicate itself.

- (371) mona badaʔ-et            yi-dayʔ-ū-ha            el-welād  
 Mona start.PFV-3SGF 3-annoy.IMPV-PL-3SGF.ACC DEF-boys  
 Mona started to be annoyed by the boys            Egyptian: Alotaibi et al. (2013, p. 22)
- (372) a. \*Bde-w            (bħal)    j-dejjaq-hom  
 start.PFV.3-PL as.through 3-bother.CAUSE.IMPV.SGM-3PL.ACC  
 Intended: They started as though he bothered them
- b. \*Bde-w            j-i-dher            qabad-hom  
 start.PFV.3-PL 3-FRM.VWL-appear.IMPV.SGM catch.PFV.3SGM-3PL.ACC  
 in-ngħas  
 DEF-sleepiness.SGM  
 Intended: They started seeming as though sleepiness came
- c. It-tfal            **bde-w**            qis-u/donn-u            dejjem **j-a-sl-u**  
 DEF-children start.PFV.3-PL as.through-3SGM.ACC always 3-FRM.VWL-arrive.IMPV-PL  
 tard  
 late  
 The children started as though they arrive always late            SUBJ
- d. Marija **bdie-t**            qis-u/donn-u            j-bezzagh-**ha**  
 Mary start.PFV-3SGF as.through-3SGM.ACC 3-CAUSE.frighten.IMPV.SGM-3SGF.ACC  
 il-film  
 DEF-film.SGM  
 Mary started as though the film was frightening her            OBJ
- e. It-tfal            **reġġh-u**            qis-u            qed t-ghajjat  
 DEF-children repeat.PFV.3-PL as.through-3SGM.ACC PROG 3-shout.IMPV.SGF  
 magħ-**hom**  
 with-3PL.ACC  
 Once again they are as though she is shouting with them            OBL OBJ
- f. ħut-i            **qabd-u**            donn-u            ħa  
 sibling.PL-1SG.GEN catch.PFV.3-PL as.through-3SGM.ACC PROSP  
 j-a-ħbat            j-i-tlagħ-**l-hom**            xebgħa  
 3-FRM.VWL-crash.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-go.up.IMPV.SGM-DAT-3PL smacking  
 deni  
 fever.SGM

They started as though fever was on the verge of rising up on-them      COMP XCOMP  
 XCOMP OBJ $\emptyset$

#### 4.4.2.5 Passive equivalence

Unlike what we would otherwise expect if these aspectualisers were control predicates, we find that there is semantic equivalence when the embedded verb is active or passivise.

(373) a. Beda/baqa'    j-i-ġbor    l-iltiema  
           start.PFV.3SGM/remain.PFV.3SGM 3-FRM.VWL-gather.IMPV.SGM DEF-orphan.PL  
           He started/continued gathering the orphans    Active

          b. Bde-w/baqġh-u    j-i-n-ġabr-u  
           start.PFV.3-PL/continue.PFV.3-PL 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-gather-IMPV-PL  
           l-iltiema  
           DEF-orphan.PL  
           The orphans started/continued being gathered (together)      Passive - Alotaibi et al.  
           (2013, p. 20)

(374) a. Reġa'    baġħat    xi    flus  
           repeat.PFV.3SGM send.PFV.3SGM some money.PL  
           He sent some money again    Active

          b. Reġġh-u    nt-baġħt-u    xi    flus  
           repeat.PFV.3-PL PASS-send.PFV.3-PL some money.PL  
           Some money were sent again    Passive

#### 4.4.2.6 Summary

These different sections have each provided their own piece of evidence in favour of a raising analysis. We have seen that the default is a SUBJ-to-SUBJ raising analysis, except that *sar* as an aspectualiser was shown to allow for a default 3SGM form, irrespective of the agreement on the following lexical verb, in which case the complement is mapped onto a COMP GF. A COMP

analysis is also the one that is maintained when we have copy raising involved. It was shown that copy raising internal to aspectualiser constructions involved the anaphoric-binding of the phasal verb's SUBJ with a GF internal to a COMP<sup>+</sup>. Moreover, further evidence that the SUBJ of aspectualisers in Maltese is non-thematic comes from the fact that this can itself be PREDless, such that it is only 3SGM agreement that satisfies the SUBJ GF.

#### 4.4.3 Imperative and Passive aspectualiser forms: Implications

If we are to pursue a raising analysis for the aspectualisers in the aspectualiser constructions we have considered so far, then their SUBJ is a non-thematic GF. However, just as mentioned when briefly reviewing the literature in §4.3, the fact that some of these aspectualisers can in Maltese inflect for Imperative forms could possibly be indicative of a thematic SUBJ, since an Imperative form implies agentivity, and is implicative of a SUBJ that is associated with a thematic role. For Newmeyer (1975, p. 29), however, the presence of an Imperative is not necessary an argument against a raising analysis. He claims that **seemingly** agent behaviours are only available if the complement is **also** illustrating agent-like behaviours. In this way, the presence of an agent SUBJ is simply a reflection of the properties of the verb in the complement clause. This explanation would account for the Maltese data rather neatly, since in Maltese, an aspectualiser is only allowed to take an Imperative form in the aspectualiser construction if the following lexical verb also has an Imperative form, as illustrated through (375).<sup>68</sup>

- (375) a. Aqbad                    ejja                    aħdem                    'l hawn!  
           catch.IMPER.2SG come.IMPER.2SG work.IMPER.2SG ALL here  
           Just come (and start) working here
- b. Ibqa'                    studja                    ħa                    t-ġħaddi  
           remain.IMPER.2SG study.IMPER.2SG so.that 2-pass.IMPV.SG  
           Continue study so that you will pass

---

<sup>68</sup>Recall our discussion on parasitic inflection in Chapter 3 (§3.5). In the aspectualiser constructions here, it is **not** possible for us to point at any sort of parasitic relation, since it is not possible for the aspectualiser to alternate with non-Imperative forms.

- c. Sir                      emmen                      ftit      fi-k                      innifs-ek  
 become.IMPER.2SG believe.IMPER.2SG a.little in-2SG.ACC breath.2SG.GEN  
 ta!  
 DISCOURSE.PRT

Start believing a bit in yourself!

