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The typology of progressive constructions in Arabic dialects

Abstract: This paper describes and compares the strategies used in Arabic dialects to encode the progressive aspect, in order to show their similarities and what sets them apart from one another, as well as to situate them within cross-linguistic tendencies. Drawing on a wide variety of data, the paper shows the different ways the progressive aspect was (or is being) grammaticalized in Arabic dialects in light of the typologically common paths of grammaticalization. These paths involve for some dialects the reorganization of their aspectual categories, and thus provide an interesting perspective to look at the evolution of aspectual systems in Arabic varieties.

Keywords: Arabic dialects; progressive aspect; typology

1 Introduction

The PROGRESSIVE ASPECT (PROG) "conveys the idea that an event is progressing dynamically over a time frame opened up by an utterance" (Mair 2012). It is a subcategory of the IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT (IPFV) that has a more specific meaning (Comrie 1976: 25), as represented in Figure 1. As such, there is an asymmetric entailment between the two aspects, whereby a progressive verb form is automatically imperfective, but an imperfective verb from – by virtue of its wider semantic range – can only optionally have a progressive reading.
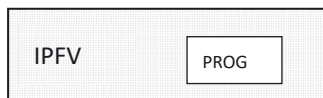

Figure 1: Deo's (2019) representation of PROG.

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Progressiveness differs from imperfectivity in semantic (Comrie 1976: 33) and historical (Mair 2012) respects. For instance, while progressive verb forms cannot have habitual readings, imperfectives do not exclude such a reading (Comrie 1976: 34), as shown in the French example in (1) which has two possible readings in the absence of contextual indicators.

(1)   FRENCH IMPERFECTIVE   [Comrie 1976: 34]
       *Chaque jour à cinq heures le   poète **écrivait**   un poème*
       every day at five hours the poet write.IPFV.PST.3SG a   poem

       a.   'Each day at five the poet **wrote** a poem.'   HABITUAL
       b.   'Each day at five the poet **was writing** a poem.'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

The sentence in (1) contrasts with (2) where the progressive marker *en train de* restricts the reading of the verb to the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading exclusively.

(2)   FRENCH PROGRESSIVE
       *Le   poète **était**   **en train d'écrire**   un   poème*
       the   poet be.IPFV.PST.3SG PROG   write.INF a   poem
       'The poet **was writing** a poem.'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

Another semantic restriction that applies to progressive verb forms – but not imperfective ones – is that the use of PROG is usually reserved for eventive predicates, that is activities, achievements and accomplishments, but not ongoing states. Comrie (1976: 35) attributes this semantic incompatibility to a "contradiction between the stativity of the verb and the non-stativity essential to the progressive." For instance, *he is painting* is an acceptable utterance no matter the context, whereas *he is believing in God* sounds odd except if licensed by special discourse conditions.

In terms of historical developments, it is generally accepted that the PROGRESSIVE category develops later than other aspectual categories (Deo 2019) and is thus "rarer in the world's languages than the PERFECTIVE/IMPERFECTIVE distinction" (Mair 2012). This follows from semantic considerations: While progressive readings can be expressed by imperfective verb forms, progressive verb forms are semantically more restricted and cannot, as such, express the wide range of imperfective readings.

As for typological considerations, languages are divided into three categories from the perspective of their overt marking of the PROGRESSIVE aspect (Deo 2015):

(3)   PROG-MARKING IN THE WORLD'S LANGUAGES

       a.   **Zero-PROG** designates a language that does not have a dedicated
            progressive marker and needs "context-dependent strateg[ies] for
            encoding and recovery of sub-meanings" (Deo 2019) of the
            imperfective verb form.

b. **Emergent-PROG** designates a language that has developed a progressive marker but does not use it obligatorily. As such, it has "partially context-dependent and partially explicit marking" (Deo 2019) of progressiveness.

c. **Categorical-PROG** designates a language that has a dedicated progressive marker that is categorically used and as such has an "explicit marking strategy for encoding and recovery of sub-meanings" (Deo 2019).

These are not simply independent synchronic states according to which we can classify languages but are historically ordered stages of a four-stage cycle (the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE cycle). The fourth stage (generalized-PROG) involves the weakening of the semantics of the progressive marker to include other imperfective readings, which leads to a language becoming zero-PROG once again.

The goal of this paper is to provide a study of Arabic dialects with regards to their progressive marking strategies. The diversity of Arabic dialects is often obscured in typological studies by the use of the umbrella term "Arabic," and the fact that this term usually refers to the Modern Standard variety. This does not do justice to the immense richness of this dialect continuum with respect to any linguistic feature one chooses to study, and deprives linguistic theory from a plentiful source of data. In this paper, I will describe the historical underpinnings of the development of the PROGRESSIVE category in Arabic dialects (Section 2), survey a representative sample of Arabic varieties with respect to their encoding of PROG, classify them according to the typology in (3) as well as to their various strategies for expressing the PROGRESSIVE aspect (Section 3), and show where some of these dialects are situated historically on the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE cline (Section 4).

2 The development of the progressive category in spoken Arabic

2.1 The progressive in Semitic and Arabic

The PROGRESSIVE aspect is not fully grammaticalized in old West Semitic languages where the main distinction is between PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE aspects. We can safely say that the older stages of Arabic also lacked a grammaticalized progressive form, judging by the Classical Arabic (CA) and Central Semitic data (Bubenik 2011): The morphological encoding of the progressive arises at some point in the history of Arabic but is not inherited from the proto-language, which simply has an imperfective verb form conveying multiple readings that can be disambiguated by contextual clues. Cross-linguistically, the imperfective has three different readings

(Deo 2015: 4), all of which are available in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, as well as in some dialects. The following examples from Gulf Arabic[1] illustrate the range of readings available to the imperfective verb from in these dialects.

(4)   GENERIC/HABITUAL READING   [Johnstone 1967: 143]
      ništiri   *tanākir* wi-***nṣubb***   *fi   l-birča*
      1PL.IPFV.buy tanks   and-**1PL.IPFV.pour** in DEF-cistern
      'We **buy** tanks [of water] and **pour** [it] into the cistern.'

(5)   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS READING   [Johnstone 1967: 143]
      wi-lān ***asaǧǧil***   *lə-kum   iš-šarīṭ hāða*
      and-now **1SG.IPFV.record** for-you.PL DEF-tape this
      'And now I **am recording** this tape for you'

(6)   CONTINUOUS READING   (WITH LEXICAL STATES)   [Johnstone 1967: 204]
      təḥibb   *il-baḥar*
      2SG.IPFV.love   DEF-sea
      'Do you **like** the sea?

While Gulf Arabic at the time it was documented by Johnstone (1967) does not seem to have had a special marker for the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading,[2] many dialects have innovated various ways to do encode it at different times in their histories. These parallel innovations led to other changes in the tense-aspect-mood (TAM) systems of these varieties.

