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Doing comparative (morpho)syntactic analyses in Arabic
Maris Camilleri (University of Essex)

This tutorial highlights what comparing across the morphology and syntax of different vernaculars and varieties of Arabic entails, tackling questions such as:

1. What differences do we deal with, at the morphosyntactic level, across the Arabic varieties?
2. How do we draw connections between seemingly uncomparable data?
3. Why do we want to engage in a comparative methodological analysis?

Answers to the latter, in particular, will be shown to include: the ability to challenge previous analyses, as well as the possibility to provide us with a means with which to reconstruct developmental paths of grammatical change. It is precisely the microvariation which exists across the different varieties, at times, that can help achieve this, particularly in the absence of a written tradition associated with the vernacular varieties.

The above points will be brought to the fore through a case study. This study will demonstrate the process of using the comparative method, step-by-step, illustrating how it can be done, with the aim to eventually reach an appreciation as to why one would want to go for it. The study revolves around a rather recent discovery of the Universal perfect construction in Arabic, and its identification as a possessive perfect. By delving into the details of the study of this construction, and the behind-the-scenes process, answers to the above questions will be gradually unfolded.

Functions and semantic values of Standard-Vernacular code-switching in a Lebanese political speech

Marie-Aimée Germanos (INALCO)

This presentation will focus on the explanation—rather than the linguistic description (Holes 1993)—of code-switching between Standard Arabic and Lebanese Arabic in a 2007 political speech by Hassan Nasrallah.

It will begin by looking into the values of code-switching as a linguistic behaviour by analysing the co-occurrence of switches and other stylistic devices. This part of the presentation will show that code-switching is indeed essentially a way of contrastively emphasizing part of a message, as has originally been claimed by J. J. Gumperz (1982).

It will also look into the semantic values of Lebanese Arabic and Standard Arabic in the speech; in light of the government – opposition dichotomy. Indeed, at the time of this political speech, the political party headed by Hassan Nasrallah was part of the opposition, and the speech that is chosen here is critical of the actions of the government. In this section of the presentation, I will identify the varieties used to quote respectively member(s) of the opposition and members of the government; and to refer to their actions, intentions or attitudes.

Available academic works interested with the explanation of code-switching in political speeches (Holes 1993, Mazraani 1997, Bassiouney 2006) identify positive connotations for Standard Arabic. However, they were based on speeches by heads of state and, unsurprisingly, the speech that will be analysed during the presentation shows a different dynamic. In it, Standard Arabic is sometimes associated with negative connotations stemming from a critical stand towards the government.

Contact and variation in Arabic intonation

Sam Hellmuth (University of York)

Evidence is emerging of differences between Arabic dialects in their intonation patterns, along known parameters of variation in prosodic typology. In this talk I will explore the hypothesis that variation in intonation in Arabic results from changes in the phonology of individual Arabic varieties, triggered by past (or present day) speaker bilingualism, through a series of brief case studies of data from the Intonational Variation in Arabic (IVAr) corpus Hellmuth & Almbark, 2017).

If this hypothesis is correct, variation in intonation should reflect prosodic properties of other languages that a specific regional dialect has had contact with, albeit within the limitations of our ability to reconstruct the levels of community bilingualism from historical records. In particular, we explore the potential relevance of prosodic variation in Arabic to the debate regarding apparent independent parallel development of a range of other linguistic features across geographically non-contiguous Arabic dialects (Owens, 2017).

Arabic in Contact
Lameen Souag (LACITO/CNRS)

The effects of language contact on and with Arabic are not only of inherent academic interest for what they reveal about processes of language change and linguistic history, but also attract a striking degree of popular interest. Unfortunately, the identity-related considerations that drive much of this interest also tend to distort the research process, making it all the more important to ensure that basic principles of historical linguistics are carefully applied. Doing so opens up a number of underexplored avenues of research. The problem of distinguishing codeswitching from borrowing, relevant in much of the region, reveals itself most acutely in the case of completely bilingual communities: the only reported examples of bilingual suppletion known come from minority groups in the Arab world. The potential of careful etymological work to reveal unexpected historically relevant facts is particularly striking in the study of the early stages of the spread of Arabic, as shown by the example of prayer names in Persian and Berber and by recent work on North Arabian pre-Islamic inscriptions. Finally, pattern borrowing is significantly more difficult to identify securely than matter borrowing, but doing so often reveals aspects of cultural influence on language that lexical purism tends to conceal, not only in Modern Standard Arabic but even in languages such as Maltese.

Long-distance coarticulation in Arabic: Effects of pharyngealization and consonant length

Sarah Ahmed (Qatar University) and Michael Grosvald (Qatar University)

Coarticulation is pervasive in spoken language, but many aspects of this phenomenon are not well-understood. This study investigates anticipatory long-distance coarticulation in Arabic, and seeks to determine the extent and degree of interaction of several vowel and consonant properties. These include vowel-to-vowel (VV) influences as well as effects related to the pharyngealization and length (gemination) of intervening consonants.

Three male native speakers of Egyptian Arabic were recorded saying sentences containing nonsense sequences of the form /baʔabaCV:/, where C was chosen from {/t/, /t^ʕ/, /t:/, /t^ʕ:/} and V: was a long vowel /i:/, /a:/ or /u:/. Low vowels were used as targets because of their greater susceptibility to coarticulatory effects from other vowels (cf. Mok, 2011). Analysis of the first and second formants of these recordings yielded several key findings, including the following.