What's important to mention here, apart from the constraint that obligatorily requires both Vs in the aspectualiser construction to be Imperative, if one of them is, is the fact that it is only a sub-set of the aspectualisers that allow for an Imperfective form when part of an aspectualiser construction. For example, while there is no morphological constraint on the formation of Imperative forms such as: *oqrob* 'draw near', *asal* 'arrive', as well as *spiċċa* 'end up', at least when functioning as lexical predicates, these same Imperative forms are **not** available when the verb is used as part of an aspectualiser construction. One questions why this should be the case. Is it a constructional effect, such that when these verbs take a clausal argument (e.g. XCOMP), the aspectualiser's form cannot be Imperative? This could well be the case. However, there may be more to it. The very semantic Phasal value associated with the aspectualiser **could** be playing a role. Evidence for this comes from the difference that arises between the COMPLETIVE vs. FINITIVE functions of *spiċċa*. Even though the same argument-structure is maintained, while the Imperative form of *spiċċa* in its COMPLETIVE function is allowed to participate within the aspectualiser construction, as shown below in (376a), this is not the case when *spiċċa* functions as a FINITIVE phasal auxiliary (376b). I take this to show that primarily, the 'same' verb, albeit associated with distinct lexical entries, is able to express **two** distinct Phasal ASPECT values, and the morphosyntax merely reinforces the semantic difference. Additionally, one may take the presence/absence of a particular aspectualiser construction type to be the result of both semantic and constructional influences/effects.

- (376) a. Spiċċa                      eħles                      xogħol-ok!      ħaffef!  
 finish.IMPER.2SG free.IMPER.2SG work-2SG.GEN hurry.IMPER.2SG

Finish getting rid of your work! Hurry!

TERMINATIVE

- b. \*Spicća                      aghmel              kollox              int!  
 end.up.IMPER.2SG do.IMPER.2SG everything you

Intended: End up doing everything!

FINITIVE

Parallel restrictions with respect to the presence of Imperative aspectualiser forms are also available across other Arabic dialects. Jelinek (1988, p. 88) mentions how aspectualiser verbs such as *fidil* ‘remain’, *ʔaʔad* ‘stay’ and verbs of motion can themselves be in an Imperative form in Egyptian, and when this is the case, they **also** take an Imperative dependent form. Similar dependencies are observed in Syrian, as in (377).

- (377) ebʔ-i                              ndah-i-l-o,                              ʔayto!  
 remain.IMPER.2SG-F call.IMPER.2SG-F-DAT-3SGM sister

Keep calling him, sister!

Syrian: Firanesu (2010, p. 129)

The question that derives from this is whether this sort of V<sup>1</sup> Imperative - V<sup>2</sup> Imperative dependency internal to aspectualiser constructions should be endowed with a distinct analysis than the rest. What I am thinking is that it seems that here we have more cohesion between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb, but which high degree of bondedness between the two verbs has not been achieved by all the aspectualisers. Possibly, the increase in cohesion could be indicative of a relation that is tighter than that of a complementation relation, i.e. it could well be the case that when the phasal is Imperative in form, the aspectualiser construction is mono-clausal at the *f*-structure level. The question would then be whether the aspectualiser partakes in the PRED of the *f*-structure, i.e. forming a complex predicate with the lexical verb, or whether it simply projects a Phasal ASPECT feature value in the *f*-structure. Alternatively, we can still however maintain an account whereby what is happening when Imperative forms are involved is simply a morphological constraint, such that when the lexical verb in the aspectualiser construction is Imperative (and is additionally the predicate that is taking a thematic SUBJ that bears an Agent role), then we have a default morphological relation that in turn requires the aspectualiser to also be Imperative.

One observes rather interesting things when considering what takes place when we have negation in such constructions. If we get negation on the  $V^1$  (i.e. on the aspectualiser), in which case the form involved is really the Imperfective form of the paradigm and a suffixed *-x*, Imperfective 2<sup>nd</sup> PERSON agreement also follows on the lexical verb (378). On the other hand, if we take an aspectualiser which allows for negation to be expressed on either of the Vs, or allows for some sort of NEG item in the lower clause, then we observe that it then becomes possible to have a mix of a ‘pure’ Imperative  $V^1$  form followed by a negated Imperative form which looks like an Imperfective form (379b)-(379c).

(378) T-ie-qf-u-x    t-kellm-u-h  
 2-FRM.VWL-stop.IMPER-PL-NEG 2-talk.IMPV-PL-3SGM.ACC  
 Don’t stop talking with him

(379) a. T-i-bqa-x    t-kellm-u  
 2-FRM.VWL-continue.IMPER.SG-NEG 2-talk.IMPV.SG-3SGM.ACC  
 Don’t keep talking with him    V<sup>1</sup> NEG

b. Ibqa’    t-kellm-u-x  
 remain.IMPER.2SG 2-talk.IMPER.SG-3SGM.ACC-NEG  
 Lit: Continue not talking to him    V<sup>2</sup> NEG

c. Ibqa’    t-kellm-u    xejn    meta  
 remain.IMPER.2SG 2-talk.IMPER.SG-3SGM.ACC nothing when  
 j-i-bda    j-għajjat  
 3-FRM.VWL-start.IMPV.SGM 3-shout.IMPV.SGM  
 Lit: Continue talking to him nothing when he starts he shouts  
 Continue not talking to him at all when he starts shouting    V<sup>2</sup> NEG

When it comes to the availability of Passive aspectualiser forms, the literature discusses the same issues with respect to agentivity and raising predicates as just discussed for Imperative forms, such that the fact that the thematic OBJ of the lexical verb can become the SUBJ of the phasal under passivisation, via the remapping of the GF - thematic-role associations in LFG, is somehow indicative that the SUBJ must then be associate with a thematic role.





- b.  $\dot{Z}$ <d>ied                      j-i-t-ħaffef                      il-proċess  
 add.PASS.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-ease.IMPV.SGM DEF-process

Lit: Was added be eased the process

Intended: The process increased in being (done) hurriedly i.e. without additional bureaucracy

- c. Nt-laħaq                      n-qabel                      minn qabel  
 PASS-manage.PFV.3SGM PASS-agree.PFV.3SGM from before

Lit: Was managed be agreed from before

It was managed/ended up agreed from before

- d. T-waqqaf                      j-i-nt-uza                      s-servizz  
 PASS-stop.CAUSE.PFV.3SGM 3-EPENT.VWL-PASS-use.IMPV.SGM DEF-service

Lit: Was stopped be used the service

The service stopped being used

Once again, as was said with respect to the V<sup>1</sup> Imperative - V<sup>2</sup> Imperative aspectualiser construction, this Passive dependency might be suggesting a tighter relation/increased coercion between the verbs.