2.2 The rise of progressive marking and the reorganization of TAM systems

In his book on Semitic verbal systems, Cohen (1984) shows how the innovative verbal systems of Arabic dialects arose by means of trying to encode the "concomitance" or simultaneity of two actions, be it in the imperfective or the perfective. In Classical Arabic (CA), while the prefix conjugation still bears all the readings of the imperfective shown in (4)–(6), the active participle – when used as a verb – is the main form expressing simultaneity in the realm of the imperfective (this applies only to dynamic transitive predicates). As for stative verbs, "le participe désigne un état dont ne sont pas envisagés les termes," that is, continuous aspect (Cohen 1984: 277). By our definition, then, CA is a zero-PROG language

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1 The first two examples are from Kuwaiti and the last one from Baḥrayni.
2 The varieties spoken in the Gulf end up innovating a progressive marker as well, as reported by Holes (1990).

since its strategy for conveying the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading is nevertheless context dependent: That reading is only accessible for certain types of predicates in the right context, which is not what emergent-PROG and categorical-PROG languages look like, as shown in (3). Since the active participle is not a grammaticalized progressive form in CA, it can take on different meanings depending on the lexical aspect of the verb it combines with – just like the imperfective – where dedicated progressive markers in languages that have them can generally only combine with dynamic predicates (Comrie 1976: 35).[3]

Arabic dialects, by contrast, have grammaticalized more aspectual distinctions, and have developed various strategies to encode the progressive aspect. This development is actually responsible for many Arabic dialects' TAM systems today, since the integration of the auxiliaries to mark finer aspectual distinctions has led to the reorganization of those systems. Specifically, it is the grammaticalization of the progressive aspect that led to the synchronic states of affairs that we witness today. For instance, many dialects now have a marked distinction between modal and non-modal forms, because their older progressive forms became indicative imperfectives (e.g., *b*-imperfectives in Levantine Arabic), in the diachronic PROGRESSIVE-TO-IMPERFECTIVE shift. It is precisely this kind of development that will be thoroughly explored in Section 4, after looking at the synchronic situation of progressive marking in Arabic dialects in Section 3.

Already in the 1980s, Cohen makes very insightful remarks on the various types of dialects that exist with regards to their TAM systems as well as on the grammaticalization paths of progressives. In this paper, I will add more data to Cohen's survey, and analyze it from a typological perspective. In fact, Cohen reports many markers as optional or not fully grammaticalized, so this paper also provides an update on these dialects, on top of being a classification project in the larger domain of tense/aspect typology.

3 The progressive in Arabic dialects

This section provides a twofold classification of Arabic dialects with respect to their PROG-marking. First, it considers to what extent there is a grammaticalized PROG-marking strategy in each of the dialects that I have surveyed. Second, it shows what different strategies these dialects use in order to encode the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading.

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3 AlShihry (2017: 13) claims that this restriction does not hold in Arabic, but I do not agree with the two examples she provides to justify her claim. These two examples are arguably licensed by special discourse conditions and in the absence of other unequivocal examples, I think they should not be taken as proof that "the grammatical constraint of stativity claimed for English progressive does not apply to Arabic progressive" (AlShihry 2017: 14).

3.1 Typological classification

For the typological classification, I use Deo's (2015) terminology shown in the introduction, where dialects are classified in three different categories depending on their PROG-marking. While not perfect, the criteria that I used to differentiate between different types of dialects are the following:

– **Zero-PROG** means that the dialect in question has no specific way of encoding the PROGRESSIVE aspect and the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading always needs to be recovered from contextual clues.

– **Emergent-PROG** means that the dialect in question has (a) specific way(s) to encode the PROGRESSIVE aspect but it is optional such that the imperfective morphology can still convey the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading, that is, this reading is not usually blocked when the imperfective is used.[4]

– **Categorical-PROG** means that the dialect in question has a way of encoding PROGRESSIVE aspect that is always used in those contexts and thus the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading is usually blocked for the imperfective verb form.

In Table 1, I classify Arabic dialects in three groups according to the criteria explained above. Each dialect whose description and data were available to me is followed by a reference to a numbered example with the relevant data. Some of these examples are in the Appendix, and the rest are shown in the main text for illustration purposes.

The Arabic spoken in Wādi Ḥaḍramawt in Yemen is a good example of a zero-PROG language:[5] While (7a) is a generic statement about Salim and Salih going to different schools, an event that has no specific ties to the time of the utterance, (7b) refers to an ongoing action at the time of the utterance rather than a habitual or generic event that obtains repeatedly. These two readings are different as shown by their English translations with a simple present and a present progressive respectively, but they are

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4 Semantic blocking refers to a process where there are two potentially competing forms and the more complex one which is specialized for a particular meaning bleeds the application of the simpler one in that meaning. Here, the progressive form is usually an innovative, more complex form restricted to the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading and the imperfective is the less complex one that has weaker semantics with many readings including the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading. "In languages where both progressive and imperfective aspects are realized with distinct morphology, the event-in-progress reading is often blocked for the imperfective form." (Deo 2015: 5)

5 This is my conclusion based on the data available to me. It is possible that this dialect has a PROG-marking strategy consisting of the auxiliary *g'd* 'sit'. In fact, this is what AlShihry (2017: 72) reports, but she does not include examples or citations. Al-Saqqaf (2011) mentions *g'd*'s use as an auxiliary for 'go on' so it is unclear to me, based on these data, whether *g'd* is actually a progressive auxiliary in Wādi Ḥaḍramawt.

Table 1: Arabic dialects classified according to their PROG-marking.

Zero-PROG dialects	Emergent-PROG dialects	Categorical-PROG dialects
Ḥassāniya[a]	Jordan: Salt (8)	Tunis Arabic (9)
Yemen: Wādi Ḥaḍramawt (7),	Turkey: Sason (25)	Oman: Sedentary dialects (11)
Lahej, Aden, Ḥabbān, Abyan.	Gulf: Āl-Murrah (26)	Maltese (29)
Cypriot Arabic (17)	Morrocan (27)	Libya: Tripoli (20), Benghazi (30)
Cairo Arabic (18)	Algeria: Djidjelli (28)	Iran: Khuzestan (31)
S. Sudan: Juba Arabic (19)		Šāwi (32)
Najdi Arabic (23)		Uzbekistan (33)
Mardin Arabic (24)		Iraqi (34)
		Levantine (35), (36)
		Hijazi (37)
		Gulf: Baḥrayn (38)
		Mardin City (39)

[a]In the section titled "Verbal aspect: Time and tense," Taine-Cheikh (2011) reports that "innovations are very limited. There is no indicative prefix." She also says that the active participle can encode concomitance, be it with event in progress reading (with a verb of motion) or with a resultative perfect reading. This is the same state of affairs found in CA whereby the active participle is used to some extent but has not been invested with a specific role in the TAM system.

expressed in this dialect with the same unmarked imperfective verb form. In this sense, the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading is recovered by the hearer.

(7)   ZERO-PROG: WĀDI ḤAḌRAMAWT ARABIC   [Al-Saqqaf 2011]

    a.   *sālim*   **yrūḥ**   *l-ibtidāʾi*   *w-ṣāliḥ*   **yrūḥ**

        Salim   **3M.SG.IPFV.go**   DEF-primary and-Salih **3M.SG.IPFV.go**

        it-tanawi

        DEF-secondary

        'Salim **goes** to primary school and Salih **goes** to

        secondary school.'   GENERIC

    b.   *il-asʿār*   **tiṭlaʿ**   *kann*   *il-mrattabāt* *makān-ha*

        DEF-prices **3F.SG.IPFV.rise** but   DEF-salaries place-3F.SG.GEN

        'Prices **are soaring**, but salaries are the same.'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

By contrast to Wādi Ḥaḍramawt and dialects similar to it, Salt Arabic (Jordan) and other emergent-PROG dialects have innovated a special progressive marker – here the active participle of the verb *gʿd* 'to sit' – which is used as an auxiliary before an imperfective verb to express ongoing action at the time of utterance as in (8d). This marker, however, is seemingly optional, as the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading can still be expressed (and retrieved) without it in (8b) and (8c). The same form used in (8b) and (8c) with a progressive reading is also used for the habitual statement in (8a), confirming that this dialect falls into the emergent-PROG category.

