

The Syntax of the Deontic Modal *ʔilla* in Jordanian Arabic

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Abstract

The study investigates the syntactic properties of deontic *ʔilla* in Jordanian Arabic (JA). It was shown that deontic *ʔilla* is a directive modal that expresses what is desired to be done from the perspective of the individual and/or the society, so it is used in to convey invitations, advice, and rules. It is argued that the deontic modal force that *ʔilla* has stems from the exclusive focus property that generally characterizes *ʔilla* in Arabic. As for the syntax of deontic *ʔilla*, I have proposed that the modal particle first merges in the head position of its projection (MdeOP) and then moves to the T position. The invariable imperfective verb after *ʔilla* does not bear any temporality, so it remains in the V position. Furthermore, arguments were advanced to support the standpoint that *ʔilla* is a positive polarity item. Finally, it was revealed that deontic *ʔilla*, unlike the epistemic one, occurs in assertive as well as non-assertive contexts, as cross-linguistically witnessed.

Keywords: Modal Particle, Deontic Modal, Imperfective Verb, Positive polarity Item, Jordanian Arabic

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السمات النحوية للأداة التركيبية "إلا" الدالة على الضرورة في اللهجة الأردنية

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ملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى البحث في السمات النحوية للأداة التركيبية "إلا" الدالة على الضرورة في اللهجة الأردنية. وقد تبين بأن "إلا" في استخدامها هذا المشار إليه هي أداة توجيهية تعبّر عمّا يحبذ فعله من منظور الفرد أو المجتمع أو كليهما، لذلك هي تستخدم في توجيه الدعوات والنصائح والقواعد القانونية. وقدّمت الدراسة الإثباتات على أنّ دلالة "إلا" على الضرورة تأتي من خاصية التأكيد الحصري التي تمتلكها "إلا" في اللغة العربية. أمّا بخصوص الجانب النحوي لكلمة "إلا"، فكان المقترح هو أنّ هذه الأداة تظهر تركيبياً في البداية في الموقع الرئيس لشبه الجملة الدالة على الضرورة و تنتقل بعدها الى الموقع الدال على الزمن. وتبين أن شكل الفعل المضارع الذي لا يقبل التغيير بعد "إلا" لا يحمل أية دلالات على الزمن. وأيضاً، قدّمت الدراسة اثباتات بأن "إلا" هي كلمة إيجابية القطب. وفي الختام، توصلت الدراسة إلى نتيجة أنّ "إلا" الدالة على الضرورة، بخلاف "إلا" المعرفية، يمكن لها أن تأتي في السياق الانشائي والخبري، كما هو ملاحظ على امتداد اللغات كلّها. الكلمات المفتاحية: أداة تركيبية، أداة دالة على الضرورة، فعل مضارع، كلمة إيجابية القطب، اللهجة الأردنية

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1. Introduction

In Standard Arabic and in many varieties of Arabic, including Jordanian Arabic (JA, henceforth), and Egyptian Arabic, among other varieties, the particle *ʔilla* has been documented to be used as an exceptive particle (1) and as an exclusive focus particle (2) (See Soltan (2016) for more on the syntax of exceptive particles in Egyptian Arabic and Aljeradaat (2016) for more on the syntax of focus particles in Jordanian Arabic.).

(1) kull-hum zaaruu-ni ʔilla raami.
all-them visited.3SGM-me except Rami
'All of them visited me, except Ramy.'

(2) maa nadʒaħ ʔilla zeid.
NEG succeeded except Zaid
'No one succeeded, except Zaid'

Two other uses for *ʔilla* have been spotted, in particular, in JA: as an epistemic modal particle (3), and as a deontic modal particle (4).

(3) ʔilla jitʔaxxar.
bound.to come.late.3SGM
'He is bound to come late.'

(4) ʔilla tunfur ʕams ʔabħaaθ li-t-tarqjiah.
ought.to publish.2SGM five papers for-the-promotion
'You ought to publish five papers to be promoted.'

This paper is devoted to *ʔilla* in its latter use as a deontic modal in JA, as instantiated in (4). I will survey the semantic properties of deontic *ʔilla* and propose a syntactic account for it within the generative framework, namely the Minimalist Approach (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 gives a brief review on the concept of 'deontic modality' in the literature. Section 3 highlights the semantic/pragmatic functions of deontic *ʔilla* in JA. The syntax of *ʔilla* that is undergoing investigation will be addressed in section 4, with special focus on the distributional properties of *ʔilla* and its inter-relatedness with syntactic phenomena like tense, negation, (non)assertiveness. Section 5 draws concluding remarks.