## 4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we discussed a set of verbs that while still synchronically associated with lexical counterparts with radically different meanings at times, have developed into auxiliaries that express Phasal ASPECTual values. It was in fact specifically the bleached semantics of these verbs that we took to be a rather important justification for their treatment as auxiliaries here, implying that these verbs' grammaticalisation has indeed been triggered. A few aspectualisers not otherwise mentioned in the previous Maltese literature were added, whilst the values expressed by such auxiliaries were fine-tuned, yielding a list of eleven distinct Phasal ASPECT values for Maltese. It was shown how the aspectualiser function is not the only grammaticalised

function expressed by some of these aspectualisers. Apart from the very presence of distinct Phasal ASPECTual values that can be expressed by the same aspectualiser, it was shown that non-lexical grammaticalised counterparts of the aspectualisers could also be available. The lexical verb *sar* ‘become’, for example, was shown to have developed both as an INCEPTIVE and FINITIVE aspectualiser. Additionally, in Chapter 2 (§2.4), we have mentioned the function of *sar* as an auxiliary that substitutes the Imperfective form of the auxiliaries *kien* ‘be’ and *ġie* ‘come’ in the presence of stative lexical verbs in a number of distinct syntactic contexts. More generally, in this chapter we have seen how *sar* displays the most cohesion with the following lexical verb in the aspectualiser construction, when compared with the rest of the aspectualisers. This was shown through the availability of a default 3SGM usage, whereby it’s as though *sar* comes to function as some sort of particle, as well as the NEG facts discussed in §4.4.1.2. In the case of the *qagħad* lit. ‘stay’, while the verb form expresses a DURATIVE ASPECTual value when functioning as an aspectualiser, its associated active participial counterpart *qiegħed* functions as an auxiliary realizing PROGRESSIVE ASPECT (Chapter 2 (§2.3.2)). In the case of *baqa*’ lit. ‘remain’, which expressed CONTINUATIVE and FRUSTRATIVE Phasal ASPECTual values, we observed in §4.4.2.1 that while the aspectualiser function retains full agreement, the lexical counterpart has started losing agreement and is able to take a default 3SGM form, where we hypothesised that this verb has also started to lexicalise as an impersonal predicate, once the attached DAT pronouns that substitute the loss of the canonical agreement on the verb grammaticalise, and become an obligatory part of the verb-form non-canonically realizing the SUBJ GF. In the case of *qabad* lit. ‘catch, grab’, apart from its function as an INCEPTIVE Phasal ASPECTual auxiliary, it was shown in this study, although not mentioned elsewhere before, that this verb has synchronically developed into a light verb in light verb + Noun constructions. Finally, we have seen how the REPETITIVE aspectualiser *reġa*’ has developed into a sentential ADJ of sorts, meaning ‘even more’ or ‘as well’.

A summary of some morphosyntactic facts is provided in table (4.7). Recall that we had more to say about the morphosyntax of these constructions, where we saw how the different auxiliaries

impose their own special constraints on the nature of the morphological form allowed. It was shown in §4.2 that all aspectualisers allowed for the Imperfective form of the lexical verb, except for the FRUSTRATIVE function of *baqa'*, as well as the COMPLETIVE use of *laħaq* when this is itself Perfective. We take the presence of the Imperfective morphology to be indicative of some sort of default morphology akin to a possible embedded status of the lexical verb, which morphology would in other languages possibly be substituted by Subjunctive forms. We have given due importance to the morphosyntax of these structures as we have shown that in the majority of the times, we observed that the distinct Phasal ASPECT values associated with the same aspectualiser form, can in fact be disambiguated by the very distinct morphological dependencies that are permitted and imposed by the phasal auxiliary. In other words, distinct semantic encoding can at times be mirrored by the very changes in the morphosyntax of the construction.

We have argued for a bi-clausal analysis of the aspectualiser construction in Maltese whilst providing a number of syntactic tests with which we could establish that the aspectualisers do actually display raising properties, and their SUBJ is non-thematic. The fact that these auxiliaries are here being analysed as raising predicates of sorts aligns them with an AUX-PRED *f*-structure analysis, and were also shown to participate in copy raising constructions, although not with the same ease as copy raising occurs elsewhere in the language with non-aspectualiser raising predicates. Copy raising with phasals was shown to require the presence of an intermediate raising verb preceding the lexical verb from where the argument is 'raised' (and copied). What comes in the intermediate clause **must** be one of either of the pseudo-verbs *qis-* and *don-*. The possibility of backward raising was discussed with respect to the meteorological SUBJ instances discussed in §4.4.2.2, where given that the canonical order of these SUBJS is post-verbal, it thus seems to us that since the SUBJ is not able to be 'raised' to the matrix SUBJ position, but remains *in-situ* in the embedded clause, seems to suggest that usual forward raising is not what we have.

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<sup>69</sup>Note that given the lack of a Passive form in relation to this I<sup>st</sup> *binyan* form, it is the Passive form equivalent to the II<sup>nd</sup> *binyan* form *waqqaf* 'cause to stop' that is used, i.e. the V<sup>th</sup> *binyan* form *twaqqaf*.

<sup>70</sup>Note that in §4.4.1.1 we have concluded that when *baqa'* is used in its default use this is not functioning as an aspectualiser, and hence we are solely listing the agreeing version of *baqa'*.

We have also demonstrated that although raising is involved, nonetheless the complement clause can take a PRED that takes a finite non-Imperfective form, i.e. Perfective, assuming that the Imperfective form could be in principle understood as some sort of Subjunctive or even perhaps a syntactically non-finite form. Additionally, the complement clause could also be introduced by a complementiser, which was in fact obligatory at times. The complementisers identified were *li*, *bies* and *billi*. Apart from usual embedding, we have seen how at least for the INCEPTIVE aspectualiser *qabad*, the aspectualiser construction could be expressed through a pseudo-coordinated construction. In accounting for the syntax of aspectualiser constructions in Maltese, we have also discussed: Imperative  $V^1$ -Imperative  $V^2$  and Passive  $V^1$ -Passive  $V^2$  aspectualiser constructions, where we remained somewhat agnostic as to whether we want to say that these constructions should still be analysed as involving a bi-tiered  $f$ -structure and where a strict morphological matching is observed, or whether what we have is a display of increased cohesion between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb, and perhaps the initiation of the formation of a complex predicate, where one complex  $f$ -structure is assumed.

