



The 28th Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics



مؤتمر اللسانيات العربيّة



Thursday, March 13 – Saturday, March 15, 2014
Smathers Library East – 1st Floor – Room 1A

Keynote speakers

Lina Choueiri (American University of Beirut)

The 'locative paradigm' in Arabic

Thur. Mar. 13; 11:30 am – 12:30pm

Niloofer Haeri (Johns Hopkins University)

What can Salat teach us about language?

Thur. Mar. 13; 4:30 – 5:30 pm

Naima Boussofara (University of Kansas)

Towards a Spoken Standard Variety: How much has the 'slippery' area been cleaned-up?

Fri. Mar. 14; 10:45 – 11:45 am

Janet Watson (University of Leeds)

Phonation categories in Arabic and Modern South Arabian

Fri. Mar. 14; 3:45 – 4:45 pm

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THE 28th ANNUAL SYMPOSIUM ON ARABIC LINGUISTICS

Thursday, March 13 – Saturday, March 15, 2014

Dear Attendees,

Welcome to University of Florida in Gainesville. We are pleased to host the 28th Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics. This is the first time that the Symposium is being held in Florida, and we hope that you make most of your stay. We would like to thank you all for choosing to share your research and to learn from others at ALS 28. We look forward to what promises to be an engaging and rewarding symposium.

Sincerely,

Youssef A. Haddad and Eric Potsdam

About the Arabic Linguistics Society

The Arabic Linguistics Society (ALS) was founded in June 1988 as a non-profit organization for the purpose of encouraging research and the sharing of research in the field of modern Arabic linguistics. The Society provides a forum for scholars interested in the study of Arabic within current linguistic theories and analyses. As such, it is the major, if not only, professional society in North America that is exclusively dedicated to the advancement of research on Arabic linguistics and plays a critical role in supporting and disseminating linguistic scholarship on Arabic.

The Society sponsors an annual symposium on Arabic linguistics, the first held in 1987 hosted by the University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Since then over 20 other major universities have hosted the annual symposium. In 1998, the Society sponsored its first International Symposium on Arabic Linguistics to maintain contact with Arabic linguists at universities abroad and encourage international research on Arabic linguistics. It continues to sponsor international symposia on a less regular basis.

For disseminating research on Arabic linguistics, the Society sponsors the publication of papers selected from those presented at its symposia in a series entitled *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics* and published by John Benjamins (Amsterdam and Philadelphia). Papers are peer-reviewed and edited prior to final acceptance for publication.

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Program
Thursday, March 13, 2014

8:00-9:00 Registration
9:00-9:15 Welcome/Opening Remarks

Session 1: Syntax 1 Chair: Eric Potsdam

9:15-9:45 [Explaining Serial Verb Constructions without Constructions](#)
Hamid Ouali and Juman Al-Bukhari, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

9:45-10:15 [Fin, Force, and Complementizer Agreement in Arabic](#)
Osama Omari, Yarmouk University, Jordan, and Phil Branigan, Memorial University, Canada

10:15-10:45 [The Syntax of Fragment Answers: Evidence From Egyptian Arabic](#)
Usama Soltan, Middlebury College

10:45-11:15 [Cyclic-Spell-Out Derived Agreement in Arabic Raising Constructions](#)
Youssef A. Haddad, University of Florida, and Susi Wurmbrand, University of Connecticut

11:15-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-12:30 [Keynote Address](#)
The 'locative paradigm' in Arabic
Lina Choueri, The American University in Beirut, Lebanon

12:30-1:45 Lunch

Session 2: Sociolinguistics Chair: Youssef Haddad

1:45-2:15 [Comparing Children's Variable Language to their Parents: Is it acquisition or more?](#)
Rania Habib, Syracuse University

2:15-2:45 [L1-English Tense-Lax Vowel System Influence on L2-Arabic Short and Long Vowel Learning](#)
Zafer Lababidi and Hanyong Park, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

2:45-3:15 [\[gahwa\] ~ \[ʔahwa\]: Examining the uvular stop \(q\) in the Arabic of Gaza City](#)
William Cotter, University of Essex, England

3:15-3:30 Coffee Break

3:30-4:00 [The Grammaticalization of the Motion Verb *rāḥ* as a Prospective Aspect Marker in Levantine Arabic](#)
Najib Jarad, University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates

4:00-4:30 [How regional features in Arabic become sectarian features: Jordan as a case study](#)
Enam Al-Wer, University of Essex, England, Uri Horesh, Northwestern University, Bruno Herin, INALCO, Paris, Maria Fanis, Ohio University

4:30-5:30 [Keynote Address](#)
What can the Salat teach us about language?
Nilloofar Haeri, Johns Hopkins University

Friday, March 14, 2014

Session 3:	Sociolinguistics/Corpus Linguistics	Chair: Amel Khalafaoui
9:00-9:30	<u>Verb System in Mixed Styles of Arabic in Egypt</u> <i>Malgorzata Kniaz, Jagiellonian University, Poland</i>	
9:30-10:00	<u>A Corpus-based Analysis of Three Arabic Adversative Conjunctions in a Current Egyptian Newspaper</u> <i>Shaemaa Essa, The American University in Cairo, Egypt</i>	
10:00-10:15	Coffee Break	
10:15-10:45	<u>Written vs. Spoken: An analysis of Moroccan Arabic-French codeswitching in different modes</u> <i>Rebekah Post, The University of Texas at Austin</i>	
10:45-11:45	<u>Keynote Address</u> Towards a Spoken Standard Variety: How much has the ‘slippery’ area been cleaned-up? <i>Naima Boussofara, University of Kansas</i>	
11:45-1:30	BUSINESS MEETING ARABIC LINGUISTICS SOCIETY	
<i>There will be lunch boxes for the first 20 people who sign up. The sign-up sheet is on the registration desk. Executive Board members, please sign up as well if you plan to attend.</i>		

Session 4:	Phonology & Phonetics	Chair: Caroline Wiltshire
1:30-2:00	<u>Stress and Syllable Repair in Egyptian Arabic</u> <i>Elijah Reynolds, Indiana University</i>	
2:00-2:30	<u>Examining Feature Economy in Arabic Dialects</u> <i>Cheng-Wei Lin, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor</i>	
2:30-3:00	<u>On the Status of Derived Affricates in Arabic Dialects</u> <i>Stuart Davis and Dua’a Abu-Alhija Mohajna, Indiana University</i>	
3:00-3:15	Coffee Break	
3:15-3:45	<u>The Prosodic Structure of First Words in Arabic</u> <i>Eman Abdoh, King Abdulaziz University, Saudi Arabia</i>	
3:45-4:45	<u>Keynote Address</u> Phonation categories in Arabic and Modern South Arabian <i>Janet Watson, University of Leeds</i>	
6:30-9:00	RECEPTION	

The reception will be two miles away from Smathers Library East. There will be a shuttle to take us all there and back. The shuttle will be at the Holiday Inn between 6:00 and 6:30 p.m., and will leave at 6:30 sharp. It will come back to take us all back to the Holiday Inn at 9:00.

Saturday, March 15, 2014

Session 5:	Syntax 2	Chair: Brent Henderson
9:00-9:30	<u>On LF-PF Match in Sason Arabic</u> <i>Faruk Akkus, Boğazici University, Turkey</i>	
9:00-9:30	<u>On the Locus of Negation and NPI Licensing in Jordanian Arabic</u> <i>Ahmad Alqassas, Georgetown University</i>	
10:00-10:30	<u>The Syntax of Negation in Contact Contexts: The case of Sason Arabic</u> <i>Faruk Akkus, Boğazici University, Turkey, and Elabbas Benmamoun, University of Illinois</i>	
10:30-10:45	Coffee Break	
Session 6:	Language Acquisition	Chair: Rania Habib
10:45-11:15	<u>A Pilot Study on the Interface Hypothesis for Syntax and Semantics of Heritage Speakers of Levantine Arabic</u> <i>May Ahmar and Ignacio Montoya, Columbia University/Graduate Center-CUNY</i>	
11:15-11:45	<u>Language Learning in Heritage and Non-Heritage Adult Learners of Arabic: An ERP study</u> <i>Reem Khamis-Dakwar, Adelphi University, and Karen Froud, Teachers College, Columbia University</i>	
Session 7:	Pragmatics & Historical Linguistics	Chair: Youssef Haddad
11:45-12:15	<u>Demonstratives in Tunisian Arabic: Beyond information Status</u> <i>Amel Khalafaoui, Florida Atlantic University</i>	
12:15-12:45	<u>Jaffa Palestinian Arabic: A contemporary and diasporic sociolinguistic analysis</u> <i>William Cotter, University of Essex, England, and Uri Horesh, Northwestern University</i>	

Explaining Serial Verb Constructions Without Constructions

Hamid Ouali-Juman Al Bukhari
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

In this paper, we analyze verbs such as *ʔaʔad* “sat” *riɣiʔ* “returned”, and *naʔ* “jumped” in contexts where they co-occur with a main verb:

- (1) *ʔaʔad* *yihki* *saʔa*. (Jordanian Arabic)
sit.ms.IMP talk.ms.IMP an hour
He talked for an hour.

In such contexts, verbs like *ʔaʔad*, are semantically vacuous and do not denote their literal meaning. The event is denoted by the main verb, e.g. *yihki* ‘talk’ in (1). The sequence of these types of verbs and main verbs V1+V2 has been a contentious topic in the Arabic descriptive linguistics. Some argue that they constitute a clear case of the so-called Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) (Hussein 1990, Versteegh 2003-2006, 2006). Others argue against treating them as SVCs (Voidich 2000). We will argue that in an approach where constructions have no theoretical status, these disagreements disappear. We will analyze these verbs as light verbs (*v*), which denote Aspect or Aktionsart information. We propose that, syntactically, this *v* selects AspP. This accounts for an array of facts, such as the Tense and Aspect or Aktionsart interpretation of these sentences, the Argument sharing of V1 and V2, and negation scope. Constructions with a verb V1 and main verb V2 as in (1), exhibit some striking similarities with the prototypical SVCs reported in the literature. Even though, the topic of SVCs is highly contentious, there is a general consensus that they have the following properties: a) the two verbs act as a single predicate without any overt marker of coordination or subordination, b) they denote a single event, c) they have single tense, aspect, and polarity value, d) they share at least one argument (Aikhenvald 2006).

- (2) *ʔaʔad* Ahmad *yihki* *maʔ-o*.
sit.ms.IMP Ahmad talk.ms.IMP with-him
‘Ahmad talked with him’ (Jordanian Arabic- JA)

- (3) Palestinian Arabic (Hussein 1990: 344)
ma-ʔad-sh *ʔalli* *ʔinno* *shtara* *sayya:ra*
Neg-return-neg tell-3sg.PER-to-me that buy-3sm.PER car
‘he didn’t tell me anymore that he bought a car’

We argue that these light *v*’s select AspP which explains the fact they can co-occur with Imperfective verbs (2) and Perfective verbs as in (3). (3) is schematized in (4):

- (4) [TP T *ʔaʔad_i* *vP* *t_i* AspP [*vP* Ahmad *yihki* *maʔ-o*]
sit.ms.IMP Ahmad talk.ms.IMP with-him

In both cases the light *v* introduces an enhanced durative reading of the main verb. Only the light verb is marked for negation whether it is in the perfective form (4) or imperfective form (5):

- (5) *ma b-yirjaʔ* *yihrob* *min* *l-madrasa* (JA)
Neg Asp-return-3sm Asp-run-3s from the-school
‘He won’t run away from school anymore’

In an approach where Neg selects TP (Soltan 2007, 2011), these facts would follow. The main verb in all of these sentences is in the lower *vP* and the light verb (V1 in the sequence) either moves to T in past tense clauses, or stays in-situ in present tense clauses (Benmamoun 2000 -for main verbs).