The linguistic situation in Jordan, where JA is used, can be described as being diglossic; Standard Arabic is used in formal contexts, as in education, media, religious services, whereas Jordanian Arabic (JA) is used in daily life and in informal contexts (Fergusson, 1991). Dialectal variation holds in JA, but basically in phonology and morphology. In contrast, syntactic variation in JA is less evident (Abdel-Jawad, 1986). As the researcher is from the south of Jordan, he has constructed the data using his dialect.

2. Deontic Modality:

Traditionally, modality is divided along semantic dimensions into three types: 1) epistemic modality, which refers to the degree of certainty to which a predicate holds in reality, as in *Sarah may/must be at home now*, 2) deontic modality, where the modal indicates to what degree the subject is forced to do the action, as in *David may/must leave now*, and 3) dynamic modality, which expresses ability, illustrated in *He can swim* (Palmer, 1990, 2001; de Haan, 2006; Nuyts, 2006, 2016; Xiong and Meisterernst, 2019; Cournane, 2020; Álvarez-Gil and Morales, 2021). Coates (1983) coined the term ‘root modality’ to cover both deontic modality and dynamic modality. However, as appears in this discussion, deontic modality is associated with such notions as obligation, permission, interdiction, advice, and so on.

In an attempt to broaden the definition of deontic modality so that it covers cases that are instances of deontic modality but the traditional definition fails to capture, like those in (5), Nuyts (2016, p. 36) suggests that deontic modality should refer to “an indication of the degree of moral desirability of the state of affairs expressed in the utterance, typically but not necessarily on behalf of the speaker.”

(5) a. We cannot fire him just like that; he’s been our best employee of the year.

b. We applaud this local community initiative.

(Nuyts, 2016, p. 36)

Nuyts (2006, 2016) means for moral desirability or morality to be wide without restrictions. Hence, an act is moral if it conforms to the societal standards and/or to personal criteria. To illustrate, a gangster may judge an act of stealing or killing someone as being advantageous, even though it is against the well-established societal norms. Accordingly, (6-7) instantiate sentences with the same deontic modal verb *should*, even though societal morality is violated in the first, but not the second, of them (6).

(6) He looks having a big fortune. We should steal his car sooner.

(7) We should protect the properties of the others.

It is to be noted that deontic modality is expressed through various means, the most common of which are modal auxiliary verbs (8), modal affixes (9), predicative adjectives (10), and speech act verbs (11) (Palmer, 1990, 2001; de Haan, 2006).Cournane (2020) makes a distinction between functional and lexical markers of modality. Functional markers include items like auxiliary and functional verbs, whereas functional markers involve such items as adjectivesand verbs.

(8) You must stop at red light.

(9) Tamil (-*laam* permission)

avan peeca-laam

3SG speak-PERM(permission)

‘He is allowed to speak.’

(deHaan, 2006, p. 36)

(9) It is necessary that you come on time.

(10) I demand that you leave the room immediately.

It is also pertinent to mention the classification of deontic modality into two types. The first includes directives, in which the speaker attempts to get the listener to do things (12), and the second involves commissives, in which the speaker commits themselves to do a certain action (13) (Searle, 1983; Palmer, 2001).

(12) You may park your car here.

(13) You shall receive a gift from me tomorrow.

In brief, deontic modality may be defined with notions related to individual or/and societal desirability, and it is conveyed through such means as modal auxiliary verbs, adjectives, speech act verbs, and affixes.

3. Semantic/Pragmatic Properties of Deontic *ʔilla*

In its use as a deontic modal, *ʔilla* ‘ought to’ indicates what is desired and ideal, from the perspective of the speaker and/or the whole society, as discussed in Section 2. This covers employing *ʔilla* in invitations (14), strong advice (15), rules and regulations (16), and the like.

(14) Invitations:

a. ʔilla tityadda maʕ-i.
 ought.to have.lunch.2SGM with-me
 ‘You are warmly invited to have lunch with me.’

b. ʔilla ʔassawii-la-k gahwah.
 ought.to make.1SG-for-you coffee
 ‘I am making you a cup of coffee.’

(Intended: You are warmly invited to have a cup of coffee.)

c. ʔilla ʔadfaʕ ʕann-ak.
 ought.to pay.1SGM for-you
 ‘I would like to pay for you.’