In generalising across these aspectualiser constructions as bi-clausal structures where the auxiliary bears its own PRED value in the  $f$ -structure, the clausal argument was shown to be able to map on either an XCOMP or a COMP GF. All aspectualisers but *sar* display obligatory SUBJ-to-SUBJ raising, and all of them can participate in copy raised constructions where the non-thematic SUBJ of the aspectualiser could be anaphorically bound to any GF internal to any embedded XCOMP<sup>+</sup>|COMP<sup>+</sup> argument, and which PRED in such XCOMP|COMP must be either *qis-* or *donn-*. Although we have seen that it is not possible for the aspectualisers to display default 3SGM agreement, if we leave *sar* aside, it is nevertheless possible for these aspectualisers to raise chained PREDless SUBJs, in which case a 3SGM form is present. This was the case observed in §4.4.2.3 when we had an impersonal verb as the lexical predicate, which itself took a 3SGM morphological form but expressed the SUBJ non-canonically through the presence of DAT pronominal forms.

What follows below are a few representations of the lexical entries associated with the two phasals *laḥaq*, which realizes the COMPLETIVE and SUCCESS Phasal ASPECT values, and *spiċċa*, which realizes the COMPLETIVE and FINITIVE values. Additionally, two worked-out *f*-structural representations are also provided to complete the picture.

*jilḥaq*: *I/V* ( $\uparrow\mu$  PRED VFORM) = Imperfective

( $\uparrow\mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS

( $\uparrow\sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = SUCCESS

( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <XCOMP>SUBJ

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ) =  $\uparrow$  XCOMP SUBJ

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 3

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M

( $\uparrow\mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM =  ${}_c$ Imperfective

( $\uparrow\mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM POL = POS

*laḥaq*: *I/V* ( $\uparrow\mu$  PRED VFORM) = Perfective

( $\uparrow\mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS

( $\uparrow\sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = COMPLETIVE

( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <XCOMP>SUBJ

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ) =  $\uparrow$  XCOMP SUBJ

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 3

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M

( $\uparrow\mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM =  ${}_c$ Imperfective

( $\uparrow\mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM POL = POS

*spiċċa: I/V* ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) = Perfective  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS  
 ( $\uparrow \sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = COMPLETIVE  
 ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <XCOMP>SUBJ  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ) =  $\uparrow$  XCOMP SUBJ  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 3  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM =  $\epsilon$  Imperfective  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM POL = POS

*spiċċa: I/V* ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) = Perfective  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS  
 ( $\uparrow \sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = FINITIVE  
 ( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <XCOMP>SUBJ  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ) =  $\uparrow$  XCOMP SUBJ  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 3  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG  
 ( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M  
 ( $\uparrow \mu$  XCOMP PRED VFORM =  $\epsilon$ {Perfective | Imperfective | Prospective | ACT.PTCP}  
 (( $\uparrow$  XCOMP ASPECT = PROG)

*spiċċa*: I/V ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) = Perfective

( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS

( $\uparrow \sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = FINITIVE

( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <COMP>SUBJ

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 3

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ GEND) = M

( $\uparrow \mu$  COMP PRED VFORM =  $c$ {Perfective | Imperfective | Prospective | ACT.PTCP})

(( $\uparrow$  COMP ASPECT = PROG))

*spiċċa*: I/V ( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM) = Imperative

( $\uparrow \mu$  PRED VFORM POL) = POS

( $\uparrow \sigma$  Phasal ASPECT) = COMPLETIVE

( $\uparrow$  PRED) = <UNCONCLUSIVE>

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ PERSON) = 2

( $\uparrow$  SUBJ NUM) = SG

( $\uparrow \mu$  XCOMP | COMPLEX PRED VFORM =  $c$ Imperative

.

.

.

(382) J-i-lħaq                                  j-a-għmel                                  xogħl-u                                  koll-u  
 3-FRM.VWL-reach.IMPV.SGM 3-FRM.VWL-do.IMPV.SGM work.SGM-3SGM all-SGM

He manages to do all my work



[	PRED	'jilhaq <XCOMP>SUBJ'		]		
	SUBJ	PRED	'PRO'			
		PERS	3			
		NUM	SG			
		GEND	M			
	XCOMP	PRED	'jagħmel <SUBJ, OBJ>'			
		SUBJ	[ ] [1]			
		OBJ	PRED		'xoghlu <POSS>'	
			NUM		SG	
			GEND		M	
	POSS		[		PRED 'PRO'	]
		PERS	3			
		NUM	SG			
		GEND	M			
		CASE	GEN			
	ADJ	{         [         PRED 'kollu'         ]         }				
		NUM	SG			
		GEND	M			
		]				

(383) Spiċċa                      kel-li                      tnejn biss  
 end.up.PFV.3SGM be.PFV.3SGM-DAT-1SG two    only

I ended up such that I had only two

[	PRED	‘spičca <COMP>SUBJ’	]
SUBJ	[	PERS 3	]
	NUM	SG	
	GEND	M	
COMP	[	PRED ‘kelli <SUBJ, OBJ>’	]
	ASPECT	PERFECTIVE	
	SUBJ	[	]
		PRED ‘PRO’	
		PERS 1	
		NUM SG	
		CASE DAT	
	OBJ	[	]
		PRED ‘tnejn’	
		ADJ	{ [ PRED ‘biss’ ] }
			]
			]

Verb form	AGR	NEG: V <sup>1</sup> /Both	LongPass	Imperative
waqaf	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	yes <sup>69</sup>	yes
laħaq COMPLETIVE	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	yes	yes
laħaq SUCCESS	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	yes	yes
żied	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	yes	yes
spiċċa COMPLETIVE	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
fetaħ	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
telaq	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
ħabat INCEPTIVE	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
ħabat PROXIMATIVE	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
sebaħ	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
ħasad	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
temm	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
qam	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	yes
safa	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	no
heda	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	no
seħel	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	no
qorob	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	no
wasal PROXIMATIVE	Oblig	V <sup>1</sup>	no	no
baqa' SUCCESS	Oblig	V <sup>2</sup>	no	yes
spiċċa FINITIVE	Oblig	Both	no	no
wasal SUCCESS	Oblig	Both	no	no
reġa'	Oblig	Both	no	yes
qağħad	Oblig	Both	no	yes
qabad	Oblig	Both	no	yes
rama	Oblig	Both	no	yes
sar INCEPTIVE	Oblig/3SGM	Both	no	yes
sar FINITIVE	Oblig/3SGM	Both	no	yes
baqa' CONTINUATIVE	Oblig <sup>70</sup>	Both	no	yes
ssokta	Oblig	Both	no	yes
beda	Oblig	Both	no	yes
kompla	Oblig	Both	yes	yes