First, VV coarticulatory effects could sometimes extend to a distance of three vowels before the context vowel, but with substantial variation among speakers. In particular, one (but only one) speaker showed significant VV effects at all three measured distances, which were effectively blocked in the pharyngealized consonant condition.

Second, the consonant-to-vowel effects associated with pharyngealization extended to similar distances, and these kinds of long-distance effects were seen consistently for all three speakers. These effects were gradient rather than categorical, decreasing in magnitude at greater distances from the triggering consonant.

Third, effects related to intervening consonant length were idiosyncratic, and in particular did not lead to consistent blocking of VV effects.

This is one of only a few demonstrations that VV effects can extend to such distances, the only such study in Arabic, and perhaps the only such finding for a non-reduced target vowel (cf. Grosvald (2009) on schwas in English). The VV results also illustrate the great amount of variability among speakers in their coarticulatory tendencies (Grosvald, 2009; Magen, 1997), despite the fact that long-distance effects due to pharyngealization were seen consistently for all three speakers. The gradient nature of those effects suggests that pharyngealization in Egyptian Arabic might not operate at the whole-word level as suggested in earlier research, but does extend further than is the case in some other Arabic dialects (Hassan, 2005; Jongman et al., 2011).

While the pharyngealized consonants appeared to block long-distance VV effects, long (geminate) consonants did not show any such influence. This is despite the fact that in the long consonant condition, the temporal distance between context and target vowels was increased, which might itself have been expected to weaken long-distance segment-to-segment influences (Fowler & Saltzman, 1993). While the influence of segment length on coarticulatory effects is not well-studied, the present findings are generally consistent with previous indications that segment length is not a strong influencer on such effects (Mok, 2011).

A Syntactic Analysis of the Distribution and Development of Verbal Copulas in Arabic Varieties

Faruk Akkus (University of Pennsylvania) and Elabbas Benmamoun (Duke University)

1. Introduction: Copula in Arabic Present Tense. So-called non-peripheral Arabic dialects, such as Moroccan, Egyptian, Lebanese, and Gulf dialects of Arabic, pattern with Classical Arabic in their lack of a copula in non-generic present tense sentences, (1b) (Benmamoun 2000). Only past (and future tense) sentences display an overt verbal copula that agrees with the subject in person, number, and gender. By contrast, one striking feature of so-called peripheral Arabic dialects such as the Anatolian varieties of Sason (Akkuş 2016, Akkuş and Benmamoun, 2016) is the use of a copula in present tense (1a).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) a. sabi raxu ye
boy sick cop.3
‘The boy is sick.’ | b. d-dar kbira
the-house big
‘The house is big.’ |
|---|--|

This paper provides an in-depth analysis of copula constructions in Sason Arabic, and contrast it with its Moroccan Arabic counterpart. We argue that differences have to do with the categorial features of tense which may or may not require pairing with a verbal head (following Chomsky 1995). That requirement to be paired with verbs in Sason most likely evolved under contact with Kurdish and Turkish. The development of a copula under contact in turn led to the development of head final order, as in its contact languages. We provide evidence from Tillo (Lahdo 2009), another Anatolian Arabic variety, to show that the development of the copula in the present tense is a precursor to the development of the head final order.

2. Analysis. The development of the present tense copula in Sason and the likely use of the past tense copula as a source has two important implications, among others. First, it supports the view that in non-peripheral Arabic dialects, such as Moroccan Arabic, verbless sentences are indeed verbless, i.e., that there is no null copula. No non-peripheral dialect has an overt form that would be the null counterpart of the copula in the present tense. More importantly, Sason, which has developed an overt copula in the present tense (2b), had to recruit past tense verbal paradigm for that purpose (2a).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (2) a. ams raxu-in kınna
yesterday sick-pl aux.1pl
‘We were sick yesterday.’ | b. lome raxu-in kina
today sick-pl aux.1pl
‘We are sick today.’ |
|--|---|

What it didn’t do is conjugate the copula root K(W)N in the present tense which is what would be expected under the null copula hypothesis and what is found in generic sentences in Moroccan Arabic. We believe this to be a decisive argument against the null copula hypothesis. Second, Sason supports the argument advanced in Benmamoun (2000) that the presence or absence of the verbal copula has to do with whether T contains a verbal feature, in addition to its nominal feature following the original analysis of Chomsky (1995), where the interaction between the features of functional layer, such as T, are driven by categorial features which need to be paired lexical counterparts. We believe that analysis is still valid and provides a compelling framework for analyzing the above synchronic and diachronic Arabic facts. The main thesis is that the

difference between present tense and past tense in non-peripheral Arabic varieties, such as Moroccan Arabic, has to do with presence of a verbal feature in T in the latter, but not in the former. Sason seems to have undergone a change in the featural composition of present tense T which has acquired a verbal feature under contact with the neighboring languages where present tense T has a verbal feature. The fact that Sason has drawn on the past tense paradigm, which is clearly verbal in nature (Benmamoun 2000), for its present tense copula provides additional support for our analysis and more generally for the thesis that some aspects of linguistic variation, and change, may have to do with workings of the functional system, as originally proposed by Borer (1986).

Diglossic Code-switching Between Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic in Religious discourse

Majedah Alaiyed (Durham University/ Qassim University)

This study constitutes a preliminary step towards understanding diglossic intra-sentential code-switching between Standard Arabic (SA) and Najdi Arabic (NA) in religious discourse by male and female preachers. In the current study, extracts were analysed from a total of twelve religious sermons given by six speakers (i.e. two sermons each) – three males and three females – all of whom are originally native speakers of NA. To investigate intra-sentential code-switching between SA and NA, two linguistic variables were selected for analysis: negation and relative pronouns.

