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**BAKALÁŘSKÁ PRÁCE**

# Modality in Iraqi Arabic

*Modalita v irácké arabštině*

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I wish to express my deepest gratitude firstly, to my supervisor Adam Pospíšil, a person with a kind heart and great patience, I know, dealing with me is not the easiest thing at all.

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Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne ....., .....

## Abstract

The thesis provides a basic description of elementary modal expressions appearing in Baghdadi Arabic (BA). The basic methodological framework is adopted primarily from typological and descriptive-linguistic literature dealing with the classification of the types of modality. The information is partly taken from existing descriptions of various varieties of Iraqi Arabic. However, in view of the fact that the means to express different types of modality in BA are not exhaustively described in the literature, exemplification based on authentic data processed directly for purposes of this research are at the heart of the thesis. Spontaneous data was collected from public available sources (both spoken and written) and was complemented by data with native-speaker consultants (especially to identify differences in meaning between existing modal means). The thesis thus provides a description of modal constructions in BA based primarily on real language data.

## Abstrakt

Tato bakalářská práce předkládá deskripci základních modálních výrazů v bagdádské arabštině. Základní metodologický rámec přebírá z typologické a deskriptivně-lingvistické literatury zabývající se klasifikací typů modalit. Částečně čerpá z existujících deskripcí různých variet irácké arabštiny. Vzhledem k tomu, že však prostředky vyjádření modalit v irácké arabštině nejsou doposud v literatuře vyčerpávajícím způsobem popsány, je jádrem práce exemplifikace vycházející z autentických dat zpracovaných přímo pro její účely. Spontánní data byla sesbírána z veřejně dostupných zdrojů (v mluvené i psané podobě) a jsou doplněna daty cíleně elicitovanými s konzultanty z řad rodilých mluvčích (zejména pro zjištění významových rozdílů mezi existujícími modálními prostředky). Práce tak poskytuje popis modálních konstrukcí v bagdádské arabštině založený primárně na reálných jazykových datech.

## Keywords

Iraqi Arabic, Baghdadi Arabic, modality, morphosyntax, descriptive linguistics, Arabic dialectology

## Klíčová slova

irácká arabština, bagdádská arabština, modalita, morfosyntax, deskriptivní lingvistika, arabská dialektologie

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## Abbreviations

|      |                        |
|------|------------------------|
| 1    | first person           |
| 2    | second person          |
| 3    | third person           |
| BA   | Baghdadi Arabic        |
| F    | feminine               |
| FUT  | future                 |
| IA   | Iraqi Arabic           |
| IMPF | imperfect              |
| M    | masculine              |
| MSA  | Modern Standard Arabic |
| PL   | plural                 |
| SG   | singular               |
| TAM  | tense, aspect, mood    |

## Arabic transcription

For transcribing Arabic data I use the following transcription, (based mostly on the traditional ZDMG transcription):

|   |   |
|---|---|
| ص | ʂ emphatic voiceless dental fricative   |
| ط | t̤ emphatic voiceless dental stop       |
| ض | ɖ emphatic voiced dental fricative      |
| ظ | ʐ emphatic voiced interdental fricative |
| غ | ɣ voiced pharyngeal fricative           |
| خ | ħ voiceless velar fricative             |
| ء | ʔ voiceless glottal stop                |
| ع | ʕ voiced pharyngeal fricative           |
| ث | t̪ voiceless interdental fricative      |
| ذ | ɗ voiced interdental fricative          |
| ق | q voiceless uvular stop                 |
| ك | k voiceless velar stop                  |
| ج | ɡ̃ voiced palato-alveolar fricative     |
| ش | ʃ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative   |
| ح | ħ voiceless pharyngeal fricative        |
| چ | ç voiceless palato-alveolar fricative   |
| گ | g voiced velar stop                     |
|   | ā long vowel [a]                        |
|   | ī long vowel [i]                        |
|   | ū long vowel [u]                        |

ē long vowel [e]

ō long vowel [o]

### Translations and examples

All text translations were done by the author for the purpose of this work. Examples were translated either by the author or by native consultants, except examples taken from secondary sources, which were left without change (including possible imperfections in transcription or translation)

## 1. Introduction

My very first encounter with the Iraqi dialect happened when I got acquainted with Iraqi music. While listening to it, I was amazed by it for the first time. It seemed to me very beautiful, and I still consider Baghdadi Arabic (BA) the most beautiful dialect of the Arabic language. I don't mean to offend the other no less amazing dialects, but Iraqi is the closest one to my heart. That is why I decided to focus on it in my bachelor thesis. The topic of the research, modality in BA, was suggested by my supervisor, and I gladly accepted it, as I already had some ideas about certain modal constructions in BA. Again, it was Iraqi songs which taught me the basic modal expressions. Lyrics of some of them (*"lāzim` a `iṣ anī ḥattā law ṭawānī* "and *"arīd` agulak `anī qāfil `alayk"*) stuck in my head for a long time.

In this bachelor thesis, I will describe the basic modal expressions appearing in Baghdadi Arabic, providing a brief account of their grammatical behavior, illustrated by authentic examples

The goals of the thesis are thus the following:

- 1) identify the elementary modal constructions of BA;
- 2) characterize these constructions in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour;
- 3) characterize the semantic and pragmatic properties of these constructions by using authentic data.

What all of the existing resources on Iraqi Arabic have in common, is that modality is nowhere comprehensively discussed as a special topic. It is never treated as a separate chapter, and modal expressions usually appear within chapters on syntax or auxiliary verbs. And, even there the means to express different types of modality in Iraqi Arabic are not exhaustively describe. Therefore, the overview of modal expressions in this thesis must, to a great extent, be based on authentic data gathered directly for its purposes. This work is thus an attempt to provide a compact data-driven description of modal constructions in BA.

The spontaneous data is collected from public available sources (both spoken and written), and is complemented by data gathered with native consultants (especially in order to identify differences in meaning between existing modal means). The thesis thus provides a description of modal constructions based primarily on real language data. All examples, which were found in literature, were checked with native consultants to make sure that the information in it is nowadays relevant.

Theoretical part of my thesis is very simplified since the goal of it is exclusively descriptive. The basic methodological framework is adopted primarily from typological and descriptive-linguistic literature dealing with the classification of individual types of modality.

Due to time constraints, I could not find out the answers to all the questions that came up over time. Naturally, it often happens that the answer to one question (related to a particular construction) opens several other related questions, which cannot be answered within the scope of this research.

As implied above, the most important part of the research (and at the same time my favorite one) was elicitation with native speakers. I was always looking for an opportunity to consult with my Iraqi informants and learn something new about the topic. It thus happened, that two of my picnics

with Iraqis this summer, took place with a pen and a notebook in my hands, with people of different generations gathered around me and providing answers to a variety of questions aimed at learning more about their language. Interestingly, as soon as I began to be immersed into the topic of modality in BA, Iraqis themselves, by the will of fate, began to come into my life. Thanks to this research, my life has thus been enriched with many new wonderful people.

### 1.1. Overview of existing literature

I found only one modern comprehensive grammatical description of Iraqi Arabic- *A Short Reference Grammar of Iraqi Arabic* by Erwin (2004). However, I also used other sources dealing with Iraqi Arabic , such as «Iraqi Dialect Versus Standard Arabic» by Al-Bazi and «*The Arabic of Iraq*» by Al-Sadoon.

Studies devoted particularly to BA are *Christian Arabic Of Baghdad* by Abu Haidar and *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* by Haim Blanc. That last one was the first major work describing the language situation in Baghdad, which I am briefly describing in the next section 1.2.

Since Iraqi Arabic is not too commonly studied by students of the Arabic language, in comparison with other dialects, for example, Egyptian or Levantine, there are not many available learning materials. The textbook by Wagoner (1949), *Spoken Iraqi Arabic*, uses both the Arabic script and transcription. It provides a helpful corpus of daily conversations. However, in my opinion, some information provided in it, is already outdated, as it was published in 1949.