Table 4.7: A summary of key morphosyntactic behaviours displayed by aspectualisers in Maltese

## Chapter 5

# Conclusion

Following our focus on the morphosyntax of three distinct sets of auxiliaries in Maltese, we here summarise the key contributions to the field of Maltese linguistics within the domain of the expression of TENSE and ASPECT.

### 5.1 Grammatical TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese

#### 5.1.1 The relations between morphology, syntax and semantics

We first started with a consideration of the temporal and aspectual contributions of lexical verbal and participial forms in Chapter 2. While an aspectual morphological label was associated with these forms, they have been shown to be associated with both aspectual and temporal interpretations. Apart from interpretations related with the features of TENSE and ASPECT, the auxiliaries and particles discussed also required us to make reference to the features of DISTANCE and MOOD. Mismatched morphology-semantics or syntax-semantics behaviours were the norm. For example when we had the periphrastic construction with the auxiliary *qed/qieghed*, which we argued to express a PROGRESSIVE ASPECT value at the syntactic level, this was shown to

be ambiguously analysed at the *s*-structure level, since we could have either a PROGRESSIVE or RESTRICTED HABIT interpretation associated with the *qed/qieghed* + Imperfective periphrastic structure. A parallel mismatch is illustrated when it comes to the realisation of the PERFECT ASPECT value, which has been discussed here for the first time for Maltese. In Chapter 3 it was shown how a PERFECT ASPECT value at the *f*-structure could in principle be interpreted both as a CONTINUATIVE PERFECT or a PERFECT of recent past, at the *s*-structure. It is the additional morphosyntactic information within the *f*-structure that is able to provide further disambiguations.

Changes to the established morphological-semantics mismatches were shown to be possible when considerations that have to do with syntactic contributions are factored in. While we have associated Imperfective forms with default-like HABITUAL ASPECT interpretations, which value is also realized in the *f*-structure when the Imperfective form is in a matrix V position, we have shown how such forms come to express a PROGRESSIVE ASPECTual value, in contexts where they are part of an embedded clause, or if in the matrix, NEG is realized through the use of a pronominal form as opposed to the usual *ma ...-x*. Similar syntactic effects also followed in the case of the interpretations associated with Perfective forms, for example. In Chapter 4 we discussed how Perfective *reġa'* ‘repeat’ followed by an active participle in an aspectualiser construction yielded a PROGRESSIVE interpretation, and not the default PERFECTIVE reading otherwise associated with Perfective forms. With respect to the phasal auxiliaries, we also had the instance of the Perfective form of *qorob* ‘be near’ and *wasal* ‘arrive’, which when part of an aspectualiser construction followed by an Imperfective lexical verb, its interpretation is a PRESENT TENSE. Moreover, although not discussed in detail, it appeared that Imperfective forms, which are morphologically finite forms, could indeed be taken to function as the default forms in the language, at least for syntactic purposes. Also see Benmamoun (2003) for a similar argumentation with respect to Arabic, as well as discussions on the development of 2SG Imperfective forms in Maltese, discussed in Camilleri (2014b). Syntactically, in certain contexts, it appears that this form

is really non-finite, or at other times it takes on functions that parallel the function of Subjunctive forms in other languages. In this respect, the notion of finiteness becomes itself part of a morphology-syntax mismatch, once again. This conceptualisation finds its roots in Sells (2007), who discusses the flexibility which LFG provides us with, to be able to claim that morphological and syntactic finiteness need not always be in an isomorphic correspondence.

The essence of our discussion on the multi-dimensional mismatches available has directed us to conclude that lexical verbs in an I position at the *c*-structure do not express TENSE and/or ASPECT features at the syntactic level, since if they did, they would add a number of complexities at the *s*-structure. From the data that has been focused upon in this study, it can be concluded that the morphosyntactic and morphosemantic features of TENSE, DISTANCE, NEG and MOOD are the features that can be expressed in I. It has been additionally proposed that when it is a lexical verb that is present in I, this realizes a FINite feature (following (Sells, 2007)). In the absence of anything in I, then a PRESENT TENSE interpretation is assumed by default. When lexical verbs, just like the participial forms, happen to be in V, we assume that these syntactically express a Viewpoint ASPECT value. Additionally, PROGRESSIVE ASPECT-realizing auxiliaries, including *qed/qieghed* and the pseudo-verbs *ghodd-*, *il-* and *ghad-*, which we are in this study considering to be realizing PERFECT ASPECT, are assumed to always appear under V. Phasal ASPECT values were not considered to be expressed at the syntactic level. Rather, they are interpreted at the *s*-structure, even if it is syntactic periphrastic constructions that yield such interpretations. Having said this, we left it somewhat open-ended, in Chapter 4, as to how one may want to account for the Imperative V<sup>1</sup>-Imperative V<sup>2</sup> and Passive V<sup>1</sup>-Passive V<sup>2</sup> aspectualiser constructions, given that seemingly these come to display increased cohesion or that simply they have increased morphosyntactic matching effects.