The findings of the study show that this process does not proceed randomly but is instead governed by particular principles. In the case of Standard Arabic variants of the two variables investigated, where Standard Arabic is the non-dominant variety, diglossic code-switching is restricted as its variants are found to co-occur mostly only with Standard Arabic or neutral lexis. On the other hand, in the case of Najdi Arabic, which is considered the dominant variety, Najdi Arabic variants are found to co-exist with both Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic as well as neutral lexis. As can be seen in the following examples:

- a) ammā l-xādimāt yā `ixwān-ī l-mawjūdāt fī l-buyūt
 as for the-maids O brothers-my the-found in the-houses
fa-hunna harā`ir **mahimb** `imā`
 as-they free NEG slaves
 ‘on the other hand, O brothers! The maids (who work in the houses) are free women and **not** slaves’
- b) al-qā`il **alli** ya-qūl ġarīb ad-dār
 the-sayer REL 3SG.M-say.IPF stranger the-country
 ‘the one **who** says (O) stranger to this country’

Thus, the study supports the validity of the ‘dominant language hypothesis’ proposed by Petersen (1988). It also partially supports Eid’s (1982, 1988) constraints. The directionality and the contradictory effect constraints are shown to be relevant to the data. Moreover, the study demonstrates the validity of the triggering hypothesis (Clyne, 2003) and the neutralization site hypothesis (Clyne, 1987) for analysing diglossic code-switching.

It is worth mentioning that previous studies of religious speeches have focused only on male preachers, and previous studies of Saudi Arabic have disproportionately investigated the speech of men. Given the gender segregation of this speech context, and the sociolinguistic studies of Arabic showing some gender variation (Walters, 1991; Daher, 1998, 1999; Al-Wer, 1999), there is a question over whether there may be gender variation in code-switching in religious speeches in segregated speech contexts. By analysing the code-switching of both male and female preachers, this study makes an original contribution by demonstrating that there is no obvious correlation between gender and any variation in code-switching in this religious speech context in this corpus of data.

Regional dialects in contact: Syrian Arabic first generation migrants in Jordan

Rana Almbark (University of York) and Dima Malahmeh (Philadelphia University)

As a result of the continued war in Syria for the last seven years, the migration movement of Syrians towards neighbouring countries, including Lebanon (1,001,051) and Jordan (654,213) (UNHCR, 2017), is creating a setting where mutually intelligible regional dialects come in contact. Such contact may result in one of these varieties influencing the other (Trudgill, 1986). In order to analyse the trajectory of influence from one language variety to another, the effect of social variables including age, gender, education and length of residency are considered (Chamber, 2002). Giles (1973) defines two types of accent change in his accommodation theory: accent convergence (where a speaker wants to gain social approval of the host) and accent divergence (where a speaker wants to dissociate himself from the host).

The first generation of Syrian migrants faced several challenges including adapting their Arabic dialect to those of the host countries. This paper investigates the types of dialect accommodation and attrition observed in the speech of the Syrians' first generation in Jordan. Therefore, our research question is: is there a change towards Jordanian linguistic forms among Syrian migrants? Or is there a tendency to adhere to their Syrian linguistic forms?

Although, Syrian and Jordanian Arabic are mutually intelligible, they vary on all linguistic levels. For example, both dialects differ in their use of the phonological forms of Standard Arabic /q/, /ð/, /ðˤ/, /θ/, and /dʒ/. They also differ in their choice of the morphological forms of the negation particles [mu:]/[muʃ] and [Verb-ij], and the third person marker /-ha/ and /-hum/. Additionally, although both dialects share a great number of lexicons, each dialect has some distinctive lexicon.

Two Damascus-Syrian and one Karak-Jordanian female speakers (aged 18-30) participated in this pilot study. The recordings are done in Karak-Jordan. The participants filled a questionnaire about their bio-data, their identity, and attitudes in relation to their choice of dialect. Then, the participants interacted in pairs in a semi-spontaneous map task and a free conversation. The names of the places on the map were chosen to have the target phonological and morphological linguistic features which are expected to vary between both dialects. The participants are paired based on their dialects: Syrian1-Syrian2, Syrian1-Jordanian1, and Syrian2-Jordanian1.

Based on an auditory analysis, the results show a tendency for the Syrian participants to use salient Jordanian phonological forms ([g] for /q/) and morphological forms ([-hum]/[-ha]); and they do so more when they are speaking to a Jordanian. This result concord with the questionnaire results, where the Syrian speakers talk about their need to integrate into the Jordanian community and this explains their use of Jordanian linguistic features.

Having untypical linguistic forms, or combinations of linguistic forms, which are not expected in the migrants' native dialect or in the dialect of the host dialect, may have a great impact on the speech of the second migrant generation. It can also have a great impact on LADO (Language Analysis for the Determination of Origin) reports.