(15) Strong Advice:

a. ʔilla tiʕmal kull l-fhuus^vaat li-l-ʔt^vmiʔnaan
 ought.to do all the-tests for-the-reassurance
 ‘You ought to do all tests for assurance.’

b. ɔ^sayt^s-ak mirtafiʕ ʔilla tigt^saʕ
 blood.pressure-your got.high ought.to cut.out.2SGM
 il-miliħ w-il-gahwah ʕaʕaan jinzil.
 the-salt and-the-coffee in.order.to lower.3SGN

‘Your blood pressure is high. You ought to cut out salt and coffee so that it lowers.’

(16) Rules and Regulations:

a. ʔilla taaxuð muwaafaqah gabl il-muyaadarah.
 have.to take.2SGM consent before the-leaving
 ‘You have to take consent before leaving.’

b. ʔilla tidfaʕ ʕan il-ħumuulah iz-zaaidih.
 have.to pay.2SGM for the-load the-extra
 ‘You have to pay for the overload.’

- c. *ʔilla* *titʔfii* *tilifon-ak* *χilaal* *il-imtihaan*.
have.to turn.off telephone-your during the-exam
'You have to turn off during the exam.'

Some remarks about these specific contexts for *ʔilla* are in order. When using *ʔilla* to make an invitation or advice, speakers feel themselves obliged to cordially invite and show hospitality. Similarly, incorporating *ʔilla* into a statement to make advice, advisers believe the advisees have to take their advice seriously because it is needed. If their advice is not taken, and, as a result of that, the advisee faces any harm, the adviser will feel of sorrow and pain, of course out of solidarity and closeness between the adviser and the advisee. With rules and regulations, *ʔilla* is not employed by decision-makers, but it is used to report the items of rules by companions of the addressee/s or by officials who are required to execute rules and enforce them. Consequently, *ʔilla* in JA marks the directive, rather than the commissive, deontic modality, discussed in the previous section (Searle, 1983; Palmer, 2001).

It should be mentioned that *ʔilla* 'ought to' may be used to express what is desired by an individual, but not what is not acceptable and fit in the society. As shown in (17), the speaker maintains that the addressee should take their brother's revenge, although this kind of act, which involves hurting others, who may be innocent, is judged from the perspective of the society to be unadvisable, improper, and unfair.

- (17) *ʔilla* *taaxuð* *θaarʔ* *aχu-uk*.
have.to take.2SGM revenge brother-your
'You have to take his brother's revenge.'

The semantic role that *ʔilla* 'ought to' contributes to the sentence seems to stem from the exclusive focus power it already has. As mentioned in the introduction, *ʔilla* is used in Standard Arabic and in many varieties of Arabic as an exclusive focus particle, as exemplified in (2) above and in (18) below. It has been argued in Aljeradaat (2016) that exclusive *ʔilla* in Standard Arabic and in JA focuses on a constituent and excludes the focused item from all of its alternatives, which are contextually induced, so the sentence holds to the focus, but not to any of its alternative/s. Hence, in (18), the utterance asserts and entails that only bread was eaten by the speaker.

(18)	maa	ʔakalt	ʔilla	χubz.
	NEG	ate.1SGM	except	bread
	‘I ate nothing, except bread.’			

A sentence like (18), due to the existence of exclusive *ʔilla*, entails that the speaker ate nothing, except bread. That is, if it is true that someone ate nothing, except bread (the first proposition), it necessarily follows that that person ate nothing else (the second proposition). The entailment of the first proposition for the second proposition explains the contradiction that results if the speaker asserts the first proposition and denies the second proposition (König, 1991; Aljeradaat, 2016).

In the same fashion, deontic *ʔilla* ‘ought to’ appears to focus on the predicate, which includes the verb that immediately follows, its complement/s, and modifying adjunct/s, if there is any (i.e. the whole VP), and to exclude it from its alternative. Hence, the subject only has one choice: to do the action or to have the state in the predicate, but nothing else. In principle, the alternative of the predicate that *ʔilla* ‘ought to’ focuses on and excludes involves the opposite of what is denoted in the predicate. For example, in (19), *ʔilla* puts the predicate *taaxuð id-dawaʔalʔaan* ‘take the medicine now’ under its focus and excludes it from the alternative of not taking the medicine now. Accordingly, the use of *ʔilla* as a deontic modal is extension of its typical use as an exclusive focus particle.

(19)	ʔilla	taaxuð	id-dawa	ʔalʔaan.
	ought.to	take.2SGM	the-medicine	now
	‘You ought to take the medicine now.’			

