

## **Wh-Movement in Hadhrami Arabic: A minimalist perspective**

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**Abstract:** This study explores the *wh*-movement in Hadhrami Arabic (HA), a non-standard variety of Arabic, focusing on the simple and embedded questions as well as definite restrictive relative clauses within the framework of Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program (MP). The researchers adopted a descriptive ethnographic qualitative research design collecting their data from 10 purposefully chosen HA speakers through a questionnaire, interviews and participant observation. The study reveals that the *wh*-phrases in HA SVO word order are base-generated and exhibit no movement. It also reveals that HA questions may have apparent optional movement of the *wh*-phrases in the left periphery or in the right one. Finally, it is found that HA definite restrictive relative clauses are not derived by movements.

**Keywords:** *wh*-movement, the minimalist program, Hadhrami Arabic

### **1. Introduction**

This study aims at investigating the *wh*-movement in Hadhrami Arabic (HA). Radford (2009) states that *wh*-movement (*wh*-fronting or *wh*-preposing) means moving a *wh*-expression as *who* or *what* to the specifier position within the Complementiser Phrase (CP). HA is one of the dialects spoken in Yemen, particularly in Hadhramout, with an approximate number of 4,930,000 (Ethnologue, 2018). Hadhramout is the largest governorate in Yemen located in the South East of the Arabian Peninsula with a coast extending along the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Sea (Ba'esa, 1995). This dialect has two main groups: Coastal Hadhrami Arabic (CHA) and Wadi Hadhrami Arabic (WHA), and within each group there are many dialectal variations. Hadhrami Arabic differs to some extent from Classical Arabic (CA) in terms of phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis

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(Bahumaid, 2015). In addition, it has certain phonological features that distinguish it from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), such as initial and final clusters as in /*gfu:l*/ ‘keys’ or ‘locks’, especially in CHA (Belleswed, 2019), replacing some MSA phonemes with other phonemes, e.g., replacing /*q*/ with /*g*/, /*θ*/ with /*t*/ or /*f*/ and /*dʒ*/ with /*j*/. Assimilation and deletion are also common in HA as in the following:

- (1) *mim*                      *bokrāh*    ⇒    *mim*    *bokrāh*    (Alfadly & Mukhashin, 2014)  
from                      yesterday  
‘from yesterday’
- (2) *gult*                      *lu-h*            ⇒    *gutlu*                      (Altairi, 2010)  
say.PST.1SM/F    for-him  
‘I told him.’

As far as syntax is concerned, HA and MSA share almost all the basic syntactic features, such as definiteness, obligatory agreement of the noun with adjectives and verbs, genitive constructs, relative clause structure, etc., but HA has its own peculiarities regarding all these syntactic features. Like most Arabic dialects, HA exhibits two basic word orders: SVO & VSO. Subject-verb inversion is not as strict as that of Standard Arabic as noted in Aoun et al. (2010). Like Lebanese Arabic, question formation does not necessarily trigger subject-verb inversion.

#### 1.1 Statement of the problem

In recent years HA has been subject to many factors that lead to changes in its phonological, lexical and grammatical systems. These factors include the excessive exposure of HA speakers to the social media, travelling abroad, development in technology and communication, education, and the return of thousands of Hadhrami immigrants from the Arabic Gulf states who speak the dialects in those countries. Thus, there is an urgent need to document and describe HA. This need was confirmed by Vanhove (1994) who stated that the Arabic dialects underwent a process of levelling because of school education, contacts with other dialects and Modern Standard Arabic. Vanhove (ibid) added that the change of Arabic dialects was so radical that there was an urgent need for studying and documenting these dialects. Moreover, HA is one of the least studied non-standard Arabic dialects. The current study will investigate synchronically the *wh*-movement in this dialect using Chomsky’s MP, thus it will contribute to the efforts of documenting the dialect. The study will also provide those who are interested in the study of the theory of syntax and the typology of *wh*-questions with new supporting evidence and linguistic materials from one of the least studied Arabic dialects.

#### 1.2 Objective of the study

The current study aims at achieving the following objectives: (a) to find out whether HA has a *wh*-movement that can be accounted for within Chomsky’s Minimalist Program. (b)

to find out whether HA has optional movement. (c) to find whether HA definite restrictive relative clauses (DRRCs) are derived by movement.

### 1.3 Significance of the study

The significance of this study stems from its contribution to the efforts aiming at describing and documenting HA, which is one of the least studied Arabic dialects. It will provide new knowledge and genuine data for Semitic linguists. Furthermore, it is hoped that the study will provide new evidence supporting the practical theory of syntax, particularly Chomsky's the Minimalist Program.

### 1.4 Limitation of the study

This study will investigate the *wh*-movement in HA questions and DRRCs, focusing only on SVO word order paradigm.

### 1.5 Research methodology

A descriptive ethnographic qualitative research design was adopted. Nine Hadhrami people were chosen purposefully from different areas of Hadhramout governorate. The researchers, their families and friends as well as Hadhrami folk literature were also sources of information. A questionnaire, interviews and participant observation were the tools used in collecting the data which were later coded, transcribed and analyzed within the framework of Chomsky's (1995) MP.

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 *Wh*-movement in the minimalist program (MP)

A vital difference between the MP and previous theories provided by Chomsky is that the levels of representations (deep structure and surface structure) have been replaced with Spell-Out, which is a point at which derivation is sent to the phonological form (PF) and logical form (LF) components. The LF and the PF are the only syntactic levels of representations, which interface with the Conceptual intention system and the articulatory-perceptual system respectively (Chomsky, 1995). Thus, if movement takes place before Spell-Out, it is called an *overt movement*, but if it takes place after Spell-Out, it is called a *covert movement*. Covert movement is the preferred movement since it is not as costly as the overt one.

In addition, the MP aims at reducing earlier theories' constraints, complexities, and redundancies through minimization (Chomsky, 1995; Radford, 2009; Citko, 2014; Hornstein, 2018). Thus, there should be no superfluous steps in the derivation and for the derivation to be optimal and convergent there should be no uninterpretable features at the PF and LF, otherwise the derivation will crash (Chomsky, 1995:219-220). One fundamental change in the MP is that the Move operation *a* is replaced by Merge, Agree and Move operations.

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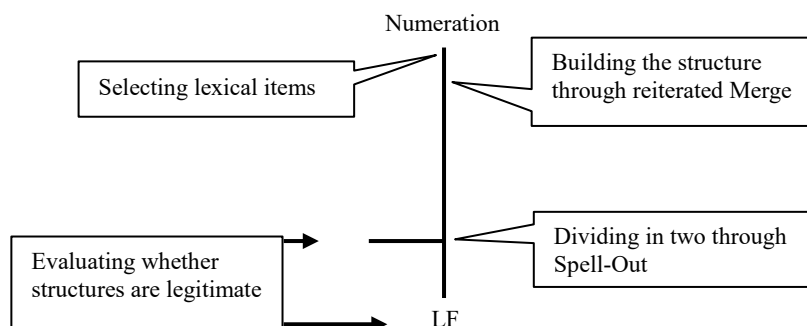


Figure 1. The basic structure of the MP (Cook and Newson, 2007:255)

Since the MP aims at reducing complexities, Movement operation is considered a last resort to save the structure which otherwise will crash.

Move F raises F to target K only if F enters into a checking relation with a sublabel of K (Chomsky, 1995:280).

This checking relation can be further clarified in terms of the Minimal Link Condition. This is an economy condition which is a constraint on movement.

K attract  $\alpha$  only if there is no  $\beta$ ,  $\beta$  closer to K than  $\alpha$  such that K attracts  $\beta$  (Chomsky, 1995:311).

In order to reach the fundamental goal of the IM, Chomsky (1995) has provided the program with a number of economy principles. Rizzi's Relativized Minimality is considered as Shortest Movement Condition in Chomsky's (ibid) work through which a movement takes the shortest step. In addition to them is the Procrastinate Principle. According to this principle, covert movement is preferred since it is less costly than the overt one. Movement then does not take place until after Spell-Out.

#### 2.2 Previous studies

Many studies have been conducted in order to come up with a unified account concerning *wh*-movement in foreign languages and dialects. Nouhi (1996) explored *wh*-constructions in Moroccan Arabic (MA) relative clauses, left dislocation (topicalization), yes-no questions, constituent questions within Government and Binding (GB) as well as the Minimalist Program (MP) frameworks. Nouhi concluded that in contrast to Egyptian Arabic, MA has mandatory movement and *wh*-questions are treated the same way as in English and that MA does not allow *wh*-in-situ questions. Regarding the structure of relative clauses, he found that there are two strategies: base generated with a resumptive pronoun and movement with a trace.

