The Multifaceted Functions of *become* in Colloquial Arabic

The grammaticalization of change-of-state verbs has received considerable attention cross-linguistically (e.g., Hall 1953; Anderson 1975; Corne 1977; Papen 1978; Lehmann 1982, 1989; Hengeveld 1992; Dahl 2000; Heine and Kuteva. 2004). For instance, verbs like *get/receive* and *become* are shown to have been grammaticalized into a change-of-state marker, a copula, a passive auxiliary, or into a future marker (see Corne 1977, Papen 1978, Lehmann 1982, Hengeveld 1992, Dahl 2000, Heine and Kuteva. 2004, Vykypěl 2010, Kuteva et al. 2019). In the context of Arabic, however, there are only sporadic studies on the grammaticalization of such verbs. For example, a change-of-state verb such as *ʕaad* 'returned' is reported to have undergone grammaticalization into a discourse marker or into an aspectual/mood particle (Harb, Jarrah, and Alghazo 2022; Al-Raba'a 2023a), but a verb like *nizel* 'descended' has been grammaticalized into an aspectual particle (Al-Raba'a 2023b). One particular linguistic phenomenon, which to our knowledge, has not be investigated in the Arabic linguistics literature, is the examination of grammaticalized uses of the verb *ṣaar* 'became'. In a number of modern varieties of Arabic (e.g. Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, Iraqi, Kuwaiti, and Ħa'il Arabic), we have found four grammaticalized functions of this verb, with the four functions being partially or fully accessible to the speakers of the aforementioned dialects. Consider the following examples from various Arabic varieties.

(1) a. Iraqi Arabic (Abdul-Rahman Jasim, personal communication):
   Sami ***ṣaarluh*** *bjesbaħ saaʕah.*
   Sami became bathe one.hour
   'Sami has bathed/been bathing for one hour.'

   b. Syrian Arabic (adapted from the Arabic example in Abdul-Rahim 2012: 1423):
   Sami ***ṣaar*** *jeħki.*
   Sami became speak
   'Sami started to speak.'

   c. Palestinian Arabic (Mohammad Fawzi, personal communication):
   Sami ***ṣaar*** *raajeħ ʕa-l-madrase.*
   Sami became went to-the-school
   'Sami already went to school.'

   d. Rural Jordanian Arabic:
   Sami ***ṣajjiiruh*** *jetʕallam.*
   Sami become learn
   'Sami will learn (a lesson).'

As we can see in (1a–d), *ṣaar* no longer conveys its original meaning *became*. Instead, it mainly expresses grammatical meanings. To that end, in this study we will explore the grammaticalized functions of *ṣaar* in Colloquial Arabic (henceforth, CA), paying special attention to its various syntactic realizations. More particularly, relying on empirical data from CA, we will argue that *ṣaar* serves four functions: perfect aspect (1a), inceptive aspect (1b), tense anterior marking (1c), and future marking (1d). Syntactically, we will show that each marker of *ṣaar* heads its own maximal projection, and that the proposed projections for *ṣaar* are both supported by empirical

data and aligned with Cinque's (1999, 2006) hierarchical order of functional projections. Additionally, we compare the grammaticalized functions of *ṣaar* in CA to their counterparts in Egyptian Arabic and other languages. This shows how such functions cross-linguistically fit within the broader typology of the grammaticalized uses of *become* (Merlan 1983, Heine and Kuteva 2004, Vykypěl 2010, among others), while still offering insights into new grammaticalization patterns.

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