In this paper we attempt to explain the different properties of what some researchers have described as Serial Verb Construction’s in Arabic and argue that these properties follow from general syntactic properties. The single TP projection in these clauses explains the single tense reading. The single NegP projection and its position in the structure explain the single negative reading and the fact that only V1 can be marked with negation. The position of V1 selecting AspP phrase explains the enhanced aspectual/Aktionsart reading of these sentences.

Fin, Force, and Complementiser Agreement in Arabic

Osama Omari & Phil Branigan

Yarmouk University Memorial University

Recent studies of Romance and Germanic (Rizzi 1997, Craenenbroek 2004, Branigan 2011) show that complementisers may originate in Fin, even though they end up in the Force position. The surface ordering then requires that we posit a Fin-to-Force head movement operation. Branigan (2011) shows that two closely related languages may even differ in this respect: Icelandic has complementisers which always originate in Force; Swedish, those which normally raise from Fin. However, whether complementisers start first in Fin or are directly generated in Force has consequences for other aspects of the syntax. Fin is the position that permits the complementisers to build Agree relations with the TP (Rizzi 1997). Rizzi and Shlonsky (2007:149) posit that the complementizer *that* in English is “first merged in Fin, to express finiteness, and then moves to Force to check the Force feature”.

A comparative study of variants of spoken Arabic leads to similar, yet still more subtly differentiated conclusions. In this paper, we show that the complementiser *ʔin-* ‘that’ in Jordanian Arabic may freely originate in either Force or Fin, with little semantic significance attached to the choice. When C originates in Fin, it agrees with the preverbal subject (1a), just as do the agreeing complementisers in various Germanic dialects (Haegeman 1992, Zwart 1997, Carstens 2003, Haegeman and van Koppen 2012, among others). When C originates in Force, however, it does not agree with anything. In that case, the agreement morphology found on the complementiser reflects default 3sgM phi features, as shown in (1b).

1. a. Hassan gaal ʔin-ha il-bint ʔijat.
Hassan said.3sgM that-her the-girl came.3sgF
- b. Hassan gaal ʔinn-uh il-bint ʔijat.
Hassan said.3sgM that-3sgM the-girl came.3sgF

The idea that the non-agreeing C originates in Force is supported by two sets of data: the first is that whenever a Top phrase is present in the embedded clause, C can only be non-agreeing (2).

2. Hassan gaal ʔinn-uh/*ʔin-na is-sayyaarah pro biʔnaa-ha
Hassan said.3sgM that-3sgM/that-us the-car pro sold.1p-her

A similar set of results emerge from embedded conditionals. When the complementiser *ʔin-* precedes the conditional marker *ʔiða* ‘if’, the complementizer cannot agree with the local subject and must therefore take the default *ʔinnuh* form (3a). However, when the complementizer *ʔin-* occurs to the right of *ʔiða*, it can agree with the subject, but it does not have to, as shown in (3b).

3. a. Ali fakkar ʔinn-uh/*ʔin-ha ʔiða il-bint ʔijat, umm-uh rah tʔutʔbux samak.
Ali thought.3sgM that-3sgM/that-her if the-girl came.3sgF, mother-his will cook fish
- b. Ali fakkar ʔiða ʔinn-uh/ʔin-ha il-bint ʔijat, umm-uh rah tʔutʔbux samak.
Ali thought.3sgM if that-3sgM/that-her the-girl came.3sgF, mother-his will cook fish

Assuming a base order [Force – Cond – Fin – TP], this data is derived if C agreement can only occur on a complementiser introduced in Fin. Fin cannot raise to Force past Cond, but *ʔiða* may left-adjoin to Force (with or without C introduced there) to introduce the clause.

The syntax of fragment answers: Evidence from Egyptian Arabic

Usama Soltan
Middlebury College

A **fragment answer** is a non-sentential XP, (as those boldfaced in 1b and 2b), uttered in response to a question (1a,2a), but has the same propositional content as a full sentence answer (1c,2c).

(1a)	Mona bi-thib miin?	(1b)	Ahmad	(1c)	Mona bi-thib Ahmad
	Mona ASP-love.3SGF who		Ahmad		Mona ASP-love.3SGF Ahmad
	Who does Mona love?		Ahmad.		Mona loves Ahmad.
(2a)	bi-titkallim maša miin?	(2b)	maša Ahmad	(2c)	ba-tkallim maša Ahmad
	ASP-talk.2SGM with who		With Ahmad		ASP-talk.1SG with Ahmad
	Who are you talking with?		With Ahmad.		I'm talking with Ahmad.

In the relevant literature, one can distinguish two main approaches to the analysis of fragment answers: (i) The **direct interpretation approach**, whereby the fragment answer is analyzed as having a single XP projection, with the propositional content of the answer arising via special mechanisms at the syntax-semantics interface (van Riemsdijk 1978; Barton 1990; Ginzburg and Sag 2000), and (ii) the **ellipsis approach**, whereby the fragment answer is a remnant of an underlying clausal structure part of which has undergone deletion, thereby deriving the propositional semantics directly off the syntax (Morgan 1973; Hankamer 1979; Merchant 2004; among others). In this paper I discuss data from fragment answers in Egyptian Arabic (EA) showing that an ellipsis analysis, particularly along the lines in Merchant (2004), is indeed more empirically adequate than a direct interpretation analysis.

More specifically, Merchant (2004) proposes that a fragment answer is derived as a remnant of an underlying clausal structure in which the fragment XP moves to the left-periphery (presumably to SpecFocP), followed by TP ellipsis, as in the representation in (3) for the fragment answer in (1b).

(3)	[_{FocP} Ahmad _i Foc [_{TP} Mona bi-thib t_i]]
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A number of empirical facts support the postulation of an underlying clausal syntax that involves both ellipsis and movement in the derivation of fragment answers. I discuss some of these facts below.

On the one hand, there is a number of so-called **connectivity effects** in fragment answers that parallel those present in non-elliptical clausal structures. More specifically, fragment answers (i) obey Binding Conditions in the same manner full clauses do; (ii) they allow the same range of scope ambiguities found in full sentence answers; and (iii) they show the same distribution of bound variable anaphora that fully sentential structures do. For example, the scope ambiguity in (4c), a full sentence answer to the question in (4a), also obtains in (4b), a fragment answer to the same question, a fact that is readily explained if both have the same underlying clausal structure.

(4a)	kull	Taalib	ha-yitkallim	maša	kaam	ʔustaaz?				
	every	student	FUT-talk.3SGM	with	how many	teacher				
	How many teachers will every student talk to?									
(4b)	maša	talat	ʔasaatza	(4c)	Kull	Taalib	ha-yi-tkallim	maša	talat	ʔasaatza
	with	three	teachers		Every	student	FUT-talk.3SGM	with	three	teachers
	'With three teachers.'				'Every student will talk to three teachers.'			$\forall > 3; 3 > \forall$		

On the other hand, there is good evidence that movement is involved in the derivation of fragment answers. First, fragment answers in EA are **island-sensitive**, as the ungrammaticality of (5b) shows.

(5a)	huwwa Ahmad šaaf ?il-raagil ?illi Darab šalii?	(5b)	*la? Mahmud
	Q Ahmad saw.3SGM the-man That hit.3SGM Ali		No Mahmoud
	Did Ahmad see the man who hit Ali?		*No, Mahmoud.

(Intended meaning of fragment answer: 'No, Ahmad saw the man who hit Mahmoud.')

A second piece of evidence in support of the movement analysis comes from **non-P-stranding** facts in answers to questions such as (6a), where a preposition precedes the wh-phrase. In such cases, only a PP, (6b), but not a 'bare' DP, (6c), can function as a fragment answer. This follows from the requirement to pied-pipe P with its complement in non-P-stranding languages such as EA.

(6a)	bi-titkallim maša miin?	(6b)	maša Ahmad	(6c)	*Ahmad
	ASP-talk.2SGM with who		with Ahmad		Ahmad
	Who are you talking with?		With Ahmad.		Ahmad.

In sum, empirical facts pertaining to fragment answers in EA follow if we assume that fragment answers are derived from a full clausal structure via left-peripheral movement and TP ellipsis, thereby explaining why their behavior is subject to constraints that hold of full clauses in general.

Cyclic-Spell-Out Derived Agreement in Arabic Raising Constructions

Youssef A. Haddad and Susi Wurmbrand

University of Florida and University of Connecticut

Standard Arabic (SA) is an optional VSO language. Preverbal subjects trigger full agreement (FA); post-verbal subjects trigger partial agreement (PA). SA raising constructions allow three different positions of the subject. The DP»V order triggers FA, whereas the V»DP order triggers PA, (1). In (0b), the subject is between the matrix V (V1) and the embedded V (V2); V1 shows PA, while V2 shows FA. V1 shows agreement even when the subject is in the embedded clause. In this case, V2 shows PA, while V1 shows PA (1c) or FA (1d).

- (1) a. *l-t 'a:liba:t-u* *ʔawfakna* (*ʔan*) *yanjaħna* DP–V1_{full}–V2_{full}
 the-students.F-NOM were.about.to.3.F.PL (C/to) succeed.3.F.PL
 ‘The female students are/were about to succeed’
- b. *ʔawfakat* *l-t 'a:liba:t-u* (*ʔan*) *yanjaħna* V1_{partial}–DP–V2_{full}
 were.about.to.3.F.SG the-students.F-NOM (C/to) succeed.3.F.PL
- c. *ʔawfakat* (*ʔan*) *tanjaħ(u)a* *l-t 'a:liba:t-u* V1_{partial}–V2_{partial}–DP
 were.about.to.3.F.SG (C/to) succeed.3.F.SG the-students.F-NOM
- d. *ʔawfakna* [(*ʔan*) *tanjaħ(u)a* *l-t 'a:liba:t-u*] V1_{full}–V2_{partial}–DP
 were.about.to.3.F.PL [(C/to) succeed.3.F.SG the-students.F-NOM]

How is FA possible on V1 but not V2 in V1»V2»DP? Why is FA not possible on V1 in V1»DP»V2? We propose a cyclic spell-out approach in which a particular PF choice at an early cycle (phase) creates certain opacity effects for the agreement options at later cycles. We propose that SA allows either the subject to move to Spec,TP, resulting in FA, or *v*+V to move to T, resulting in PA. We assume that both T and *v* are specified for unvalued ϕ -features, which must be valued by an element with valued ϕ -features. While T involves a full set of ϕ -features, *v* in SA, we suggest, only has a gender feature. Two derivations are possible. In (2a), the subject values gender on *v* and all ϕ -features on T after moving to Spec,TP. T is then spelled out with FA. In (2b), *v*'s gender is valued by the subject; *v*+V moves to T and *v* values T's gender feature only. We assume that PA takes place at the same time *v*+V values T; further DP-movement cannot change PA. At PF, the higher copy must be realized, unless this leads to the order DP—V_{partial}.