(8)   Sᴀʟᴛ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ   [Herin 2010: 293; 171; 366; 308]

   a.   *biğūz əb-kull šahər **b-tittaṣil**   maʿā-na θalāθ arbaʿ*
        maybe   in-all   month ɪɴᴅ-**3ꜰ.ꜱɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.call** with-us three four
        telefōnāt
        phones
        'She **calls** us maybe three or four times a month.'   ʜᴀʙɪᴛᴜᴀʟ

   b.   *hī   ʿind   dār   aḥmad   ləbʿēd   **əb-tisraḥ***
        she   at   house   Ahmad   Ləbʿēd   ɪɴᴅ-**3ꜰ.ꜱɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.pasture**
        'It [the cow] was on the side of Ahmad Ləbʿēd's
        house **pasturing**'   ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇꜱꜱ

   c.   *hay-ič   **bi-ṭhaṭṭbi**   badd-ič   titğawwazi*
        here-2ꜰ.ꜱɢ ɪɴᴅ-**2ꜰ.ꜱɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.cut_wood** want-2ꜰ.ꜱɢ 2ꜰ.ꜱɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.get_married
        'Here you are, **cutting** wood, and you want to
        get married?'   ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇꜱꜱ

   d.   ***gāʿid**   **b-ōkil**   ʿan   tīne*
        sit.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.ꜱɢ   ɪɴᴅ-**3ᴍ.ꜱɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.eat** of   fig
        'He **is eating** a fig'   ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇꜱꜱ

The last dialect group which the majority of varieties that I surveyed belongs to is the categorical-ᴘʀᴏɢ one. These dialects have innovated a special marker for the progressive, and they cannot regularly use the bare imperfective for such a reading because that form is blocked in such a context. One of these dialects is Tunis Arabic, which is reported to have two progressive markers: the auxiliary made of the active participle of *qʿd* 'sit', and for transitive verbs that do not require a specific preposition,[6] the preposition *fī* 'in' can be used before the direct object.[7] While in (9a), the bare imperfective can only convey the reading where the subject writes letters habitually, the use of the preposition *fī* 'in' in (9b) indicates that the event is ongoing at the time of the utterance. This strategy is interesting because it does not really modify the verb like the auxiliary does in (9c); rather, it is a syntactically restricted marker that can only be used with transitive verbs due to its

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6 If a transitive verb requires a specific preposition before its object, then that preposition is kept and the auxiliary *qāʿid* is used to encode the progressive. However, McNeil reports (2017: 171) that when that preposition is *ʾla* 'on', then it can optionally be replaced by *fī*.

7 This differential object marking with *fī* 'in' is common across dialects of Arabic, albeit with different aspectual meanings (not necessarily progressive). According to Lentin (2019: 13) the progressive meaning in Tunisian and other dialects (cf. Khartoum Arabic in (21) below) could be a derived implicature from a core meaning ("valeur fondamentale") that is not necessarily aspectual. In his view, the use of the preposition seems to have started out as a way of describing the verbal predicate as concrete or specific, which led to a variety of meanings for it in different dialects, including the progressive.

prepositional nature. (9c) shows the use of the auxiliary *qāʿid* with an intransitive verb, and (9d) shows the use of *qāʿid* in conjunction with the preposition *fī* with a transitive verb. While common in transitive sentences, the co-occurrence of these two progressive markers is not obligatory.[8]

(9)   CATEGORICAL-PROG: TUNIS ARABIC[9]   [McNeil 2017]

  a. ***tiktib***   *əž-žwēbēt*
    3F.SG.IPFV.write   DEF-letters
    'She **writes** the letters'   GENERIC

  b. ***tiktib***   ***fī**-ž-žwēbēt*
    3F.SG.IPFV.write   **(in)PROG**-DEF-letters
    'She **is writing** the letters'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

  c. *makš* ***qāʿda*** ***timši***   *məstwiyya*
    NEG.2SG **sit.AP.F.SG** **2SG.IPFV.walk** straight
    'You **are not walking** straight'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

  d. *ena* ***qāʿid*** ***nlimm***   ***fī**-l-flūs*
    1SG **sit.AP.M.SG** **1SG.IPFV.gather** **(in)PROG**-DEF-money
    'I **am saving up** money'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

Having explored the three groups of dialects with regards to the level of grammaticalization of their PROG-marking, we can now turn to the different strategies they recruited for their PROG-markers.

3.2 The sources and morphosyntactic forms of the Arabic progressive constructions

Cross-linguistically, there are four major lexical sources for progressive constructions (Bybee et al. 1994: 128–129). They are listed here from the most common to the least common.

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8 McNeil (2017: 177) reports that in transitive sentences, *fī* is always obligatory and *qāʿid* may be omitted, saying "the use of *qāʿid* without *fī* for transitive verbs is ungrammatical" (McNeil 2017: 187). My native speaker intuitions differ in this respect and while I admit that *fī* is preferred in transitive contexts, I would not go as far as claiming that its omission is ungrammatical especially when *qāʿid* is present. In fact, I would argue that the presence of *fī* may be conditioned by the definiteness of the object: Dropping *fī* before a definite object is much less acceptable than doing so before an indefinite object. For instance, contrast the following minimal pairs: (i) *qāʿid nēkil (fī) koksi* (sit.AP IPFV.1SG.eat (in) couscous) 'I am eating couscous' versus (ii) *qāʿid nēkil ??/*(fī) l-koksi* (sit.AP IPFV.1SG.eat (in) DEF-couscous) 'I am eating the couscous'. Without *fī*, (ii) sounds much less acceptable than (i), as shown by the question marks/star, meaning unacceptable/ungrammatical. See Pallottino (2016) for similar judgments.
9 McNeil's (2017) transcriptions are modified in (9) to better reflect the phonology of Tunis Arabic.

(10)   Lexical sources for progressive marking

    a.   **Locative elements** in the verbal auxiliary, e.g., a posture verb like 'sit' or a verb expressing "the notion of being in a location without reference to a specific posture like 'stay'," or locational pre/postpositions.

    b.   **Copula** functioning as an auxiliary and a non-finite form.

    c.   **Movement sources** such as 'come' and 'go'.

    d.   **Reduplication** of one of the verb's syllables.

    e.   Other sources include verbs meaning 'keep on' or 'continue' as auxiliaries, etc.

The lexical sources in (10) can be perfectly integrated as affixal progressives (e.g., a preverb) yielding a synthetic progressive construction, or they can be periphrastic (Mair 2012: 809). Both morphosyntactic types relate to the sources described here, but it is easier to recognize the lexical source in periphrastic constructions since there is less phonological reduction. For example, the Levantine progressive

Table 2: Strategies used for PROG-marking in Arabic dialects.

Source	Dialect	Strategy	Morphosyntactic type	Example
Locative element	Jordan: Salt	*gāʿid* 'sit'	AUX	(8)
	Oman: Sedentary	*gālis* 'sit'	AUX	(11)
	Sudan: Khartoum	*gāʿid* 'sit'	AUX	(21)
	Tunisia: Tunis	*qāʿid/fī* 'sit/in'	AUX/PREP	(9)
	Maltese	*qed* (qiegħed)'sit'	AUX	(29)
	Tripoli/Benghazi	*gāʿid/fī* 'remain/in'	AUX/PREP	(20)/(30)
	Khuzestan	*gāʿəd* 'sit'	AUX	(31)
	Šāwi	*ǧaʿd* 'sit'	AUX	(32)
	Uzbekistan	*nām* 'lie'	AUX	(33)
	Iraq	*gāʿid, qad, qa, da* 'sit'	AUX	(34)
	Morroco: Fes/Coast	*gāləs* 'sit'/*bārək* 'crouch'	AUX	(27a)/(27b)
	Mardin City	*qayem* 'stand'	AUX	(39)
Copula	Djidjelli	*ka-ku* (<*kān-ykūn*) *'be'	PREVERB	(28)
	Anatolian: Sason, Kinderib	*ku* (<*yakūn*) *'be'	PREVERB	(25)
'do'	Levantine	*ʿam(māl)* 'do/make'	AUX/PREVERB	(35), (36)
	Morroco: Taza	*xəddām* 'work'	PREVERB	(27c)
Other/unsure	Central Yemen	*ya, ta; qa*	PREVERB	No data
	Āl-Murrah	*gad*	PREVERB	(26)
	Ṣanʿāʾ	*b-* (<**baynā*) *'while'[a]	PREVERB	(14)