### 5.1.2 Interactions between the different features and values

In our discussion of Temporal and ASPECTual interpretations we have also referred to the MOOD feature and DISTANCE. MOOD was referred to when we chose not to follow previous literature, which treats *jkun* as a FUTURE TENSE auxiliary. Rather, while we have associated *jkun* with a primary HABITUAL ASPECT-realizing function, we also showed that an additional interpretation is available in certain contexts.<sup>1</sup> This is when it comes to realize an IRREALIS MOOD, which value has in the literature been associated with the FUTURE TENSE. A similar fine-tuning was also made when we decided to posit the availability of a DISTANCE feature. While the IMMINENCE and DISTAL values we assumed in relation to this feature are at times treated as TENSE or ASPECT values in the literature, we did observe how the DISTANCE feature interacts with both TENSE and ASPECT. In Chapter 2 we demonstrated how when DISTANCE is expressed by designated auxiliaries, we get reference to the FUTURE TENSE. This is also the case when an IMMINENCE interpretation is actually related with Perfective verb forms. On the other hand, when we have constructional effects such as the contribution of the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* in the formation of the Avertive construction, in this context we get an IMMINENCE reading in the PAST TENSE that is additionally correlated with a counterfactual interpretation at the *s*-structure. In the case of the Proximate construction, using the same pseudo-verbal auxiliary, along with a Prospective verb form, or when a PROXIMATE Phasal ASPECT value is expressed by *qorob* ‘be near’ and *wasal* ‘arrive’ (followed by an Imperfective V<sup>2</sup>), the IMMINENCE interpretation is once again associated with a FUTURE TENSE reading.

With respect to the Avertive construction, which requires the pseudo-verb *ghodd-*, we rejected Kuteva et al. (2015)’s proposal to think of the construction as expressing a ‘semantically elaborate grammatical category’. Rather, while we do show that the construction is associated with

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<sup>1</sup>Recall that *jkun* is not alone, when it comes to HABITUAL-realizing functions in Maltese. Recall that the Imperfective forms *jsir* ‘become’ and *jigi* ‘come’ also function as auxiliaries that express HABITUAL ASPECT in the context of stative verbs in Maltese, although these have not been focused upon. Notwithstanding these three auxiliaries’ shared context, it is only *jkun* that can also function as a copula.

interpretations that cut across the domains of TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD and DISTANCE (since in this study we have taken IMMINENCE to be a DISTANCE value instead of an ASPECTual value), we decided to identify this specific construction with these interpretations by positing a CLAUSE TYPE feature with value AVERT at the *f*-structure, which is associated with the presence of the pseudo-verbal auxiliary when the XCOMP PRED's morphological form is Perfective. The CLAUSE-TYPE feature will then allow the *s*-structure to associate all the interpretations that cut across the domains of TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD and DISTANCE.

Below is a summary listing the feature-values expressed at the syntactic level by the various auxiliaries, particles, lexical verbs and participles, as established in our study of grammatical TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese:

Viewpoint ASPECT: {HABITUAL | PERFECT | PERFECTIVE | PROGRESSIVE | PROSPECTIVE}

Phasal ASPECT: {COMPLETIVE | CONTINUATIVE | DURATIVE | FINITIVE | FRUSTRATIVE | INCEPTIVE | PROXIMATIVE | REPETITIVE | RESUMPTIVE | SUCCESSIVE | TERMINATIVE}

TENSE: {PAST | PRESENT}

DISTANCE: {IMMINENCE | DISTAL}

MOOD: {IRREALIS | ... }<sup>2</sup>

### 5.1.3 The morphosyntax of the auxiliaries discussed

In order to establish the analytical account for the different auxiliaries and be able to associate them with an AUX-PRED vs. AUX-feature analysis, we have in this study provided an array of tests that in Maltese can help us establish (*f*-structure) bi-clausal structures, whilst specifically identifying raising predicates. We didn't spend much time discussing the matter in Chapter 2.

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<sup>2</sup>Other modal values are present in the language, and which are expressed at the syntactic level through the use of auxiliaries. However, such auxiliaries, such as the pseudo-verb *ghand-* and the impersonal *mess-*, have not been the focus of this study, and for this reason we leave unspecified the rest of MOOD values available in Maltese.



There we simply took the presence of clashing ASPECT values between *jkun* and the following non-stative lexical verb to be indicative of a bi-clausal structure. On the other hand, in the case of the pseudo-verbal auxiliaries and the phasals/aspectualisers, criteria ranging from idiom chunk behaviours, to copy raising behaviours have been used to indicate that we must be dealing with two clauses. In accounting for these behaviours, we have also addressed how one should analyse default 3SGM verbal morphology in Maltese. We concluded that predicates (or auxiliaries) that allowed for such a default form imply that their SUBJ can in fact be PREDless. As a consequence of the presence of a (non-thematic) SUBJ GF devoid of a PRED value, the SUBJ GF is satisfied through the presence of 3SGM morphology/agreement on the verb or pseudo-verb. In conjunction to this account, we have additionally posited for the first time in the literature on the language, that Maltese does in fact have an expletive pronoun that can fill a non-thematic SUBJ position when raising is not present, and this comes to function in parallel to the English non-referential *it*. This is the free NOM 3SGM pronoun *huwa*. In the light of this one may be primed to possibly argue that the availability of default 3SGM morphology on such verbs could thus be the result of 3SGM agreement functioning as a PRO, in which case the SUBJ should not be considered as PREDless. While this could be a possible analytical route, when we simply have 3SGM default morphology but no *huwa*, I am here however arguing for a PREDless SUBJ analysis on the basis of the rather interesting and sound evidence I believe we are getting from the observed chained raising of pure non-referential 3SGM morphology when the embedded lexical verb at the bottom of the chain is itself an impersonal predicate, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Below are four highlighted morphosyntactic issues which we left unresolved.

1. Why is the periphrastic syntactic combination: *għad ikun* + lexical verb not allowed in the context of a PAST TENSE *kien*, when the combination: *kien għad* + lexical verb is allowed, as well as the very same combination *kien għad ikun* in the context of a non-verbal predicate?

2. Why is it the case that if the pseudo-verb *ghodd-* and the pseudo-verb *il-* when taking a VP complement display agreement with the non-SUBJ argument of the lexical verb, we can only get a default form of the auxiliary *kien*? Why shouldn't the SUBJ be shared between both auxiliaries, since it is what controls agreement in the same clause where *kien* is present?
3. It was shown how at least in the case of the default use of the pseudo-verbal use of *ghodd-* (but a parallel agreement behaviour is also found in the case of the non-auxiliary pseudo-verbs *qis-* and *donn-*, for example), i.e. where we find the presence of a PREDless SUBJ, the auxiliary *kien* can optionally **still** choose to agree with the next available thematic SUBJ, i.e. the thematic SUBJ of the lexical verb, which we argue to be part of the complement clause, and hence not part of the same *f*-structure as *kien* and the pseudo-verb.
4. An issue concerning NEG-placement and associated interpretations was the case with respect to the aspectualiser use of the auxiliary *sar* 'become'. In Chapter 4 we saw how although the aspectualiser construction in which the INCEPTIVE phasal participates is biclausal, nonetheless we observed how irrespective of whether NEG is realized on the auxiliary *sar* or on the lexical verb, which is presumably in the embedded clause, we nevertheless do not observe any changes in meaning. The question one might posit in the light of this behaviour is whether there could be any connection with the fact that *sar* has been associated with yet another auxiliary function elsewhere in the language, and this is when, as discussed in Chapter 2, the Imperfective forms of *sar* come to substitute the Imperfective uses of *kien* when realizing a HABITUAL ASPECT in the context of stative Imperfective verbs. The analysis of *jsir* in this context (as well as that of *jigi* 'come'), in parallel to that of *jkun*, is that of an AUX-feature.