- (2) a. [TP DP [*i*φ: 3.F.PL] T [*u*φ:] => [*u*φ: 3.F.PL] [_{VP} DP *v*+V [*u*Gen: E] ...]] FA
 b. [TP *v*+V [*u*Gen: F] T [*u*φ:] => [*u*Gen: E; *u*Num/Pers: 3SG] [_{VP} DP *v*+V [*u*Gen: E] ...]] PA

This system accounts for (0a) and (0b) illustrated below. In (0a), the subject undergoes successive cyclic movement to the embedded and matrix Spec,TPs, where it triggers FA. In (0b), the subject moves first to embedded Spec,TP where it triggers FA on V2. It then moves to matrix Spec,VP and values gender on matrix *v*(+V). Finally, matrix *v*+V moves to T. Therefore, only gender on matrix T is valued by *v*; number/person is set to default, yielding PA on V1.

- (1) a. [TP DP T [*u*φ: 3.F.PL] [_{VP} DP *v*+V1 [*u*Gen: E] ... [TP DP T [*u*φ: 3.F.PL] [_{VP} DP *v*+V2 [*u*Gen: E] ...]]]]
 b. [TP *v*+V1 T [*u*φ: E.3SG] [_{VP} DP *v*+V1 [*u*Gen: E] ... [TP DP T [*u*φ: 3.F.PL] [_{VP} DP *v*+V2 [*u*Gen: E] ...]]]]

The importance of the cycle: Now consider (0c-d). We assume the phase structure in (3) and subject movement through all phase edges. In both (0c,d), the embedded verb shows PA, which means there is *v*+V movement in the embedded cycle (step i below). For the embedded subject to move to the matrix clause, it has to first move to the edge of the embedded phase (step ii). When the embedded phase is sent to Spell-Out, the *lower* copy of the DP must be pronounced at PF due to PF constraint that the subject must follow a V_{partial} (step iii). Thus, the higher copy of the DP loses its phonological features, but retains its formal and interpretable features. In the next cycle, the DP moves to matrix Spec,VP and values the gender feature of the matrix *v*. At this point, there is again a choice. To value the matrix T, either *v*+V could move, yielding PA on V1, or the PF-less DP could move and trigger FA.

- (3) a. [TP SUBJ T [_{VP=PHASE} SUBJ ... [XP=PHASE SUBJ [_{VP} SUBJ ...]]]]
 (1c)/(1d) embedded cycle:
 i. [CP/TP=Phase *v*+V2 T [*u*φ: E.3SG] [_{VP} DP *v*+V2 [*u*Gen: E] ...]]
 ii. [CP/TP=Phase DP *v*+V2 T [*u*φ: E.3SG] [_{VP} DP *v*+V2 [*u*Gen: E] ...]]
 iii. [CP/TP=Phase DP [_{VP}] *v*+V2 T [*u*φ: E.3SG] [_{VP} DP *v*+V2 [*u*Gen: E] ...]]
 PF order: V2 » DP
 (1c)/(1d) matrix cycle(s):
 i. [_{VP} DP [_{VP}] *v*+V1 [*u*Gen: E] ... [CP/TP=Phase ...]]
 (1c) ii. [TP *v*+V1 T [*u*φ: E.3SG] [_{VP} DP [_{VP}] *v*+V1 [*u*Gen: E] ... [CP/TP=Phase ...]]
 (1d) ii. [TP DP [_{VP}] T [*u*φ: 3.F.PL] [_{VP} DP [_{VP}] *v*+V1 [*u*Gen: E] ... [CP/TP=Phase ...]]

Thursday, March 13, 2014, 11:30 – 12:30

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Keynote Address

The ‘locative paradigm’ in Arabic

Lina Choueiri

American University of Beirut

Few studies in the syntactic literature have investigated links between HAVE possessives, existentials, and predicate locatives (e.g. Hoekstra and Mulder 1990, Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993, Belvin and Den Dikken 1997, Boneh and Sichel 2010), which make up what Freeze 1992 called the ‘locative paradigm’. In the latter study, the locativity of HAVE possessives and their relation to existentials is revealed in a wide range of languages representing different typological groups, including Palestinian Arabic, which is exemplified in (1).

- (1)
- a. ulaad kanu ʕala l-maktab
 boys COP.3mp on the-desk
 ‘Boys were on the desk.’
 - b. kaan fii ulad ʕala l-maktab
 COP.3ms Prt boys on the-desk
 ‘There were boys on the desk.’
 - c. kaan ʕind il-ulad ktaab
 COP.3ms to the-boys book
 ‘The boys had a book.’

My talk has two goals. First will be to establish aspects of the analysis of clausal possession in Arabic. In the spirit of Freeze 1992, I argue for reducing clausal possession, existentials, and predicate locatives to the presence of a locative feature in the temporal domain of the sentence. I will further argue that the differences observed between those three types of sentences result from different derivational processes that apply to them. If correct, the analysis not only strengthens the reductionist approach, but will also help draw more precise and detailed structural maps of verbless and copular sentences in Arabic. The second goal of my talk will be to examine cases of (micro-)variation within Arabic, with special attention given to three dialects: Moroccan Arabic (MA), Palestinian Arabic (PA), and Lebanese Arabic (LA). On one hand, a detailed investigation of the types of DPs that can function as the subject of predicate locatives reveals systematic differences between MA and LA in the extent they make use of a ‘semantically vacuous’ definite determiner. On the other, existentials and possessives in PA differ systematically from those in LA and MA, in that Locative Inversion, which affects a phrasal category in PA, applies only to a head in LA and MA. These observed small-scale differences, which have implications for the study of syntactic micro-variation in related languages, could be attributed to the differences in the syntactic properties of cognate morphemes.

Comparing children's variable language to their parents': Is it acquisition or more?

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Many studies indicated that children acquire sociolinguistic variation from a very young age and that variation is an integral part of acquisition (Roberts, 2005; Foulkes et al., 2005; Chevrot & Foulkes, 2013). Some studies raised questions about whether sociolinguistic variation is acquired by children from adult speech through replication of the frequencies of variants in their input or is "the product of the later acquisition of superposed dialects beyond the critical period" (Labov 2013:247). Another question is related to when the larger pattern of variation in the speech community, "the orderly heterogeneity", is acquired, although it is assumed that it is "not learned at all" (Labov, 2013:249). This study attempts to answer these questions comparing the variation observed in the Arabic of children and adolescents in the village of Oyoun Al-Wadi in Syria to that in their parents' speech. The study focusses on the variables (q) and (o). The voiceless uvular stop (q) is realized as either the rural form [q] or the supralocal glottal stop form [ʔ]. The vowel (o) is realized as either the rural form [o] or the supralocal form [a].

The naturally occurring speech of 22 parents (11 married couples) is compared to that of their 21 children (11 males and 10 females) who are divided into four age groups (6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-18). In the regression tests, age and gender are considered for the children and gender and female's origin are considered for the parents. Paired-Samples T-Tests are performed to look for correlations between both parents' and their children's speech and between individual parents and their children.

Gender emerged as statistically significant for both parents and children regarding (q) and for children only regarding (o), generally indicating that children have acquired the general pattern of variation in their speech community, i.e. boys, like men, use more rural forms than girls. However, the higher use of [q] and to some extent [o] is observed only in age groups 9-11, 12-14, and 15-18, indicating that this pattern of variation is acquired later in the child's life. Furthermore, no correlation exists between children's and parents' use of [q] and [ʔ] or [o] and [a]. Similarly, no correlation is found between fathers and children, mothers and children, fathers and girls, fathers and boys, and mothers and boys. There is only correlation between mothers and girls regarding the use of [q] and [ʔ]. The lack of correlation in most cases indicates that children did not acquire variation from a very young age and do not replicate the frequencies in their parents' input.

These findings and the discrepancies in percentages between boys and their fathers and some girls and their mothers indicate that children initially acquire the majority non-local mothers' supralocal forms; they do not acquire the variation that exists in their immediate environment. After age eight, they start realizing and accepting the gendered linguistic differences in their community, the social meanings associated with each form, and the importance of certain forms for projecting gendered and spatial identities. These realization and acceptance lead to using more rural forms by boys and retention of supralocal forms by girls. Thus, the variation observed in the later stages of these children's lives is not a by-product of the early stages of acquisition. Rather, it is driven by social-psychological factors and "later acquisition of superposed dialects" (Labov 2013:247).

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L1-English tense-lax vowel system influence on L2-Arabic short and long vowel learning

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Mitleb (1981) reported that Jordanian speakers distinguished English tense and lax vowels by vowel duration as native speakers of English did. However, the Jordanian learners made more durational differences between tense and lax vowels than the native speakers did, suggesting that the learners transferred their L1-Arabic short and long vowel duration patterns to L2-English tense and lax vowel productions. We investigated whether the opposite case would also be true: do L1-English learners of Arabic transfer their tense and lax vowel duration patterns to learning Arabic short and long vowels? If such a transfer occurs, the learners will be good at perceiving and producing Arabic short and long vowels.

Two groups of adult L1-English learners of Arabic participated in an ABX discrimination task (perception) and a reading task (production). These learner groups differed in their exposure to Arabic in the classroom: Group A (N = 7) with 4-month exposure and Group B (N = 5) with 8-month exposure. A control group of 4 native speakers of Arabic also participated in the same tasks. In the ABX task, a total of 24 CVC target words were used, 4 target words for each of the six vowels: (/a/, /a:/, /u/, /u:/, /i/, /i:/). In the CVC stimuli, V was either a short or long vowel placed in a frame sentence and recorded by a native speaker. The task was designed using PRAAT, generating a total of 48 triads (24 target triads and 24 foil triads using the templates ABA, ABB, BAA, and BAB). Participants listened to the 48 triads and had to determine whether X was similar to A or B. In the reading task, the participants read the same stimuli in a frame sentence and their productions were evaluated by another group of native speakers (N = 4) regarding whether the vowel was short or long. In our analysis, we examined the accuracy scores of the three groups in these two tasks. In addition, we examined the vowel durations of the three groups in the production task. This analysis was to see whether vowel durations are directly related to accurate productions.

Our results indicated that the learners were relatively good at discriminating Arabic short and long vowels. However, they were poor at producing these vowels accurately. We also observed that certain vowels were more difficult than others. In general, the learners' accuracy rates were lower for the short vowels than for the long vowels in the reading task. Among the short vowels, short /u/ and /i/ had lower accuracy rates than short /a/. Our analysis of vowel durations and the production accuracy suggested that vowel durations are not a good predictor of accurate productions.

Our study suggests that L1-English learners may transfer their tense and lax vowel duration patterns only to perceive, but not to produce Arabic short and long vowels. We suspect that a different aspect of the tense-lax vowel system (i.e., vowel quality differences) influences the learners' production of Arabic short and long vowels.