Abu-Jarad (2008) investigated the typology of *wh*-movement in Palestinian Arabic (PA) relying on the works of Wahba (1984, 1991) and Cheng (2000). The examples were taken from conversations of the researchers' senior EFL students who come from all geographic areas of Gaza strip. He claimed that the existence or the nonexistence of movement

depends on whether the *wh*-word is argument or adjunct, indicating that *wh*-arguments are base generated, not undergoing any movement. This confirmed that there is a tense locality restriction (TLR) in addition to all kinds of islands (*wh*-islands and complex NPs).

Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010) analyzed the *wh*-phrases in Jordanian Arabic (JA), confirming that it exhibits apparent optional movement. Both options of fronting the *wh*-phrase and leaving it in-situ are possible. According to those researchers, the *wh*-questions in JA are driven by focus embodied in the form of an intonational morpheme. Thus, fronting of the *wh*-phrase in this variety is triggered by features of the particle *ʔilli* 'that'. Regarding the subject *wh*-phrase, *wh*-in-situ form, i.e. 'the ones on the right periphery', they stated that it is not possible because the subject *wh*-phrase must be fronted due to the EPP features triggering movement of the subject *wh*-phrase from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, IP] and contrastive focus features triggering movement from [Spec, IP] to [Spec, FP].

Gad (2011) investigated the syntactic strategies of *wh*-questions in Egyptian Arabic (EA), *wh*-fronting and *wh*-in-situ within the Minimalist (Chomsky, 1995). She argued that the fronted argument *wh*-phrases with *illi* 'that' are the result of Focus movement of *wh*-phrases to Spec position of Focus projection headed by *illi* 'that', while fronted argument *wh*-phrases without *illi* 'that' are in-situ. Regarding argument *wh*-phrases in clause-final position with *illi* 'that', these structures are derived by topicalising the *illi* 'that' clause over the FocP to get the structure [Topic p FocP]. In addition, *illi* 'that' is not considered as a complementizer but a relative pronoun that licenses the Focus projection and heads it in argument *wh*-questions. Unlike argument *wh*-phrases, adjunct *wh*-phrases do not involve the presence of *illi* 'that' except in a few cases where *illi* 'that' introduces a headless relative clause followings the adjunct *wh*-phrase. In-situ adjunct *wh*-phrases are licensed via LF movement of OP to [Spec, CP] while fronted adjunct *wh*-phrases move to Spec of FocP to check their focus feature. According to Gad, extraction out of syntactic islands such as *wh*-island, adjunct island, co-ordinate structure, and complex NPs is possible with the insertion of *illi* 'that' and the resumptive pronoun (extraction tools). Gad concluded that, under the MP assumption, EA doesn't exhibit genuine optionality since the in-situ and fronting strategies are licensed differently and derived by two distinct features. As a result, they have two different interpretations.

Alrowsa (2014) provided a basic description for Mehri questions as well as an in-depth description and analysis of question formation within the Basic Linguistic Theory (Dixon, 1997) for the sake of providing the basic description along with the Minimalist Program for describing and analyzing the apparent optionality that Mehri may exhibit. He concluded that *wh*-fronting is similar to relativization and clefting which are the responsible mechanisms for optional *wh*-fronting of arguments. Unlike *wh*-arguments, *wh*-adjuncts

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behave differently. They are not similar to relativization or clefting, but they are similar to topicalization of NPs. Thus, in both cases Alrowsa (2014) argued that the movement of the *wh*-word is not to license it as interrogative since the fronted *wh*-words are insensitive to islands which is a clear evidence for the unavailability of movement in Mehri. In contrast, the *wh*-words are licensed via unselective binding in the sense of Pesetsky (1987) as suggested for Semitic languages with optional *wh*-fronting, such as Egyptian Arabic.

Taha *et al.* (2016) investigated the idiosyncratic features of Sudanese Arabic (SA) *wh*-question formation within Chomsky's Minimalist Program. They found that SA allows different kinds of *wh*-question, *wh*-in-situ, i.e. 'the *wh*-words on the right periphery', simple *wh*-movement, relative clauses, pied-piping *wh*-questions, and embedded *wh*-questions. Regarding simple *wh*-questions, the *wh*-word moves overtly to check the [+wh] feature. Meanwhile, they found that in-situ questions in SA are echo questions; echoing what has been said before. They involve no movement, i.e., they are base generated as predicates of the verbs. With respect to relative clauses, they concluded that *alli* 'that' is a relative complementiser with *wh*-arguments which blocks movement to [Spec, CP], and they did not regard it a relative pronoun as Gad (2011), Rizzi (2001), and Fakhri (2014) did. Regarding pied-piping *wh*-expressions, the whole *wh*-expression is pied-piped i.e. the quantifier with the C-command domain since the *wh*-word cannot move to [Spec, CP] due to the Chain Uniformity Condition. The researchers concluded that *wh*-movement in Sudanese Arabic is generally motivated by the [+Q] feature.

Al-Hamami & Alfadly (2018) investigated the *wh*-movement in Najrani Arabic (NA) within Chomsky's (1993, 1995) Minimalist Program in both transitive and intransitive constructions. The study revealed that *wh*-phrases have the option to move to the initial position or stay in situ except for the subject argument *men* 'who' in intransitive constructions wherein the complementiser *alli* 'that' has to be inserted, otherwise the question will be ungrammatical. Regarding what triggers the movement, they concluded that *wh*-phrases moves from [Spec, vP] to [Spec, TP] to check EPP feature, i.e., a feature which entails that every sentence should have a subject and that a clause must have an NP or a DP in the subject position. Then the *wh*-phrase moves to [Spec, CP] to check the [+wh] feature. Furthermore, movement occurs overtly with fronted *wh*-phrases and covertly with *wh*-in-situ phrases. Although *wh*-in-situ phrases appear to have no superficial movement, i.e., no visible phonological form, this movement takes place between Spell-Out and LF. With respect to island sensitivity, *wh*-phrases in NA are found to be sensitive for the island constraints, like *wh*-island and Complex NP island.

The previously reviewed studies tackled *wh*-movement in some standard and non-standard Semitic dialects, but none of them dealt with *wh*-movement in HA. So they

show clearly that there is a gap in the literature, which is hoped to be bridged by the current study.

### 3. Analysis of *wh*-movement in Hadhrami Arabic

#### 3.1 Question phrases in HA

HA has so many question phrases which can come in different positions. Like all the non-standard Arabic dialects, HA question phrases can be classified into two groups: argument and non-argument *wh*-phrases. The HA argument *wh*-phrases are *min* ‘who’, *wa:(h)/æ(h)* ‘what’ and *jat/ajj* ‘which’ + *NP*. Sometimes *ʔeif min* ‘which’ + *NP* is used, too. The HA non-argument *wh*-phrases are classified into adjunct *wh*-phrases and prepositional *wh*-phrases. As for adjunct *wh*-phrases, they are *wein* ‘where’, *mte/a* ‘when’, *(il)li:h* ‘why’ or *kan* ‘why’ + suffixed objective pronoun is used to mean ‘why’- *kan* becomes *kann* when connected to abound morpheme. Later it was shown in example (7), and *(ka)ki:h* ‘how’. Regarding prepositional *wh*-phrases, they are various, are formed with different *wh*-phrases, some of which are *l-min* ‘to whom’, *maʕ-min* ‘who with’, *ʕla-min* ‘about whom’, *min-wein* ‘from where’, *ħaq-wa:(h)* ‘why’, *gədein* ‘where to’, etc.

#### 3.2 Positions of phrases in HA

*Wh*-phrases in HA can appear in different places: at the beginning of the question, in the middle, and the end. In some cases, *wh*-phrases can freely alternate between an in-situ, an intermediate, and can be fronted at least superficially as in the following examples.

##### 3.2.1 At the left periphery

HA *wh*-phrases appear at the left edge of the clause, the left periphery. Yet, they are not always there as a result of movement.