Another useful textbook is «*Arabskiy yazyk. Bagdagskiy dialect*» by Jamil & Mokrushina (2012). In my opinion, it is the only well organized textbook of IA in the Russian language. It is well structured and very intelligible. I found there some Iraqi phrases which I didn't have idea about before and which I could then verify with native speakers. The second textbook of IA in Russian is *Irakskiy Dialect Arabskogo Jazyka* by Toros (2019).

What all of the resources have in common is that modality is never comprehensively discussed as a special topic. It is never treated as a separate chapter and modal expressions usually appear within chapters on syntax or auxiliary verbs.

Since my work is not theoretically focused on modality, I will not give an overview of all existing literature on modality. , I based my approach to modality on the the publications by Plungian (2012), Velupillai (2012), Hengeveld (2004), Bybee (1994) and Palmer (2001).

## 1.2. Baghdadi Arabic

In this section I will briefly introduce Baghdadi Arabic in the context of Arabic dialectology.

Arabic dialects are usually categorized into the following five main groups:

1. Egyptian
2. Maghrebi / North African
3. Levantine
4. Gulf
5. Iraqi <sup>1</sup>

Varieties within these groups are considered mutually intelligible.

Iraqi Arabic (IA) is in turn divided into several dialects. Due to ethnic, geographic, and religious diversity of Iraq there is also remarkable linguistic diversity (Al-Sadoon, 2019:33). Different linguists categorize IA differently. Al-Sadoon (2019:33) describes each categorization. For example, Al-Bazi (2005) divides IA into three main dialects:

1. **Baghdadi** (the majority of Baghdad),
2. **Southern** (Nassiriya, Hilla, A'maara, and Basrah)
3. **Northern** or **Moslawi** (Mosul, Al-Shirqat, Kirkuk, and some areas of Samara and Tikrit) (Sundus Al-Sadoon, 2019:34).

Al-Sadoon does not fully accept the classification above, considering it unreliable, as he claims, that «IA cannot be classified depending on geographical basis only, since there is a great deal of similarity between dialects spoken in two geographically separated areas. The same is also true about the differences found between dialects spoken in two geographically close or neighboring areas» (Al-Sadoon, 2019:34). He prefers another classification created by Haim Blanc (1964), where IA is divided into two groups labeled by the forms: *qaltu* and *galat*.<sup>2</sup> Each of them contains many subgroups. The *qaltu* varieties are spoken by non-Muslims (Christian and Jews) and *galat* varieties are used by Muslims.

Modern Baghdadi Arabic (in the following chapters just BA) is the variety of Arabic spoken in the capital of Iraq and it is one of the *galat* varieties, i.e. spoken by Muslims. However, BA can be presently considered as a lingua franca for all Iraqis.

Before 1948 Baghdad represented a considerable religious diversity which was also mirrored in the linguistic situation. The three varieties of Baghdadi Arabic were the following: Christian Baghdadi (CB), Jewish Baghdadi (JB) and Muslim Baghdadi (MB) (Sundus Al-Sadoon 2019:37).

One of characteristic features of the CB and the JB of Baghdad, as mentioned by Sundus Al-Sadoon (Al-Sadoon, 2019:37), is that they are «close to the sedentary dialects of the Abbasid period, in the 9th century, while MB is newer and can be traced back to the Bedouin dialects in 14th century. The political and demographic shift, in the 14th century upwards, accelerated the

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<sup>1</sup> some scholars consider the Iraqi dialect as one of the Gulf dialects (Zaidan and Callison-Burch, 2014: 4)

<sup>2</sup> The 1SG.PERF form of the verb *qāl* 'to say'.

decline of old dialects and the rise to the newer ones. Which are a mixture of Bedouin dialects and the dialects of the new urban centers in Iraq as a whole».

Wardhaugh described the situation between different varieties of BA in Baghdad: «In a city like Baghdad the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim inhabitants speak different varieties of Arabic. In this case the first two groups use their variety solely within the group but the Muslim variety serves as a lingua franca, or common language, among the groups. Consequently, Christians and Jews who deal with Muslims must use two varieties: their own at home and the Muslim variety for trade and in all inter-group relationships». (Wardhaugh, 2006:50).

As it is known, majority of Jewish people emigrated after to a new state Israel, and a lot of Christians after some time left their homeland as well (or some of them moved to other parts of Iraq). Thus I assume that nowadays JB and CB are not widely used in Baghdad.

As mentioned Al-Sadoon, due to its prestige as the vernacular of the capital, BA is often taken as a representative of Iraqi varieties in general. So, when one speaks about Iraqi Arabic, often Baghdadi Muslim Arabic is meant.

### 1.3. Modality as a linguistic category

In the broad perspective, one can say that linguistics has come a long and tortuous path in the study of modality, relying also on achievements of logic, semiotics, and psychology. However, modality has remained a notion that is vague to a great extent and has not yet received a straightforward definition. Researchers give different definitions of the modality as a linguistic category. Let us consider some of the elementary concepts on which the notion is based, starting from a very brief mention of its philosophical background and proceeding to its role in modern linguistics which is relevant for the purpose of language description.

The term modality comes from the Latin *modus* - 'measure', 'method' and appears in logic, where it denotes the characteristics of a judgment concerning the nature of the reliability it establishes, i.e. whether its possibility or necessity is expressed. Modality is thus related to the logical categories of truth / falsity, affirmation / denial. (Lapon 1990: 303)

S.A.Simatova (2020) in her article *Logical and Philosophical Conceptions Of The Category of Modality*<sup>3</sup> mentions a great contribution of Aristotle to linguistics in general, as he was the first one who began reasoning about modality.

Aristotle spoke about the division of all that "exists" into two large groups: one consisting of what exists "in possibility" and one of what exists "in reality", thereby delimiting the concepts of possibility and reality. He identified several types of opportunities, possibilities and needs, which, in his words, are associated with each other. Investigating the relationship between the possible and the necessary, the philosopher identified two main types of modality: unilateral, or unconditional, modality and bilateral, or conditional modality. Unconditional modality was associated with being in reality, and conditional modality with being in possibility. Highlighting these two types of modalities is of great importance for linguistics, since the first of them is the basis of subjective modality (roughly corresponding to *propositional* modality, as used below) in the language, and the second - the basis of objective modality (roughly corresponding to *event* modality). Aristotle's great merit also lies in the creation of a new science - modal logic, which involves the joint use of modalities and logical operations. (S.A.Simatova 2020:27)

The following brief discussion of modality from the general linguistic perspective is mainly based on Plungian (2011), who offers an accessible account of modality and mood, while also providing a helpful overview of existing differences in approach and terminology between different major treatises of the topic (represented e.g. by Palmer (2001) and Bybee (1994)).

Due to the versatility of the concept of modality, mostly linguists agree that one single conceptual centre of modality cannot be defined. But there are two common concepts which unite the modality zone: one is the attitude of a speaker towards a situation (i.e. the evaluation<sup>4</sup> of the situation), the second one is the status of the situation in relation to the real world (irreality)<sup>5</sup>. All the diverse

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<sup>3</sup> Orig. С.А.Симатова, «Логико-философские концепции категории модальности».

<sup>4</sup> In Russian, Plungian uses the term *оценка*.

<sup>5</sup> Plungian calls this concept *irreality* because such modal meanings refer to irreal situations, i.e. situations which, didn't take place, don't take place cannot take place or should not take place in the real world (Plungian 2011:320).

modal meanings will always be connected with one these two concepts, and often with both of them (Plungian 2011:3017).