[gahwa] ~ [ʔahwa] -Examining the uvular stop (q) in the Arabic of Gaza City

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Although sociolinguistic research in Arabic speaking communities has been on the rise in recent years, a number of regions have yet to be investigated. Gaza City is one such case. Gaza represents a complex speech community that has undergone large scale dialect contact as a result of a massive influx of refugees from historical Palestine in 1948. Research on the Gaza Strip sheds light on an understudied community while contributing to our knowledge on the linguistic outcomes of dialect contact in non-English-speaking communities.

In this paper, Rbrul analysis will be presented on the uvular stop (q) in the speech of 22 speakers representing both genders, three age groups, and two sectors of the Gaza City population: indigenous Gazans and refugees originally from the city of Jaffa, 40 kilometers to the north. Early work on the dialect places Gaza City alongside other urban Levantine dialects, which often realize this phoneme as a glottal stop [ʔ] (Bergsträsser 1915, Al-Wer 2007). Limited subsequent research reflects a potential shift in Gaza City for the uvular stop as a result of dialect contact between neighboring Bedouin tribes towards the voiced velar stop [g] (Salonen 1979/80; de Jong 2000).

	Gazans		Jaffans	
Age Gender	M	F	M	F
17-39	3	3	2	1
40-64	3	3	2	0
65+	2	1	0	2
	8	8	4	3
Total	15		7	
Grand Total	22			

Table 1: Speaker demographics

Dialect Background	Tokens N=	Log Odds	Factor Weights
Jaffa	174	1.221	0.772
Gaza	377	-1.221	0.228

Table 2: Rbrul results for [ʔ] realization of Old Arabic /q/ by dialect background ($R^2=.58$ $p=9.02^{-15}$)

Results from fieldwork indicate that the uvular stop exists today as a truly sociolinguistic variable in Gaza City, showing significant correlations with gender, dialect background, and age. The highest rates of glottal stop use are attested among women, particularly women of a Jaffa dialect background, while men of both dialect backgrounds favor the use of the voiced velar stop [g].

Gender	Tokens N=	Log Odds	Factor Weights
F	268	1.9	0.87
M	283	-1.9	0.13

Table 3: Rbrul results for [ʔ] realization of Old Arabic /q/ by gender ($R^2= 0.58$ $p=4.77^{-30}$)

Age	Tokens N=	Log Odds	Factor Weights
17-39	254	1.010	0.733
40-64	183	-1.273	0.219
65 +	114	0.264	.566

Table 4: Rbrul results for [ʔ] realization of Old Arabic /q/ by age ($R^2=0.58$ $p=1.03^{-9}$)

The Grammaticalization of the Motion Verb *rāh* as a Prospective Aspect Marker in Levantine Arabic

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This paper attempts to show that the future uses of the Levantine Arabic *rah* are said to have grammaticalized from the Classical/Standard Arabic lexical verb *rāh* ‘go’, to the extent that it can be analyzed as a prospective future marker for which there is an intention (Bybee et al. 1994). The path that this motion verb follows is from andative (1) through purposive (2) to future intention uses (3, 4): (data from Syrian Arabic)

1. (ʔana) **rayih** ʔa -j-jamʔa [lexical verb/participle]
I going to -the-university
‘I am going to university’
2. (ʔana) **rayih** šūf riʔāt-i hnīk [future particle]
I FUT- see friends-my there
‘I am going to see my friends there’
3. (ʔana) **rah** rūhʔa-s-sīnəmə baʔdēn [future particle]
I FUT-go to-the-cinema afterwards
‘I am going to go to the movies afterwards’
4. (ʔana) **ha-ʔara** ktāb ʔan et- tob [prefix]
I FUT-read book about the-medicine
‘I am going to read a book on medicine’

The grammaticalization path from a lexical verb *rāh* ‘go’ to a prospective future particle involved four interrelated mechanisms: (i) desemanticization or “semantic bleaching” (loss in meaning content), (ii) extension or generalization (use in new contexts), (iii) decategorialization (loss in morphosyntactic properties), and (iv) phonological erosion (loss in phonetic substance).

First, the transition from lexical to grammatical meaning is seen in contexts where the particle *rah* co-occurs with the lexical verb *rāh* (e.g., 3). The second stage involves extension in semantic content. As its meaning extended from movement to intention and then to prediction, *rāh* started to appear with inanimate subjects which lack volition, as in *rah tuʔaʔ l-kase* ‘The glass is going to fall’. The use of inanimate subjects argues against any ‘movement’ or ‘intention’ interpretation in such examples. Therefore, what this example shows is that ‘prediction’ is the only semantic feature that can be retained (Bybee & Dahl 1989: 92). The prospective interpretation follows from the idea that ‘TIME is metaphorically conceptualized in terms of SPACE’ (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 135) i.e. that ‘motion in space’ is generalized to the more abstract ‘motion through time’. This reflects the view that during grammaticalization constructions typically become more abstract.

The grammaticalization of the lexical verb *rāh* also resulted in desemanticization or semantic bleaching. In Classical/Standard Arabic, the verb *rāh* is a two-place predicate which subcategorizes for an external NP and an internal NP <agent, location> and/or an external NP and a PP <agent, PP goal>.

5. a. *rāha l-hadīqat-a li-l-nuzha* <agent, location>
‘He went to the park for an outing’
b. *rāha l-falāh-u ʔila -l-haql-i* <agent, PP goal>.
‘The famer went to the field’

The <agent, location> structure is not attested in Syrian Arabic. Therefore, the argument structure for the verb *rāh* in Syrian Arabic is <agent, PP goal>. When *rāh* is reanalyzed as a prospective future marker (*rah*), it is not compatible with any argument structure. In other words, the theta-roles of *rāh* are bleached out leaving only the prospective relation of futurity. Furthermore, grammaticalization is a process which affects the phonology of the grammaticalizing item. Thus, prior to grammaticalization, there existed a word boundary, which was reduced through grammaticalization to a morpheme boundary, and finally to an indivisible fused form (*ha-*). In generative terms, this means that grammaticalization involves upward reanalysis; i.e., the loss of movement steps (Roberts 2010). The basic structure assumed in this paper involves an AspP projection placed between TP and vP:

6. [TP T [AspP Asp [vP v [VP V]]]]

In this structure, the lexical verb is merged in V and then moved to v and T. V in the lower VP assigns the GOAL theta-role while the small v assigns the THEME theta-role. The reanalysis of *rāh* as a prospective future marker means that this marker is directly merged in Asp, i.e. reanalyzed as an element of Asp. The main motivation for this structure comes from the fact that the past tense auxiliary *kān*, which is merged in T, consistently precedes the prospective marker *rah*.

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How regional features in Arabic become sectarian features: Jordan as a case study

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This paper puts forth innovative ideas about the emerging role of religious affiliation in linguistic variation in Jordan. While the Jordanian society has for a long time been demographically demarcated by various religious groups, it is the increased social salience of religious affiliation that has transformed religion from a community signifier into a sociolinguistic variable. In particular, we argue that due to recent socio-political developments religion has modified the effects of language on social stratification. The perceived cohesion and relative homogeneity of the Jordanian society has been changing to the point of dilution due to the influx of huge numbers of refugees within a relatively short period of time.

A number of sociolinguistic studies have investigated various communities in the Levant (Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Palestine). None of these studies factors in religion as an independent variable for micro-sociolinguistic variation. In Al-Wer 1991, the sample of speakers was deliberately designed to include almost equal numbers of Muslim and Christian speakers (from three Jordanian towns). The results, however, showed no effect of religion in the use of the four phonological features investigated in that study. But this does not preclude the possibility that religious affiliation may be a variable at a different level of analysis and/or analyses which involve different sets of variables. Subsequent research (see Herin 2010, Al-Wer & Herin 2011, Herin & Al-Wer 2013), which involved analyses of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the central Jordanian dialects spoken in and around the city of Salt uncovered patterns which indicate that religion may indeed be an important factor or is emerging as such. In this paper, we present the analysis of four linguistic features; they are:

- (i) The alternation between traditional /u/ and innovative /i/ in items such as *ḡibne* ~ *ḡubne* 'cheese'; *zīlim* ~ *zulum* 'men'; *zībde* ~ *zubde* 'butter'
- (ii) The distribution of dark /l/ in items such as *gaḥ* 'heart' *gab(ə)ḥ* 'before', *ga:ḥ* 'he said'
- (iii) The alternation between traditional pattern *CaCi:C* and innovative pattern *CCi:C* in items such as *ḡagi:l* ~ *ḡgi:l* 'heavy'; *kaḡi:r* ~ *kḡi:r* 'much, many'; *kabi:r* ~ *kbi:r* 'big', *sani:n* ~ *snin* 'years'
- (iv) The alternation in verbal patterns between traditional *jiCCaCi(C)* and innovative *jiCCiCi(C)* and/or *jiCCCiC*, as in *jiḡṭa:yil* ~ *jiḡṭ:yil* 'he works'; *jiḡṭafil* ~ *jiḡṭifil* '(that) he celebrates'

The data presented in this article come from a series of research studies conducted in the city of Salt and its surroundings. The pool of data consists of approximately 65 hours of recorded material, collected intermittently over a period of 15 years: a sample of 45 speakers, representing three age and educational groups (see Al-Wer 1991); a second round of recordings were conducted in 1997 and includes six young adult male and female speakers; further interviews were conducted between 2004 & 2013 focusing on the older generation.

The analysis overall shows a tendency on the part of the Christian speakers to use the older and more traditional forms more consistently than the Muslim speakers. We argue that this conservative linguistic behaviour of the Christians is primarily predicated on the lack of intermarriage between Muslims and Christians. Analysis of the nature of the growth in the population over the past 150 years reveals an absolute increase in the number of multiethnic Muslims. This is in contrast to the nature of the increase in Christian numbers, which resulted primarily from the natural growth of the indigenous Christian-Jordanian community. There is therefore a difference in the ethnic composition of the two communities: the growth of the former diluting the prevalence of the Jordanian element among the increasing Muslim population, whereas the latter cementing the prevalence of the Jordanian element among the Christian population. Such a situation would lead us to expect a more conservative linguistic behaviour on the part of the Christian community as a whole vis-à-vis the traditional Jordanian dialects, which indeed is what our data show

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Keynote Address

What Can the *Salat* Teach us about Language?

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One of the most challenging questions that is brought up in the study of the recitation of the salat is what happens between the form of its words and their contents. What kinds of relationships are established between form and content when daily repetition is involved? Does the relationship remain static? Are the contents the same? Does al-Fatiha always mean the same thing to the reciter? How is our conceptualization of “understanding” related to that of “meaning”?

These questions will be addressed in relation to on-going fieldwork among a group of educated middle class women who live in Tehran. They have been reciting their prayers for about 3 decades. The role of time in an unfolding set of relations between form and meaning is integral to these questions. The forms of the words do not change because reciters are required to pray in Arabic; and because they are chosen by God (as they appear in the Qur’an). However, what they end up meaning is not merely their lexical or even their theological contents. Over time, the reciter comes to have different understandings of the significance of the words, *ayas* and *suras*. Each can, in addition, come to have associations with figures and events that add to their “meaning.”