[a]Rubin (2005: 146) proposes that the Yemeni preverb *b-* is ultimately derived from the Arabic circumstantial *baynā* 'while', with circumstantial clauses introduced by this particle leading to the grammaticalization of *baynā* into a progressive marker.

marker ʿam is from the hyperbolic participle ʿammāl 'doing/making': The non-reduced participial form is still available in many dialects, and while it is semantically bleached, its origin is more easily recoverable compared to the reduced form ʿam or even ʿa in other dialects. Table 2 gives an overview of emergent or categorical-PROG dialects. These are organized according to the different strategies described in (10), showing for each dialect the lexical source of its progressive marker as well as its morphosyntactic type, followed by a reference to an example with the relevant data for each dialect.

Table 2 shows that Arabic dialects most often form progressives with posture verbs, gʿd and gls 'sit' being the most common. This kind of observation is usually obscured in the typological literature because Arabic tends to be treated as a monolith, typically categorized as a zero-PROG language (Deo 2015: 41). As Table 2 makes clear, however, Arabic dialects in fact align with (10a), which is the most common strategy for marking progressive aspect cross-linguistically. So, far from being zero-PROG, Arabic dialects are robustly progressive-marking, and, although each encodes the progressive in a different way, they are collectively in line with known cross-linguistic tendencies.

While most of the dialects have recruited a locative form or some other common strategy for the progressive, Levantine and Taza Arabic use verbs meaning 'do,' 'make,' and even 'work', which is arguably unusual.[10] Another dialect – the Bāṭina sedentary dialect of Oman – stands out as well since it has the option of using the active participle of gls 'sit' as an auxiliary for progressive readings (11a), but also has another – highly unusual – strategy: Al-Balushi (2016: 119) reports that if the bare imperfective is used in the VSO word order as in (11b), only the habitual reading is available, whereas its use in the SVO word order as in (11c) conveys the progressive reading.

(11)   OMANI ARABIC: BĀṬINA SEDENTARY DIALECT   [Al-Balushi 2016: 119]

    a.   *l-ʾawlād*   **gālsīn**   **ykitbu**   wagbāt-hum
        DEF-boys   **sit.AP.M.PL**   **3M.PL.IPFV.write**   homework-3PL
        'The boys **are writing** their homework'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

    b.   **ykitbu**   *l-ʾawlād*   wagbāt-hum
        3M.PL.IPFV.write   DEF-boys   homework-3PL
        'The boys **write** their homework (usually)'   HABITUAL

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10 Bybee et al. (1994) do not cite these as possible sources in the languages they have surveyed, and AlShihry (2017: 37) explains their grammaticalization through their "emphatic meaning" owing in part to the "intensive" meaning associated with the pattern CaCCāC in Arabic. She proposes that it is the "emphatic meaning that makes the development process into a progressive marker semantically possible," suggesting that ʿammāl was likely used in the same way as emphatic do is in English (AlShihry 2017: 89).

    c.   *l-ʾawlād*   **ykitbu**   *wagbāt-hum*
          DEF-boys   **3M.PL.IPFV.write**   homework-3PL
          'The boys **are writing** their homework'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

In this section, I have shown the variety found in Arabic dialects with regards to the different sources each dialect recruited for its PROG-marking strategies as well as how grammaticalized each strategy is according to dialect. Having looked at the synchronic state of affairs, in the next section I will explore how the synchronic situation developed historically. In particular, I will describe Arabic dialects from the perspective of the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE shift.

4 The progressive to imperfective shift

Cohen (1984) had already noticed that many dialects introduced a new aspectual subdivision by innovating progressive markers, which resulted in the reduction of the semantic scope of the bare prefix conjugation (imperfective) that was inherited with all its possible readings shown in (4)–(6). He also noticed a now well-known grammaticalization path, namely the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE shift (Deo 2015), shown here in (12).

(12)   THE PROGRESSIVE-TO-IMPERFECTIVE SHIFT   [Deo 2015: 20]

    a. X_{IPFV} Zero-PROG
    b. $(Y_{\text{PROG}})\,X_{\text{IPFV}}$ Emergent-PROG
    c. $Y_{\text{PROG}},\,X_{\text{IPFV}}$ Categorical-PROG
    d. Y_{IPFV} Generalized-PROG

To move from (12a) to (12b), a given language must first recruit a source to "innovate a new functional category" (Deo 2015: 20), going from having a single imperfective form *X* that has multiple readings and not marking the progressive at all to marking it optionally with the new form *Y*. This transition happens gradually in "speech events which require disambiguation" (Deo 2015: 23) between, e.g., generic and ongoing actions, such that some of the ways speakers disambiguate may become very frequent. The most "conventionalized and reliably frequent" (Deo 2015: 23) form *Y* ends up being chosen for this function.

    From (12b) to (12c), this innovative form *Y* becomes categoricalized, meaning that its use becomes obligatory in progressive contexts. At this stage, forms *X* and *Y* coexist, and each has its own context of use, *Y* being restricted to EVENT-IN-PROGRESS readings. This categoricalization process is pushed by pragmatic principles: The form *Y* is more marked (imperfective verb + progressive marker) than the form *X*

(imperfective verb). Therefore, if a speaker uses *X*, then the hearer can infer that they do not mean *Y*, given the availability of *Y* as a more restricted and thus more informative option. Thus, the hearer concludes that if the speaker had meant the more specific meaning of *Y*, they would have used the corresponding form *Y* (cf. note 4). "The conventionalization of this implicature pattern is the categorical-PROG system" (Deo 2015: 24).

Finally, from (12c) to (12d), the form *Y* starts being applied for events other than progressive ones, until its semantic content becomes so broad that it contains all of the readings of the imperfective, and the language ends up with the *Y* form only. Form *X* may disappear completely or it may be relegated to specific uses, as in many Arabic dialects where the bare imperfective now has a modal or subordinate function. It is worth mentioning here that, while (12a) and (12d) represent two different diachronic stages, they are identical from a synchronic perspective. Both refer to languages that only have one form expressing all imperfective readings, but generalized-PROG is a diachronic term, whereas zero-PROG is a synchronic one.

While there is no consensus on how generalization of PROG to imperfective happens (cf. Deo 2015: 21–22 for discussion), what is clear is that speakers tend to overextend the use of PROG in certain discourse situations. Because the PROG-marker is occasionally licensed in non-canonical EVENT-IN-PROGRESS contexts, learners may eventually generalize that these are canonical contexts in which PROG may occur. For instance, when one says *Bill is smoking these days*, something like EVENT-IN-PROGRESS is meant, but it has a sense of iteration, not of a single event in progress (i.e., Bill is in the habit of smoking again). Contrast this with the more canonical *Bill is smoking right now*. The latter is infelicitous if he is not currently smoking, while the former may be uttered even if Bill is not smoking at the moment of speech. When we say *Bill is smoking these days*, the meaning is habitual, but it is habitual in a particular, progressive sense (i.e., different from *Bill smokes* or *Bill is a smoker*). From such contextually licensed, extended uses of PROG, speakers may generalize that PROG is licensed in habitual contexts of all kinds. While the recruitment of a PROG marker in the first place (from (12a) to (12b)) was motivated by speakers' desire for specificity, there is an opposing force at work, by which the original functional domain of the PROG marker is inevitably broadened by contextually licensed extensions of its use. This type of process contributes to the change from (12c) to (12d), whereby a categorical-PROG grammar becomes a generalized-PROG one.