Metaphor Comprehension in Arabic-Speaking Children: On the Development of Primary and Perceptual Metaphors

Alaa Almohammadi (King Abdulaziz University) and Gabriella Rundblad (King's College London)

Situated within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Grady 2005; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999), this study explores the emergence of metaphorical understanding in typically developing Arabic-speaking children, an area of research very much still in its infancy. Few studies have sufficiently distinguished different types of metaphors when exploring the emergence of metaphorical understanding in children (Olofson et al., 2014, Stites and Özçalışkan, 2012). This study predicts that metaphor comprehension varies by metaphor type and metaphor conventionality. We ask if primary metaphors that are claimed to be rooted in embodiment and learned early on as the child starts to experience the world (e.g., I see your point) differ from perceptual metaphors that are based on perceived similarities between the target and source domains (e.g., Juliet is the sun). In addition, the study examines the role of metaphor conventionality (i.e. conventional versus novel metaphors) on metaphor development. This, in return, will show that children may show better understanding of metaphorical expressions and at a younger age than what was reported in earlier studies on metaphor development. While evidence suggests that metaphor development starts when the child is four years (Özçalışkan, 2007, Rundblad and Annaz, 2010), we question which metaphors are actually acquired at age four and argue that it is likely that onset will differ for different types of metaphors, and possibly also between languages.

To establish the development of comprehension of different metaphor types in Arabic, this study tested 87 typically developing children between three and six years of age, and 20 typically developing adults between 18 and 30 on a new metaphor story comprehension task. The task consisted of 20 short stories that contained 20 Arabic metaphors: five conventional primary conceptual metaphors, five novel primary conceptual metaphors, five conventional perceptual metaphors, and five novel perceptual metaphors.

Results show that while onset of metaphor comprehension of perceptual metaphors in this group of Arabic-speaking children was in line with previous studies claiming that metaphor development starts when the child is four years (Özçalışkan, 2007, Rundblad and Annaz, 2010), it importantly shows an even earlier onset of primary metaphor comprehension. For both types, conventional metaphors generated better performance rates than novel metaphors. These results will be discussed in light of studies on English and Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

The Expression of Attributive Possession in Najdi Arabic and English

Eisa Alrasheedi (Newcastle University)

Najdi Arabic (NA) has a unique and under studied method for expressing possession attributively: through the use of *ʔabu* and *umm* possessives, as in (1a–b). (*ʔabu* and *umm* lexically mean ‘father’ and ‘mother’ respectively).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) a. <i>ʔar-radzaal ʔabu ʔiʕuun zurgg</i>
Def-man with.SG.M eyes blue
‘The man with blue eyes’ | b. <i>ʔal-bint umm ʕaʕar tʕawiil</i>
Def-girl with.SG.F hair long
‘The girl with long hair’ |
|--|---|

Attributive possession in NA can express various types of possession, including body-part terms with animate possessors (1a-b), part-whole possession with inanimate possessors (via metonymy), as in (2a-b) and the expression of family relations (2c-d).

- | | |
|--|--|
| (2) a. <i>ʔas-saikal ʔabu kafariin</i>
Def-bicycle with.SG.M two.wheel
‘The bicycle with two wheels’ | c. <i>ʔal-ħormah umm ʕaʕur ʔiʕijjal</i>
Def-woman with.SG.F ten children
‘The woman with ten children’ |
| b. <i>ʔal-blouzah umm kuum tʕawiil</i>
Def-blouse with.SG.F sleeve long
‘The blouse with long sleeves’ | d. <i>ʔar-radzaal ʔabu θalaaθ ʔaxwaan</i>
Def-man with.SG.M three brothers
‘The man with three brothers’ |

In English, interestingly, there is a close parallelism formed by *with* as in (3a-c) where English makes use of the preposition to convey a possessive relation (rather than most common comitative or instrumental usage).

- (3) a. The girl with blue eyes b. The flower with three petals c. The table with three legs

Nevertheless, NA’s *ʔabu* and *umm* possessives differ considerably from the English possessive *with* in that they disallow possession of an illness, as illustrated in (4a-d), from English and NA, respectively.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4) a. The man/ the patient with cancer
b. <i>*ʔar-radzaal/*ʔal-mariidʕ ʔabu sʕaratʕaan</i>
Def-man/ Def-patient with.SG.M cancer | c. The girl with autism
d. <i>*ʔal-bint umm tawaħad</i>
Def-girl with.SG.F autism |
|---|---|

Furthermore, *ʔabu* and *umm* possessives are not used in comitative/instrumental contexts in contrast to English *with*. *With*, on the other hand does not express origin/descent/nationality the way *ʔabu/umm* do nor it is used as a marker for pricing items the way *ʔabu* and *umm* do (I do not provide examples here for space reasons), consider the following table.

Table (1) Matrix of combinations in Najdi Arabic (NA) and English

Language	Relator	Possessive	Item pricing	Origin/ Descent/ Nationality	Comitative	Instrumental
NA	<i>?abu/umm</i>	+	+	+	-	-
English	<i>with</i>	+	-	-	+	+

Syntactically, there are two significant differences between NA's possessives and English possessive with: the first is that *?abu* and *umm* have Genitive complements whereas their English counterparts are Accusative. Second, NA's possessives obligatorily agree in gender with the preceding DP (the possessor), as illustrated in (1-2), while English possessive with doesn't show such a reflex. I argue, along the lines of Levinson (2011), that the first difference could be reduced to the type of relator (p) used in each language. The second difference could be related to the position where the possessor is generated. There is good reason to think, contra Levinson, that the possessor in NA is first-merged in the lower lexical projection PP and not higher in the functional projection pP, as suggested for English with (syntactic trees not shown here).

Linguistic Features of Verbs in the Qur'ān in the Plurality of Its Variant Readings

Khadija Alsaleh (University of Leeds), Michael Ingleby (University of Leeds) and James Dickins (University of Leeds)

This paper describes the ongoing work to extend the Quranic Arabic Corpus currently based on the most common *riwāyā* (recitation of Ḥafṣ) to the other *riwāyāt* (variant readings of the Qur'ān). The main aim of the complete research is to analyse the Qur'ān with its plurality of *qirā'āt* (variant readings) from a linguistic perspective, by using computational methods. Such methods will impact on translating the Qur'ān into English.