The potentials opened up by the daily recitation of the salat are an interesting challenge to our models of language and to our understandings of its nature. The Saussurean arbitrariness of the sign is not entirely useful here. On the one hand, as I have argued elsewhere, the language of the Qur’an (from which the *suras* of prayers are taken) is believed to be divine. That is to say, that the relations between its forms and contents are not arbitrary as every word is chosen by God (if that were not the case, the translation of the Qur’an would not be controversial). On the other, as Saussure radically separates synchrony and diachrony, he does not offer a model that can deal with the role of time in any systematic way. But as the salat is recited over many years, an analysis of the role of time in shaping the form-meaning relations is crucial.

In the face of findings about language in the performance of the salat, one might be tempted to say that as it involves long term repetition, the words lose their meaning and not much of interest remains to be explored. I will argue that what happens to meaning in the face of repetition is far more complex and that rituals that involve language pose important challenges to our models of language.

Verb system in mixed styles of Arabic in Egypt

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The aim of the study is to describe the verb system in mixed styles in Egypt. The term 'mixed styles' is used after Mejdell (2006) with reference to the variety of Arabic usually referred to as Educated Spoken Arabic or described as diglossic switching between the two basic varieties of Arabic – Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Colloquial Arabic. Despite the growing interest in mixed styles, there are only a few publications dealing with the verbs in styles based on Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA). The most detailed study is that of Elverskog (1999) who lists all the possible variants for combining elements of MSA and ECA in the morphology of mixed verbs. However, the study does not show how to use particular verbs, i.e. whether there are rules governing the choice of a verb and its pattern. This question is the main concern of our research.

The data consists of recordings and transcripts of ten episodes of Al-Mashad – television talk show broadcast live on Nile News. Each episode lasts about an hour; two experts appear to discuss current political, economic, social and cultural issues.

At the initial stage of research, we adopted the classification proposed by Mazraani (1997:35). All verbs in the sample were divided into three main categories according to their lexico-semantic status: (1) MSA verbs, (2) ECA verbs, and (3) shared verbs. Then, on the basis of the method applied by Parkinson (2003:33) the verbs were coded according to their morphophonological realization as either MSA, ECA, mixed or neutral. Neutral forms (e.g. *kān*) that can be classified neither as MSA nor ECA were excluded from the analysis. Mixed forms were divided into symbiotic and hybrid as defined by Meiseles (1981).

The data analysis shows that:

- There is a clear correlation between (1) the lexico-semantic status, as well as (2) the form of a verb and its realization, e.g. verbs in Form I are usually used according to the rules of ECA.
- Some verbs, regardless of the style used, tend to appear in a particular symbiotic or hybrid form. For instance, the verb 'to do' *'amila-ya'malu/'amal-yi'mil* (MSA/ECA) and 'to happen' *ḥaṣalu-yaḥṣulu/ḥaṣal-yiḥṣal* in the nonpast tense are combined with the MSA personal prefixes, ECA verb stem, ECA personal ending *-u* instead of MSA *-ūna* and ECA aspectual marker *bi-*; e.g. *yaḥṣal, ya'milu, bya'milu, byaḥṣal*. In the past tense ECA forms are usually used based on the ECA verb stem and combined with the ECA personal endings, e.g. *'amalit, ḥaṣalit*. The verb 'to know' *'arafa-ya'rifu/ 'irif-yi'raf* (MSA/ECA) is generally used as the ECA active participle in predicative function, e.g. *'arfīn* (we/you/they know), *'arfa* (I/you fem./she knows), *miš 'ārif* (I/you masc./he knows). If used in verbal forms, in the nonpast tense they are either ECA, e.g. *ma 'rafš* (I don't know); or MSA, e.g. *la na'rif* (we don't know); as well as symbiotic with the MSA personal prefix and ECA stem, e.g. *na'raf* (we know), *ta'raf* (she knows), *ya'rafha* (he knows her). In the past tense the hybrid stem *'arif* is used.

The results of this study indicate that research on mixed styles should focus not only on grammar constraints but also on their use in a particular context. The study shows that this is not only possible but also necessary to teach this variety of Arabic effectively and enhance our understanding of the issue.

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A Corpus-based Analysis of Three Arabic Adversative Conjunctions in a Current Egyptian Newspaper

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Conjunctions function as cohesive and text building elements in Modern Standard Arabic. They play various semantic and discursive roles at different textual levels: phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph and discourse (Al-Batal, 1990).

The goal of the study is to explore the linguistic aspects in regard to the adversative meaning of the conjunctions (inna) إنما, (baynamā) بينما and (bal) بل. It aims at investigating the lexicogrammatical patterns, collocational behavior and semantic prosody of these conjunctions. For the purpose of this study, a profile has been created for each of the conjunctions under investigation as presented in grammar books (Badawi, Carter & Gully, 2004; Buckley, 2004; Cantarino, 1974; Ryding, 2005; Hasan, 1975); writing textbooks (Al-Warraki & Hassanein, 1994; Lahlali, 2010); and dictionaries (ElZohairy, 2008; Mukhtar, 2008; Wehr, 1960). These profiles have been created to review what has been documented about the conjunctions under investigation up to the date of the study in the literature and to highlight the gap between these books and how conjunctions are actually used in the corpus.

The study addresses the following questions: 1- What are the main grammatical and lexicogrammatical patterns in which 'innamā, baynamā and bal tend to occur in opinion articles/columns in an Egyptian newspaper? 2-What is the collocational behavior of these conjunctions in opinion articles/columns in an Egyptian newspaper? 3- What is the semantic prosody of these conjunctions?

It draws its data mainly from the sub-corpus of *Shruq Columns* (2,067,137 words) in the *Arabic corpus*. A random sample has been collected for 'innamā and bal, covering 50% of their instances in the corpus. On the other hand, all the instances of baynamā with the adversative meaning have been analyzed due to the fact that it does not take on this meaning in the corpus text frequently.

The results show that 'innamā and bal share some of the lexicogrammatical patterns and collocational behavior, while baynamā has its unique patterns. 'innamā and baynamā show no clear positive or negative semantic prosody, while one of bal's grammatical patterns has a clear negative semantic prosody. In addition to that, the three conjunctions also have similar collocational behavior.

The study ultimately aims at contributing to pedagogical issues concerning the teaching of these conjunctions by providing a more comprehensive picture of their linguistic behavior.

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Written vs. Spoken: An analysis of Moroccan Arabic-French code-switching in different modes

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While spoken conversational Arabic-French code-switching (CS) has been of interest to linguists for over thirty years, (Bentahila & Davies 1983, 1995; Ziamari 2008, Chakrani 2010, among others) there is no published research on the relatively new phenomenon of written CS of this language pair. Arabic dialects have been traditionally restricted to speech, but the rise of internet chat and other informal, written communication has extended their domain. For this reason it is also possible to find written CS between various dialects and other languages, here French. This study is a first step in filling two gaps in the literature: first, an analysis of written Moroccan Arabic-French CS and second, a comparison between spoken and written communication modes.

CS in informal computer-mediated communication (CMC), such as typed chat, is considered to fall between traditional spoken and written forms (Herring 2010, Biber 1988). However, Hinrichs (2006) cautions that a close examination reveals that the informality of CMC give it a speech-like quality while the functionality resembles other written forms. This informality does not negate the required reflection on issues such as spelling and grammar that are irrelevant or easily ignored in speech. Dorleijn and Nortier (2009) note that little work has been completed to identify the effect that this greater attention has on CS. A comparison of the structure of CS in spoken communication and written CMC of the same speakers has not been completed for any language pair, but such a comparison may help to indicate whether the differences of mode play a role in CS.

To explore this possibility, pairs of friends were recorded speaking conversationally for one hour and chatted online for one hour via keyboard. Participants are all Moroccans (ages 18 to 27), who speak Moroccan Arabic as their native language and currently reside in Meknes, Morocco. Participants were asked to use whatever language(s) and writing system(s) they wished to discuss any topic that came to mind. The analysis centers on patterns visible in the written conversations, all of which included some level of CS, followed by comparisons between the spoken and written production of participants.

The preliminary analysis indicates differences between speakers by language background, but shows similarities as well. All participants employ French nouns and noun phrases as the primary type of CS across modes of communication, as seen in (1), particularly when discussing their studies.

- (1) yŋny les créances yadi ykono mŋ les clients
 mean.SG.PRES the.pl debts FUT be.SG.PRES with the.PL clients
 it means the debts will be with the clients

This pattern is typical of spoken Arabic-French CS. However, the written CMC displays a greater variety of French sentential elements. A number of participants use the lexeme 'oui' yes, full clauses and adverbs in their written CS, shown in (2), even when such are absent from their speech.

- (2) machi nti b1 sur
 NEG you.FEM good sure
 not you of course

Thus the syntax of CS appears stable across modes, while the amount of French as well as the elements found in French increase in written communication. These findings indicate the validity of analyzing spontaneous written CS in syntax research in addition to the effect of mode of communication.

Friday, March 14, 2014, 10:45 – 11:45

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Keynote Addresss

Towards a Spoken Standard Variety: How much has the ‘slippery’ area been cleaned-up?

Naima Boussofara
University of Kansas

In the present paper, I seek to demonstrate that an ensemble of processes explains and supports a major argument that a set of patterns of Arabic diglossic switching are being conventionalized ‘cross-dialectally’. In earlier studies, I argued and demonstrated how the ‘mix’ between fuṣḥā and Tunisian Arabic has given rise to new morpho-syntactic patterns that are grammatically unacceptable according to the prescriptive canons of the written fuṣḥā but are pragmatically marked and ‘accepted’ in the use of fuṣḥā in the spoken mode (Boussofara-Omar 1999, 2003).

In the present study, I am not claiming that there is already a conventionalized or standardized spoken fuṣḥā but I wish to argue and demonstrate that some of those morpho-syntactic patterns are also becoming conventionalized in the switching between fuṣḥā and other dialects. Such processes may give rise to a national spoken standard, evidently supporting what Ferguson (1959) ‘hazarded’ as a “tentative prognosis” for Arabic “over the next two centuries (i.e., to about 2150).”

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Stress and Syllable Repair in Egyptian Arabic Loanwords from English and French

Elijah Reynolds

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Working from Kiparsky's (2003) analysis of word final consonant extrametricality in Egyptian Arabic (EA), the present study provides an analysis for two types of repair strategies in underweight monosyllabic loanwords from English and French that violate a word minimality constraint of bimoraicity: 1) CV<C> words undergo vowel lengthening to CVV<C> as a result of perceptual mapping of phonetic stress cues, and 2) CV<C> words undergo final C gemination to CVG as a phonological adaptation due to the underlying moraic representation of geminates (Davis, 1999). A major debate in loanword adaptation studies is the question of a perceptual vs. phonological grammar. The present paper delineates the effects of perceptual mapping (Steriade, 2002) of syllable prominence (i.e. stress) from the true phonological processes (Silverman, 1992) of gemination in underweight words and epenthesis in illegal diphthongal loanwords from English and French to EA. Crucial to the process of prosodic adaptation in EA loanwords is the grammar's fixed hierarchy of stress placement rules vis-à-vis quantity sensitivity. During adaptation from English /stak/ 'stock' to EA /istukk/, adaptation must negotiate between faithfulness to the source stress, and markedness stipulated by the prosodic constraints of EA militating against the onset cluster and the underweight (monomoraic) word in /*stok/. Thus the correct rule ordering requires a gemination of word final C to meet the minimal weight limit of 2 moras, and then epenthesis to resyllabify word-initial /st/.