**Evaluative modality** concerns the subjective opinion of a speaker about a given situation. There are several types of evaluative meanings, «depending on which parameter of the situation is being assessed and on what "scale" it is assessed by the speaker as deviating from the norm in one direction or another». (Plungian 2011:318). For example, ethic evaluation refers to the situation in terms of what is considered “good or bad”, “right or wrong”, etc, with respect to existing moral standards.

The main evaluative meaning, which is most relevant for this thesis, is the so called *epistemic* evaluation (or epistemic modality). Plungian defines it in the following way: «Эпистемическая оценка имеет отношение к сфере истинности; это оценка степени правдоподобности (или степени вероятности) данной ситуации со стороны говорящего»<sup>6</sup> (Plungian, 2011:319). Evaluation is divided into two types: in the first one, the probability of some situation is evaluated when there is not any reliable information about it, while in the second type the speaker gives *post factum* his evaluation of a situation, the truth of which was already known by him (Plungian, 2011:320). In this case, the speaker is expressing whether the results correspond with his expectation (epistemic hypothesis) about the given situation.

In the present thesis I am restricting the enquiry concerning propositional modality to the first type of epistemic modality mentioned above, i.e the evaluation of the probability of the occurrence of a situation, since it is the most common type of propositional modality and often is coded by similar or identical means like other types of modality (see the *Illustration of the difference between deontic and epistemic modality* below).

The *post factum* type of epistemic modality just like other parameters of evaluation are not covered here.

**Irreal modality** concerns the reference to situations, which do not take place in the real world: “модальные показатели этого типа описывают некоторый «альтернативный мир», существующий в сознании говорящего в момент высказывания.”<sup>7</sup> (Plungian, 2011:320)

From the time of Aristotle the main meanings of irreal modality are considered to be *necessity* and *possibility*. These two categories can, in their turn, be divided into *internal necessity/possibility* and *external necessity/possibility*. The first type is based on internal features of a participant in the described event, while the latter is a consequence of external circumstances, which exist independently of the participant which it concerns. Thus, internal possibility comprises notions like (physical or other) ability and skills, and internal necessity is “associated with the needs and, ultimately, also with the properties of the subject himself”. (Plungian, 2011:321)

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<sup>6</sup> Transl.: Epistemic evaluation is relevant to the sphere of truth; it is an evaluation of the degree of credibility (or degree of probability) of a given situation by the speaker.

<sup>7</sup> Transl.: Modal indicators of this type describe a certain "alternative world" that exists in the speaker's mind at the moment of utterance.

Since the terms *evaluative modality* and *irreal modality* are not established in the English discourse I will be using the traditional terms *epistemic modality* and *deontic modality*<sup>8</sup>, together with roughly corresponding terms used by Palmer (2001) – *propositional modality* and *event modality*, which are more self-explanatory. They are no less appropriate terms than those of Plungian, as propositional modality is concerned with the proposition, while event modality deals with the event itself.

The third main modal meaning is that of **volitive modality**. It is concerned with the expression of wish. Most of the accounts of modality agree that this function has both epistemic and deontic features.

The basic classification I have adopted for the purpose of structuring the individual constructions observed in BA, is summarized in the following table:

|             |                          |                          |                                    |
|-------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
|             | Deontic (event modality) |                          | Epistemic (propositional modality) |
|             | <i>Internal</i>          | <i>External</i>          |                                    |
| Necessity   | Necessity                | Obligation               | Certainty                          |
| Possibility | Ability                  | Possibility / Permission | Probability                        |
| Wish        | Volitive modality        |                          |                                    |

#### Grammatical means serving to express modal functions

Modal functions can be expressed in languages by various grammatical means. Hengeveld gives an overview of them. for the description of modal expressions in BA, which I present in Chapter 4, the relevant categories are that of auxiliary verbs and particles. There are different types of modal auxiliaries and modal particles in BA, with respect to the degree of their inflection and agreement. Another type of expression that I present are adverbial expressions. From the general point of view, I will not deal with the morphosyntactic theory of these devices, because the aim of this work is only descriptive.

#### Illustration of the difference between deontic and epistemic modality

Let us compare two sentences from Russian language, of which one is an example of deontic modality, and the other one an example of epistemic modality:

*Он должен был украсть деньги.*

*Он, должно быть, украл деньги.*

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<sup>8</sup> These terms are not exact equivalents. For example the term *deontic* is used variably in different approaches (sometimes it is restricted to obligation within event modality). However, it is practical to use it in opposition to *epistemic* in a basic classification designed to structure the data in a descriptive treatise like this one.

The first sentence exemplifies deontic modality: It is asserted that there were certain reasons which forced him to steal the money (like the need to feed his family). This use of the inflected particle *должен* (which is indeed originally a participle from the verb *dolzhen*, ‘to owe’) implies that at the moment he had no choice but to steal the money. This epistemic construction uses the same material like the deontic one, namely the participle *dolzhen*. However, here it has turned into an uninflected adverbial expression *должно быть* (lit. ‘it has to be’).<sup>9</sup>

The second sentence is an example of epistemological modality. This epistemic construction uses the same material like the deontic one, namely the participle *dolzhen*. However, here it has turned into an uninflected adverbial expression *должно быть* (lit. ‘it has to be’).<sup>10</sup> It expresses the probability of the event having taken place. It is believed that he stole the money, since there are some reasons to think so, but his guilt has not been proven, i.e. we cannot yet say that he is guilty of stealing money.

In this case, we even see a discrepancy between the two constructions in terms of the domain of modality – while the deontic one expresses obligation (or necessity), the epistemic one does not express certainty (*He certainly stole the money*), but probability (*He probably stole the money*). This shows that, even though the constructions are etymologically related, they are located elsewhere in the modal space.

A semantically more straightforward example can be shown by the corresponding English constructions:

Deontic: *He had to steal the money.*

Epistemic: *He must have stolen the money.*

Here we see that in English the deontic construction and the epistemic one are not formally related.

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<sup>9</sup> This is also reflected in standard Russian orthography - it has to be separated by commas on both sides.

<sup>10</sup> This is also reflected in standard Russian orthography - it has to be separated by commas on both sides.

## 2. Method

Since the goal of this thesis was to provide a data-driven description of modal constructions in BA, it was crucial to gather a sufficient amount of reliable data.

In my research I used a combination of exploiting the existing literature on the topic and gathering my own data, both from available public resources (media, TV series, social networks) and from native consultants. This combination is necessary for getting relevant information about the modern Baghdadi dialect in its present shape.

The work with consultants helped me to find out all the possible uses of certain phrases, but the TV series and the information from available public resources helped me to check whether these constructions are really spontaneously used in the speech of native speakers, and if so, how often.

Available public resources helped me to find spontaneous language, which is used in everyday life, while some printed materials provided outdated information.

I am giving a detailed description of each method separately below.

### 2.1. Gathering data from existing literature

As I mentioned above, unfortunately, modality is not treated comprehensively in any of the secondary sources. We can see description of some modal meanings in the following chapters of Erwin (2004): 12.3 «Other verb phrases» and 12.4 «Auxiliary *lazim*».

A translation of one Iraqi film is provided by Jamil & Mokrushina (2012: 104-139) was really useful for finding examples from spoken language in written form.

In my thesis I also used several examples from the textbook by Wagoner (1949).

Modality is never treated as a separate chapter, and modal expressions usually appear within chapters on syntax or auxiliary verbs.

### 2.2. Consultant work

Elicitation was my favorite part of the research. I have always been attracted to this method of collecting information. My consultants were people from different generations, their age ranging from 20 to 50+ years. They, either live or (have lived) in Iraq, most of them are from Baghdad, but there were also consultants from the South Iraq or Kirkuk. Half of them study at universities and the other half work. They all belong to different religious and ethical groups: Suni and Shia Arab Muslims, Arab Christians, Assyrians, Kurds. All of them are fluent speakers of BA. I had an opportunity to communicate in person with the consultants, who live in the Czech Republic, but bigger part of my elicitation work was online, we were talking via social networks in chats and audio messages.