#### 5.1.4 Diachrony, grammaticalisation and auxiliation

Although the main discussion of this study was synchronic in nature, it was clear to us that we are dealing with items that display different degrees of non-stable behaviours. In fact we

observed how most of the auxiliaries discussed are still at the point of establishing themselves grammatically. For this reason, we did find instances where we had some auxiliaries displaying certain behaviours, while others displaying opposite ones. We have however seen that Viewpoint ASPECT and TENSE auxiliaries are synchronically relatively stable and well-established in the language. However, internal to this set of auxiliaries we still find two instances, as is the case with the *ser/sejjer* and *qed/qiegħed* pairs, which while themselves displaying increased grammaticalisation, given the particle contractions and distinct syntactic (and morphological) behaviour at times, the full participle forms are at the same time used elsewhere in the language with lexical functions.

In the light of what's available in Maltese with respect to active participle-derived auxiliaries and particles, we have in Chapter 2 hypothesised that unless having been borrowed in their current particle-like state, a participial origin is assumed for what we have in this study reinterpreted as the PROSPECTIVE-realizing clitic particle *ħa*, as well as the DISTAL DISTANCE-realizing auxiliary *għad*. Our hypothesis has been rooted on the basis of parallel observations and processes we find in the other Arabic dialects. In our discussion of *għad/għad-* we have shown for the first time in Maltese how the obligatory invariable form, which we take to express a DISTAL DISTANCE feature-value, is entirely distinct in its origin, when compared with the homophonous *għad/għad-* particle and pseudo-verb, which as we posited in Chapter 3 realize a PERFECT ASPECT feature-value at the syntactic level. Having just mentioned pseudo-verbs here, this set of auxiliaries itself demonstrated an interesting mix of lexicalisation and grammaticalisation processes, whereby in first establishing themselves as verb-like predicates of sorts with a meaning distinct from that of their source, they then moved on to become auxiliaries realizing grammatical information.

In the case of the phasals/aspectualisers, we observed how although this set of auxiliaries is relatively less grammaticalised, when compared to the other auxiliaries, nonetheless some display substantial semantic bleaching, which we here took to be our main identifier for treating

these verbs as auxiliaries. Furthermore, we discussed how the same phasal could for example be associated with different Phasal ASPECT values. In the case of *sar* ‘become’, we have also shown how apart from functioning as an aspectualiser auxiliary, this also functions as a HABITUAL ASPECT-realizing auxiliary, elsewhere in the system, when its Imperfective forms are used. The two auxiliary functions were provided with distinct analyses, such that the aspectualiser function of the auxiliary has been associated with an AUX-PRED analysis, while the HABITUAL-realizing auxiliary has been associated with an AUX-feature analysis. On the other hand, we have observed further developments and grammaticalisation with respect to other phasals, such as the development of *qabad* lit. ‘catch’ into one of the main light verbs in the language (along with *ta* lit. ‘give’ and *għamel* lit. ‘do’), and the phasal *reġa*’ lit. ‘repeat’ into an ADJ in the language, which, as we mentioned, has also been the grammaticalisation path threaded upon by the resultative auxiliary *ġie* lit. ‘come’ in Maltese, which has also developed into an ADJ, in the language. Mentioning the development of auxiliaries into ADJs here, this has in fact been something which we observed and discussed in the some length, with respect to the phasal auxiliary *reġa*. We have not only illustrated how this auxiliary has synchronically also developed into some sort of discourse ADJUNCT, but we have discussed how the very same pseudo-coordinate construction (mentioned for the first time in the literature on Maltese) in which it can in fact be present in a fixed form, has itself developed into an adjunct of sorts.

Finally, an interesting observation was made with respect to how at least in Sutcliffe’s (1936) grammar, the periphrastic combination of *kien* + a non-stative Imperfective is mentioned to have ambiguously a PAST PROGRESSIVE or PAST HABITUAL reading. It is only the latter reading that is maintained synchronically, however, at least in canonically-ordered *kien* + non-stative Imperfective lexical verb combinations.

Below are properties which this study has identified with respect to Maltese auxiliaries:

1. Semantic bleaching - this allows for instances where the semantics of the lexical origin of the auxiliary is incompatible with the semantics of the lexical verb with which the auxiliary is nevertheless able to combine, synchronically;
2. Non-particle type auxiliaries canonically display obligatory SUBJ agreement. This comes about either via a common agreement controller, when the auxiliary functions as an *f*-structure co-head, or via SUBJ-to-SUBJ raising or copy raising. Alternatively, we are able to find default 3SGM agreement. This possibility becomes available through one of the following contexts: If the auxiliary is able to take a clausal argument that maps onto a COMP GF and no raising is involved; when the clausal argument maps onto an XCOMP and PREDless SUBJ chaining is involved; when in the context of other auxiliaries that themselves display non-canonical SUBJ-realizations (e.g. *kien*[3SGM] *għadha*[3SGF] *tasal* ‘she had just arrived’);
3. The morphosyntactic and morphosemantic information expressed includes features such as: TENSE, ASPECT, MOOD, POL and DISTANCE;<sup>3</sup>
4. AUX-feature auxiliaries are all asyndetic, i.e they do not allow for any complementisers between them and the lexical verb. Note that asyndeticity has nothing to do with linear ordering or adjacency. As we have illustrated, auxiliaries that we have analysed as simply feature-bearers, can indeed not require linear adjacency. This fact was in turn taken to support our hierarchical IP analysis for Maltese, as opposed to a flat *c*-structure analysis. On the other hand, auxiliaries which we have analysed as functioning as AUX-PREDS in the language, i.e. where they are the semantic heads of their own *f*-structure, may at times display an obligatory requirement to have their verbal complement introduced by complementisers. This is the case with the PROXIMATIVE aspectualisers *qorob* ‘be near’ and *wasal* lit. ‘arrive’, and in the case of some of the interpretations associated with

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<sup>3</sup>What I have in mind with POL here is the pronominal NEG marker, which I here take to be an auxiliary, and which also functions as a copula in the language, which for completeness actually fuses both TENSE and NEG and other PERSON/NUMBER/GENDER features as necessary.

the pseudo-verbal auxiliaries that have been discussed, for example. Other AUX-PRED type of auxiliaries do not allow for the presence of any sort of complementiser. It was shown however that there seems to be an increasing trend to redundantly have more of such complementiser insertions, even if some of the Corpus data available, involving such complementisers, were ungrammatical to me.