Importantly, a sentence like (18) entails that the addressee should do nothing else other than taking the medicine now (i.e. the exclusion of the predicate from its alternative). Put differently, if it is true that it is desired for the addressee to take the medicine now (proposition 1), it is also true that not taking the medicine now by the same addressee (proposition 2) is not desired. This displays the successful working of the basic test of entailment, which states that “a proposition X ENTAILS a proposition Y if the truth of Y follows necessarily from the truth of X” (Hurford, Heasley, and Smith, 2007, p. 111). The entailment of proposition 1 for proposition 2 explains the contradiction that results if the speaker asserts that one should take the medicine now and denies that the same person should not, say, delay taking the medicine now.

Moreover, the non-reinforcement test of entailment can be successfully run to prove that proposition 1 entails proposition 2. According to this test, entailment of two propositions is found if asserting the truthfulness of both proposition 1 and proposition 2 results in redundancy (Chierchia and McConnell-Ginnet, 2000). Stating that a person should take the medicine now, and, at the same time, stating that this person should not, for example, delay taking the medicine give rise to redundancy.

In brief, the deontic modal *ʔilla* ‘ought to’ in JA expresses what is desired to be done or to be, from the standpoint of the society and/or the speaker. The semantic function of *ʔilla* that is undergoing investigation is argued to be part of its semantic function as an exclusive focus particle. Deontic *ʔilla* focuses on the predicate and excludes it from the alternative, which involves the opposite of what is denoted in the predicate. Semantically, a sentence with deontic *ʔilla* entails that the subject should do nothing, but what is mentioned in the predicate.

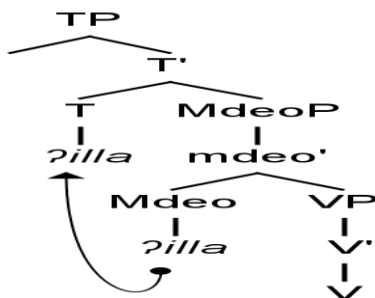
4. The Syntax of Deontic *ʔilla*

First, this section lays out the syntactic analysis proposed for deontic *ʔilla* ‘ought to’ in JA, which is supposed to be able to account for the distribution of *ʔilla* in the clause structure. Then, the (in)ability of *ʔilla* to occur in negative and non-assertive contexts to deontic *ʔilla* is addressed.

4.1. *ʔilla* in the Clausal Hierarchy

Examining the corpus of data illustrating the use of deontic *ʔilla* in JA shows clearly that *ʔilla*, in all of the illustrating examples, precedes the verb that it focuses on. Accordingly, I am led to propose that *ʔilla* is a deontic modal particle that heads its own projection (Deontic Modal Phrase=MdeoP). As represented in (20), *ʔilla* first merges in the head position of MdeoP, where it immediately c-commands the verb, and then it moves to fill the head position of TP.

(20)



Under the assumption that *ʔilla* raises from the head position of MdeoP to reside in the head position of TP, as sketched in the structure in (20), an account can be provided for the observation that the modal undergoing inspection in the current study has a modal meaning as well as a temporal one (Fassi-Fehri, 1993). In addition to the deontic modal meaning *ʔilla* expresses, as already pointed out, it suggests future reference. In terms of Eisele’s (1990) analysis of tense in Cairene Arabic as an ordering of time intervals, I find that in all of the sentences having deontic *ʔilla* speech time precedes event time and reference time; the speaker expresses what is desired to be done after the moment of speech. Accordingly, one can explain the incompatibility of present and past time adverbials with deontic *ʔilla* + an imperfective verb, unlike future adverbials, as evident in (21).

- (21) *ʔilla* *tifhas*^s *is-sukkar* *bukrah/* **haaliijan/*
 ought.to check.2SGM the-sugar tomorrow/ now
 **ʔams.*
 yesterday
 ‘You ought to check sugar tomorrow/now/yesterday.’

The proposal that *ʔilla* is a modal particle, rather than a modal verb, is well-grounded. First, as maintained in Fassi-Fehri (1993), Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri (2010), and Albaty (2019), modal verbs in Arabic, like *juffaðʕal* ‘had better’ in JA (22), select CPs as their complements; on the other hand, modal particles are immediately followed with verbal projections, but not CPs, as in (23), which illustrates one of the uses of the modal particle *qad* ‘may’ in Modern Standard Arabic. One

should notice in the aforementioned data that deontic *ʔilla* patterns with particles, rather than with modal verbs; it comes immediately before a verb.