- (3) *min*            *səbbar* ?  
 who            start.PST.3MS  
 ‘Who started?’
- (4) *ʔæ(h)*        *ga:l*            *lə-k* ?  
 what            tell.PST.1MS    for-2MS  
 ‘What did he say to you?’
- (5) *ʔeif men*     *ktəb*            *grei-ti* ?  
 which            book            read.PST-2FS  
 ‘Which book did you read?’
- (6) *mta*            *ba*            *truħ-u:n* ?  
 when            will.FUT    you-go.2PM/F  
 ‘When will you go?’
- (7) *kann-ək*      *ma*            *sərəħt*            *id- dəwəem* ?  
 why-2MS      not            go.PST.2MS      the-work

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‘Why didn’t you go to work?’

(8) *wif-kum* ?

how-you.2PM/F

‘How are you?’

(9) a. *maʕ min safər bu:-k* ?

Who with travel.PST.3MS father-your.2MS

‘Who did your father travel with?’

b. *min safər bu:-k maʕ-uh* ?

who travel.PST.3MS father-your.2MS with-him

‘Who did your father travel with?’

(10) a. *min wein jebt el-gfu:l* ?

from where bring.PST.3MS the-keys

‘Where did you bring the keys from?’

b. \**wein jebt el-gfu:l min* ?

where bring.PST.3MS the-keys from

‘Where did you get the keys from?’

In example (9a), the *wh*-phrase *min* ‘whom’ is fronted and preceded by the preposition *maʕ* ‘with’, forming the prepositional phrase *maʕ min* ‘who with’. This is called pied-piping. This is frequently used with arguments and adjunct *wh*-phrases in HA like other dialects including EA. It is worth noting that pied-piping argument *wh*-phrases differ from that of adjunct *wh*-phrases in that the former allow prepositional stranding once they are attached to a clitic as in (9b), while the latter do not allow prepositional stranding as in (10b). In other words, pied-piping is obligatory with adjunct *wh*-phrases.

Sometimes *illi* ‘that’ can be used with fronted argument *wh*-phrases.

(11) *min illi jebki* ?

who that cry.PROG.3MS

‘Who is crying?’

(12) *wa: illi xəl-æf təggi:n hu:kde* ?

what that make.PST-2FS do.1FS like this

‘What made you do like that?’

### 3.2.2 At the right periphery

HA could also appear on the right periphery of the clause, i.e., at the end.

(13) *ʔism-ək min* ?

name-your.2MS who

‘What’s your name?’

(14) *ʔil-jaom tʕbəxtu wa: ?*

the-day cook.PST.2PM/F what





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end, can be heard in HA.

- (24) *men gtəl men ?*  
 who killed.MS whom  
 ‘Who killed whom?’

Sometimes instead of asking a question with multiple *wh*-words, Hadrami people ask two questions sequentially. While in some cases *w* ‘and’ separates them.

- (25) *min dfər-ək ? w hag wa: ?*  
 who push.PST-2MS and why  
 ‘Who pushed you? And why?’

- (26) *min həd-ək w leih ?*  
 who beat.PST-2MS and why  
 ‘Who beat you? And why?’

For exclamation purposes, two *wh*-words can come in a sequence with a little pause between them.

- (27) *kann-ək ? wr-ək ?*  
 why-2MS why-2MS  
 ‘What’s the matter with you?!’

Although *wh*-words are used to ask for information, in some cases HA speakers use *wh*-words for different purposes. Some *wh*-words and phrases have non-interrogative reading. For instance, *wh*-words are used in some clauses to show exclamation rather than asking for information. These are actually exclamative clauses (Radford, 2009).

- (28) *ʔei(h) el-kələm de(h) !* (HA)  
 what the-speech this  
 ‘What’s this? It’s unbelievable!’

- (29) *ʔei(h) tə-gwuil !*  
 what PRES.2MS-say  
 ‘What do you say?!’

- (30) *ʔalla wa: de !*  
 then what this  
 ‘What is this? I can’t believe!’

Other examples of these rhetorical questions are found in Hadhrami proverbs and poems where no answer is required:

- (31) *ʔeih l-ək fi el-mdi:ni jæ m-fenig ʃju:n-ək ?*  
 what for-2MS in the-madineh dates who.2MS PROG.2MS-gaze eyes-your.2MS  
 ‘What is for you? You who is gazing at the date?’

This Hadhrami proverb (31) could mean it is no use looking at the properties of others.

- (32) *wein es-sme min eid el-metnawil ?*  
where the-sky from the hand the- one who stretches one's hand  
'Where is the sky from that who is stretching his hand?'

It is a Hadhrami proverb used by those who have ambitions that are too difficult to achieve. It is worth noting that here in (32) *min* is not literally a *wh*-word 'who' but rather a preposition meaning 'from'.

The *wh*-questions in the two above-mentioned HA proverbs are rhetorical questions for which no answer is intended. They are said to those who want to get or reach something that is valuable and of high quality, though they do not have a chance to do so. HA employs such questions a lot in proverbs. These rhetorical questions are widely used in the Qur'anic text (Najjar & Kadhim, 2021). Ellingworth (2013), as cited in Najjar and Kadhim (ibid) states that these questions do not seek information; rather, they are used to express denial, negation and exclamation among others. Gad (2011) stated that these questions are also found in many non-standard dialects, such as Egyptian Arabic.

In some cases *wh*-words and phrases are used in HA as emphatic answers for yes/no questions as in the following short conversations.

- (33) A: *bateit-u el-ḥres ?*  
go.PST-2PM/F the-wedding  
'Did you go to the wedding?'

B: *ʔalla wa: .*  
if not so then what  
'Yes.'

- (34) A: *rwht ʔal-beit ?*  
go.PST.2MS the-house  
'Did you go to the house?'

B: *ʔllə fiēn !*  
then where  
'Yes.'

*Wh*-words, especially *min* 'who', *wein* 'where' and *mta* 'when' in HA can start a clause functioning as a subject, as illustrated in the following example:

- (35) *min byə fiḥi j-ləgi:-hḥi .*  
who want.3MS something IMPR.3MS-do-it.3S  
'Whoever wants to do something, can do it.'

### 3.3 HA *wh*-phrases and the constraint on movement

Ross (1967) provided some constraints that block movement from certain construction, such as complex noun phrase constraint, *wh*-island, co-ordinate structure constraint and adjunct island.

### 3.3.1 Complex noun phrase constraint

Ross (1967) stated that “No element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun may be moved out of that noun phrase by a transformation”. According to him, no element could be moved out of a relative clause or a complement of a noun. The following examples from HA are consistent with what Rose (ibid) stated.

- (36) a. *mḥamməd*    *ʃæf*    *el-ḥormə*    *illi*    *əʃtərət*    *wa: ?*  
 Mohammed    see.PST    the-woman    that    buy.PST.3FS    what  
 ‘\*Mohammed saw the woman that bought what?’
- b. \**wa:*    *mḥamməd*    *ʃæf*    *el-ḥormə*    *illi*    *əʃtərət ?*  
 what    Mohammed    see.PST    the-woman    that    buy.PST.3FS  
 ‘\*What did Mohammed see the woman that bought?’

As can be seen from the above example, the HA argument *wh*-phrases are sensitive to Complex Noun Phrase Constraint. The example (36b) is ungrammatical and that the derivation crashes at the LF. Thus, it could be concluded that argument *wh*-phrases in HA are sensitive to Complex NP island.

### 3.3.2 *Wh*-island in HA

It is a constraint formed by extracting a *wh*-phrase from an embedded clause where another *wh*-phrase occupies the [Spec, CP] of the embedded clause. In other words, a CP must attract the closest *wh*-phrase, but when it is already occupied by another *wh*-phrase, then the former cannot move to the closest CP node (Chaves & Putnam, 2020).

- (37) a. *ali*    *da:ri*    *min*    *ʃtrə*    *wa:*  
 Ali    know.IMPR.3MS    who    buy.PST.3MS    what  
 ‘Ali knows who bought what.’
- b. \**wa:i*    *ali*    *da:ri*    *min*    *ʃtrəi ?*  
 what    Ali    know.IMPR.3MS    who    buy.PST.3MS  
 ‘What Ali knows who bought?’
- c. *wa:i*    *illi*    *ali*    *da:ri*    *min*    *ʃtr-ah\_i ?*  
 what    that    Ali    know.IMPR.3MS    who    buy.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What’s that Ali knows who bought?’