Here is the list of questions that I usually asked my consultants concerning particular expressions and functions (meanings). They naturally combine both semasiological and onomasiological elements.<sup>11</sup>

- Is form X<sup>12</sup> a correct sentence/word?
- What is its meaning?
- Is it used in BA/IA nowadays?<sup>13</sup>
- Tell me some examples with this word.
- Which category of people is it used by? (young people /old people)
- Do you use this word/construction in your daily life?
- Do you know other people who use it?
- How often is it used?
- Would you address your family/ friends in this way?
- How do you say meaning X in BA/IA?
- What do you say when you want/must to do/can do etc. something?<sup>14</sup>
- How can form X be negated?
- How can the same meaning be expressed in other words?
- What are the differences between all of the variants?
- Which form do you use more often?

The main, but not the only, language of this entire process was English. I also used my native language, Russian, in conversations with two of my consultants, who have sufficient competence in it. And, of course literary Arabic helped me to communicate with those consultants for who it was the only language they speak (apart from the dialect).

Using MSA, however led to the following problem. Natives of the Baghdadi dialect, like all other Arabs, sometimes mix the dialect with the MSA, showing different degrees of code-switching and code-mixing. This is a well known phenomenon, as described by Jameel and Mokrushina: «Ситуация с использованием арабского языка в современном мире представляет собой пример диглоссии, то есть сосуществования двух вариантов одного языка, разделенных социально и функционально. В реальной жизни сложно, а зачастую практически невозможно провести четкую границу между арабским литературным языком и диалектом, так как обе формы языка сосуществуют одновременно, параллельно и нередко пересекаются и смешиваются друг с другом в зависимости от коммуникативного и

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<sup>11</sup> The goal of onomasiological approach is to find the expressions that convey a given concept (meaning) . It is basically the enquiry based on the question “How do you say X?” The semasiological approach, on the other hand, is based on the question “What does the X mean?”, searching for the function of given forms.

<sup>12</sup> where X is either a separate word or a sentence

<sup>13</sup> I used the term Iraqi Arabic while talking with the informants from Baghdad, since I found it pointless to specify that I needed Baghdadi Arabic, as they would naturally use BA as their native variety. When I was talking with native speakers from outside the capital, I asked them to use the Baghdadi dialect, because they could otherwise start using their local dialects, which could be different from my target one.

<sup>14</sup> The point was to provide consultants with a situational context for better understand the specific desired modal meaning.

социального контекстов »<sup>15</sup> (Jamil & Mokrushina. 2012:5). Therefore, I could not always be sure whether this or that phrase was dialectal or MSA. I tried to avoid this problem by explicitly asking whether certain variants were not MSA rather than BA. I know, it will not always solve the current problem, see the history of example (1).

Let's look at the following case from my data gathering practice. I found the example (1) in Jamil & Mokrushina (2012:75), listed among the modal expressions expressing possibility.

(1) **مبيك تروح للسوگ؟**

*mbīk trūḥ lil-sūg?*

Could you go to the market?

When I started asking my consultants about this expression, opinions differed, and I fell into a stupor. The first consultant, a young man of 26 years old from Baghdad, asked me what dialect it was. When I told him, that it was his native Iraqi, he laughed and said that such phrase does not exist in Iraqi Arabic. Then I turned for help to a Baghdadi Assyrian 20 years old friend, living in Prague, and received the same answer. I decided not to give up and wrote to my friend, who is older than two of my previous informants. She, a 37-year-old Arab Christian, confirmed the information I found in the textbook and provided a translation of the phrase that matched the translation in the book. This situation seemed interesting to me and I decided not to stop at this point. I concluded that this modal construction is probably archaic, i.e. people in their twenties are less likely to know it while those in their thirties may still have it as part of their passive or even active knowledge of the language. Nevertheless, I needed to make sure whether this was really an archaism, or whether this phrase is simply not used in the social environment of my first young consultants. So I gathered consultants of the older generation (50+), including Assyrians from Baghdad and an Arab from southern Iraq. They provided me with an exact translation and an equivalent corresponding to the modern language, and they said, that this phrase was in use earlier, but now it has lost its relevance (see (1)).

The biggest problem with this method of collecting information is that it is a very time-consuming and energy-consuming process. At the beginning of it, it was difficult to find the consultants I needed. I searched for them on one language exchange site. Then, by coincidence, the Iraqis themselves came into my life, which greatly facilitated my work. Most pieces of information, which I gathered, were checked at least twice, i.e. I was consulting it at least with two informants, which again took a lot of time. In the end, due to time constraints, I could not find out the answers to all the questions that came up during the research. It often happened that the answer to one question (construction) opened several other related questions.

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<sup>15</sup> Transl.: The situation with the use of the Arabic language in the modern world is an example of diglossia, i.e. the coexistence of two variants of the same language, socially and functionally separated. In real life it is difficult and often almost impossible to make a distinction between the literary Arabic language and the dialect, since both forms of the language coexist simultaneously, parallel and often intersect and mix with each other depending on the communicative and social contexts.

### 2.3. Gathering data from written and audio video sources

Another method of collecting material was by excerpting examples while watching the Iraqi TV series “*hawā baġdād*” هوى بغداد. This allowed me to hear spontaneous Baghdadi speech. A large number of constructions that were provided by my consultants, and those I found in the published materials, were not used in the dialogues / monologues in the series. It helped me to understand which constructions are used more often than others, and which ones are hardly used at all. One of the difficulties that a researcher faces while gathering linguistic data in this way, is that it is not always possible to be sure that you are dealing with utterances from your target dialect, as native speakers can sometimes borrow words from another dialect or MSA. Before watching the series, I wondered if the dialect of the series is Baghdadi and to what extent I can rely on the data from it. I concluded that such popular TV series in Iraq will use a dominant variety that is understood by all citizens of the country, and this, of course, is Baghdadi Arabic. Therefore, I consider the series a source that indeed faithfully represents BA.

The second method, which I used for gathering the materials from available public resources was searching it on google search, by giving a phrase in quotes, so that the specific expression in a sentence would be found.<sup>16</sup> The verbs which I used were always the same, either **بجى** and **حجى** or a possessive pronoun of 2SG.F. These verbs and the possessive pronoun, represent a specific feature of IA (due to the use of *ġ* instead of *k*). There is one problem here - it can be confused with Kuwaiti Arabic, which is very similar to IA, so it is necessary to read a part of the detected text, to make sure if there is nothing suspicious in it.

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<sup>16</sup> My supervisor advised this useful method to me.

### 3. Modal constructions in Baghdadi Arabic

In the present chapter I am providing a description of basic modal constructions in BA.

#### 3.1. Deontic modality

##### 3.1.1. Obligation / necessity

The most common way to express obligation in BA is by the word *lāzim*. Before I started the current research I supposed that it might be the only highly frequent way. After consultations with native speakers and after watching Iraqi TV series my assumption was partly confirmed, since in all sentences which I asked Iraqis to translate they used only *lāzim*.

One of my intentions was to find out how different degrees of the strength of obligation are expressed, by searching for equivalents of the English expressions *should*, *must* and *have to*.

However, after a lot of such onomasiological efforts, I can say that these meanings are not distinguished in BA by lexical means. Nevertheless there are several other means to express specific types of obligation or necessity. Below I am including a description of the expressions *iḍṭarr/muḍṭarr*, *ḍurūrī*, *iḥtāğ*, and *yinrād*.

#### Lāzim لازم

##### Morphosyntactic properties

The word *lāzim* لازم is uninflected particle which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb. The main verb does not need to follow immediately after *lāzim*, but can be preceded by the subject (see (2))

- (2) لازم البنية تروح باچر للدكتور حتى يجيك رجليها  
*lāzim l-bnaya trūḥ bāčer li-d-duktūr ḥatta yičeyyek riğilhā.*  
'The girl should go tomorrow to the doctor so that he checks her foot.'