- (22) *juffað^sð^sal* *ʔinn-aktraadziʕ* *it^s-t^sabiib*.
had.better that-youvisit.2SGM the-doctor
‘You had better visit the doctor.’

- (23) *qad* *jafuuz*.
may win.3SGM.
‘He may win.’

Second, *ʔilla* does not host any affixing material, which is the basic feature of modal particles that has not been doubted so far (Schoonjans, 2013). In order to theoretically encode the property of lack of agreement features on *ʔilla* within the framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2000, 2001), I assume that *ʔilla* does not need to search in its domain for any goal with matching interpretable features and valued features, because it does not carry any semantically uninterpretable features nor any lexically unvalued features. The permanent positioning of *ʔilla* before a verb explains why a pronominal affix may not attach to *ʔilla*. The weak pronominal affixes that occur after verbs incorporate into verbs, but may not pass any higher to link to the particle, as exhibited in (24), since this latter movement of the affix across the verb to the particle induces violation to Relativized Minimality of Rizzi (1990), according to which movement of a head across another head is disallowed.

- (24) a. *ʔilla* *ʔastað^siif-ak*
have.to host.1SG-you
‘I would like to host you.’
b. **ʔilla-ak* *ʔastað^siif*.
have.to-you host.1SG

It is worth touching on the morpho-syntactic form of the verb after *ʔilla*. As appears in the corpus of the data in the current research, the verb joining deontic *ʔilla* is fixed to be in the imperfective form. The reasoning behind this, assuming the proposed structure in (20), is straightforward. In Arabic, there is consensus that the imperfective form of verb does not necessarily encode present tense. That is, the imperfective verb may be found in sentences with present tense (25), as well as in sentences with

future tense markers (26), modals (27), negative imperatives (28), and others (Benmamoun 2000, Aoun et al. 2010, Ouali 2018). This tells clearly that (i) the perfective form of verb is used in sentences with past tense, whereas the imperfective verb is the default or elsewhere form of verb (i.e. in all contexts except when the tense is not past) and that (ii) “the verb morphology does not mark tense and that syntactic and pragmatic factors are crucial for the different tense interpretations” (Ouali 2018, p. 89).

(25) *judrus* *bi-s^ʕ-s^ʕaalah* *ħaalijjan*.
 study.3SGM.PROG in-the-hall now.
 ‘He is studying in the hall now.’

(26) *raħ* *jisaafir* *bukrah*.
 be.going.to travel.3SGM tomorrow
 ‘He is going to travel tomorrow.’

(27) *jimkin* *jfuuz*.
 may win.3SGM
 ‘He may win.’

(28) *laa* *titʔaxxar*.
 NEG be.late.2SGM
 ‘Don’t be late.’

It is reflected in the structure delineated in (20) that the verb heading VP is banned from movement to T position crossing the head of Mdeop, in order not to violate Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990), which has already been discussed, and because the T position is already filled with the modal *ʔilla*. As a result, the imperfective verb remains in-situ (i.e. in the head position of VP) with the default form. In that place, the imperfective verb does not express any tense.

Before proceeding with further technical details, it sounds interesting to inspect copular constructions having deontic *ʔilla*. One should note in (29) that *ʔilla* immediately precedes the copular verb *jkuun* ‘be’ in its imperfective form. The proposed structure in (20) accounts for the distribution of *ʔilla* in such a sentence; the copular verb is taken to fill the V position, immediately after Mdeop, as argued in the literature on copular constructions in Arabic (Benmamoun, 2000; Aoun et al., 2010).

(29) *ʔilla* *jkuun* *maʕ-ak* *viiza* *ʕaʕaan* *tudɣul*
 have.to be with-you visa in.order.to enter.2SGM
ʔamriika.
 America

‘You have to have a visa in order to enter America.’

It is interesting to note that *jkuun* in its aspectual function may not follow deontic *ʔilla* (30) and that *ʔilla-jkuun* may not precede a perfective verb (31) (These two sentences are judged grammatical under the epistemic, rather than the deontic, reading of them.). That is, after deontic *ʔilla*, only an imperfective full verb or the copula verb *jkuun* may be found, as already exemplified.

(30)**ʔilla* *jkuun* *jsaaʕid* *il-marðʕaa* *lʔaan*.
 must PROG.3SGM help.3SGM the-patients now

‘He is required to be helping the patients now.’

(31)**ʔilla* *jkuun* *wasʕal* *il-ʔurdun* *ʔams*.
 must PERF arrived.3SGM the-Jordan yesterday

‘He is required to have arrived Jordan yesterday.’