The term 'variant readings' refers to the orthographical, phonetic and grammatical differences that are barely noticeable in the variations of reciting the Qur'ān. The term *Qirā'ā* is used for a particular reading of any qur'anic word or phrase Graham and Kermani (2006). For example, the word 1:4 (ملك) has two readings: (1) *mālik* كمال = owner (2) *malik* ملك = king. Despite the fact that these differences are not subject to any particular rules, they affect the style and the content of the Qur'ān via morphological change, replacement of conjunction, omission of conjunction, consonantal differences, grammatical change, singular and plural alternation, verbal change Al-Imam (2006).

The analysis of variant readings has received little to no attention in relation to applying computational methods. This paper will facilitate the way to applying computational techniques to build a machine readable dataset of the variants and tagging their different linguistic features. This will facilitate the way for linguists who are interested in analysing their varieties from different perspectives. This paper uses a statistical approach to focus on verbs in only the first and second chapters of the Qur'ān that are subject to variation. Compared the variants to Ḥafṣ version will lead to identify the linguistic feature in which these verbs differ. Based on the current data, the linguistic features in which verbs change are the following:

1. Verb root
2. Verb pattern
3. Verb form
4. Verb aspect (IMPF, IMPR, PERF)
5. Verb mood (INDIC, SUBJ, JUS)
6. Verb voice (ACT-PASS)
7. Verb gender (M-F)
8. Person (1,2,3)

The paper attempts to address the following questions:

1. What are the verbs that can be recited and/or written in a number of different ways?
2. Which of the different features affect the linguistic style of the Qur'ān most?
3. What are the computational techniques that can be used to classify the variant readings linguistically?

On the Distribution of N-words in Arabic

Atef Al-Sarayreh (Mutah University)

The study investigates the distributional differences between n-words in Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Jordanian Arabic (JA). While *ḥætta*-phrases in MA require a negative marker (NM) in both a postverbal and a preverbal position (1), *wala*-phrases in JA require a NM only in a postverbal position (2).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(1) a. *(ma)-za ḥætta waḥəd.
 NEG-came.3SM N-DET one
 ‘No one came’</p> <p>b. ḥætta waḥəd *(ma)-za
 N-DET one NEG-came.3SM
 ‘No one came’</p> | <p>(2) a. *(ma)-ḍʒa wala wāḥad.
 NEG-came.3SM N-DET one
 ‘No one came’</p> <p>b. wala wāḥad (*ma)-ḍʒa
 N-DET one NEG-came.3SM
 ‘No one came’</p> |
|---|--|

Contra Hoyt (2010) and Ouali and Soltan (2014) who assume a lexical ambiguity approach to the distributional differences between *ḥætta*-phrases and *wala*-phrases in Arabic, the current study proposes that both *ḥætta*-phrases and *wala*-phrases are inherently non-negative and that a unified account can still be maintained. Following Zeijlstra (2008), the study proposes that both *ḥætta*-phrases and *wala*-phrases have a [uNEG]-feature that needs to be checked by an [iNEG]-feature of a semantic negation. I argue that both postverbal and preverbal *ḥætta*-phrases in MA require a NM because they are licensed by that NM in both positions; they are licensed under c-command in postverbal position and under spec-head agreement in preverbal position. *Wala*-phrases in JA, on the other hand, require a NM only in postverbal position because they are licensed by that marker only in that position under c-command.

A NM can freely cliticize either to the auxiliary verb or main verb in sentences that involve both kinds of verbs in both MA and JA. However, the presence of a preverbal *ḥætta*-phrase in MA requires the NM to cliticize only to the auxiliary verb (3), whereas the presence of a preverbal *wala*-phrase in JA is incompatible with a NM under a concordant reading regardless of whether the NM cliticizes to the auxiliary verb or main verb (4). This provides supporting evidence that preverbal *ḥætta*-phrases in MA are in the specifier domain of the verbal complex containing the NM, whereas preverbal *wala*-phrases in JA are not.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(3) a. ḥætta waḥəd *(ma)-kan taybyi-h
 N-DET one NEG-was.3SM love.3SM-him
 ‘No one loved him.’</p> <p>b. *ḥætta waḥəd kan ma-taybyi-h
 N-DET one was.3SM NEG-love.3SM-him
 ‘No one loved him.’</p> | <p>(4) a. wala wāḥad (*ma)-kān bəyḥib-uh
 N-DET one NEG-was.3SM love.3SM-him
 ‘No one loved him.’</p> <p>b. wala wāḥad kān (*ma)-byḥib-uh
 N-DET one was.3SM NEG-love.3SM-him
 ‘No one loved him.’</p> |
|--|---|

This analysis can account for why JA exhibits negative spread (NS) (5), whereas MA does not (6). I argue that this contrast follows from an economy condition that requires a null negative operator to license an n-word only when the derivation cannot be rescued by an overt

NM. Thus, (5) is grammatical as it cannot be rescued by an overt NM, whereas (6) is ungrammatical as it can be rescued by an overt NM.

(5) wala ṭālib ḥall wala suʔāl (6) *ḥotta ṭālib zawəb ḥotta suʔāl
 N-DET student answered.3SM N-DET question N-DET student answered. 3SM N-DET question
 ‘No student answered any question.’ ‘No student answered any question.’