This process of overextension is at work in categorical-PROG dialects of Arabic as well, such as Tunis Arabic. Though Tunis Arabic's progressive marker *qāʿid* is

incompatible with habitual meanings of the type *he gets drunk every day*, (13) shows that *qāʿid* is licensed in a special type of habitual reading, that of a "restricted habit," in which the adverbial phrase *ha-l-ayyēmēt* 'these days' yields an iterative progressive sense.

(13)   Tᴜɴɪs Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇssɪᴠᴇ ᴡɪᴛʜ ᴀᴅᴠᴇʀʙɪᴀʟ

    qāʿid   **yəskər**   *koll*   *nhār*   **(ha-l-ayyēmēt)*

    sit.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ   3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**get_drunk**   every   day   <u>ᴅᴇᴍ-ᴅᴇғ-days</u>

    '**He is getting drunk** every day <u>these days</u>.'

The process of generalization seems to be happening in Ṣanʿāʾ Arabic in the 90s, as documented by Watson (1993: 72–79).

(14)   ṢᴀɴʿĀʾ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ   [Retsö 2011; Watson 1993]

    a. *fi*   *l-arḍ*   **niḥfar**   *ġurgih* *zaġīrih* *u-***nilʿab**

        in   ᴅᴇғ-ground   1ᴘʟ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**dig**   hole   small   and-1ᴘʟ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**play**

        lā   *wasṭ*   *al-ġurgih*   *hāða*

        in   middle   ᴅᴇғ-hole   ᴅᴇᴍ

        'We **dig** a little hole in the ground and then **play**

        into the middle of that hole'   ɢᴇɴᴇʀɪᴄ

    b. *al-banāt* **bī-ġannayn**

        ᴅᴇғ-girls   ᴘʀᴏɢ-**3**ғ.ᴘʟ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**sing**

        'The girls **are singing**.'   ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇss

    c. *baʿḍa-hum* **bī-gūl**   *alli* *u-baʿḍa-hum*

        some-3ᴍ.ᴘʟ   ᴘʀᴏɢ-**3**ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**say**   alli and-some-3ᴍ.ᴘʟ

        yugūl   *allaðī*

        3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘғᴠ.**say**   allaði

        'Some **say** alli and some **say** allaðī'   ɢᴇɴᴇʀɪᴄ

While (14a) has a bare imperfective for a habitual reading and (14b) a prefixed imperfective for an ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇss reading, (14c) is a generic statement using both types of imperfectives. The preverb *bi-* recruited for the progressive marking is not limited to that function anymore: It is used for a non-progressive event such as the one in (14c). This is interesting because it looks like (14) is a good example of the transition between (12c) and (12d): Here Y_{PROG} (prefixed imperfective) and X_{IPFV} (bare imperfective) still coexist, but Y_{PROG} is in the process of generalizing towards Y_{IPFV}, as evidenced by the fact that it is coordinated with the X_{IPFV} in the same meaning in (14c).

It is valuable to be able to see these transitions with data such as (14), where there clearly is a generalization happening in speech communities. This generalization is also traceable historically for other dialects. As mentioned in Section 2.2, the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE grammaticalization path is responsible for certain Arabic tense-aspect systems we see today. For instance, the indicative preverb *b-* of Levantine dialects as shown in (15) comes from a historical progressive form,[11] for which Cohen (1984: 294) found attestations in older texts, as in (16) from a 14th C Syrian story.

(15) BEIRUT ARABIC   [Bruweleit 2015: 130]
      b-tištiġli   *'inti kill   yawm hawn*
      IND-**2F.SG.IPFV.work** you every day   here
      'Do you **work** here every day?'   HABITUAL

(16) 14th C. SYRIAN ARABIC
      kunnā   *l-bāriḥata*   …   **bi-našrabu**
      be.PFV.1PL   DEF-eve   …   PROG- 1PL.IPFV.**drink**
      'We **were drinking** the night before'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

In the 14th C., presumably the *bi-* preverb was only used to indicate EVENT-IN-PROGRESS readings[12] which is much different from today's situation where it is simply an indicative marker for the imperfective. This can be readily understood in terms of the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE shift. After the *b-* forms have generalized, these dialects innovated new progressive markers such as *'am(māl)*: They went through the cycle in (12) once and are now in the 3rd stage of it a second time. Because there is a progressive *'am* preverb for EVENT-IN-PROGRESS readings, the *b-* imperfective is now restricted to GENERIC readings (cf. (35) and (36) in the Appendix).[13]

In the same family of dialects, the Arabic spoken in Cyprus went through the cycle only once, and is now synchronically a zero-PROG dialect but diachronically a generalized-PROG dialect. As such, all indicative imperfectives in this dialect have the preverb *p-* (<*bi) and all the readings of the imperfective are available to this form as shown in (17).

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11 While phonetically similar to the peninsular *b-* preverb as seen in Sanʿāʾ, it is possible (although disfavored by Rubin 2005: 150) that the Levantine *b-* has a different source, the most plausible one being the Arabic locative preposition *bi* 'in' through its use in temporal clauses (Rubin 2005: 150).
12 "Dans le cas de b(i)-, il est frappant de constater que les attestations anciennes que nous en avons semblent toutes relever de la notion de concomitance." (Cohen 1984: 294)
13 The bare imperfective still exists in these dialects but it is now restricted to modal or subordinate contexts. It cannot convey the usual imperfective readings.

(17)　　Cʏᴘʀɪᴏᴛ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Borg 1985: 76, 173]

　　a.　*amma **p-ri**　　　　xlip **p-rux**　　　l-mantra　　u*
　　　　when ɪɴᴅ-1sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**want** milk ɪɴᴅ-1sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**go** to-sheepfold and
　　　　p-axlop　　　　*kwelles*
　　　　ɪɴᴅ-1sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.milk　　sheep
　　　　'When I **want** milk, I **go** to the sheepfold and **milk** some sheep' ʜᴀʙɪᴛᴜᴀʟ

　　b.　*kom　　　　olan kati　　**p-isur**　　　　　mimparra*
　　　　get_up.ɪᴍᴘ.2sɢ lad　something ɪɴᴅ-3sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**happen** outside
　　　　'Get up, lad! Something **is going** on outside.'　　　ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇss

Cairo Arabic (18) has also undergone the same process of the *b*-generalization and could be considered a zero-ᴘʀᴏɢ dialect as well: Both the progressive and habitual readings are covered by the prefixed imperfective; the bare imperfective is relegated to non-factual and modal meanings (Woidich 2011).[14]

(18)　　Cᴀɪʀᴏ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Eisele 1999: 91–92]

　　a.　*kull^i　　yōm　**bi-y'ūl**　　　　ḥagāt　saxīfa　zayy^i　di*
　　　　every　day　ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**say** things　stupid　like　this
　　　　'Every day **he says** stupid things like this'　　　　ʜᴀʙɪᴛᴜᴀʟ

　　b.　***bi-y'ūl***　　　ḥāga　muhimma　giddan　dilwa'ti*
　　　　ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**say** thing　important　very　now
　　　　'Now **he is saying** something very important'　　　ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇss

The same historical argument could be made for dialects of Moroccan Arabic that have an obligatory preverb *ka-/ta-* (probably derived from the copula *kān*) with imperfective verb forms whose readings are "compatible with generality, repetition, and concomitance" (Caubet 2011). These dialects also innovated optional auxiliaries for progressive readings (cf. (27) in the Appendix).