The analysis I am proposing for deontic *ʔilla*, sketched in (20), deviates from the one that Fassi-Fehri (1993, 2012) advocates for Arabic modal particles in more than one way, which should be highlighted and explained. For Fassi-Fehri (1993, 2012), the sentences having modal particles, like *qad* in (32), are assumed to have structures that are temporally bi-inflectional, as diagrammed in (33).

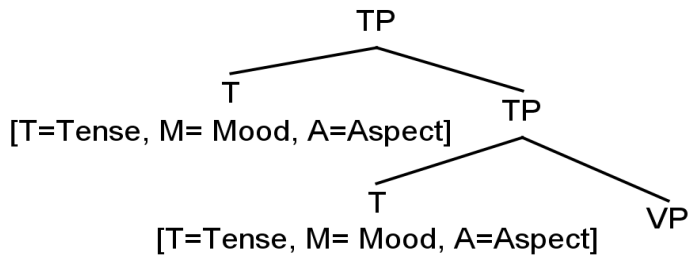
(32) a. *qad* *yaadara* *al-ʔurdun*.
 just left.3SGM the-Jordan

‘He has just left Jordan.’

b. *qad* *jasʕilu* *al-jawma*.
 may arrive.3SGM the-today

‘He may arrive today.’

(33)



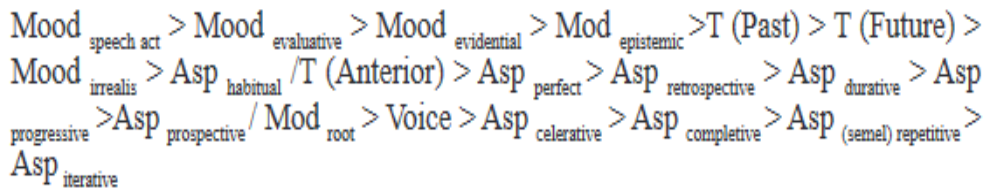
This analysis assumes that the modal particle fills the T position of the first TP, as argued in Lasnik (1995) and Alex-Tober and Gergel (2016), among others, for modal verbs in English, where such verbs were found to display the properties of auxiliaries. In addition, Fassi-Fehri intends to account, in his analysis in (33), for the bi-temporality of the clauses encompassing modal particles. With regard to *qad*, Fassi-Fehri (1993, 2012) states that this modal expresses a modal and a temporal meaning, so it is located in the T position of the higher TP, and the main verb, which is assumed to fill the V position of the second TP, may mark the past tense (32a) as well as the present tense (32b). In such a configuration, the perfective form moves from V to the lower T, and the imperfective form remains in V position with the lower T carrying the present tense feature.

Contra Fassi-Fehri (1993, 2012), I assume in the analysis reported in the current study, portrayed in (20), that deontic *ʔilla* fills the Mdeo position before it moves to T position in order to reflect the fact that, as already pointed out, this modal contributes to modality as well as to temporality. In addition, the verb after deontic *ʔilla* is invariably imperfective, unlike the case with the modal *qad* that seems to have motivated Fassi-Fehri to propose his bi-temporal structure of modal particles, so there is no need, I believe, for two TPs. Hence, it may happen that different types of modals in Arabic have different structures. A few pieces of data that support this standpoint are found in (34), where epistemic *ʔilla* may appear with an imperfective verb, *jkuun-an* imperfective verb, and *jkuun-a* perfective verb. These instances of epistemic *ʔilla* in (34) are telling about that structural difference/s between epistemic *ʔilla* and deontic *ʔilla*; bi-temporality is expected to hold with epistemic *ʔilla*, but not with the deontic one.

- (34) a. *ʔilla jfuuz fi-l-mubaarah.*
 bound.to win.3SGM in-the-match
 ‘He is bound to win the match.’
- b. *ʔilla jkuun judrus al-ʔaan.*
 bound.to be.3SGM study.3SGM the-now
 ‘He is bound to be studying now.’
- c. *ʔilla jkuun saafar.*
 bound.to be.3SGM travelled.3SGM
 ‘He is bound to have travelled.’

It is worth testing if the ordering of deontic *ʔilla* in relation to other types of modals in JA comes in agreement with the universal hierarchy of functional projections that was developed by Cinque (1999, p. 106), reported in (35). As sketched in (35), the hierarchy predicts for deontic modals, which are covered with the umbrella term ‘root modals’, as discussed in section 2, to follow epistemic and evidential modals. This prediction obtains in JA; *ʔilla* follows the evidential modal *jikluh* ‘evidently’ in (36) as well as the epistemic modal *jimkin* ‘maybe’ in (37). In these two sentences, not unexpectedly, *ʔilla* may not follow the evidential and epistemic modal markers. As a result, the hierarchy is supported with data instantiating different types of modality in JA.