According to the MP, (37c) seems acceptable, but it violates the Shortest Move since the *wh*-word *min* ‘who’ is closer to CP than *wa:* ‘what’. Consequently, the movement of the *wh*-word ‘min’ is more economical than the other ones. This is what Chomsky (1995:311) called the Minimal Link Condition. As for (37b), it is ungrammatical and the derivation crashes at the PF. Regarding (37c), it could be concluded that the insertion of *illi* ‘that’ and a resumptive pronoun are used to save the derivation from crashing in HA, yet those are not the optimal derivations according to the MP since they take more steps in the derivation.

### 3.3.3 Co-ordinate structure constraint

Ross (1967:162) states that ‘In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.’ The data collected from HA confirm what Rose (ibid) claimed.

- (38) a. *el-rijæl ħəs'əl mħammad w xt-uh fi et'-t'ri:g .*  
 the-man find.PST.3MS Mohammed and sister-his in the-road  
 ‘The man found Mohammed and his sister in the road.’
- b. \**min<sub>i</sub> el-rijæl ħəs'əl<sub>i</sub> w xt-uh fi et'- t'ri:g ?*  
 who the-man find.PST.3MS and sister-his in the-road  
 ‘Who did the man find and his sister in the road?’
- c. *min<sub>i</sub> illi el-rijæl ħəs'əl-uh<sub>i</sub> hu w xt-uh fi et'-t'ri:g ?*  
 who that the-man find.PST.3MS-him he and sister-his in the-road  
 ‘Who did the man find and his sister in the road?’

Since no element can move out of a co-ordinate structure in the above HA example, so (38b) is ungrammatical (Ross, 1967). This HA feature is consistent with the findings of Al-hamami & Alfadly (2018), and Abu-Jarad (2008). However, this ungrammaticality can be resolved not only in HA, as this study revealed, but also in EA and Mehri as Ross (1967) and Alrowsa (2014) confirmed, by inserting both a resumptive pronoun and *illi* ‘that’. The insertion of the resumptive pronoun and *illi* ‘that’ in sentence (38c) facilitates its derivation and saves it from crashing. Yet, this derivation is costly since it takes more steps in the derivation. Thus, it is not the optimal derivation.

### 3.3.4 Adjunct *wh*-island in HA

It is a type of constraint on movement out of a clause introduced by *because*, *when*, *if*, etc. (Boeckx, 2012: 16).

- (39) a. *fa:t'me<sub>i</sub> ferħut jɔm ħəs'lət fħæm-ha<sub>i</sub> .*  
 Fatima feel happy.PST.3FS when find.PST.3FS earrings-her  
 ‘Fatima felt happy when she found her earrings.’
- b. \**wa<sub>i</sub> fa:t'me ferħut jɔm ħəs'lət<sub>i</sub> ?*  
 what Fatima feel happy.PST.3FS when find.PST.3FS  
 ‘What did Fatima feel happy when she found?’
- c. *wa: illi fa:t'me ferħut jɔm ħəs'lət-uh ?*  
 what that Fatima feel happy.PST.3FS when find.PST.3FS-her  
 ‘What did Fatima feel happy when she found?’

The above example in (39b) shows that the *wh*-phrases in HA cannot be extracted out of adjunct islands since this extraction results in ungrammatical sentence. Yet, the resumptive pronoun (*-uh*) and the relative pronoun *illi* in example (39c) made extraction possible and the sentence grammatical.

3.3.5 HA adjunct *wh*-phrases and the constraint on movement

Unlike the English language, HA adjunct *wh*-phrases, as shown in the previous examples, can be extracted out of complex noun phrases, *wh*-islands, and adjunct islands. In other words, *wh*-adjuncts are insensitive to these constraints. It is worth noting that although the previous examples are acceptable utterances, they are less economical since the MP prefers the Shortest Move. Regarding the reason questions *leeh* and *kən* ‘why’ *wh*-phrases in the fronted position are in their base-generated position as the case with simple *wh*-questions (Yeo, 2010 & Ko, 2006). When they are used on the right periphery, they seem less acceptable or used to express surprise or ask for repetition like the echo questions in English and Sudanese Arabic, especially when they are uttered with a rising intonation.

Sensitivity to islands is considered a proof for the availability of movement (Soltan, 2012 & Alrowsa, 2014). The intervention effect as a phenomenon proposes that certain scope-bearing phrases block LF movement (Beck, 1996). Beck (ibid) tested the phenomenon on German, employing some interveners, such as the negation particle *nicht* and the quantifier *niemand* ‘nobody’, which results in ill-formedness, ambiguity or ungrammaticality. HA *wh*-questions, whether in-situ or not in-situ, do not exhibit intervention effect. In other words, the presence of universal quantifiers, such as *kul* ‘every’, *kma* ‘also’ and the negative particle *ma* ‘not’ is permitted. This finding agrees with Soltan’s (2012) and Alrowsa’s (2014) findings related to EA and Mehri respectively.

Here are some examples from HA.

- (40) a. *kul wa:hid ħasʕsʕəl ɣism-uh .*  
 every one get.PST.3MS portion-his  
 ‘Everyone got his portion.’  
 b. *kul wa:hid ħasʕsʕəl wa: ?*  
 every one get.PST.3MS what  
 ‘Everyone got what?’  
 c. *wa:ᵢ illi kul wa:hid ħasʕsʕəl-uhᵢ ?*  
 what that every one get.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What is it that everyone found it?’
- (41) a. *mħammad ma ħasʕsʕəl el-ɣfu:l .*  
 Mohammed not find.PST.3MS the-keys  
 ‘Mohammed did not find the keys.’  
 b. *mħammad ma ħasʕsʕəl wa: ?*  
 Mohammed not find.PST.3MS what  
 ‘Mohammed did not find what?’

- c. *wa:; illi mhammad ma has's'əl-uh<sub>i</sub>?*  
 what that Mohammed not find.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What’s it that Mohammed did not find?’
- (42) a. *mhammad bəs smiʕ ez-zʕi:g .*  
 Mohammed only hear.PST.3MS the-shouting  
 ‘Mohammed only heard the shouting.’
- b. *mhammad bəs smiʕ wa: ?*  
 Mohammed only hear.PST.3MS what  
 ‘Mohammed only heard what?’
- c. *wa:; illi mhammad bəs smiʕ-uh<sub>i</sub>?*  
 what that Mohammed only hear.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What’s it that Mohammed only heard?’
- (43) a. *hu kma ləga miʕkle .*  
 he also do.PST.3MS problem  
 ‘He also caused a problem.’
- b. *hu kma ləga wa: ?*  
 he also do.PST.3MS wa:  
 ‘He also did what?’
- c. *wa:; illi hu kma ləga:-h<sub>i</sub>?*  
 what that he also do.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What’s it that he also did?’

As shown in the above examples, it could be concluded here that HA involves no movement.

### 3.4 HA *wh*-phrases in SVO word order

#### 3.4.1 Argument *wh*-phrases

Argument *wh*-phrases in HA occur with or without the relative pronoun *illi*.

- (44) a. *mħamməd dxəl ed-da:r .*  
 Mohammed enter.PST.3MS the-house.ACC  
 ‘Mohammed entered the house.’
- b. *min dxəl ed-da:r ?*  
 who enter.PST.3MS the-house  
 ‘Who entered the house?’

Since the MP seeks the optimal derivation, the shortest steps in derivation are preferable to the longest ones. In the above example (44b) the *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ appears in a position like its English counterpart. Here the researchers adopt the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis. According to Koopman & Sportiche’s (1991) VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis, the subject is base-generated within VP. Thus the subject raises overtly from [Spec, VP] to

[Spec, IP] to satisfy the EPP feature. In the [Spec, IP], the *wh*-phrase cannot undergo any further movement, thus the  $OP_i$  undergoes LF movement to [Spec, CP] to check the [+wh] feature. Here the subject *min* in HA is similar to ‘who’ in English. It is in [Spec, IP]. What moves here is not the *wh*-phrase but an OP which carries [+wh] feature, it moves to [Spec, CP] at the LF. When the OP moves at the LF to [Spec, CP], the wh feature it carries enters into a checking relation with the [wh] feature on the *wh*-phrase in situ. Although the *wh*-phrase appears to be fronted, it is actually in [Spec, IP].