The motivation for an analysis of EA loanword adaptations is that it provides us with empirical data of "constraints that cannot be motivated by native language alternations because the relevant structural types do not occur in the native vocabulary", (Broselow, 2006). The observed phenomena are based on a subset of 65 monosyllabic EA loanwords from English and French whose source form contains one of the following illegal structures: onset clusters, underweight CV<C>, or a diphthong in a closed syllable. A comparison of monosyllabic to polysyllabic word adaptations reveals a different adaptation strategy of English and French word-final <C>, where French polysyllabic words display more variation than English: French source forms will frequently undergo gemination in polysyllabic adaptations and vowel-lengthening in monosyllabic words.

The present study provides an analysis for two types of prosodic adaptations in Egyptian Arabic loanwords from English and French: a phonological repair strategy that augments the moraic representation in underweight monosyllabic loanwords, and a perceptual adaptation that preserves stress acoustic cues of stress on the source syllable. Following Kiparsky's (2003) analysis of Egyptian Arabic (EA) syllable structure, word-final C is extrametrical. However, a minimal word constraint in EA requires monosyllabic words to be bimoraic. Thus, the minimal word constraint motivates CV<C> words to undergo final C gemination to CVG as a phonological repair afforded by the underlying moraic representation of geminates (Davis, 1999). Geminates in EA loanwords from English occur predominately in word-final consonants in CV<C>. Vowel lengthening, on the other hand, occurs frequently – and almost exclusively – in polysyllabic adaptations to preserve the stress pattern of the source form.

Examining Feature Economy in Arabic Dialects

Cheng-Wei Lin
University of Michigan

The present study investigates whether Feature Economy could serve as an indicator to the separation of Arabic dialects. Feature Economy, as proposed by Clements (2003), is the ratio of the sounds – the phonemic inventory in a language over the smallest number of feature required to characterize these sounds. Clements argues that there is a universal constraint that prompts languages to maximize their Feature Economy. This argument suggests that newer languages will have better economy as the result of this feature-to-sound maximization process. To examine the validity of the claim, I compare the economy of dialects spoken in North Africa and those spoken in the Arabian Peninsula. The motivation behind this comparison lies in the historical fact that Arabic was first spoken in Arabian Peninsula then spread to North Africa. A linguistic and geographical dichotomy hence becomes possible: dialects spoken in North Africa are newer dialects and are supposed to have better Feature Economy.

I identify eleven Arabian Peninsula dialects (including Classical Arabic) and nine North African dialects, which are based on availability in the literature. To avoid any bias that might be introduced by merging consonant inventory with the vowel inventory, I separate the two inventories and I only consider the former for analysis in this study. I reconstruct the phonemic inventories from textbooks or grammar books of the respective dialects in IPA classification. Great care was taken and consultation was sought to reduce the confusion about certain phonemes. In terms of which feature to use, I adopt the features from the articulator model with other general features in a fixed-order ranking, as shown in (1) to maintain consistency for analysis. Clements' algorithm (2001) was employed for feature specification.

- (1) [sonorant] > [voice] > [nasal] > [continuant] > [lateral] > [strident] > [labial] > [coronal] > [dorsal] > [tongue root] > [vocal cords]

Aside from Clements' formula for measuring Feature Economy, the economy score of each dialect is calculated in three alternative approaches as well: Feature Exploitation, Feature Frugality (Hall, 2007) and Relative Efficiency (Mackie & Mielke, 2011). The economy scores are submitted to an independent T test with the region where the dialect is spoken as the independent variable.

The results show that there is a significant difference ($p < 0.05$, CI=95%, Cohen's $d=1.38$) in the economy of the dialects. North African dialects in general have better economy than the Arabian Peninsula dialects. The results support Clements' argument that languages work toward a better economy in the course of time. These findings could further provide insights into the diachronic sound change in Arabic dialects.

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On the Status of Derived Affricates in Arabic Dialects

Stuart Davis/Dua'a Abu-Elhija Mahajna
Indiana University

In Arabic dialects it is frequently the case that the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ and the voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /S/ come together, often over a morpheme boundary or as a result of vowel syncope. Examples from Cairene Arabic include [ma-katabit-S] 'she did not write' and [bi-t-Suuf] 'you see'. An interesting question arises as to whether the sequence of [t + S] acts as a single affricated segment (which we can transcribe as [c&]) with respect to the phonology or whether it retains its bisegmental status. Youssef (2013) and Watson (2002) have argued for the single segment status of the derived affricate [c&] (from /t + S/) in Baghdadi Arabic and San'ani Arabic, respectively. On the other hand, Youssef (2013) and Watson (2002) disagree on the status of such sequences in Cairene Arabic (CA): Youssef suggests that it is a single segment while Watson maintains that it is bisegmental. However, neither Youssef nor Watson present the full range of evidence bearing on the issue for CA. In this paper we present a wide variety of phonological evidence that makes clear the bisegmental character of /t + S/ sequences in CA. We then compare it to the identical sequences in BA and SA where it has a single segment status as the affricate [c&]. We relate the different treatment of the /t + S/ sequence to the phonemic status of affricates in the various dialects. In considering the status of the sequence /t + S/ in CA, Youssef (2013) assumes without arguing that it functions as the single affricate segment [c&]. Watson (2002:61), however, gives one argument for why the sequence /t + S/ in CA functions as a bisegmental sequence. Specifically, she notes that /VCt + S/ sequences are always split by epenthesis as observed by the fact that /ma + kunt + S/ 'I was not/you m.s. were not' is pronounced as [makuntiS]. If /t + S/ functioned as a single segment then the output should be *[makunc&] instead, given that CA allows for words to end in any two consonants (but not three). In addition to this specific argument against the single segment analysis of /t + S/ in CA, we point out several other arguments. For example, derived sequences of [t + S] do not trigger syncope. This can be observed in the fact that the negative form of the word [bitSuuf] 'you see' is [mabitSufS]; if the [tS] sequence of [bitSuuf] were a single segment (i.e. [bic&uuf]) then it would trigger high vowel syncope in the negative resulting in *[mabc&ufS]. The fact that no syncope occurs strongly suggests the bisegmental character of [t + S]. Another argument for the bisegmental character of such sequences comes from the observation that CA has words such as [xatS] 'scratch'. In such words it is clear that the [tS] sequence must be bisegmental. This is because CA has a very strong minimal word constraint that disallows content words of the form CVC. If the /tS/ sequence were the single segment [c&], then [xac&] would be in violation of this constraint. Further, and somewhat related, evidence comes from monosyllabic loanwords into Cairene Arabic that end in one or two consonants. Loanwords that end in two consonants are borrowed without change of the final consonant sequence into CA: examples include [film] 'film', [bank] 'bank', and [birins] 'prince'. On the other hand, a monosyllabic source word ending in CVC typically has the final consonant geminated as in [wat+t+] 'watt', [/abb] 'up' (as in 'Seven Up'), and [/istúkk] 'stock'. Monosyllabic words with final affricates are borrowed without gemination as in the example [kilátS] 'clutch'. If it were borrowed as a single affricate segment, then gemination would be necessary. Thus, a variety of evidence supports the bisegmental analysis of the sequence [tS] in CA. We conclude by relating the status of derived [t + S] sequences to the phonemic status of affricates in the dialect. In Baghdadi Arabic (BA), the [t + S] sequence patterns as a single affricate and we note that BA has both the affricates /c&/ and /j&/ as underlying phonemes. CA has neither /c&/ and /j&/ as phonemes, so sequences of [t + S] are unlikely to function as a single segment. For dialects such as San'ani Arabic (SA) that have /j&/ as a phoneme but not /c&/, the status of derived /t + S/ sequences may vary. Watson (2002:58-61) shows that such sequences pattern as single segments in SA, but the evidence is more ambivalent in other Arabic varieties, such as those of the lower Galilee villages of Israel.

THE PROSODIC STRUCTURE OF FIRST WORDS IN ARABIC

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King Abdulaziz University – Jeddah, Saudi Arabia

This research investigates the prosodic structure of early words in Hijazi Arabic. It studies the representational nature of early words and the developmental stages of their syllable and prosodic word internal structure within the framework of the Prosodic Theory (McCarthy & Prince 1986, 1990). It also aims to see if the subjects follow a universal path or they are influenced by their language-specific phonology (Vihman 1991; Fikkert 1994; Demuth, 1995, 2006; Demuth & Fee, 1995; Ota, 2003; Lleo, 2006, Demuth et al., 2008; Abdoh, 2011) and if their word productions are constrained by the minimality and maximality constraints. The discussion has been accompanied by considering child-adult differences and cross-linguistic comparisons between child Arabic and some child Germanic languages (English, Dutch), some child Romance languages (French, Spanish, and Catalan), and child Japanese. The study is based on cross-sectional and semi-longitudinal spontaneous data collected from twenty four monolingual children (aged from 1;0 to 2;0) living in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia by recording their speech using the object/picture-naming technique in natural settings and analyzed using a qualitative approach.

The analysis results show that the subjects' productions exhibit child-adult differences in segmental, prosodic and morphological structures. They show that though children's early words seem to be ill-formed, but they are prosodically well-formed minimal words. The subjects' productions show different levels of prosodic structures which indicates that their early words gradually develop from minimal structures to maximal structures (e.g. [ʔa] > [ʔo:n] > [ʔafalo:n] 'telephone'; [ba] > [ba:na] > [luba:na] 'chewing gum'; [to:k] > [basko:t] 'biscuit'; [no:na] > [ballo:na] 'balloon'). They show early sensitivity to the prosodic structure of words, an appeal to foot binarity and they obey the minimality constraint ($W_{\min} = F = [\mu\mu]$) and the maximality constraint ($W_{\max} = F = [\sigma\sigma]$). They also go through similar stages of prosodic word development to those reported in the literature: a minimal word stage (1;0-1;6), where their outputs display bimoraic and disyllabic forms, followed by a maximal stage (between 1;7-2;0), where more complex structures are produced (monosyllabic forms > disyllabic forms > trisyllabic forms > multisyllabic forms); and thus this study provides crosslinguistic evidence from child Arabic in this respect.

Keynote Address

Phonation categories in Arabic and Modern South Arabian

Janet C.E. Watson
University of Leeds

There has been some debate in recent years over the interpretation of the phonation categories *hams* and *jahr*, given by the early Arab grammarians. These terms have generally been interpreted in western literature as voiceless and voiced respectively, but questions have arisen about the inclusion of consonants /t/, /q/ and /ʔ/ within the *majhūr* class. Several have argued that the classification of /t/ and /q/ as *majhūr* indicates that these sounds were originally produced with vocal fold vibration; however, this argument does not hold for the canonical glottal stop, by definition voiceless. There is, also, no written evidence that the early Arab grammarians knew about the workings of the vocal folds.