Other TAM categories are formed by the auxiliary *čān* 'to be', used impersonally in the third person singular, as in (3) or (6). However, in Wagoner (1949:120) I came across example (4), where *čān* agrees with the subject (1.SG). When I confronted my informants with this case, it did not catch their attention, and thus I concluded that it is acceptable. This shows an interesting variation of the morphosyntax of *lāzim*, which would, however, deserve further enquiry (especially concerning its frequency).

- (3) زوجي ما چان لازم يعوف الدولة خلال هالأسبوع  
*mā čān lāzim zawġī ya 'ud ad-dawla ḥilāl hal-`usbū*  
 'My husband did not have to leave the country within this week.'
- (4) كنت لازم تكتب قبل هسه  
*kunit lāzim tiktib gabul hassa*  
 'You should have written sooner (than now).' (Wagoner 1949:120)

I also encountered the following example (5), where future tense is marked just by adding the particle *rāḥ*, without the auxiliary *čān*. However, I did not manage to further consult this possibility.

- (5) راح لازم تجي للشغل عالوقت  
*rāḥ lāzim tiġī 'alwaqet lil-šoġil*  
 'You will have to come at work on time.'

#### ***Lāzim* used with 'alā introducing the subject**

I could also observe a variant of this construction, in which the subject of the main verb is introduced by the preposition 'alā, which is equivalent to the construction expressing obligation in MSA.<sup>17</sup> In the following example (6) we see that the meaning of the sentence is not changed when the preposition is removed.

- (6) چان لازم على هذا الطالب يدرس هواية حتى يحصل على منحة للأردن  
 (=چان لازم هذا الطالب يدرس هواية حتى يحصل على منحة للأردن)  
*čān lāzim 'alā hadā ṭ-ṭālib yidrus hwāyeh ḥatta yaḥṣil 'alā minḥa lil-`urdun.*  
 (=čān lāzim hadā ṭ-ṭālib yidrus hwāyeh ḥatta yaḥṣil 'alā minḥa lil-`urdun)  
 'This student needed (had) to study a lot to get the scholarship to Jordan.'

<sup>17</sup> *lāzim* is not used in MSA, instead there is a construction with يجب or just with على. For example, 'you have to call your mother' عليك أن تتصل بأمك or يجب عليك أن تتصل بأمك

The status of this construction is a bit vague since it is clearly influenced by MSA and belongs to a higher register of the language.<sup>18</sup>

## Negation

The standard way of negating *lāzim* is by means of the particle *mū* which corresponds to the fact that *lāzim* is originally an adjective<sup>19</sup>. However, negation by the particle «*mā*», just like with any other verb, is also possible.

### The semantics of negated *lāzim*

The meaning yielded by the negation of *lāzim* is the expected absence of obligation as illustrated by example (7). The way to express necessity of the event NOT taking place is, as expected, to negate the main verb. This is illustrated by (8).

(7) ملازم يروح  
*mlāzim yrōḥ*  
'He doesn't have to go.'

(8) لازم ميروح  
*lāzim meyrūḥ*  
'He musn't go.'

However, I had a suspicion that there could be a shift in meaning from negated obligation to negated possibility (or even prohibition) which appears with the English *must/mustn't* and can also be observed in other varieties of Arabic including MSA. This hypothesis was firstly denied by one of my native consultants, who told me that the way to express necessity of the event NOT taking place, is by negating the main verb, as illustrated by (8). However, my supervisor and I tried to gather more real data on the actual usage of the negated *lāzim* by searching for its occurrences in written BA on the internet. What we found was that indeed this construction can also express

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<sup>18</sup> I discovered this example by chance when I asked my informant (student, 25 years old) to translate sentences with the verb "need". In one of the sentences, he used the words *lāzim* and '*alā*', and since he translated the sentence first to the literary language, and then to the colloquial Arabic, I assumed that he simply confused the two varieties and automatically applied the construction from MSA to the dialect. When I enquired whether this construction is really used in the dialect, I received a positive answer. It seemed suspicious to me, I still believed that he could not distinguish the dialect from MSA. So, I decided to verify this information with another native speaker, and again I received a positive response. So, I posted a message to the "Stories" of my Instagram account, in which I asked Iraqis whether they really use '*alā*' in this case in the Iraqi dialect or not. All Iraqis who viewed this post confirmed that this construction is indeed used by them, but not often. «Yes, it is MSA but we also use it in Baghdadi» and «It is more correct grammatically but no, usually it's unnecessary»,-said another native. When I asked once more if it is used among Iraqis, she said, «Yes, sometimes by educated people». I asked her the last question: «Do you use it?», and I received a negative reply.

<sup>19</sup> or more precisely an active participle from the verb *lazam* 'to oblige'.

negated possibility, as shown in (9). The semantics of *lāzim* with respect to negation thus deserves attention in future research.<sup>20</sup>

- (9) هم مارين بموقف حجيتوا حجي مو مناسب للموقف و شنو جانت ردة فعلكم بعد معرفتوا ملازم  
تججون هيچ  
*ham mārīn bimawqif ḥajitū ḥači mū mnāsib lil-mawqif wa šnu čānit radet fa`  
lkum ba`d ma `araftu mlāzim taḥcūn hīč.*  
‘Have you also gone through a situation when you said something inappropriate  
for that situation what was your reaction when you found out that you were not  
supposed to talk like that?’

### Semantic properties

*Lāzim* is the most standard and general way to express obligation and necessity of different degrees, as illustrated in the examples above.

### Idtarr اضطر

#### Morphosyntactic properties

The verb *idtarr* ‘be obliged to, to have to, be forced to’ is an auxiliary verb which morphologically behaves like any standard verb, i. e. inflects for person, number and gender and appears in any of the TAM forms available in BA. It is always followed by the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

It can be also used with the verbal prefix `da`<sup>21</sup> which expresses the present continuous tense, as shown in (10).

- (10) اني داضطر اشرب دوة قبل الاكل  
*Anī da`adṭarr `ašrab dawa gabl l-akl*  
‘I am obliged (I must) take a medicine before eating’

### Negation

Negation is expressed by the particle «mā», just like with any other verb.

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<sup>20</sup> It may also still depend on whether *mā* or *mū* is used for negation. This would, however, require further detailed empirical semantic investigation.

<sup>21</sup> As I was told, this particle should be always used to express the present continuous tense, but not every Iraqi uses it, so the meaning will not be changed if it is excluded, as shown for example in (10).

## Semantic properties

It is just a specific type of necessity (“to be forced/obliged”), which therefore appears less often than the general *lāzim* (similar to English, ‘have to’ will appear more often than ‘to be obligated to’)

- (11) اضطرت اتداين فلوس من البنك  
*iḍtarrēt atdāyin flūs minil-bank*  
‘I had to borrow money from the bank’ (‘I was obliged to borrow money, there was no other choice.’)

## Mudtarr مضطر

### Morphosyntactic properties

*muḍtarr* is the active participle from the previous verb *iḍtarr*. It thus inflects for person, number and gender. It is also always followed by the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

### Negation

The negation of *muḍtarr* is expressed by the particle «*mū*», just like with any adjectival form.

### Semantic properties

*muḍtarr* expresses a strong obligation, can be translated as ‘to be obliged’. It is thus practically synonymous to *iḍtarr* (being indeed originally a form of the same verb), but it appears to be used more frequently.