## 5.2 Directions and scope for further research

This dissertation has primarily limited its scope to considerations of TENSE and ASPECT realisations by the identified auxiliaries and by lexical verb and participial forms, and the interaction of these. In this respect, therefore, we have not considered the effect of the Temporal and ASPECTual (anaphoric) dependency relations that exist, at least with respect to the interpretations yielded by lexical verbs across clauses. Additionally, we have not worked out the relations that obtain between the information expressed at the *m*- and *f*-structures with respect to the *s*-structure. In this study we have simply informally stated the semantic interpretations associated between the morphological verb forms and the semantics, or have solely mentioned that on the basis of information that has to do with the morphosyntactic context; Lexical ASPECT; or other morphological considerations, the semantics will be able to distinguish between the different interpretations and readings associated with syntactically-expressed feature-values such as PROGRESSIVE ASPECT or PERFECT ASPECT, for example, or the different Phasal ASPECT values expressed by the same phasal. In the same way, while we did discuss some *c*-structure related considerations, such as why we should consider a hierarchical/configurational IP and VP for Maltese, and have also characterised what we are assuming to be information that pertains to the syntax, and other information that does not, we have however not provided a worked-out set of annotated phrase structure rules for Maltese.

Another *s*-structure consideration which we have left unworked and we leave for further research,

are the interesting interpretations associated with the Avertive construction, which simultaneously relate the domains of TENSE, ASPECT and MOOD, and which in Chapter 3 we have posited to be associated with the pseudo-verb *ghodd-*, at least when followed by a Perfective lexical verb. In this respect, it would also be interesting to further pursue in-depth research on the relation between the Proximative construction, which also involves the pseudo-verb *ghodd-*, but this time followed by a Prospective lexical verb, the PROXIMATIVE Phasal ASPECT value and IMMINENCE, which in this study we decided to keep distinct from ASPECT, and considered it to be a DISTANCE value. What remains to be understood, then, is how the PROXIMATIVE Phasal ASPECT value is distinct from the IMMINENCE, having also mentioned for Maltese that what we here consider to be a DISTANCE value is in fact realized through the auxiliaries *ser/sejjer*.

Just as the *s*-structure was not worked out, neither have we discussed anything with respect to event structure, especially with respect to the aspectualiser constructions. It would be interesting to observe what mismatches, if any, one could find, since at least at the *f*-structure level, we have established that these aspectualiser constructions are bi-clausal. Having said this, however, we have left it open-ended as to how best to analyse the aspectualiser constructions that had the format: Imperative V<sup>1</sup> - Imperative V<sup>2</sup>; and Passive V<sup>1</sup> - Passive V<sup>2</sup>. It seems to us that these two specific aspectualiser constructions could possibly be indicative of a more cohesive relation between the aspectualiser and the lexical verb, and that the independent clauses in which the two Vs originally belonged, could be synchronically fusing and developing into one clause, yielding the morphological effect that has to do with the obligatory matching between the morphological forms of the phasal auxiliary and the lexical verb.

Moreover, with respect to phasals, we have additionally not discussed issues that have to do with what constraints the choice between one phasal auxiliary and another, when both could in fact be used to express the same Phasal ASPECT value. In the case of the FINITIVE-realizing *sar* ‘become’, we mentioned here, following Vanhove (1993), that this is more likely to be used with

stative verbs, than with non-stative lexical verbs. Other considerations, for example, include the quest of how to best characterise the difference between *qabad* lit. ‘catch’ as opposed to *beda* ‘start’, for example, when it is only the former which provides us with a reading where we have some sort of haste, understood, in the event’s INCEPTION. A study that specifically considers an aspectualiser choice as opposed to another, and how the choice relates with the morphosyntactic constraints imposed on the aspectualiser construction by the particular aspectualiser, represented in detail in Chapter 4, still needs to be done.

Finally, in having been more assertive than in previous studies about the auxiliary status and function of at least three pseudo-verbs in Maltese, two of which we have taken to realize PERFECT ASPECT at the syntactic level, for the first time in the literature on Maltese, a detailed account of two other pseudo-verbs mentioned in this study: *għand-* lit. ‘at’ meaning ‘have’ and *ħaqq-* lit. ‘truth’, and which we have in this study translated as ‘what if’, should be pursued. We have here simply mentioned that these pseudo-verbs function as auxiliaries in the language and express modal values, and specifically in the case of *ħaqq-*, we proposed that this functions as a modal clause-marker of sorts. Apart from the need to investigate the realisation of grammatical MOOD in general, in Maltese, it would be interesting to specifically get insights from these two pseudo-verbal auxiliaries to provide a more holistic account of the contribution of pseudo-verbal auxiliaries in the language. Moreover, considerations of the impersonal modal auxiliaries *kel-/j-kol-* lit. ‘be+DAT’, meaning ‘have’, and *mess-* lit. ‘touch’ meaning ‘should’, would in turn complete the considerations of all auxiliaries that express the SUBJ GF non-canonically, in the language.

While I have here left all the above considerations open for further research, but at the same time touched on plenty other syntactic topics not directly at the core of the main theme of this study, such as raising identification properties, and the existence of pseudo-coordinate structures, and considerations that build on a previous study of Maltese copy raising structures, the primary



aim of this research has been to advance our understanding of the intricacies and mismatched relations between the morphological, syntactic and semantic modules of linguistic analysis in the expression of grammatical TENSE and ASPECT in Maltese, with this study's attention being the different array and sets of auxiliaries that contribute to the realisation of these features.

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