In this paper, I look at acoustic and laryngographic evidence from Sanʿani Arabic and Modern South Arabian languages to argue for a two-way phonation categorisation, not on the basis of presence or lack of vocal fold vibration, but rather on the basis of open or closed vocal folds. The *majhūr* consonants are all characterised by lack of aspiration, while the *mahmūs* consonants exhibit considerable aspiration. In this regard, I argue that the marked category for these languages is aspiration – or open vocal folds – and not, as often claimed in the literature, voice.

In the second part of the paper, I consider the *qalqalah* consonants in Qurʾanic recitation: *qalqalah* consonants include all the *majhūr* consonants, apart from /ʔ/. I look at the purpose of *tajwīd*, the phonetic characteristics of *qalqalah* and, on the basis of my findings for Sanʿani Arabic and Modern South Arabian, hypothesise why these consonants and only these consonants should be recited with *qalqalah* bounce.

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On LF-PF Match in Sason Arabic

Faruk Akkuş
Boğaziçi University

This paper investigates the cooccurrence restrictions between Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and quantificational elements in Sason Arabic. Consider the following examples:

- (1) a.* Kul nes mā-dar tunes.
 every person NEG-called.3M anybody
 Intended reading: ‘Everyone didn’t call anybody.’
- b. Tunes mā-dar kul nes.
 anybody NEG-called.3M every person
 ‘Nobody called everybody.’
- c.* mā-dar tunes kul nes.
 NEG-called.3M anybody every person

In (1a) the universal quantifier phrase *kul nes* ‘everybody’ precedes the NPI *tunes* ‘anybody’, and the structure is uninterpretable. However, in (1b) the order is reversed and the structure becomes acceptable. In (1c) the NPI is in the postverbal position, but still precedes the universal QP. Interestingly, this configuration is deemed ungrammatical by native speakers.

I argue in this paper that the results in (1a) and (1b) are due to two factors: scope rigidity and the inherent properties of the quantificational element involved. Specifically I show that NPIs are subject to Linebarger’s (1980) Immediate Scope Constraint (ISC), which requires them to be in the immediate scope of negation. Namely, at LF there cannot be another intervening quantificational element between negation and the NPI it licenses. This statement follows from the assumption that in SA, NPIs do not need to be licensed in overt syntax; in other words, Benmamoun’s (1997) considerations for both modes of licensing (c-command and Spec-head agreement) for NPIs in Moroccan Arabic, adopted in Soltan (2012) for Egyptian Arabic, do not carry over to SA. I will further argue that although the ISC, coupled with LF reconstruction of QPs and/or raising of negative operator in the lines of Beck & Kim’s (1997) seem to explain some constructions, it fails to account for the whole range of data, such as (1c). I propose that what we have in structures like (1c) is a mismatch between LF and PF. Therefore, certain constructions are ruled out by the PF component, even though their LF representations are expected to be grammatical. I will argue that the LF-PF match for the NPI-quantifier order should be defined in terms of phases, which then can account for the (un)grammaticality of the sentences in (1). Scope rigidity will be interpreted as another manifestation of LF-PF match.

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Saturday, March 15, 2014, 9:30 – 10:00

On the Locus of Negation and NPI licensing in Jordanian Arabic

Ahmad Alqassas

Georgetown University

There are two views regarding the locus of NegP. First, the parametric view where a certain language can have NegP either on top of VP (Low Neg) or on top of TP (High Neg) but not in both positions, (Ouhalla 1990, 1991). Second the view that the position of negation is not parametrized and a certain language may opt for any position of NegP (Ramchand 2001, Zeijlstra 2004). Research on negation in Arabic has followed the parametric view (Benmamoun 1992, 1997, 2000, Ouhalla 1992 adopting the Low Neg; and Mohammad 2000, Hoyt 2007, Soltan 2007 adopting the High Neg). I argue in favor of the second view by giving evidence from NPI licensing in Jordanian Arabic (JA). Sentential negation in JA can be expressed by bipartite negation *ma-V-š*, as in (2a) or by *maa* alone, as in (1a). However, when the NPI *šumūr* is preverbal bipartite negation is not possible in (1b), while it is possible when *šumūr* is postverbal (a marked option) in (2a). Interestingly, with the preverbal and postverbal NPI *bašd*, bipartite negation is possible in (2b).

- (1) a. *šumūr-o maa zaar bašd-o el-batra* b. **šumūr-o ma-zaar-š el-batra*
 ever-him NEG visited.3ms yet-him DEF-Petra ever-him NEG-visited.3ms-NEG DEF-Petra
 'He has never visited Petra yet.'
 'He never visited Petra.'
- (2) a. *ma-zaar-š šumūr-o l-walad el-batra* b. (*bašd-o*) *ma-zaar-š (bašd-o) el-batra*
 NEG-visited.3ms-NEG ever-him DEF-boy DEF-Petra yet-him NEG-visit-NEG yet-him DEF-Petra
 'He never visited Petra.'
 'He hasn't yet visited Petra.'

Soltan (2012) analyzes similar facts in Egyptian, which has *lissa* corresponding to *bašd*, based on the formal negativity of *-š* and *lissa* (which cannot occur in nonnegative contexts such as questions and conditionals and can occur as a fragment answer) and lack of it in *šumūr*. When *ma* licenses the formally negative *-š*, and the nonnegative *šumūr*, a chain of formal feature mismatch is created and that triggers the *-š* deletion at PF. This deletion does not apply when *šumūr* is postverbal because it is inside the vP phase and negation is outside this phase. But it is not clear how this analysis can be extended to JA where the postverbal *šumūr* precedes the subject (2a), suggesting that it is either on the edge of the vP phase (in Spec/vP) or in a projection higher than the vP phase, i.e., *šumūr* should be able to trigger the *-š* deletion. And even if we assume that TP is a phase, we still have to further assume that negation is not on top of vP but on top of TP. But crucially, it is not clear how the NPI *bašd* being formally negative can co-occur with *šumūr* in examples (3-4).

- (3) a. *bašd-o šumūr-o maa zaar el-batra* b. *ma-zaar-š šumūr-o bašd-o el-batra*
 yet-3ms ever-3ms NEG visited.3ms DEF-Petra NEG-visited.3ms-NEG ever-him yet-him DEF-Petra
 'He has never visited Petra yet.'
 'He has never visited Petra yet.'
- (4) (**šumūr-o*) (*bašd-o*) *ma-šad-aš/ wala-šada* (*šumūr-o*) *zaar (bašd-o) el-batra*
 ever-him yet-him NEG-someone-NEG/NEG-someone ever-him visited.3ms yet-him DEF-Petra
 'No one has ever visited Petra yet.'

I propose that discontinuous negation is between vP and TP while *maa* alone negation is above TP. Under this proposal all the NPI contrasts can be reduced to whether the NPI is properly licensed by negation, i.e., whether the NPI is in Spec/NegP or c-commanded by negation, following (Benmamoun 2006). I further propose that the fact that postverbal *šumūr* is a marked option while postverbal *bašd* is not, is due to *šumūr* being a TP adverb (canonically) while *bašd* a vP adverb that can move higher. For further evidence see the contrast in (4) where the Negative Quantifiers (NQs) *ma-šad-aš/ wala-šada* cannot license the NPI *šumūr* but can license the NPI *bašd* suggesting that *bašd* gets licensed in a position c-commanded by the NQ, then moves higher than the NQ. Given this, example (1b) is ungrammatical because the NPI is either adjoined to TP or in another projection above TP where it is not in Spec-Head relation with negation nor is it c-commanded by negation. But in (1a), the NPI is in SpecNegP on top of TP, hence properly licensed. In (2a), negation c-commands the NPI. In (2b), (3b) and (4), the NPI *bašd-o* in postverbal position is merged in a position lower than negation, in Spec/vP c-commanded by negation, and the prenegative position of *bašd-o* in (2b, 3a, 4) results from its moving up. In (4) neither of the NQs can license the prenegative *šumūr* but can license the postnegative one. The data and analysis here deepen our understanding of the locus and movement of Arabic NPIs, the syntax of NQs and the crosslinguistic debate on the locus of NegP.

The Syntax of Negation in Contact Contexts: the Case of Sason Arabic

Faruk Akkuş and Abbas Benmamoun

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In Arabic varieties such as Egyptian, Moroccan, and Standard Arabic, negation, as a syntactic projection, occurs higher than tense (NegP → TP) as proposed in Shlonsky (1997), Soltan (2007), and Benmamoun et al. (In press). For example, the negative precedes the future tense marker in Egyptian as illustrated in (1) and merges with heads and functional categories that are clearly higher than the tense projection (Benmamoun et al. In press).

- (1) miš ha-yiskut-u šala kida ʔabadan
neg fut-silent-3p on this ever
'They will never remain silent about it'

The order of tense relative to negation in the major Arabic varieties seems to be consistent across sentential types, particularly along the copular vs. non-copular sentences split in Arabic varieties. In both sentence types, the order of negation relative to tense and the predicate seems to be uniform.

In this paper, we discuss one variety of Arabic, Sason Arabic, where the order of negation relative to tense seems to be different in copular and non-copular sentences. We will argue that the difference has to do with contact with Turkish which in turn raises question about the acquisition of syntactic parameters and language change in contact situation. Sason Arabic, which has been analyzed in a number of recent papers by Faruk Akkuş (2012, 2013a, 2013b), is spoken by small minority in Turkey and displays properties that are found in other Arabic varieties (inflectional morphology, VSO order, etc) but also properties that are clearly of Turkish origin. In this paper, we will focus on sentential negation. In sentences with verbal predicates, negation works very much like in other Arabic varieties. Thus, in (2), the negative is a proclitic on the verb which is the pattern we find in many Mesopotamian varieties of Arabic, the most likely varieties related to Sason Arabic).

- (2) Naze maa-qare kitāb
N neg-read.PAST.3f book
'Naze didn't read book(s).'

Interestingly, the past tense marker in (3) can merge either with negation (3a) or with the verb (3b) which clearly supports the argument that negation is higher tense.

- (3) a. Mī-k ya-yel laham.
neg-past 3m-eat meat
'He wasn't eating meat./He didn't use to eat meat.'
b. Mī ki-ya-yel laham.
neg past-3m-eat meat
'He wasn't eating meat./He didn't use to eat meat.'

Consider now the sentence in (4). In (4) negation is at the end of the clause after the main non-verbal predicate. Moreover, in the context of an auxiliary verb, negation merges with the auxiliary.

- (4) a. Sabi ɪstudi muu. b.* Sabi muu ɪstudi.
boy small neg.3M boy neg.3M small
'The boy isn't small'

We would like to argue that sentences such as (4) have a head final structure which is the word order pattern we find in the neighboring languages that Sason is in contact with. Moreover, we would also like to argue that the negative projection is below the tense projection when it is head final which is again the ordering that has been proposed for Turkish (Ouhalla, 1991; Kelepir, 2001; i.a.). In short and crudely put, we will argue that copular constructions display head final syntax but non-copular constructions display Arabic (head initial) type syntax.