- (12) احنا مضطرين نروح للشغل كل يوم  
*ihna muḍtarrīn nrūh liš-šoḡl kul yawm*  
‘We have to go to work every day.’
- (13) چنتي مضطرة تدرسين للامتحان  
*čintī muḍtarra tadrīsīn lil-imiḥān*  
‘You (2SG.F) had to study for your exam.’
- (14) راح اكون مضطرة احجي وية المدير بعد ثلاثة ايام  
*rāh akūn muḍtarra aḥčī wiya al-mudīr ba`d ṭalāṭat `ayām*  
‘I will have to talk with the manger after three days.’

**Discussion concerning the frequency of *muḍtarr/ iḍtarr* in contrast with *lāzim*.**

According to my research, *muḏṭarr* and *iḏṭarr* are not often used in speech by native speakers of the Baghdadi dialect. Some informants told me that these are more formal devices. One of the native consultants would use *lāzim* in all cases in all the examples above. Apparently, *muḏṭarr/iḏṭarr* adds more emotional affection to the utterance. It shows us that the speaker was forced to do something, to do exactly this way, i.e. he had no other choice due to some external or internal circumstances. During consultations with native speakers, I asked the following question: "What word do you use when you have to / you need / you have to do something?" Constructions with *muḏṭarr/iḏṭarr* did not come to their minds. Only after I directly asked about the use of *muḏṭarr/iḏṭarr*, I received the answer that such constructions are found in real speech, but not very often. While watching several episodes of the TV series "Hawā Baḡdād" هوى بغداد, I never encountered this structure in spontaneous speech, which confirms the fact that the use of *muḏṭarr/iḏṭarr* is much more restricted than that of *lāzim*, which serves as the most universal device to code obligation.

## ضرورى durūrī

### Morphosyntactic properties

The word *durūrī* is an uninflected particle which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

### Negation

The standard way of negating *durūrī* is by means of the particle *mū*.

### Semantic properties

The noun *durūr* means 'need', thus *durūrī* is originally an adjective meaning 'necessary'.<sup>22</sup>

- (15) **وبنصف كل هذا چان ضروري انجح همين!**  
*wa binisf kul haḏā čān ḏurūrī `anḡaḥ hamīn.*  
 'In the middle of all this, I also had to succeed!'
- (16) **ضروري تروحين تحفين وتكصين شعرچ حتى لو تنتوفه.**  
*ḏurūrī trūḥīn tiḥaffīn wa tigiṣṣīn ša `reč ḥatta law tantūfa.*  
 'You have to go to cut your hair, even if just a tiny bit.'

<sup>22</sup> In MSA *durūr* is a masdar form from a verb *ḏarra*.

## Ihtāğ احتاج

To express necessity in BA the verb *ihtāğ* احتاج 'to need' is used.

### **Morphosyntactic properties**

The verb *ihtāğ* can be used as an auxiliary verb which morphologically behaves like any standard verb, i. e. inflects for person, number and gender and appears in any of the TAM forms available in BA. It is always followed by the bare-imperfect form of the main verb. This is illustrated in examples (17) and (18).

### **Negation**

Its negation is expressed by the particle «mā».

### **Semantic properties**

It is a basic verb to convey a need and in this way it is used also as a modal verb.

- (17) *تحتاج تشتري تذكرة قبل لا تروح للحفلة الموسيقية لفرقتها المفضلة*  
*tahtāğ taštari taḍkara gabl la trūḥ lil-ḥafḻa l-mūsīqīya l-firqatha al-mufaḍḍala.*  
'She needs to buy a ticket before going to the concert of her favorite band.'
- (18) *راح احتاج ارواح لمدينة ثانية اليوم حتى احل بعض المشاكل*  
*rāḥ `ahtāğ `arūḥ l-madīna tāniya il-yawm ḥatta `aḥill ba`ḍ il-mašākil.*  
'I will need to go to another city today to solve some problems.'

## Yihtāğ يحتاج

The form *yihtāğ* is a passive form of the verb and can be used as an impersonal modal particle.

- (19) *ما يحتاج تروحون المولات اطلبو من نمشي واستخدمو كود*  
*Mā yahtāğ trūḥūn il-mūlāt `uṭlubū min namšī wa istaḥdimū kūd...*  
'You don't need to go to malls, just order from `Namshi` and us the code...'

### **Morphosyntactic properties**

Originally, *yih̄tāġ* is a passive form of the word *ihtāġ* (it's needed), but synchronically it functions as a uninflected particle which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb ( just like *lāzim*).

### Negation

As expected with a form that is originally verbal, negation is expressed by the particle «mā».

### Semantic properties

Its literal translation is “it is needed”. It expresses weaker type of obligation and often is used to convey a kind suggestion (as in (20)).

- (20) **يحتاج تمشي اكثر بالهوى.**  
*yih̄tāġ tamšī ak̄tar bil-hawā.*  
'You (2SG.M) should walk more in the fresh air.' ('It is needed for you to walk more in the fresh air.')

### ينراد *Yinrād*

#### Morphosyntactic properties

It is the 3SG.M IMPF passive form of the verb *rād* راد, marked with the passive prefix *n-*.

It functions as an uninflected particle and is always used with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb. The main verb does not need to follow immediately after *yinrād*, but can be preceded by the subject (see (22)). It does not appear with the particle of the future tense *rāh*. For expressing the future tense, it is enough to use the imperfect form (since the desired event is naturally supposed to occur in future).

#### Negation

Negation of *yinrād* is expressed by the particle «mā».

#### Semantic properties

*Yinrād* literally translates as „it is wanted“, but can be also translated as „to need“, a form of a kind suggestion. It does not only express the speaker's wish, but what is generally desirable in a given situation.<sup>23</sup> *Yinrād* is thus semantically very close to *ihtāġ*.

- (21) **ينراد ارتاح من الشغل.**  
*yinrād `artāḥ min aš-šugl.*  
'I should have a rest from the work.' (lit. 'It is desirable for me to relax from the work.')

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<sup>23</sup> My consultant was able to reflect consciously that in this passive use, the modality of desire does not refer to a participant of the event, but to the speaker.

- (22) **چان يتراد اختي تغسل الملابس.**  
*čān yinrād `uḥtī tğsel l-malābis.*  
 ‘My sister should do the laundry.’ (lit. ‘It was desirable that my sister does the laundry.’)
- (23) **يتراد نشتريننا شويت إسطوانات (أقراص) ليزرية بيها اغاني عراقية فلكلورية ويا صورها.**  
*yinrād ništīrīlanā šwayit `ištīwānāt (aqrās) līzarīya bīhā `agānī ‘airāqīya wiyā šuwarhā.*  
 ‘We need to buy some CDs of Iraqī folkloric songs with pictures.’ (Al-Bazi, 2005)

### 3.1.2. Possibility

#### **Gidar** **كدر**

##### **Morphosyntactic properties:**

The verb *gidar* ‘be able’ is an auxiliary verb which morphologically behaves like any standard verb, i. e. inflects for person, number and gender and appears in any of the TAM forms available in BA. It is always followed by the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

It is often used in the active participle form which often functions as a predicate with almost any verb.<sup>24</sup>

##### **Negation:**

expressed by the particle *mā*, just like any other verb.

##### **Semantic properties:**

The verb *gidar* is the most common device to express deontic ability (this is usually called facultative modality). The cognitive domain of "ability" includes physical, mental, and mental ability. However, its meaning is also generalized to general possibility or even permission. In such cases it becomes equivalent to *mumkin* as in (27), in a question it can express a kind request (see (28)).

##### **Examples:**

- (24) **ابني مچان يگدر يحچي من چان عمره سنة**  
 ‘My son was not able to talk when he was one year old. (He didn’t have a physical ability to talk due to his age.)’

<sup>24</sup> Which generally holds for Arabic colloquial varieties.