(45) [IP *min* I [I' [I [VP<sub>ti</sub> [V' *dxəl ed-da:r*]]]]]

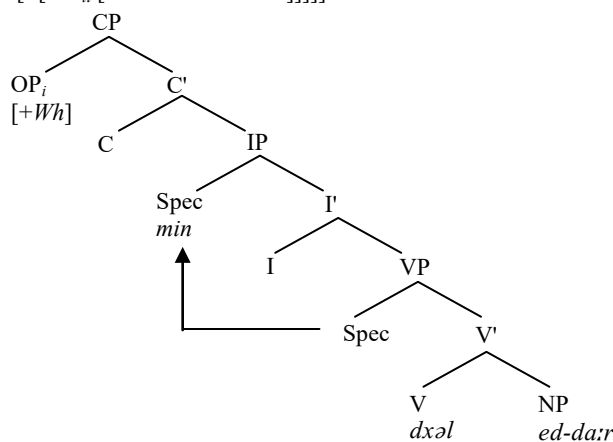


Figure 2. Argument *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ without *illi* in 42(b)

In Figure 2 example (44b) the V *dxəl* ‘entered’ merges with the NP *ed-da:r* ‘the house’ in order to form the VP. Then the whole VP projection merges with the I to form I'. After that, the verb *dxəl* ‘entered’ moves to [Spec, I] for feature checking necessity. Under the Internal Subject Hypothesis, the subject *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ originates within VP as shown in Figure 2. Then it raises overtly from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, IP] to satisfy the EPP feature. In the [Spec, IP] the *wh*-phrase cannot undergo any further movement. Thus, the [wh] feature is covertly raised to [Spec, CP] position where it is checked without pied-piping the whole category, i.e., the *wh*-phrase.

Argument subject *wh*-phrases can be used with *illi* ‘that’, too. According to Gad (2011) and Fakih (2014), if *illi* ‘that’ is treated as a complementiser, then its presence within fronted *wh*-arguments causes a violation to a subject island constraint. Following Gad (2011) and Fakih (2014), the researchers regarded *illi* ‘that’ as a relative pronoun. Thus, for the fronted *wh*-arguments with *illi* ‘that’, a Focus analysis has been provided.

According to Chomsky (1995), the category with a strong feature can project. Rizzi (1997) states that a clause consists of three layers: lexical, inflectional, and the complementiser layers. The complementizer layer hosts various elements, such as topics, relative pronouns, focalized elements, etc. Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010), Gad (2011),



and Fakhri (2014) state that *illi* ‘that’ has a strong Focus feature which licenses the Focus projection.

- (46) a. *ʕli jæb el-xvdʿrə .*  
 Ali bring.PST.3MS the-vegetables.ACC  
 ‘Ali brought the vegetables.’  
 b. *min illi jæb el-xvdʿrə ?*  
 who that bring.PST.3MS the-vegetable.ACC  
 ‘Who brought the vegetables?’

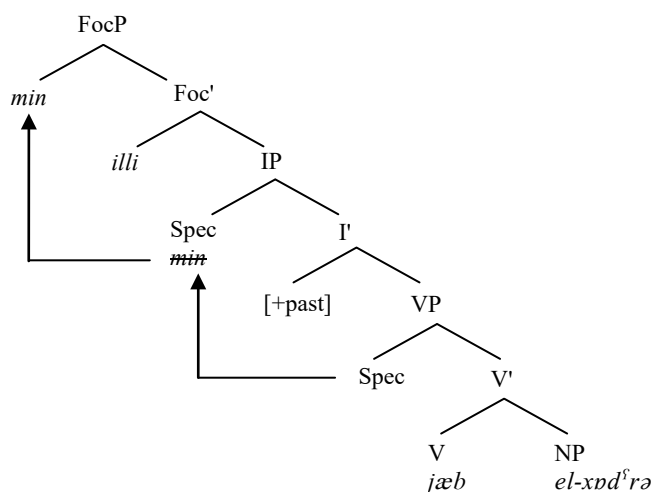


Figure 3. Argument *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ with *illi* in 44(b)

As shown in Figure 3, the HA subject *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ is not in [Spec, IP], but rather in [Spec, FP] since *illi* ‘that’ has a strong Focus feature which triggers the subject *wh*-phrase *min* to move to [Spec, FP]. Both *illi* ‘that’ and *min* ‘who’ have strong features which need to be checked, otherwise the derivation will crash. A checking relation is established between them, and based on the Minimal Link Condition proposed by Chomsky (1995), the subject *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ is the closest to *illi* ‘that’, so it is attracted to [Spec, FP].

Objects can be complements of verbs within *wh*-questions or can be fronted. As complements of the verbs, object *wh*-phrases are in their canonical positions as the following examples:

- (47) a. *xu:-k kəlləm min ?*  
 brother-your.2MS talk.PST.3MS who.ACC  
 ‘Who did your brother talk to?’  
 b. *vmm-i<sub>i</sub> byə-t<sub>i</sub> wa: ?*  
 mother-my want-3FS what.ACC

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‘What did my mother want?’  
 c. *fa:tʰme*            *simʕit*            *ja:t*            *klæm ?*  
 Fatima            hear.PST.3FS            which            talk  
 ‘Which talk did Fatima hear?’

The above HA examples a, b, c in (47) represent in-situ object argument *wh*-phrases. These *wh*-phrases are in their canonical positions, i.e., base-generated position. The derivation of these questions is compliant with the economy principle. The [+wh] feature is checked by the movement of the operator (OP) rather than the whole *wh*-phrase to [Spec, Cp] (Chomsky, 1995).

Regarding fronted object *wh*-arguments, *illi* ‘that’ is preferable and omitting it leads to ambiguity, especially when the subject and the object are both [+human] as in the following examples. This feature of HA is also found in Palestinian Arabic (PA) (Abu-Jarad, 2008:54).

(48) a. *min*    *həd*            *el-wleid ?*            (HA)  
           min    beat.PST.3MS    the-boy  
           ‘Who beat the boy? / Who did the boy hit?’  
 b. *min*    *daraba-t*            *Dana ?*            (PA)  
           Who    hit-PST.3FS    Dana  
           ‘Who hit Dana? / Who did Dana hit?’

The above two sentences (48a) (48b) are ambiguous as each one allows more than one interpretation. The words *el-wleid* and *Dana* can be either subjects or objects in the same sentence. According to Abu-Jarad (2008:54), this ambiguity is resolved with the presence of *illi* ‘that’. This is also the case in HA as the following example shows:

(49) *min*    *illi*    *həd*            *el-wleid ?*            (HA)  
           min    that    beat.PST.3MS    the-boy  
           ‘Who beat the boy?’

However in HA when the object is [-human], ambiguity ends as in the following example.

(50) a. *el-wleid*            *ʒæb*            *et-təmar .*  
           the-boy.3MS    bring.PST.3MS    the-dates.ACC.P  
           ‘The boy brought the dates.’  
 b. *wa:*    *el-wleid*            *ʒæb ?*  
           what    the-boy.3MS    bring.PST.3MS  
           ‘What did the boy bring?’

To account for the fronted object *wh*-phrase without *illi* ‘that’, Kiss’s (1998) proposal will be adopted. She proposed the availability of two types of focus in *wh*-questions: identification focus (contrastive focus) and information focus (requiring new information

and no presupposed background is involved). Kiss (ibid) states that fronted *wh*-phrases are a result of identification focus (contrastive focus) which requires ordering of constituents and holds presupposed background. This contrastive focus is found in HA as well as in Modern Standard Arabic, Egyptian Arabic and Najdi Arabic. Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010) along with Gad (2011) regarded the fronted object *wh*-phrases without the presence of *illi* ‘that’ as in the previous example a type of contrastive focus movement. This movement is optional. Here the object *wh*-phrase *wa:* ‘what’ undergoes movement to [Spec, FP] as represented below. With the absence of *illi* ‘that’ in such constructions with object *wh*-phrases, following Rizzi (1997). It could be proposed that F could be phonetically null as it is the case in Italian and other languages.