Depalatalisation of (dʒ) as a Koineising or Levelling Phonological Feature in a Southern Iraqi Dialect

Wisam Alshawi (University of Essex)

Although dialect levelling is commonly investigated in research on phonological variation and change, it has rarely been dealt with in the Iraqi context. Collin (2009: 251), for instance, only drew a conclusion, based on a few statements he collected through personal communication with Holes and Abu-Haidar, that the features of northern dialects are levelling towards the mid-Mesopotamian dialects. My research investigates the levelling process in the dialect of the Mišlab tribe in Qal‘at Siker (QS), (a south-Mesopotamian dialect), where the traditional features seem to be superseded by supralocal variants of the mid-Mesopotamian norm, (i.e., the Baghdadi dialect), and considers why levelling is happening. QS is situated in An-Nasiriya along the Euphrates River, to the southeast of Baghdad and Kut.

This paper illustrates how (dʒ) varies and changes in the dialect. It has two variants: the glide [j] which is traditionally an unconditionally lenited variant, e.g., rajja:l ‘man’ and the koineised supralocal mid-Mesopotamian [dʒ], e.g., raʔdʒa:l. The paper’s primary goal is an analytical one—to give a quantitative account of levelling phenomenon of (dʒ)—and, as an important part of that, to qualitatively provide an interpretation for the results of the analysis.

Since this study is primarily sociolinguistic in nature, it was assumed that younger speakers would mostly use [dʒ], and older speakers mostly [j]; this could be indicative of an age difference in (dʒ). However, it could also be attributable to the well-documented preceding sound effect on (dʒ), whereby front vowels favour [j]. Therefore, this study considers not only social variables (age, contact and gender) but also multiple independent linguistic factor, such as preceding sounds, stress, etc. This could mean that these variables interact, rendering multivariate analysis a useful method to tease their effects apart.

Rbrul results suggest that many of the linguistic factors and all of the social factors were significant and that the dialect shows traces of levelling in the traditional feature:

- the use of [dʒ] is double that of [j], 67% [3018 tokens out of 4503 total tokens of (dʒ) from interviews with 53 speakers]. Lenited [j] has been unstable, undergone fortition, and ended up pronounced as [dʒ] by the entire high-contact young male group.
- the tribe steadily decreased its rate of /dʒ/-lenition in all contexts over time: fortition was most favoured by the young group and least favoured by the old group, with the mid-group in between.
- QS Arabic showed a bifurcated use of (dʒ): men tend towards greater usage of [dʒ] whereas women tended towards [j].

In conclusion, gender interacts with age and contact: the low-contact old females are the most conservative, 24%. On the opposite pole, the high-contact young males are the most innovative 100%, where the change becomes evident, with the others in between. This categorical use suggests that they are aware of the change and that the linguistic constraints are no longer effective as they were in the traditional dialect, thereby, the change is more socially oriented.

Null definite article in the dialect of Yāl Sa‘ad in Oman

Sara Al Sheyadi (University of Essex)

This paper presents a distinctive feature in the dialect of the Yāl Sa‘ad tribe in northern Oman, specifically in the neighbouring coastal towns of Al-Maşan‘a and Al-Suwēq. The region studied lies midway between Muscat and another major urban centre, Şuḥār. The definite article in this dialect is typically l- ~ li- ~ il-. However, some constructions with a semantically definite noun, like the noun bēt ‘house’ variably occur without the definite article (Ø-article constructions), e.g.:

(1) nrabbīhin fi bēt
 1pl.raise.3plf in house.sg
 ‘We raise them [cows] in [the] house’.

cf. (2) mā-ṭla‘ mi-l-bēt
 neg-1sg.go out from-def-house.sg
 ‘I don’t go out of the house’.

To the best of my knowledge, this feature has not been documented for other Arabic dialects. However, it has been found in the speech of ‘Arab and Baḥārna communities in Bahrain (Holes 2017: p.c.). Holes comments that nouns with Ø-article occur mainly in the direct or indirect object of a verb of movement, more specifically, in actions involving moving towards a specific destination like ‘sea’, ‘school’, or ‘village’.

However, the grammatical categories and semantic fields of this construction in the dialect of Yāl Sa‘ad seem to be broader, since one finds other probably ‘culturally’ relevant definite nouns occurring with Ø-article, e.g. bōš ‘camels’, gēḍ ‘summer/date harvest time’, sēḥ ‘desert/sandy inland’, badwiyyāt ‘Bedouin women’, badu ‘Bedouins’, in addition to the ones found by Holes in Bahrain. It can be found in the construct state, like ayyāmu gēḍ ‘summer days’, in prepositional phrases, like nirgya‘ ilā blād ‘we come back to town’, and other types of constituents.

Some of the data in which this phenomenon occurs are toponyms. These are semantically definite, regardless of the prefixation of the definite article (Holes 2004: 172). In Oman, certain place names may have been used without the definite article in the past, and probably underwent standardisation at some point, which can be seen in road signs and other formal usages. However, other place names remained unchanged. This kind of variation is also reflected in informal usage, especially when the toponym occurs in the construct state, e.g. mistašfi mişin‘a ‘Maşan‘a hospital’ vs. wilāyit l-mişin‘a ‘the Town of Al-Maşan‘a’.

Furthermore, Holes comments that it is not surprising that such constructions found in the speech of Baḥārna in Bahrain also occur in the coastal towns of Oman, considering the fact that there are many similarities between them and due to historical relations linking these populations. It is noteworthy to note that this feature is receding in the dialect under investigation, since Ø-article definite nouns occur more frequently in the speech of older speakers, and is virtually disappearing in the speech of the younger ones.