- (25) شلون تڠدرين تشرابين الجاي بلا بدون شکر؟  
*Šlōn tigdarīn tšrabīn ač-čāy bilā/ bidūn šukr?*  
 ‘How can you (f.sg.) drink tea without sugar?’
- (26) ميڠدرون يسافرون لمصر بلا بدون فيزا.  
*mayagdirūn yisāfirūn limasr bila/ bidūn fīzā*  
 ‘They won’t be able to travel to Egypt without a visa.’
- (27) (ممکن اتعرف عليچ؟) = اڠدر اتعرف عليچ؟  
*Agdar ata ‘arraḥf ‘aleyč? (=mumkin ata ‘arraḥf ‘aleyč?)*  
 ‘Can I get to know you?’ (2SG.F) (= ‘May I get to know you?’)  
 (In English, just like in BA, this sentence makes sense with both expressions)  
 [7:48 ser.1 «Hawā Bağdād»]
- (28) (ممکن اسال بعد سوال اخير؟) = اڠدر اسال بعد سوال اخير؟  
*Agdar `as`al ba`d su`āl `aḥīr?*  
 ‘Can I ask you the last question?’ (= ‘May I ask you the last question?’)  
 [4:30 ser.1 «Hawā Bağdād»]

### Mumkin ممکن

The most common way to express external possibility in BA is by using word *mumkin*<sup>25</sup>

#### **Morphosyntactic properties**

*Mumkin* is uninflected particle which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

#### **Negation**

The standard way of negating *mumkin* is by means of the particle *mū* which corresponds to the fact that *mumkin* is an adverbial. But negation by a particle «*mā*», just like any other verb, is also possible as in (29).

- (29) يعني لو سنين متحجي وياها ما ممكن تحجي وياك والسبب لانك نهيت محادثة بأسلوب بارد.

<sup>25</sup> Etymologically *mumkin* is an active participle form the MSA verb of the forth group *`amkana* أمكن

*ya 'nī law sinīn mataḥčī wyyāhā mā mumkin taḥğčī wyyāk wa s-sabab li'annak nahayt muḥādaṭa bi'uslūb bārid.*

'I mean, if you don't talk to her for years, she can't talk to you, and the reason is that you finished talking in a cold way.'

### Semantic properties

*Mumkin* is an expression of general possibility, and thus covers many different subtypes of it, including permission (illustrated in (30)). In a question it can express a kind request (shown in (31)).

- (30) **ممکن باچر نروح حتی آخذ أم ابراهيم ويأي وتشوف البيت؟**  
*mumkin bāčer narūḥ ḥatta āḥud `um `ibrāhīm wiyyāy wa tašūf l-beyt?*  
May (can) we go tomorrow so I can take Umm Ibrahim with me to see the house?  
(Jamil & Mokrushina. 2012:97)
- (31) **ممکن اروح وياكم للحفلة؟**  
*mumkin arūḥ wiyākum lil-ḥafla?*  
'May I go with you (2PL.M) to the party?'

### Yašīr يصير

#### Morphosyntactic properties

The modal use of *yašīr* is limited only to the imperfect form. The form does not inflect for person and number, but can inflect for gender (as shown in (34)). It always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

#### Negation

Negation of *yašīr* is conveyed by the particle «mā».

#### Semantic properties

The verb *šār* by itself means 'to happen', but in combination with another verb it also has the modal meaning 'to be allowed to'.

- (32) **كان يصير تدخن هنا**

*kān yaṣīr itdaḥn hnā.*  
'You were allowed to smoke here.'

- (33) **هاي المرة ميصير تسافر وحدها**  
*hāy l-mara myaṣīr tsāfir waḥedhā.*  
'This woman is not allowed to travel alone.' (Literally: 'It is not allowed for this woman to travel alone.')

- (34) **هاي السفر ما راح تصير**  
*hāy l-safra mā rāḥ tṣīr.*  
'This trip will not be allowed.'

### **Discussion concerning the frequency of *gidar* in contrast with *mumkin* and *yaṣīr*.**

*Gidar* is used when there is an intention to express physical or physiological ability. *Mumkin* is used to convey permission and other types of external possibility, however, as we could see in the sentences (27) and (28), *mumkin* can often be replaced by *gidar*. *Yaṣīr* can also refer to a rather general possibility, but often conveys acceptability. Let us see three sentences which have roughly the same translation in English- 'I can swim':

**اگدر اسبح** *agdar asbaḥ*. Physical ability: 'I am able to swim'.

**ممکن اسبح** *mumkin asbaḥ*. General possibility: 'I can swim, if i want to, so swimming is theoretically possible'.

**يصير اسبح** *yaṣīr asbaḥ*. Acceptability: I am allowed to swim (for example, in the particular pond there is not any restriction for swimming.)

## 3.2. Epistemic (Propositional) modality

### 3.2.1. Probability

#### **يمكن**

The most common way to express epistemic possibility, i. e. probability, is by the adverbial *yimkin* **يمكن** 'maybe'.

#### **Morphosyntactic properties**

*Yimkin* is uninflected adverb which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb. It is originally a verb form which turned into an adverb which can be used with any type of predicate.

#### **Semantic properties**

*Yimkin* conveys epistemic possibility/probability.

- (35) ديانا يمكن رح تطبخلنا كبة نباتية هالسبت.  
*dīānā yimkin raḥ taṭbuḥ lanā kubba nabātyya hāl-sabt.*  
‘Diana might cook vegetarian kubbe<sup>26</sup> for us on Saturday.’

- (36) يمكن استعير سيارة.  
*yimkin `asta `ir siyāra.*  
‘I might borrow a car’ or ‘maybe I will borrow a car’

### *Balkī* بلكى and *yağūz* بجوز

Both of these adverbs are synonyms of *yimkin* and mean ‘maybe’. They are, however, much less frequently used.

- (37) يجوز/ بلكى/ يمكن الطريق مسدود.  
*yimkin/ balkī / yağūz at-ṭarīq masdūd.*  
‘The road might be blocked’

### **Discussion**

As we can see in (37), all the phrases are synonymous with each other. I was told by my consultants, that the most common way to convey probability in BA is by adverb *yimkin*. *Yağūz* is less common but *balkī* is almost never used. Some of my consultants never use the last one.

### 3.2.2. Certainty

The most common way to express epistemic necessity, i. e. certainty, is by the adverbial *akīd* أكيد ‘certainly’.

### *Akīd* أكيد

#### **Morphosyntactic properties**

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<sup>26</sup> a Levantine and Iraqi dish.

*Akīd* is a regular adverb. It can be used with any type of predicate. Since *akīd* is an adverbial it is not negated separately but can appear with a negated predicate. It is illustrated by following examples:

- (38) اكيد دتتشاقين, مو؟  
*akīd dataṭṭšāqīn, mū?*  
 ‘You (2SG.F) must be kidding, right?’
- (39) اكيد يكون بابا تعبان ورة يوم طويل بالشغل.  
*akīd yakūn bābā ta‘bān wara yawm ṭawīl biš-šogil.*  
 ‘He must be tired after a long day at work.’

### *Lāzim* لازم

Certainty can be also expressed by *lāzim*. In this case *lāzim* is an adverb just like *akīd* (see (40)).

- (40) لازم چان محاول من زمان.  
*lāzim čān imḥāwil min zimān.*  
 ‘He must have been trying for a long time.’ (Erwin. 2004:349)

The following examples illustrate the difference between deontic (see section 3.1) and epistemic use of *lāzim*:

- (41) لازم ديدرس كلش هواية هالايام.  
*lāzim da-yadrus kulliš ihwāya hal-`ayyām.*  
 ‘He must be studying a very great deal these days.’ (Erwin. 2004:349)
- (42) لازم يدرس كلش هواية هالايام.  
*lāzim yadrus kulliš ihwāya hal-`ayyām.*  
 ‘He has to study a very great deal these days.’

In the example (41) *lāzim* expresses epistemic modality with the predicate *da-yadrus*, marked with a present continuous prefix *da-* (since in the adverbial use *lāzim* can be used with any type of predicate).