(35)



- (36) *jikluh ʔilla ʔadfaʕ yaraamah ʕan*
 evidently have.to pay.1SGM fine for
it-taʔʕiir.
 the-delay
 ‘Evidently, I have to pay fine for the delay.’

(37)	jimkin	ʔilla	ʔaʕmal	faħs ^s	korona	gabl
	maybe	have.to	do.1SG	test	Corona	before
	is-safar	liʕannuh	maa	ʔaʕaðt	il-mat ^s ʕuum.	
	the-travel	because	NEG	take.1SG	the-vaccine	

‘Maybe I have to do test for Corona before travel because I have not taken the vaccine.’

In brief, I have argued, in this sub-section, that deontic *ʔilla* is a modal particle that first merges in the head position of the projection MdeoP immediately above VP, and then rises to the T position as it is documented to have a double function of expressing what is desirable and suggesting future temporality. The verb that fills the V position, after the deontic modal under examination, is regularly imperfective as it represents the default form of the verb. The next part of the current study discusses the syntactic grounds of the chance of having deontic *ʔilla* in negative sentences

4.2. *ʔilla* in Negative Sentences

One of the well-established facts about deontic *ʔilla* in JA is that it may not occur in a negative sentence with a negative particle immediately before or after it, as shown in (38). It should be mentioned that in the absence of *ʔilla* in a sentence like (38) the negative particle that may join the sentence is *maa*, but here all of the negative particles in JA are positioned around the modal under study in order to stress the impossibility of having *ʔilla* after and before negation (See Alsarayreh (2012) for more on the syntax of negation in JA).

(38)	(*maa/*laa/*muʃ/*muu)	ʔilla	(*maa/*laa/*muʃ/*muu)
	NEG	have.to	NEG
	ts ^s uff	hon.	
	park.2SGM	here	

‘You are (not) allowed to park here.’

The ban on having deontic *ʔilla* after a negative particle follows straightforwardly under the assumption that *ʔilla* is a positive polarity item (PPI). PPIs may not occur in the scope of negation, like *already* (39), *unfortunately* (40), and *some* (41) (Giannakidou, 2011; Iatridou and Zeijlstra, 2013). Apparently, the sentences (39-40) turn to be licit if the PPIs

arise in non-negative sentences. However, (41) is grammatical even though the PPI is found after negation. Taking that *some* undergoes covert movement on the LF to a position higher than negation, the grammaticality of this sentence can be easily captured. The hypothesis that the PPI is rescued in such a construction through covert movement is supported if we take into account that this sentence is true under the truth conditions that Bill bought (let us say) two or three books and did not buy eight or ten books. Put differently, the same sentence turns to be false if Bill did not buy any books (Giannakidou, 2011).

(39) a. John is here already.

b. *John is not here already.

(40) a. Unfortunately, John died.

b. *John did not unfortunately die.

(41) Bill didn't buy some books.

(Giannakidou, 2011:1665)

Based on these grounds, I will take deontic *?illa* to be a PPI that may not occur in the scope of negation. One may ask why, when *?illa* follows negation, this PPI modal could not move on the LF to be superior to negation, so that it would out scope negation and survive there. The answer is that this modal particle needs to be adjacent to the verb it focuses on, as reiterated when surveying the data above; hence, this covert movement sounds illegitimate.

It is also represented in (38) that a negative particle may not follow *?illa*. The reason is that the sentential negative particles *maa* and *laa*, which are used in the context of verbal predicates, are argued to reside above TP, whereas *?illa*, as discussed in section 4.1, is proposed to be in the head position of TP. The other two negative particles *muf* and *muu* may not precede verbal predicates (Alsarayreh, 2012). Consequently, the reasons behind the inability of having any of the negative particles after *?illa* are made clear.

In order to have a more comprehensive picture about the distribution of *?illa*, especially in the context of negation, and to support the standpoint that *?illa* is a PPI, I will refer to two distributional properties of PPIs that deontic *?illa* exhibits in JA. First, on a par with PPIs, deontic *?illa* may occur under the scope of contrastive negation (42) (Szabolcsi, 2004; Iatridou and Zeijlstra, 2013).