Another question that can be raised here is whether the case of Ø-article of Yāl Sa‘ad is similar to the case of English, where some common definite nouns can come without a definite article, e.g. ‘I am going to school’ or ‘My mother is in hospital’.

The production and perception of Arabic stress patterns by English learners: A comparison with native speakers

Sara Al Tubuly (Al Maktoum College of Higher Education)

No work has yet been conducted with respect to the stress patterns of English-speaking learners of Libyan Arabic (henceforth LA) and the stress patterns of LA native speakers in a systemic and empirical manner. Some attention has been paid to consonantal acquisition of Arabic (Al Mahmoud 2013 among others) and syllable acquisition by English-speaking learners (Broselow 1978) and Julie's acquisition of Egyptian Arabic phonology (Ioup et al 1994). Also, some attempts have been made to provide a theoretical and descriptive based analysis of LA stress (Elgadi 1987, Al Ageli 1995, Al Sheridi 2015).

However, this study attempts to fill some gaps in the research into the production and perception of LA stress, both by English speaking learners and native speakers and examines the production and perception of some selected stress patterns in Libyan Arabic by English speaking learners and compares them to the production and perception of the native speakers. Two tasks were utilised to investigate the participants' performance: a picture naming and an identification task. Word patterns covered potential problematic and non-problematic areas. The data was entered into SPSS and a non-parametric Friedman test of differences with repeated measures was carried out to analyse the results statistically. An optimality theoretic approach is adopted in the discussion of the results of the perception and production of stress by the participants. The participants are L2 adult learners who acquired the language naturalistically. They are a group of 15 female subjects (whose mother tongue is British English). The native speaker group is composed of 15 female native speakers of Arabic.

The study found that structural effects (e.g. syllable structure, vowel quality, syllable position or class) have consequences on how the learners perceive and produce stress and on how they use this information in assigning stress. The study also found that if the stress patterns match in the L1 and L2, and they follow regular phonological conditions, the learners get these patterns right by just applying the predictable patterns. If the stress patterns are similar but applied differently and they contradict predictable conditions, these unpredictable and/or marked patterns are not accessible in the L2 despite their partial availability in the L1. If a particular stress pattern does not exist in the L1, then the L1 negative transfer effect may appear in the L2.

The misperception of stress is not only restricted to L2 learners, but native speakers also fail in certain patterns to perceive the stress location. The learners use grammatical class and syllable structure as stress indicators, but they show a deviation from the native speakers in using the vowel length cue. It was found that the native speakers are more sensitive to vowel length; the absence of vowel length or syllable closure in the stressed syllable in certain patterns prevent the native speakers from perceiving stress accurately.

**Problems of Translating Oral Egyptian Poetry With Reference to Selected Mawwāls by
Hefny Ahmad**

Yasser Aman (Imam Abdulrahman Bin Faisal University)

The Egyptian Mawwāl, equivalent to the ballad form, has been orally transmitted from generation to generation and from place to place via the narrator and his/her chorus. It has been accompanied by traditional Egyptian musical instrumentations played in order to create an appropriate soundtrack, which helps convey the moral lesson around which the narrative revolves. When it comes to translating the mawwāl of Shafiqa and Metwally, which narrates the story of a brother, Metwally, who kills his sister, Shafiqa, because she eloped and descended into waywardness, many problems arise: phonological, semantic and syntactic. Problems emanating from 1) cultural differences between the East and the West 2) from the discrepancy between the mawwāl as an oral performance and its written translation, 3) the transmission of sounds and sensations and 4) the translation of Upper Egyptian dialectal and stylistic features and linguistic markers conspire to suggest that the mawwāl is untranslatable. These problems require a deep contextual and cultural understanding since the verses of the mawwāl are loaded with cultural specifics, such as priding oneself on killing a corrupted female family member. Discussion of all problems related to the translation of the mawwāl— cultural, musical, literary and linguistic— does not, however, guarantee the translatability of the mawwāl. I argue that through a theory of appropriation, a text can pass by the stages of “inevitably untranslatable”, “almost untranslatable” until it reaches the stage of “appropriately translatable”.

Morphological paradigms predict surface phonological forms

Maya Barzilai (Georgetown University)

Egyptian and Iraqi Arabic both prohibit clusters of three consonants, and both repair this illicit structure with an epenthetic vowel. However, the epenthesis site differs between the two varieties (i.e., Egyptian: /ʔul + t + la/ --> [ʔultila]; Iraqi: /gil + t + la/ --> [gilitla]) (Broselow, 1980; Farwaneh, 1995; Kiparsky, 2003; among others). Crucially, when CCC clusters arise from verbal affixation, each dialect preserves the prosodic shape of its respective base verb. Therefore, I propose an Output-Output (OO) Paradigm Correspondence analysis that repairs CCC clusters by way of verbal paradigm uniformity (Benua, 1997; McCarthy, 2005). Previous analyses of differences in epenthesis site rely on directionality and syllabification, considerations that account for the data only indirectly, and that are not otherwise motivated.

Itô (1989) and Farwaneh (1995) analyze the difference in epenthesis site as the result of directional syllabification, wherein each language syllabifies a given word from one word edge to the other, epenthesizing a vowel along the way when necessary in order to create licit syllables. Rose (2000) also uses syllable structure to explain the phenomenon, claiming that the difference in epenthesis site derives from each variety's preference for syllables to be aligned to one edge or the other of the prosodic word. By calling on directionality and syllabification, however, these analyses predict epenthesis site indirectly, without making specific reference to the markedness violation (*CCC) and its repair. Furthermore, the need to syllabify input forms and then epenthesize the vowel based on the syllables and word boundaries adds an additional computation to the derivation. The OO-correspondence analysis proposed here accounts for the difference in epenthesis site without indirectly relying on directional syllabification, but instead by making explicit reference to the illicit structure and its segmental repair.