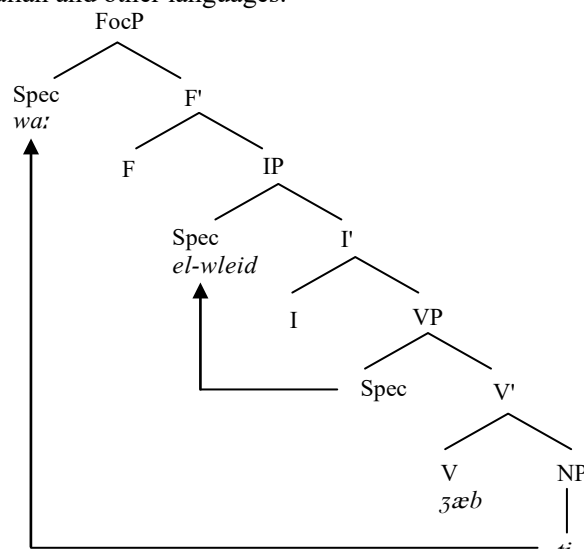


Figure 4. Object argument *wh*-phrase *wa:* ‘what’ without *illi* in 48(b)

In Figure 4, Rizzi’s (1997) Split the Complementizer Hypothesis is adopted. According to this hypothesis, the CP can be split into a number of projections, one of which is the Focus Phrase which is lower than CP and above TP. In this figure, the movement of the *wh*-phrase *wa:* ‘what’ from its base-position as a complement of the verb *zæb* ‘brought’ to [Spec, FP] is triggered by a null Focus following Rizzi’s proposal that Focus can be phonetically null, as the case in Italian. This is in accordance with EA (Gad, 2011) and JA (Al-Momani & Al-Saidat, 2010).

Although the example in Figure 4 is somewhat acceptable according to the participants in this study, some prefer to have a subject-verb inversion as in the following example.

- (51) a. *el-wleid*            *zæb*            *et-tæmæ:*  
the-boy.3MS        bring.PST.3MS    the-dates.ACC.3P  
‘The boy brought the dates.’

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- b. *wa:*     *ʒæb*                    *el-wleid ?*  
 what     bring.PST.3MS    the-boy  
 ‘What did the boy bring?’

Following Chomsky’s (1995:235) assumption that either the category with the strong feature or the one joined with it can project, this projection is held as a focus one. It could be concluded here that both subject and object *wh*-arguments in [Spec, FP] are different from the subject in [Spec, IP] and the base-generated object respectively since the former hold presupposed background based on Kiss (1998).

- (52) a. *wa:*     *illi*       *ʕli*       *ʒæb-uh ?*  
 what     that     Ali     bring.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What did Ali bring?’  
 b. \**wa:*     *ʕli*       *ʒæb-uh ?*  
 what     Ali     bring.PST.3MS-it  
 ‘What did Ali bring?’  
 c. \**wa:*     *illi*       *ʕli*       *ʒæb ?*  
 what     that     Ali     bring.PST.3MS  
 ‘What did Ali bring?’

Like EA, NA, PA and other Arabic dialects, HA fronted object *wh*-arguments with *illi* ‘that’ are associated with a resumptive pronoun and omitting either a resumptive pronoun or *illi* ‘that’ leads to ungrammaticality as shown in the example (52c) (52b).

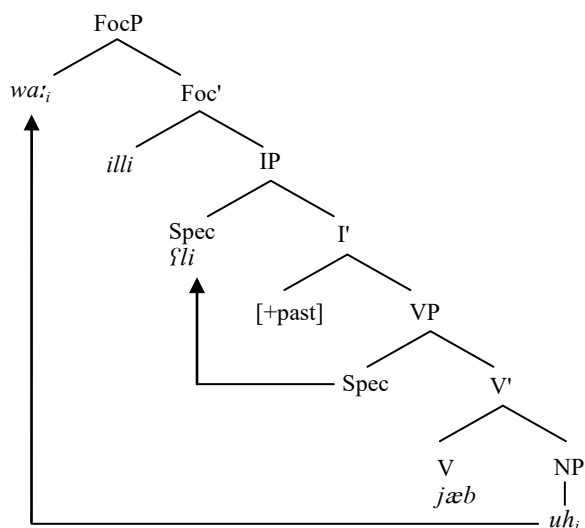


Figure 5. Fronted object *wh*-phrase *wa:* ‘what’ with *illi*

Figure 5 shows how the object *wh*-phrase with *illi* can be fronted to [Spec, FP]. Following Chomsky (1995) that the category with a strong feature can project it is assumed

that *illi* ‘that’ carries a strong Focus feature. Thus, it triggers the movement of the *wh*-phrase before Spell-Out from being the complement of the verb *jaʕb* ‘brought’ to the left periphery of the clause, i.e., [Spec, FP], for feature checking consideration. Yet, the movement of the object *wh*-phrase to the front of the clause does not take shorter steps in the derivation and can be considered as a costly process that contradicts the main principles of the MP. This HA finding agrees with Gad (2011) who considers the derivation of fronted object *wh*-questions with *illi* ‘that’ and a resumptive pronoun costly since it takes more steps in the derivation and contradicts the MP which seeks a more economical derivation, which is the case in HA, too.

Argument *wh*-phrases in HA can occur in embedded clauses as exemplified in (53-55):

- (53) a. *fa:tʕme ga:lit vmm-ha iftrət wa: ?*  
 Fatima say.PST.3FS mother-her buy.PST.3FS what  
 ‘What did Fatima say her mother brought?’
- b. *fa:tʕme ga:lit wa: vmm-ha iftrət ?*  
 Fatima say.PST.3FS what mother-her buy.PST.3FS  
 ‘What did Fatima say her mother brought?’
- c. *wa: fa:tʕme ga:lit vmm-ha iftrət ?*  
 what Fatima say.PST.3FS mother-her buy.PST.3FS  
 ‘What did Fatima say her mother brought?’
- (54) a. *bu:-k byə min je-kellem mhəmmad ?*  
 father-your.2MS want.3MS who IMPR.3MS-talk Mohammed  
 ‘Who did your father want to talk to Mohammed?’
- b. *\*min<sub>i</sub> bu:-k byə jət je-kellem mhəmmad ?*  
 who father-your.2MS want. 3MS which IMPR.3MS-talk Mohammed  
 ‘Who did your father want to talk to Mohammed?’
- c. *min<sub>i</sub> bu:-k bya:-h<sub>i</sub> je-kellem mhəmmad ?*  
 who father-your.2MS want-him.3MS IMPR.3MS-talk Mohammed  
 ‘Who did your father want to talk to Mohammed?’
- (55) a. *mhammad ga:l byə bə-jeftri jət da:r ?*  
 Mohammed say.PST.3MS want.IMPR.3MS will-buy.3MS which house  
 ‘Which house did Mohammed say he wants to buy?’
- b. *mhammad ga:l jət da:r byə bə-jeftri ?*  
 Mohammed say.PST.3MS which house want.IMPR.3MS will-buy.3MS  
 ‘Which house did Mohammed say he wants to buy?’
- c. *jət da:r mhammad ga:l byə bə-jeftri(-ha) ?*  
 which house Mohammed say.PST.3MS want.IMPR.3MS will-buy.3MS(-it)  
 ‘Which house did Mohammed say he wants to buy?’

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The above HA embedded questions examples (53), (54) and (55) show that the argument *wh*-phrases *wa*: ‘what’, *min* ‘who’, and *jæ:t da:r* ‘which house’ can stay in situ, i.e., in their canonical position as the (a) examples. Both *wa*: ‘what’ and *jæ:t da:r* ‘which house’ could be fronted to [Spec, FP] of the embedded clauses or to the front of the entire clause. Yet, once they are co-indexed with a resumptive pronoun, they are base-generated. The *wh*-phrase *min* ‘who’ is base-generated except when it is used with *illi* ‘that’, it can be in [Spec, FP]. This feature of HA is not quite consistent with those mentioned by Alrowsa (2014), Al-Hamami & Alfadly (2018), who stated that the argument *wh*-phrases within embedded clauses could be in-situ, i.e., base-generated or fronted to [Spec, CP] of the embedded clause. Alrowsa (2014) stated that in Mehri, the argument *wh*-phrases within embedded clauses could also move to the front of the entire sentence (Matrix clause).

HA embedded argument *wh*-phrases differ from that in PA as indicated by Abu-Jarad (2008), since the latter are base-generated only while HA could be base-generated in their canonical position or involve Focus movement.

#### 3.4.2 Adjunct *wh*-phrases

Like many Arabic dialects, such as PA (Abu-Jarad, 2008), EA (Lassadi, 2003; Gad, 2011), JA (Al-Momani & Al-Saidat, 2010) and Mehri (Alrowsa, 2014), HA adjunct *wh*-phrases could be fronted or stay in their canonical place. Kiss (1998) stated that fronted *wh*-phrases are a result of identification focus (contrastive focus) which requires ordering of constituents while the in-situ ones do not require such ordering of constituents.

Hadhrami Arabic *wh*-adjunct can appear in-situ or fronted. Here the in-situ strategy will be analyzed. It should be stressed here that the HA *kann* is different from the other adjunct *wh*-phrases in-situ since it is more likely to be fronted like that of Mandarin Chinese which could more likely be in matrix or embedded clause (Yeo, 2010:111).