(42) <i>il-muʔkilih</i>	<i>muʔ[</i>	<i>ʔinnuh</i>	<i>ʔillaj</i>	<i>idfaʕ</i>
the-problem	NEG	that	have.to	pay.3SGM
<i>il-ʔaraamah],</i>	<i>il-muʔkilih</i>	<i>[ʔinnuh</i>	<i>ʔilla</i>	
the-fine	the-problem	that	have.to	
<i>jʕiid</i>	<i>il-mawaad].</i>			
retake.3SGM	the-courses			

‘The problem is not that he has to pay the fine, but that he has to retake the courses.’

Second, *ʔilla* patterns with PPIs in being able to scope under clause-external negation (43) (Szabolcsi, 2004; Iatridou and Zeijlstra, 2013). It stands to reason that this exact type of negation in JA renders the PPI illicit if it is clause-internal with the PPI.

(43) <i>ʔana</i>	<i>maa</i>	<i>ʔaðʕun</i>	<i>ʔinnuh</i>	<i>ʔilla</i>	<i>tidfaʕ</i>	<i>rusuum</i>
I	NEG	think.1SG	that	have.to	pay.2SG	fees
<i>marrah</i>	<i>θaanjih.</i>					NEG > [CP <i>ʔilla</i>
once	again					

‘I don’t think that you have pay fees once again.’

To recap, I have argued that deontic *ʔilla* is a PPI, so it may not follow clause-internal negation. Like all PPIs, *ʔilla* may follow contrastive negation and negation in a higher clause.

4.3. *ʔilla* in Non-Assertive Contexts

The deontic modal *ʔilla* may appear in assertive sentences, as illustrated in the many examples already given, as well as in nonassertive sentences, including yes-no questions (44), wh-questions (45), and protases of conditionals (46).

(44) <i>ʔilla</i>	<i>ʔaʕabbi</i>	<i>tʔalab</i>	<i>dʒadiid?</i>
have.to	fill.1SGM	application	new

‘Do I have to fill a new application?’

(45) lejʃ ʔilla ʔadzjib muwaafaqat il-mudiir?
 why have.to get.1SGM approval the-manager
 ‘Why am I required to get the manager’s approval?’

(46) ʔiða kaan ʔilla ʔadfaʃ il-muxaalafih,
 if was have.to pay.1SGM the-fine
 xallii-ni ʔadfaʃ-haa kaaf hassa.
 let.2SG-ME pay.1SG-it cash now
 ‘If I am required to pay the fine, let me pay it in cash now.’

By contrast, nonassertive sentences may not host epistemic modals, as in (47), which shows clearly that *ʔilla* in its epistemic use turns the wh-question ill-formed.

(47) (*mata) ʔilla jkuun was^{val} beit-uh?
 when must PERF arrived.3SGM home-his
 ‘When must he have arrived his home?’

That, unlike epistemic *ʔilla*, the deontic one is licit in nonassertive sentences is consistent with the cross-linguistic observation that holds that deontic modals are not excluded from non-declarative clauses (McDowell, 1987; Drubig, 2001). Epistemic modals express judgments about the certainty of a proposition in reality, so they do not suit utterances that are not truth-evaluable (Palmer, 1990, 2001; de Haan, 2006; Nuyts, 2006). On the other hand, deontic *ʔilla*, which describes what is desirable, is not to be affected by the truth conditions of the utterance in which it exists (Wright, 1968). As a result, it may arise freely in declarative and non-declarative clauses. In other words, one can utter a sentence to inform what ought to be done and, in the same fashion, they can ask whether something is desirable (i.e. yes-no question), request for more details about what should be done (i.e. wh-question), and report that the desired proposition is a condition for a certain consequence (i.e. protasis of a conditional).

5. Conclusion

This study has investigated the syntax of deontic *ʔilla* in JA. I have shown that *ʔilla* conveys what is desired to be done from the perspective of the individual and/or the society, as in invitations, advice, and rules. This function that *ʔilla* does, I have argued, stems from the exclusive focus force that the modal in question has; *ʔilla* focuses on the predicate it attaches to

and excludes it from its alternative. As for the syntax of *ʔilla*, I have argued that it heads its projection (MdeOP), first-merges there, and, then, moves to fill the head position of TP. The imperfective verb form after *ʔilla*, it was shown, is the default verb form that does not bear any temporality. In addition, the proposal that deontic *ʔilla* should be taken as a PPI is supported by the observations that it may follow contrastive negation as well as negation in a higher clause. Unsurprisingly, it was revealed that deontic *ʔilla* may surface in assertive plus nonassertive contexts.

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