We will provide additional arguments for our analysis of (4) based on scope and licensing of negative polarity items but if the analysis is correct important questions arise regarding the idea that a language may have different relative ordering of the same functional categories and the reasons for the different options (Turkish type vs. Arabic type). We will advance the thesis that the presence of absence of verb movement in the input determines the grammatical choices that learners make. We will explore the implications of the analysis both for Sason Arabic and current accounts of language acquisition and change in contact situations.

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**A Pilot Study on the Interface Hypothesis for Syntax and Semantics
of Heritage Speakers of Levantine Arabic**

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Previous studies on second language acquisition, attrition, and bilingualism have shown that it is harder to acquire or retain proficiency with regard to features operating at the interface of linguistic domains relative to features involving only a single domain. We hypothesize that heritage speakers experience vulnerability at the syntax/semantics interface. The current pilot study addresses this question by examining Arabic speakers' understanding of masdars and inflected infinitives in the Levantine dialect in heritage speakers and native speakers.

The non-finite form in Arabic (with regard to both MSA and dialects) is different from English in a number of ways. The citation form of an Arabic verb is the third person singular. To express non-finiteness, Arabic has two options: an inflected verb (the inflected infinitive) or a verbal noun (the masdar). Though the differences and similarities between these two forms are nuanced, we are focusing on one aspect: whether the form is used generally or specifically with regard to who is doing the action related to the verb (under classical Government and Binding Theory, the issue in question is whether PRO is arbitrary or controlled by the subject). What we are referring to as a "more general" meaning could be considered a case of arbitrary control; what we are calling a "specific" meaning would be an example of subject control.

The results of our pilot study suggest that it is indeed the case that the grammar of heritage speakers, on syntactic grammaticality judgment tasks and a syntax/semantics comprehension task, differs from that of native speakers in a systematic manner. Heritage speakers seem to behave in a similar manner to second language learners, attriters, and other bilinguals in that they demonstrate greater vulnerability in the interface, relative to a single domain. This study contributes to our understanding of the nature of the grammar of heritage speakers and lends support to the Interface Hypothesis.

Language learning in heritage and non-heritage adult learners of Arabic: An ERP study

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The number of learners of Arabic as a foreign language is growing worldwide and is assumed to continue into the next decades (Wahba, Taha, & England, 2006). Recent studies on second language acquisition assert a need to make a distinction between heritage and non-heritage learners of a second language (Montrul, 2012; Rysing, 2006). The term “heritage speakers” (HSs), refers to bilingual individuals of an ethnic or immigrant minority language whose acquisition is either stopped or restricted by formal education in the majority language. The language of the majority in the society takes over in communication, and heritage learners become at ease in the dominant/majority language while parental/minority language undergoes attrition (i.e. loss/regression of language) (Montrul, 2012). Understanding the learning process in heritage learners of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) can enhance our understanding of language acquisition in HSs and the interplay between the two Arabic language varieties (i.e. spoken dialect and MSA).

Even though many Arab Americans study MSA later at university level in attempts to preserve ethnic identity and religious affiliation (Rouchdy, 2002), there are quiet few studies on language learning in Arabic adult HSs (Albirini, Benmamoun, & Saadah, 2011; Albirini, Benmamoun, & Chakrani, 2013). Moreover, no studies have utilized electroencephalography (EEG) as a tool to investigate linguistic processing in the course of HSs’ MSA learning to date.

We will present an investigation of the role of prior exposure to spoken Arabic by examining the neural correlates of phonological, lexical, and morphological learning in two adult male learners of Arabic as a foreign language; heritage learner (P1) and non-heritage learner (P2). P1 is a 30 years old male, who was exposed to Lebanese dialect at home and via yearly visits to Lebanon (1 months a year) and had formal exposure to MSA 10 years ago (for 8 months period, in a class) and English is his dominant language. P2 is a 28 years old non-heritage learner with no exposure to MSA and English is his dominant language. All participants learned MSA in a 5 week summer course for beginners at Columbia University.

Each participant visited the Neurocognition of Language Lab at week 1, 3, and 5 of participation in a 5 week language program. Continuous EEG recording was obtained for the following three experimental designs presented in a random order: 1) Arabic phoneme perception : Mismatch negativity (MMN) elicitation in response to Arabic only consonant contrasts, /ha/ vs. /ha/ which are absent in English were presented in an auditory oddball paradigm, while watching silent movie; 2) Morphology processing: N400 responses elicitation in response to identification of morphological relatedness between 60 written Arabic word pairs sharing weak or strong root connections (such as ?ittifaqun/ waafaqa and mušarikun/ šaraka consecutively), vs. unrelated words, and 3) Lexical decision to written Arabic real vs. pseudowords: Participating students were introduced to equal number of written Arabic real words selected from their textbook and pseudowords. Participants were asked to make a lexical decision (whether the word they saw is a word or a non-word).

MMN was evident for the heritage learner in week 1, and emerged for the non-heritage learner within the span of the language class. Responses for the written stimuli were less clear for both participating learners. Heritage learner showed different responses to different degrees of morphological relatedness, which was absent in the non-heritage speaker. For the lexical decision experiment, no N400 responses were observed for either learner, however, P100 response, indexing sensory perceptual processing of visual word stimuli: has been identified for the heritage learner only. We discuss the multiple factors that shape linguistic competence in heritage speakers in terms of different aspects of linguistic competence (morphology versus phonology), the role of input and critical period in language acquisition, and the interlanguage continuum in heritage speakers in light of the shift from L1 dominant to L2 dominance through development.

Demonstrative reference in Tunisian Arabic: Beyond information status

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The use of different referring expressions in a language is not random; rather, according to the Givenness Hierarchy theory outlined by Gundel Hedberg and Zaharski (1993), the use of different forms signals differences in assumed cognitive (memory and attention) status for the referent of the expression. As such, the linguistic forms can be seen as procedural in nature (Wilson and Sperber 1993), since they instruct the hearer to either create or retrieve a mental representation, and, in the case of retrieval, constrain the search space. For the most part, the different forms in a language signal different (minimal) statuses. However, when it comes to the difference between using the Tunisian Arabic (TA) genderless proximate demonstrative *ha* + NP and the gendered proximate demonstrative NP + *haḍa*, the choice must be guided by something else, since both forms signal the same status for their referents, and both constrain the set of possible referents to those that are at least Activated (i.e., in working memory or at the center of attention) (Khalifaoui 2007, 2009). This study shows that the choice between these two demonstratives is determined by pragmatic, discourse, and syntactic factors that further constrain their use and make the interpretation of one not achievable by the other. The findings of this study are compared to findings about similar demonstratives that have been discussed in other Arabic dialects (e.g. Brustad 2000, Cowell 1994, and Holes 2004).

A data corpus was selected from different genres, and the distribution and interpretation of the two proximate demonstratives was examined. Results show that *ha* + NP creates an additional higher level explicature (Wilson and Sperber 1993) of the speaker's attitude toward the proposition expressed. In (1) from a facebook comment, the speaker uses the phrase *ha-lmantaq m-taʿt-taʿliḥ* (this deifying language) to show disagreement with an opinion expressed in the previous utterance. The demonstrative NP + *haḍa* would not create this extra interpretation in this context.

- (1) rahu tunis bnaw-ha barja mʿa bourguiba muʃ kan huwa
emph tunis build.past.3p -it many with bourguiba not only he
ʃlāʃ ha-lmantaq m-taʿt-taʿliḥ
why this-language pos the-defying
'Many people built Tunisia with Bourguiba, not only him, why this deifying language?'

This study also reveals that while *ha* + NP evokes only one referent, NP + *haḍa* can be used in contrastive reference (see Brustad 2000 for a similar discussion on Kuwaiti, Moroccan, and Syrian Arabic). In the example in (2), two people are discussing two house blueprints and one tells the other that he wants to discuss with their neighbor *l-plā haḍa* (this blueprint) in contrast with the other blueprint. The use of *ha* + NP in this context would not convey that the blueprint is being contrasted to an alternative.

- (2) baʃ n-kalm-u ʃla l-plā haḍa
fut 1-talk-him about the-blueprint this
'I will talk to him [the neighbor] about this blueprint'

This study also shows that while NP + *haḍa* can be used in genitive constructions as in *ktāb f-ʃiʃr haḍa* (this book of poetry), *ha* + NP is not allowed in genitive constructions as shown by the ungrammaticality of the phrase **ha-ktāb f-ʃiʃr* (this book of poetry). This restriction seems to be motivated by the requirement that TA demonstratives co-occur with the definite article, a restriction that does not exist in other dialects like Syrian Arabic (Cowell 1964).

Jaffa Palestinian Arabic: A contemporary and diasporic sociolinguistic analysis

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Jaffa and Gaza are two Palestinian cities with a shared history. Of particular interest to sociolinguists is the relatively high concentration of refugees from Jaffa, on the central coast of Palestine, who were displaced in the 1948 war and resettled as refugees, some 40 miles to the south in the Gaza Strip. Both cities have been prone to contact-induced language change since 1948. While the vernaculars of both cities have been influenced by migration from other parts of Palestine, the speakers in Jaffa have also undergone a process of increasing bilingualism, with Modern Hebrew influencing their Arabic dialect in multiple domains, including vocabulary, morpho-syntax and phonology. This study aims at identifying some of the characteristics of the dialect spoken by the Jaffa refugee population living in Gaza, while comparing it to the contemporary dialect spoken in Jaffa itself.

The current study is based on subsets of two larger sociolinguistic corpora, which focus on Gaza and Jaffa respectively. It includes 7 speakers from each city, all of whom are of original Jaffa heritage, with each speaker from one city roughly matching a speaker from the other (i.e., they are of the same biological sex and of the same generation).

We examine three sociolinguistic variables, which appear to be at different stages of development in each of the communities, in order to assess the stability of the Jaffa dialect in Gaza City:

1. (q) – In the Jaffa vernacular, this phoneme is invariably realized as a glottal stop [ʔ]. In Gaza, it emerges as a variable, whereby the traditional Gaza dialect manifests it as a voiced velar stop [g] (Salonen 1979/80, de Jong 2000), but a glottal stop exists as well.
2. (ah-raising) – the raising of the word-final feminine suffix /-a/ to [e] in phonetically non-back environments. This raised variant is typical in Jaffa and most non-Gaza urban and rural dialects, but not in indigenous Gaza and other southern Palestinian (e.g., Bedouin) varieties (Bergsträßer 1915, Al-Wer 2007).
3. (ʕ) – the newest and most advanced variable, which we consider to be a change in progress for contemporary Jaffa speakers. It involves the lenition of the voiced pharyngeal fricative into a glottal stop, a vocalized variant or total deletion. For the purpose of this study, we will only consider total deletion.

The results show that in Gaza, female speakers of Jaffa heritage remain likely to favor the [ʔ] realization for (q) while male speakers appear to have adopted the voiced velar [g] realization for this variable. In the case of (ah-raising), the youngest generation of Jaffa speakers living in Gaza appear to have lost the raised variant for the feminine suffix morpheme, favoring instead the localized, unraised Gaza variant. As for (ʕ), we note that the Jaffa speakers in this sample residing in Gaza appear to retain the voiced pharyngeal fricative in higher frequencies than their counterparts still living in Jaffa.

Statistical modeling that more accurately represents this disparity between the two communities using Rbrul (Johnson 2009) will be introduced.

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