- (56) a. *ʕli hæt' il-gfu:l wem ?*  
 Ali put.PST.3MS the-key.ACC.3P where  
 ‘Where did Ali put the keys?’
- b. *bə-trvħ-u:n mta ?*  
 will-go.IMPR-2PM/F when  
 ‘When will you go?’
- c. *ma zu kann-hum? (kind of exclamation with rising intonation)*  
 not come.PST.3PM/F why-them.3PM/F  
 ‘Why didn’t they come?’
- d. *zi:t mn-i:n ?*  
 come.PST.2MS from-where  
 ‘Where did you come from?’

For the economy principle, the in-situ strategy is more economical than the movement

strategy. In addition, it is commonly used among Hadhrami people. Furthermore, those adjunct *wh*-phrases in-situ are licensed and assigned scope in their base-generated position and involve no movement. As for the [wh] feature, the operator which carries [+wh] feature raises at the LF to [Spec, CP] to be checked without pied-piping the whole *wh*-phrase. This feature enters into a checking relation with the *wh*-phrase in-situ which results in convergent derivation at the PF.

HA *wh*-adjuncts can also be at the right periphery.

- (57) *mta ba truh-u:n ?*  
 when will.FUT go-2PM/F  
 ‘When will you go?’
- (58) *kann-ək ma sərəht id-dəwa:m ?*  
 why-2MS not go.PST.2MS the-work  
 ‘Why didn’t you go to work?’
- (59) *ʕlə-wa: mə got-l-u ?*  
 why not tell.PST.2MS-for-him  
 ‘Why didn’t you tell him?’
- (60) *mn-i:n zi:t ?*  
 from-where come.PST.2MS  
 ‘Where did you come from?’
- (61) *kan in-nəəs yvrmit ?* (Al-Saqqaf, 1999)  
 why the-people get mad.PST  
 ‘Why have the people gotten mad?’
- (62) *haq-wa: mə tkəlm el-hri:m ?*  
 for-why not talk.PST.3FP the-women  
 ‘Why didn’t the women talk?’

In the previous examples (57-62), the adjunct *wh*-phrases bear a strong Focus feature which licenses the movement of the *wh*-phrases to [Spec, FP] for feature checking consideration. It is worth noting that F is phonetically null like that of Italian and JA.

This *wh*-phrase undergoes movement to [Spec, FP] which is triggered for feature checking necessity. Both the adjunct *wh*-phrase *wein* ‘where’ and the null Focus morpheme are in Spec-head configuration since they carry the same [+F] feature. The *wh*-phrase here moves to [Spec, F] before Spell-Out for feature checking necessity.

The subject could be a pro, i.e., not phonetically realized. According to Razaq (2017), these subjects can be identified by the rich verb agreement. As for example (61), the subject is obligatory following the *wh*-phrase *kan* ‘why’, unlike the Italian *wh*-operator *perché* ‘why’ which differs from other *wh*-operators and triggers no obligatory movement of the subject (Bianchi *et al.*, 2017). It is worth noting that *kan* ‘why’ in HA is followed

either by a DP or a clitic which shows agreement with the verb and is attached to the *wh*-phrase itself, otherwise it results in ungrammatical questions as the following examples.

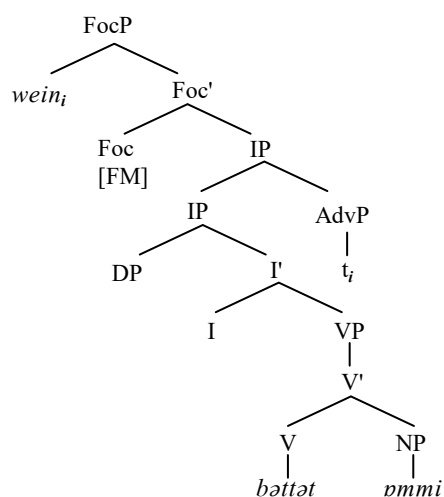


Figure 6. Fronted adjunct *wh*-phrase *wein* ‘where’

- (63) a. \**kan*      *yvrmūt*                      *in-nās ?*  
 why      get mad.PST.3PM/F              the-people  
 ‘Why have the people gotten mad?’
- b. *kan*      *in-nās*                      *yvrmūt ?*  
 why      the-people                      get mad.PST.3PM/F  
 ‘Why have the people gotten mad?’
- c. *kann-ha*                      *yvrmūt ?*  
 why-she.3FS                      get mad.PST.3FS  
 ‘Why has she gotten mad?’

Like *kan* ‘why’, *ḥaq-wa:* ‘why’, *lei/leeh* ‘why’, and *kaki:h* ‘why’ but not and *kih* ‘how’ are more likely to be fronted in the left periphery in HA rather than being in-situ. Unlike *kan* ‘why’, they can never be attached to a clitic, yet they could experience subject-verb inversion. Contrary to what is previously stated regarding Kiss (1998) analysis, these fronted ‘why’ *wh*-phrases do not have a contrastive Focus movement to [Spec, FP].

The position of the *wh*-phrases *kan* ‘why’ and *ḥaq-wa:* ‘why’ in HA is the same position of why *wh*-phrase in Mandarin as confirmed by Yeo who stated that it could not be in a sentence final position but rather in an embedded or a matrix [Spec, CP] (Yeo, 2010). It could be proposed that HA *wh*-phrase *kann* ‘why’ has a special status like *naze* ‘why’ in Japanese. HA why *wh*-phrases could be based-generated in [Spec, CP], i.e., externally merged higher than the subject rather than being fronted to [Spec, FP]. This could also be



consistent with Ko (2006) regarding ‘why’ in Japanese, Korean, and Chinese. The following representation proposed by Ko (2006:326) clarifies its position.

Word order in why-questions under the CMH view:

- (64) a. [CP ‘why’ [IP XP YP V]]  
 b. [CP XPi [CP ‘why’ [IP (ti) YP V]]]

(65) [<sub>CP</sub> *kann* [<sub>IP</sub> *en-na:s yprmut*]]

Argument *wh*-phrases can occur in embedded clauses as in the following examples:

- (66) a. *fa:tʰme ga:t-l-ɪf hutʰt-ʕi el-ʕaddi wein ?*  
 Fatima say.PST.3FS-for-you.3FS put.IMPR- you.2FS the-money where  
 ‘Where did Fatima ask you to put the money?’
- b. *fa:tʰme ga:t-l-ɪf wein hutʰt-ʕi el-ʕaddi ?*  
 Fatima say.PST.3FS-for-you.3FS where put.IMPR- you.2FS the-money  
 ‘Where did Fatima ask you to put the money?’
- c. *wein fa:tʰme ga:t-l-ɪf hutʰt-ʕi el-ʕaddi ?*  
 where Fatima say.PST.3FS-for-you.3FS put.IMPR- you.2FS the-money  
 ‘Where did Fatima ask you to put the money?’
- (67) a. *mhammad ga:l bə-ʒsʒfer mte ?*  
 Mohammed say.PST.3MS will-travel.3MS when  
 ‘When did Mohammed say he will travel?’
- b. *mhammad ga:l mte bə-ʒsʒfer ?*  
 Mohammed say.PST.3MS when will-travel.3MS  
 ‘When did Mohammed say he will travel?’
- c. *mte mhammad ga:l bə-ʒsʒfer ?*  
 when Mohammed say.PST.3MS will-travel.3MS  
 ‘When did Mohammed say he will travel?’

Based on the above examples in (66) and (67), it may be possible to generalize here that adjunct *wh*-phrases could be in-situ, fronted to the [Spec, FP] of the embedded clause or move to across the entire sentence. This is not quite true in Mehri (Alrowsa, 2014) nor in PA (Abu-Jarad, 2008). Regarding *kann* ‘why’, it has a special status as previously mentioned. Yet, it is worth noting that the base-generated position is the preferable one since it matches the MP assumptions and principles.

### 3.4.3 Definite restrictive relative clauses (DRRCs)

Unlike the relative pronouns of Modern South Arabian languages MSA and CA which inflect for number and gender, relative pronouns in non-standard Arabic dialects do not inflect for number and gender. They use *illi* ‘that’ or its variants (Holes, 2004) *li / illi* ‘that’ and in very rare cases *ði* ‘that’ are used as a relative pronoun in HA for all singular, plural, feminine, and masculine nouns (Babuair, 2012).