　　This also goes for Juba Arabic (19) whose indicative *gi=* preverb almost certainly originates in a progressive marker according to Manfredi (2017: 97).

(19)　　Jᴜʙᴀ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Manfredi 2017: 98–99]

　　a.　*madáris　　fi=bór soudan　**gi=fáta**　　　šáhar　tísa*
　　　　schools　　in=port Sudan　ɴᴘᴏɴᴄ=**open**　month　nine
　　　　'The schools of Port Soudan [always] **open** in September'　　ʜᴀʙɪᴛᴜᴀʟ

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14 Cairo Arabic might be recruiting (or have recruited recently) *'ammāl* as a new ᴘʀᴏɢ-marking strategy. Woidich (2011) reports its optional use for "intensity, continuation, and durativity" and AlShihry (2017: 90) reports its use in various dialects of Upper Egypt, although it is unclear to what extent it is grammaticalized in that area. Thus, it is likely that Cairo Arabic is transitioning towards or is at the emergent-ᴘʀᴏɢ stage.

b. *úmon*   ***g=ámulu***   *šenu*
3PL   **NPONC=do**   what
'What **are they doing**?'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

In Yemen, while certain varieties like Wādi Ḥaḍramawt are at the zero-PROG stage
(7), others went through the whole cycle, generalizing their progressive marker to a
plain imperfective marker, as Vanhove (2011) reports for the Jabal Yazīdī variety.
Similarly, in Ṣanʿāʾ Arabic as discussed above, the *bi-* prefix is used with stative
verbs (Watson 1993: 81), a sign that it has generalized completely.

In Tripoli Arabic, which has the same progressive strategies as Tunis Arabic
(20c–d), it seems that the progressive marker *fī* 'in' is extending to habitual contexts,
such as the one in (20b). As can be seen in the data in (20), it seems that *fī* is generalizing
into an imperfective marker, perhaps with specific nuances of durativity.[15]

(20)   TRIPOLI ARABIC   [Pereira 2008: 2, 3, 7]

a. ***yāxdu***   *s-saḥləb*   *w-**yaṯḥnūh***   *f-ət-ṭāḥūna*
3PL.IPFV.take   DEF-salep   and-**3PL.IPFV.grind**   in-DEF-mixer
'They **take** the salep and **grind** it in the mixer'   HABITUAL

b. *fī*   *yōm*   *əž-žumʿa*   **nṣəḷḷu**   *f-slāṭ*   *əž-žumʿa*
in   day   DEF-Friday   **1PL.IPFV.pray**   in-prayer   DEF-Friday
'On Fridays, we **pray** the Friday prayer.'   HABITUAL

c. ***nušrub***   *fī*   *šāhi*
1PL.IPFV.drink   in   tea
'I **am drinking** tea'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

d. *gāʿdāt*   *y'əṣṣdu*   *f-əl-bāzīn*
sit.**AP.F.PL**   **3PL.IPFV.knead**   in-DEF-bazin
'They **are kneading** the bazin'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

The most surprising aspect of this survey is the discovery that some dialects might
be able to start generalizing their progressive marker before they become cate-
gorical-PROG languages. One prediction of the theory about the PROGRESSIVE-to-
IMPERFECTIVE shift is that each step in (12) needs to be fully reached before the
language begins a new transition, and this is indeed what we typically observe in
most Arabic dialects. However, two dialects go against this prediction: Khartoum
Arabic and Coastal Dhofari.

Khartoum Arabic is reported to have what seems to be an optional progressive
marker – here the active participle of the verb *gʿd* 'to sit' – which is used as an auxiliary
before an imperfective verb to express ongoing action at the time of utterance, as in
(21c). That said, the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading can still be expressed (and retrieved)

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15 Christophe Pereira (p.c.).

without it in (21b), where only the imperfective preceded by the indicative marker *b-* is used.[16] This same form is also the one that is used for the habitual statement in (21a). This state of affairs should lead us to classify this dialect as emergent-PROG. Interestingly, Ali and Miller (1986: 173) report that although preferred, *gāʿid* is not necessary to give rise to the progressive reading as in (21b), but at the same time, its use does not entail such a reading. In fact, *gāʿid* is undergoing a process of generalization such that it can also be used to refer to habitual actions as shown in (21d), where both EVENT-IN-PROGRESS and GENERIC readings are available (Ali and Miller 1986: 180). In other words, the progressive marker in this dialect is not absolutely necessary to convey progressive reading (typical of emergent-PROG), but it has undergone the generalization step from (12c) to (12d), and extends now to habitual, making it generalized-PROG. According to Ali and Miller (1986), in order to disambiguate the progressive reading with certainty, speakers resort to an additional strategy: the preposition *fī* 'in', which may be used in tandem with *gāʿid* as in (21e). So, without ever becoming a strictly categorical-PROG language, Khartoum Arabic seems to have the characteristics of a generalized-PROG language, where the original progressive marker *gʿd* can also be used in other imperfective contexts such as habitual.

(21)   KHARTOUM ARABIC

  a. **bagūm**   *as-sāʿa* *sitta*   [Dickins 2011]
     1SG.IPFV.wake_up DEF-hour six
     'I **wake up** at six'   GENERIC

  b. **bitsawwi** *šinu*   [Dickins 2011]
     2SG.IPFV.do what
     'What **are** you **doing**?'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

  c. **gāʿid**   *tasawwi* *šinu*   [Dickins 2011]
     sit.AP.M.SG **2SG.IPFV.do** what
     'What **are** you **doing**?'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

  d. **gāʿid**   *išrab*   *šāy*   [Ali and Miller 1986]
     sit.AP.M.SG **3SG.IPFV.drink** tea
     'He **is drinking** tea'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS
     'He **drinks** tea'   GENERIC

  e. **gāʿid**   *išrab*   *fī* *šāy* [Ali and Miller 1986]
     sit.AP.M.SG **3SG.IPFV.drink** **in** tea
     'He **is drinking** tea'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

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16 The bare imperfective in this dialect is restricted to modal and embedded contexts and the preverb *b-* seems necessary in indicative contexts, except if another preverb like the future marker *ḥa* or auxiliaries like the progressive marker *gʿd* are present (Dickins 2011).

Moreover, as far as I can tell from Davey's (2016) description, it seems that Costal Dhofari goes against the typological tendency as well. On the basis of the fact that the seemingly progressivizing preverb *b-* is optional for the EVENT-IN-PROGRESS reading (compare (21c) and (21d)),[17] by the criteria given in Section 3.1 we would categorize this dialect as emergent-PROG. However, as can be seen in (21b), the preverb *b-* is also optionally used in habitual contexts, which is a quality typical of generalizing-PROG languages. So Coastal Dhofari contradicts the grammaticalization path as predicted by our framework.