On the contrary, sentence (42) expresses deontic modality by *lāzim*, since the following verb is in the bare-imperfect form.

### 3.3. Volitive modality

I decided to include three verbs that express volitive meanings – *rād*, *ḥabb* and *‘ağab*.

#### ***Rād* راد**

As far as I know, Iraqi Arabic is the only Arabic dialect which preserved the form of the verb *rād* ‘want’ from MSA.

#### **Morphosyntactic properties:**

It is an auxiliary verb which morphologically behaves like any standard verb, i. e. inflects for person, number and gender and appears in any of the TAM forms available in BA, including the participle *rāyid* in the predicative use (as illustrated in (43) and (44)).<sup>27</sup> It is always followed by the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

- (43)      ها شرايد بعد؟  
hā šrāid ba‘d?  
‘What else do you want?’ (Jamil & Mokrushina. 2012:114)
- (44)      بنتي شيخ رايدچ تروحين هناك وتحچيت وياهم.<sup>28</sup>  
bintī šayḥ rāydeč trūḥīn hnāk wa taḥčīn wyāhum.  
‘Daughter, sheikh wants you (2SG.F) to go there and talk to them.’

In case the subject of *rād* is not identical with the agent of the main verb, the latter follows as the direct object of *rād* (or as a suffixed object pronoun) and the main verb is again in bare-imperfect, in the appropriate person/number/gender form. (see (45), (46), (47))

- (45)      يريدچ ما تبچين.  
yirīdeč mā tabčīn  
‘He wants you not to cry.’
- (46)      اريدها تجي للحفلة.  
`arīdhā tiğī lil-ḥafla  
‘I want her to come to the party.’

<sup>27</sup> Consultants claimed that the active participle form - *rāyid* راييد exists, but is not often used. However, I found several examples in (Jamil & Mokrushina. 2012:114). So, it needs to be left for further investigation.

<sup>28</sup> Probably there is a type here. Right form would be “تحچين”

- (47) ليش تريدها تمطر؟  
*layš trīdhā timṭur?*<sup>29</sup>  
 ‘Why do you want it to rain?’ (Wagoner 1949:93)

### Negation:

Negation of *rād* is expressed by the particle *mā*, just like any other verb.

### Semantic properties:

*rād* is a basic verb that expresses desire. Its use is illustrated by the following examples.

- (48) بببيتج مرادت مي؟  
*biibiitech mrādet may?*  
 ‘Didn’t your grandmother want water?’
- (49) اظن هذا المطعم فارغ, تريدون ندخل بيه؟  
*`azunn haḍā l-maṭ‘am fāriḡ, trīdūn nadḥul bīh?*  
 ‘I think this restaurant is empty, do you want us to enter it?’ (Wagoner 1949:201)
- (50) سارة رح تريد تنام ورة الظهر.  
*sāra raḥ trīd tnām wara az-zuhr*  
 ‘Sara will want to sleep in the afternoon.’
- (51) اريد علي يجي وياي.  
*`arīd ‘alī yiḡī wiyyāy*  
 ‘I want Ali to come with me.’

### حب *habb*

#### Morphosyntactic properties

It is an auxiliary verb which morphologically behaves like any standard verb, i. e. inflects for person, number and gender and appears in any of the TAM forms available in BA.

<sup>29</sup> In my opinion, the correct transcription for ليش is *lēš*.

## Negation

Negation of *ḥabb* is expressed by the particle «mā».

## Semantic properties

Another way to convey desire in BA is by the verb *ḥabb*. I assume that it is more polite and more emotional than *rād* due to its other meaning which is “to love”.

It can be often translated as ‘would like to’.

However, I was not able to figure it out what are the exact semantic details of *ḥabb*, because I have obtained contradictory informations about this topic. One informant told me that *ḥabb* can be an equivalent to *rād*, but two other consultants denied it and insisted that they cannot be interchanged. Therefore, its use should be studied in more detail.

- (52) **احب يكون نهار طيب.**  
*ʿaḥib yikūn nahār ṭyyib.*  
‘Have a good day.’<sup>30</sup> (Wagoner 1949:93)
- (53) **حببت احچي وياك.**  
*ḥabbēt aḥčī wyāk.*  
‘I wanted to talk to you.’ (2SG.M.)
- (54) **عندي موضوع احب احچي بي وياكم.**  
*ʿandī mawḏū ʿ aḥebb aḥčī bī wyākm*  
‘I have a topic I would like to talk to you about.’
- (55) **احب اعرف شنو شغلك**  
*ʿaḥibb ʿa ʿruf šinū šuḡlak*  
‘I would like to know what your job is.’

## عجب Aḡab

### Morphosyntactic properties

Valency of the verb *ʿaḡab* corresponds to the English ‘to appeal’, since the person who likes something is marked as an object, while the entity which is liked is marked as the subject.

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<sup>30</sup> My consultant informed me, that the given sentence, which I found in (Wagoner 1949:93), is not utterly correct and should be used only with a possessive pronoun of the second person: *ʿaḥib yikūn nahārak ṭyyib*. This is, however, irrelevant for the discussion of modality.

## Negation

Negation of 'ağab is expressed by the particle *mā*.

## Semantic properties

The third means to convey desire which I am listing here is the verb 'ağab. Its literal meaning is 'to like'. I assume that it is a synonym of the verb *ħabb*, more polite and more emotional than *rād* and can be translated as 'would like to'.

- (56) **وين يعجبج تروحين بشهر العسل؟**  
*wēn ya ʿġibič trūhīn bišahr l-ʿasal?*  
'Where would you (2SG.F) like to go for the honeymoon?'
- (57) **إذا عجبج تقرين بعد گولي**  
*iḍā ʿağabač taqraīn baʿd gūlī*  
'If you`d like to read more, tell me.'

## Discussion

The usage of the different means expressing volitive modality need to be studied in more detail. According to the information which was provided to me by the first consultant (see semantic properties of the verb *ħabb*), all three given examples are roughly equivalent. *Rād* is, however, the most standard way to convey desire in BA.

## 4. Conclusion

In my bachelor thesis I provided a basic overview of the elementary modal constructions in Baghdadi Arabic. I briefly characterized these constructions in terms of their morphosyntactic behaviour and semantic and pragmatic properties, illustrating them with authentic examples. I used a combination of exploiting the existing literature on the topic and gathering my own data, both from available public resources (media, TV series, social networks) and from native consultants, which was the main part of the work. I had an opportunity to hear spontaneous Baghdadi speech, while watching Iraqi TV series “*hawā baġdād*”. A large number of constructions that were provided by my consultants, and those I found in the published materials, were not used in the dialogues / monologues in the series. It helped me to understand which constructions are used more often than others, and which ones are hardly used at all.

There are a few particular pieces of information which I found interesting and deserving more attention. Concerning the expression *lāzim*, I found three interesting features of its behaviour. The first concerns the possible use of the preposition ‘alā, which is a case of interference from the equivalent construction in Modern Standard Arabic. The second feature shows interesting interaction of *lāzim* and negation. The third point is the issue of agreement of the auxiliary *ĉān* when it is used with *lāzim* to mark past tense.

Another interesting feature of *lāzim* is that it can be used to mark both deontic and epistemic modality. In epistemic use it is an adverb, synonymous with *akīd*, in this case *lāzim* can be used with any predicate. To the contrary, *lāzim* in deontic use is an uninflected particle which always appears with the bare-imperfect form of the main verb.

Concerning the methodology I used to gather my data, I experienced an interesting situation when repeated enquiry helped me to discover that one construction, which I found in the literature, has become archaic (see (1)).

My research could naturally not cover all the issues regarding modality in the Baghdad Arabic. However, at least it yielded a few interesting problems which deserve further detailed investigation.

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