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- (68) *fein*      *ʔil-ktæb<sub>i</sub>*      *li*      *gəreit-uh<sub>i</sub>?*  
 where      the-book      which      read.PST.2P -it  
 ‘Where is the book which you read?’

Regarding the relative clause in the MP (Chomsky, 1995:56), it is considered as a predicate or an open sentence with a variable position as in the following:

- (69) *The man* [<sub>CP</sub> OP C[<sub>IP</sub> *John met t*]

Here in (69) the OP is empty in [Spec, CP] where it binds the trace *t* of the OP. Relative clauses are formed by merging the relative clause with the head noun. Then the formed noun phrase merges with the determiner to form the rmatrix noun phrase. In the Minimalist Program, the NP and the Det. could be co-indexed via phi-features agreement when they merge. Yet, this could cause a problem for relative clauses with empty operators.

Since HA employs the resumptive strategy in the formation of relative clauses whether the resumptive pronoun is overt or covert, thus, it could be suggested that HA DRRCs are not derived via movement. Following Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010) and Gad’s (2011) analysis proposing that within the relative clause the OP is base-generated in the [Spec, CP] where it binds the resumptive pronoun. Like JA and EA, *illi* ‘that’ in Hadhrami Arabic is restricted to definite DPs, thus it bears [+DEF] feature.

- (70) a. *hi:de*      *ʔed-da:r<sub>i</sub>*      *illi*      *ttxəbəri:n*      *wein-ha<sub>i</sub>.*  
 this is      the-house      that      ask.IMPR.2FS      where-it  
 ‘This is the house that you ask where it is.’  
 b. \**hi:de*      *ed-da:r<sub>i</sub>*      *illi*      *ttxəbəri:n*      *wein<sub>i</sub>?*  
 this is      the-house      that      ask.IMPR.2FS      where  
 ‘Intended: This is the house that you ask where?’

As can be noticed in example (70b), the absence of the resumptive pronoun in HA leads to ungrammaticality. This finding is consistent with that of Gad (2011), who confirmed that the resumptive pronoun is base-generated within the relative clause. The presence of a resumptive pronoun indicates that no movement takes place. Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010) as cited in Gad (2011) stated that in EA the OP could be overt, such as the OP *di* ‘this’, hence, it carries [+nominal] feature. This feature will be checked with the [+nominal] feature of the HA *illi*.

- (71) a. *el-wleid<sub>i</sub>*      *da:k<sub>i</sub>*      *illi*      *kəllm-ək<sub>i</sub>*      *gbeilein*  
 the-boy      that      who      talk.PST.3MS-2MS      before awhile  
 ‘the boy who talked to you before a while’  
 b. *el-wleid<sub>i</sub>*      *illi*      *kəllm-ək<sub>i</sub>*      *gbeilein*  
 the boy      that/who      tell.PST.3MS-2MS      before awhile  
 ‘the boy who talked to you before a while’

- (72) a. *el-bnejje<sub>i</sub> dahə(h)<sub>i</sub> illi el-hərmə səlmmət ʔlei-ha<sub>i</sub>*  
 the-girl this who the-woman shake hands.PST.3FS with-her  
 ‘the girl that the woman shook hands with’
- b. *el-bnejje<sub>i</sub> illi el-hərmə səlmmət ʔlei-ha<sub>i</sub>*  
 the-girl that the-woman shake hands.PST.3FS with-her  
 ‘the girl that the woman shook hands with’

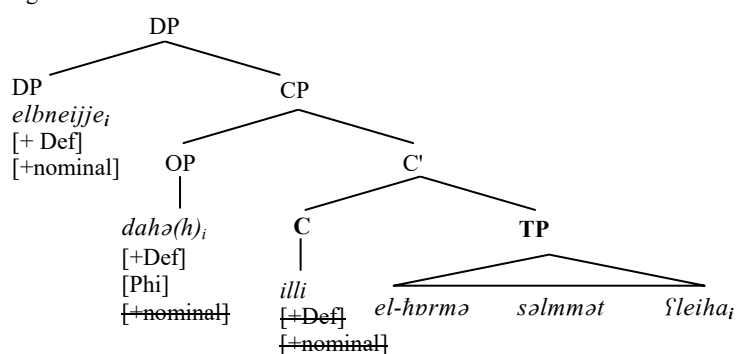


Figure 7. Shows DRRC in example (72)

In the above representation (Figure 7), the overt OP checks the un-interpretable [+DEF] and [+nominal] features on *illi* ‘that’. Following the argument that both null and overt pronoun can bind the resumptive pronoun, the overt OP *dahə(h)* ‘this’ binds the resumptive pronoun, and the whole CP is linked to the DP *el-bnejje* ‘the girl’. This analysis causes a problem since it assumes optionality on features on OP. In order to solve this problem, it is assumed that the relative clauses in the examples (71a) and (72a) have an emphatic interpretation which examples (71b) and (72b) lack. That is to say, like EA, HA, OP could be overt or null depending on the discourse function employed. To conclude, the researchers proposed that HA DRRCs involve no movement operation since the OP is base-generated in the [Spec, CP] and binds a resumptive pronoun.

#### 4. Conclusion

Since this paper seeks the optimal derivation asked for by the MP, then it could be concluded that HA *wh*-phrases in SVO word order are base-generated whether these *wh*-phrases are adjuncts or arguments. Thus, HA with SVO word order is a non-movement dialect. This is consistent with the MP principles and assumptions. The presence of a more economical structures, i.e., base-generated derivation is what the MP seeks and it leads to optimal derivations a derivation that is not costly and requires the shortest steps.

This conclusion is reached at after examining different HA constructions; simple and embedded in which a base-generated strategy is available for both adjuncts and argument *wh*-phrases. Moreover, HA insensitivity to intervention effects could be a proof for the

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unavailability of movement in HA. Based on the assumptions for movement in the MP which states that movement is motivated by feature checking considerations, it can be concluded that the only available movement in HA SVO word order is triggered by [+Focus] feature. This conclusion is consistent with those of Gad (2011), Fasih (2014) and Al-Momani & Al-Saidat (2010) concerning movement of *wh*-phrases in EA, NA and JA respectively.

Concerning optional *wh*-movement in questions in HA, it can be concluded that HA along with other non-standard Arabic dialects, such as EA, has questions which may appear to have optional movement of the *wh*-phrases in the left periphery or in the right one, which is refuted by the MP. This is due to the fact that a language cannot have both strong and weak *wh* features at the same time. Though these structures in some cases have the same numeration, they are derived differently as in the following example from HA.

- (73) a. *wein*      *byeit* ?  
           where     want.PST.2MS  
           ‘Where do you want to go?’
- b. *byeit*                      *wein* ?  
           want.PST.2MS        where  
           ‘Where do you want to go?’

Those questions have apparent optionality with different derivations. As for (73a) the *wh*-phrase *wein* ‘where’ is a result of movement to [Spec, FP] while in (73b) example *wein* is base-generated, i.e., (73b) is not derived by movement, rather it is in its canonical position but the OP moves to [Spec, CP]. In sum, HA only has apparent optionality like that of Egyptian Arabic and other dialects and languages.

Like EA and JA, HA DRRCs are not derived by movement. It differs from MA in which relative clauses can be derived by either a movement or base-generated strategy once the licensing condition for each is met.

#### **Abbreviations and symbols**

1	First Person	FM	Focus Morpheme
2	Second Person	FocP	Focus Phrase
3	Third Person	FUT	Future
ACC	Accusative	HA	Hadhrami Arabic
AdvP	Adverbial Phrase	I'	Inflectional Bar
C	Complementizer	IMPR	Imperfective
C'	Complementizer Bar	IP	Inflectional Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase	LF	Logical Form
DEF	Definite	M	Male
DP	Determiner Phrase	M/F	Male or Female
DRRCs	Definite Restrictive Relative Clauses	NP	Noun Phrase
F	Female	OP	Operator
F'	Focus Bar	P	Plural

PF	Phonological Form	TP	Tense Phrase
Phi	Phi-Feature	V'	Verb Bar
PRES	Present Tense	VP	Verb Phrase
Pro	Pronominal	[wh] / wh	<i>Wh</i> -word Is Not Used in a
PROG	Progressive	feature	Question
PST	Past	[+wh] feature	<i>Wh</i> -word Is Used in a
S	Singular		Question
Spec	Specifier		

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