(22)   OMANI: COASTAL DHOFARI   [Davey 2016: 143, 258]

    a.   ***aġsal***   *wigh-i*   *kull*   *ṣubuḥ*
        1SG.IPFV.wash face-1SG.GEN every   morning
        'I **wash** my face every morning'   HABITUAL

    b.   *mā*   ***b-arūḥ***   *is-sūq*   *ʿašān*   *gīb*   *xubz*
        NEG   **CONT-1SG.IPFV.go** DEF-market because bring bread
        'I do not **go** to the market to buy bread.'   HABITUAL

    c.   ***yfarqūn***   *bēn*   *ið-ðān*   *wa-l-maʿz*
        3PL.IPFV.separate between   DEF-goats   and-DEF-sheep
        'They **are separating** the goats and the sheep'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

    d.   *hō*   ***bi-kðāb***   *ʿalē-na*
        he   **CONT-3M.SG.IPFV.lie** on-us
        'He **is lying** to us'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

It is unclear however, if this is truly an originally progressivizing prefix that is generalizing: The morpheme *b-* in the Peninsula has been the object of controversy, and there seem to be at least two preverbs *b-* with different etymologies in the area (Retsö 2011). It is very well possible that the data of Coastal Dhofari does not at all contradict typological tendencies; rather, it has two different optional homophonous but etymologically distinct *b-* preverbs. This would of course make it an emergent-PROG and not a generalized-PROG dialect, if one of those *b-* is a progressive marker. Another option is that *b-* is neither a progressive nor habitual marker but some other kind of preverb that is optionally attached to the imperfective verb form. Peninsular dialects are reported to have *b-* preverbs with volitive nuances (Bettega 2019: 140). More attention on the different contexts where *b-* is (not) used in this dialect will shed light on its meaning and tell us whether Coastal Dhofari really goes against theoretical predictions.

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17 Bettega (2019: 176) reports the same findings. Davey (2016: 257) also reports that while the preverb *bi-* is not obligatory, speakers prefer when it is present.

5 Conclusions

In this paper, I have shown that Arabic dialects display a high degree of typological variation in the morphosyntactic encoding of PROG. Studying certain features in Arabic from a typological perspective shows how much variation exists in this branch of the Semitic family that is often lumped together as a single language. Even closely related dialects can vary widely as regards the developmental stage of their PROG-marker, as seen in Yemen and Oman. Moreover, some dialects provide precious transitional data which gives us an opportunity to better understand how a language moves along the PROGRESSIVE-to-IMPERFECTIVE grammaticalization path. Furthermore, the Arabic data possibly displays unexpected patterns with regards to typological tendencies and theoretical predictions, as the Khartoum and Coastal Dhofari data might suggest.

Such variation questions the often accepted perspective according to which Arabic constitutes a typologically "monolithic" language. In this particular case, the typological literature has treated Arabic as a zero-PROG language, despite the fact that "Arabic" with regards to this feature, as well as other linguistic features, is by no means monolithic. Finally, this typological study contributes to larger scale efforts of documenting the tense and aspect systems of the world's languages, where in the future, I hope to see different Arabic dialects represented rather than the reductive "Arabic."

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person
AP	active participle
AUX	auxiliary
CONT	continuous
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
M	masculine
NEG	negation
NPONC	non-ponctual
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PREP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PST	past
SG	singular

Appendix

The following appendix contains the examples of the expression of progressive and imperfective readings in different dialects of Arabic which were not shown in the main text for space consideration and because they resemble other dialects that were shown there. Each numbered example is referred to in Tables 1 and 2.

1) Zero-PROG dialects

(23)   NAJDI ARABIC   [Ingham 1994: 91–92]

    a. *kill*   *yōm*   ***aktib***   *xaṭṭ*   *l-ixū-y*
       every   day   **1SG.IPFV.write**   letter   to-brother-1SG.GEN
       'Every day, I **write** a letter to my brother'   HABITUAL

    b. *al-ḥīn*   ***aktib***   *xaṭṭ*   *l-ixū-y*
       now   **1SG.IPFV.write**   letter   to-brother-1SG.GEN
       'Now I **am writing** a letter to my brother'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(24)   MARDIN ARABIC[18]   [Jastrow 2011]

    tərāni   *ana*   ***aqčəm***   *maʿ-k*   *ʿaṛabi*
    2SG.IPFV.see   I   **1SG.IPFV.talk** with-2SG.GEN Arabic
    'You see, I am **talking** Arabic to you.'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

2) Emergent-PROG dialects

(25)   SASON ARABIC   [Akkuş 2016: 39]

    a. ***yamel***
       3M.SG.IPFV.work
       'He **works/is working/will work.**'   HABITUAL/EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

    b. ***kū***   *yamel*
       PROG   **3M.SG.IPFV.work**
       'He is working'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

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18 "The dialect of *Mardin* does not distinguish between general present and present continuous" (Jastrow 2011). It is unclear which specific dialect of the Mardin group Jastrow refers to, given that he reports that Kinderib, which is also part of this group, does have a progressive marker. Other dialects of Mardin also have it as evidenced by the Mardin City dialect shown in (39).

(26)   Āʟ-Mᴜʀʀᴀʜ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ   [Ingham 1986: 279]
        u   gad-hum   yamšūn
        and   qad-3ᴍ.ᴘʟ   3ᴍ.ᴘʟ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.**walk**
        'And **they were walking**'   ᴇᴠᴇɴᴛ-ɪɴ-ᴘʀᴏɢʀᴇss

(27)   Mᴏʀᴏᴄᴄᴀɴ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ   [Caubet 1996]

    a. Costal towns
        bārək   /mrəyyəḥ   ka-ylʿəb
        crouch.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ   /rest.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ   ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.play
        '**He is playing.**'
    b. Fes (2 auxiliaires)[19]
    i. ***gālsīn   ka-ytḥəddtu***
        sit.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.ᴘʟ   ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.ᴘʟ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.talk
        '**They are (sitting) talking.**'
    ii. *kān   **gāləs   ta-ylʿəb**   hūwa u-**gāləs***
        be.ᴘꜰᴠ.3ᴍ.sɢ **sit.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.play** he   and-**sit.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ**
        ta-ysūg-ha
        ɪɴᴅ-3ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.ride-3ꜰ.sɢ.ᴀᴄᴄ
        '**He was playing** and **riding** it (the bike).'
    iii. *šūfi   šūfi   **xāyḍa   ka-ttʿārək***
         look.ɪᴍᴘ.2ꜰ.sɢ look.ɪᴍᴘ.2ꜰ.sɢ **be_absorbed.ᴀᴘ.ꜰ.sɢ ɪɴᴅ-3ꜰ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.fight**
         ġa   mʿa   ržəl-ha
         only   with   foot-3ꜰ.sɢ.ɢᴇɴ
         'Look! Look! She **is fighting** with her foot.'
    c. Taza
        *āš   **xəddām   ka-tdīr***
        what   **work.ᴀᴘ.ᴍ.sɢ   ɪɴᴅ-2ᴍ.sɢ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.do**
        'What **are you doing**?'

(28)   Dᴊɪᴅᴊᴇʟʟɪ Aʀᴀʙɪᴄ   [Marçais 1952: 148; 152]

    a. *əd-drāri   b-əd-dum   **yəbkiw***
        ᴅᴇꜰ-kids   in-ᴅᴇꜰ-always   **3ᴘʟ.ɪᴘꜰᴠ.cry**
        'Kids always **cry**.'   ʜᴀʙɪᴛᴜᴀʟ

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19 Caubet (1996: 93) claims that her informant can only use the active participle of 'sit' as a quasi-auxiliary only if there is actual sitting involved in the action described as in (9b-i), whereas her younger niece uses it with verbs of movement as in (9b-ii), which shows a higher degree of grammaticalization in what seems to be apparent time data. I classify the Morrocan dialects as emergent-ᴘʀᴏɢ for this reason and because Caubet (2011) claims that the imperfective (prefixed with the indicative *ka-/ta-*) still has the progressive reading available to it.

b. *barka*　　　*ma*　　　***ku-tdūdəš***
　 enough　　　NEG　　　**PROG-2SG.IPFV.turn_around**
　 'Stop **turning** around'　　　　　　　　　　　　　EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

3) Categorical-PROG dialects

(29)　　MALTESE　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　[Camilleri 2016: 48, 73]

　 a. ***Naqra***　　　*ktieb*　　*kull*　　*ġimgħa*
　　 1SG.IPFV.read　book　every　week
　　 'I **read** a book every week.'　　　　　　　　　　HABITUAL
　 b. *It-tifla*　　***qed/qiegħda***　　***tikteb***
　　 DEF-girl　　**PROG/sit.AP.F.SG**　　**3F.SG.IPFV.write**
　　 'The girl **is writing**.'　　　　　　　　　　　　EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(30)　　BENGHAZI ARABIC　　　　　　　　　　　[Pereira and Benkato 2015]

　 a. *kull mā*　　***yi'ðin***　　　　　*ež-žāmiʿ*　　*tigʿad*
　　 every time　**3M.SG.IPFV.call_prayer**　DEF-mosque　3F.SG.IPFV.stay
　　 itʿāwi　　　　　*el-kelba*
　　 3F.SG.IPFV.bark　　DEF-dog
　　 'Every time the mosque **calls** the prayer, the dog begins to bark'　HABITUAL
　 b. *ana*　***gāʿida***　　　　***nṭayyib***　　*fī*　　*makarūna*
　　 I　　**remain.AP.F.SG**　**1SG.IPFV.cook**　(in)PROG　pasta
　　 'I **am cooking** pasta.'　　　　　　　　　　　EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(31)　　KHUZESTAN ARABIC　　　　　　　　　　[Shabibi 2006: 89–94]

　 a. *ʾaḥmad*　***yrūḥ***　　*l-əl-madrəsa*
　　 Ahmad　**3M.SG.IPFV.go**　to-DEF-school
　　 'Ahmad **goes** to school'　　　　　　　　　　HABITUAL
　 b. *mən*　*yəftahmūn*　　　*həyya*　***gāʿda***　　***təgra***
　　 when　3M.PL.IPFV.understand　she　**sit.AP.F.SG**　**3F.SG.IPFV.read**
　　 l-əd-doktorā
　　 for-DEF-doctorate
　　 'When they realize that she **is doing** the PhD …'　　EVENT-IN-PROGRESS
　 c. *l-əfrūx*　***gāʿdīn***　　***ytaʿaššūn***
　　 DEF-kids　**sit.AP.M.PL**　**3M.PL.IPFV.eat_dinner**
　　 'The kids **are eating** their dinner'　　　　　　EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(32)　　　Šāwi Arabic – ʿАтīǧ тRIBE　　　　　[Younes and Herin 2013: 57, 50]

　　　a. *yiðbaḥūn*　　　　　　　　*ʾš-šibāb*　　　*w-yigṭaʿūn*-ha
　　　　3m.pl.ipfv.slaughter　　def-youth　　and-**3m.pl.ipfv.cut**-3f.sg.acc
　　　　w-tənsələg
　　　　and-3f.sg.ipfv.pass.**boil**
　　　　'The youth **slaughter** them and **cut** them,　　　　　　　　　　habitual
　　　　and [the heads] **are boiled**'

　　　b. *ǧaʿdä*　　　　*txabəz*　　　　　　　　　*ʿa-t-tannūṛ*
　　　　sit.ap.f.sg　　**3f.sg.ipfv.bake_bread**　　on-def-oven
　　　　'She **is making** bread on a *tannūr* oven.'　　　　　　event-in-progress

(33)　　　Uzbekistan – Qashqa-Darya　　　　　　　[Chikovani 2005, 2012]

　　　a. *ʿammalān　isi*
　　　　work　　　3m.sg.ipfv.do
　　　　'He works (usually)'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　habitual

　　　b. *iṭbux*　　　　　*nāyim*
　　　　3m.sg.ipfv.cook　lie.ap.m.sg
　　　　'He **is baking**.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　event-in-progress

　　　c. *nōkul*　　　　*nāyiminni*
　　　　1pl.ipfv.eat　lie.ap.m.pl
　　　　'We **are eating**.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　event-in-progress

(34)　　　Iraqi Arabic　　　　　　[Agius and Harrak 1987; Cohen 1984: 288]

　　　a. Southern Iraq
　　　　gāʿdīn　　*nešrab*
　　　　sit.ap.pl　　**1pl.ipfv.drink**
　　　　'**We are drinking**'　　　　　　　　　　　event-in-progress

　　　b. Mawṣil
　　　i. Muslim:
　　　　ʾad　　*nešrab*
　　　　prog　　**1pl.ipfv.drink**　'**We are drinking**'　　event-in-progress

　　　ii. Christian:
　　　　ke　　*nākol*
　　　　prog　　**1pl.ipfv.drink**
　　　　'**We are eating**'　　　　　　　　　　　　event-in-progress

　　　c. Baghdad (Muslim)
　　　　ṭumṭur　　*ihwāwa*　*hnā*
　　　　3f.sg.ipfv.rain　a_lot　　here
　　　　'It **rains** a lot here'　　　　　　　　　　　　habitual

    d. ***da-yuṣruf***   *ihwāya flus*   *ʿala bēta ž-židīd*
      PROG-3M.SG.IPFV.**spend** a_lot   money on   house DEF-new
      'He **is spending** a lot of money on his new house'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(35)   BEIRUT ARABIC   [Bruweleit 2015: 130, 121]

    a. ***b-tištiġli***   *'inti kill* *yawm hawn*
      IND-2F.SG.IPFV.**work** you every day here
      'Do you **work** here every day?'   HABITUAL
    b. *huwwe*   ***ʿam-yiḍrub***   *xayyu   halla*
      he   PROG-3M.SG.IPFV.**hit**   brother now
      'He **is thrashing** his brother at the moment'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(36)   DAMASCUS ARABIC   [Cowell 1964: 326, 320]

    a. *b-'awāxər*   *ᵊr-rabī'*   *l-ḥabb*   ***b-yəstəwi***
      in-end   DEF-spring DEF-grain IND-3M.SG.IPFV.**straighten**
      'Late in the spring, the grain **ripens**.'   HABITUAL
    b. *l-ᵊm'adden*   ***ʿam-i'adden***   *ᵊl-'adān*
      DEF-muezzin PROG-3M.SG.IPFV.**give_prayer_call** DEF-call_to_prayer
      'The muezzin **is giving the call to prayer**.'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(37)   URBAN HIJĀZI ARABIC[20]   [Retsö 2011]
    al-walad ***b-yiktub***   *jawāb*
    DEF-boy   PROG-3M.SG.IPFV.**write** letter
    'The boy **is writing** a letter'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

(38)   GULF ARABIC – BAHRAYN   [Holes 1990: 195–196]

    a. *ma* ***'ašrab***   *xamar wila* ***'ākil***   *laḥam xinzīr*
      NEG 1SG.IPFV.**drink**   alcohol nor 1SG.IPFV.**eat** meat pork
      'I neither **drink** alcohol nor **eat** pork'   HABITUAL
    b. *hum*   ***gā'idīn*** *yithāwašūn*   *ma'a   ba'ḍ*
      they   sit.AP.PL 3PL.IPFV.**argue** with each_other
      'They **are having an argument** with each other'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

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20 I did not find an example with the bare imperfective to show the contrast between the generic reading of the bare imperfective and the progressive reading of the prefixed imperfective, but Retsö (2011) reports that "in Urban Ḥijāzi, the *b*-forms mark actual present/contemporaneity only – habitual is without *b*-."

(39)   MARDIN CITY ARABIC   [Grigore 2007: 160]

    a. *maymət-i*   **ṭəṭbəx**   *maxlōta*
       grandmother-1SG   **3F.SG.IPFV.cook**   soup
       'My grandmother **makes** soup'   HABITUAL

    b. *maymət-i*   **qāyəm**   **ṭəṭbəx**   *maxlōta*
       grandmother-1SG   **stand.AP.SG**   **3F.SG.IPFV.cook**   soup
       'My grandmother **is making** soup'   EVENT-IN-PROGRESS

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