An OO-correspondence analysis, following Benua (1997) and McCarthy (2005), evaluates paradigms of morphologically related words in an OT framework. In addition to the markedness and faithfulness constraints of the language, candidate paradigms in an OO-correspondence analysis are evaluated with respect to the OO-faithfulness constraint, which favors phonological faithfulness of a derived form to its morphological base.

In both Egyptian and Iraqi, the most harmonic candidate is the paradigm in which both forms satisfy the highest-ranked phonotactic constraints of the language, and in which the derived form has the same contiguous segments as its base. Given the base forms [ʔult] and [gilit], respectively, the OO-correspondence constraint correctly predicts the epenthesis site in both varieties of Arabic without reference to syllabification, directionality, or alignment, but instead by responding only to the phonotactic constraints of the variety in question. This analysis can also be extended to account for varieties of Arabic in which the base form is variable, e.g. [ʔilit]~[ʔilt]. Therefore, an OO-correspondence analysis avoids the indirect approach of directional syllabification used in previous analyses, instead taking advantage of morphologically related forms in two Arabic varieties to more directly account for the attested difference in epenthesis site.

Rethinking agreement in Spoken Arabic: The Question of Gender

Simone Bettega (University of Torino)

In the course of this presentation, I will argue that no adequate description has yet been offered of the gender/agreement system of those varieties of Spoken Arabic that still retain gender distinction in the plural forms of the adjective, verb and pronoun.

I will first provide a brief account of the history of studies dealing with the topic of agreement in Spoken Arabic (starting with Blanc 1970), showing how A) studies dealing with gender-distinguishing varieties are limited in number and scope and B) even those studies adopt conceptual and methodological tools which are ill-suited for the analysis of agreement systems which feature gender distinction in the plural. In particular, the two labels “strict” (i.e. plural) and “deflected” (i.e. feminine singular) agreement, which were coined by Ferguson (1989) to describe agreement patterns in non-distinguishing dialects, were later employed in virtually every study concerned with the topic of agreement in Arabic (see for instance Belnap 1991; Belnap and Gee 1994; Brustad 2000; Holes 2016; Prochazka and Gabsi 2016; Ritt-Benmimoun 2016; D’anna 2017; Bettega 2018).

The adoption of Ferguson’s labels was one of the reasons that prevented researchers from focusing on the importance of the distinction between masculine and feminine plural agreement with plural controllers. A dispassionate examination of the agreement behavior of nonhuman controllers, however, reveals that these show a marked preference for feminine plural agreement in those varieties which still retain plural gender distinction. This is true of both masculine and feminine controllers (i.e. controllers which attract masculine and feminine agreement in the singular).

When adequately considered, these facts lead to the conclusion that gender-distinguishing varieties of Arabic should be considered as having a tripartite and non-binary gender system, with only two morphologically marked genders (target genders) but with three controller genders (see Corbett 1991: 147-9, for a definition of “controller gender” as opposed to “target gender”).

In other words, each noun in these varieties of Arabic can be classified as belonging to one of three distinct agreement classes. Class I has masculine agreement in both the singular and the plural; Class II has feminine agreement in both the singular and the plural; Class III has masculine agreement in the singular and feminine agreement in the plural. Class I is semantically defined and includes all nouns denoting human and biologically masculine referents. Class II includes nouns denoting human and biologically feminine referents as well as some nonhuman ones, and is defined on a mixed semantical/morphological basis. Class III only includes nouns denoting nonhuman referents, though the criterion which determines the attribution of a nonhuman entity to Class II or III (if one exists) is unclear.

These conclusions will be substantiated with data drawn from every existing study dealing with agreement in gender-distinguishing varieties of Arabic (Blanc 1970; Owens and Bani-Yasin 1987; Belnap and Shabaneh 1992; Hanitsch 2011; Herin and Al-Wer 2013; Ritt-Benmimoun 2016; D’anna 2017; Bettega 2018), as well as data from several grammars of gender-distinguishing dialects (Owens 1994; Ingham 1994; De Jong 2011).

In the concluding section of the presentation I will rapidly discuss the role of feminine singular agreement with plural controllers in gender-distinguishing varieties of Arabic, before offering some consideration on how the rethinking of the gender systems that I propose can help improve our understanding of the historical evolution of agreement patterns in Spoken Arabic.

The emergence of yet another copula construction in vernacular Arabic
Maris Camilleri (University of Essex) and Louisa Sadler (University of Essex)

As is well known, Arabic has a wealth of copula resources, including the ‘null’ copula in present tense predicational sentences, the ‘pronominal’ copula of equational sentences, the use of *kāna* ‘be’ and the use of a variety of verbs such as *baqa*, *gāma*, and *saʿar* which may serve as copulas in different vernaculars, alongside lexical uses and grammaticalised uses as aspectualiser/phasal auxiliaries.

The focus of this paper is on the grammaticalisation process which has led to the emergence of yet another copula: we discuss the development of the active participial form *gāqid/qāqid* lit. meaning ‘sitting’ as a primarily stage-level copula with the function of a ‘contingent state “be”’ in the terminology of Kuteva (1999). In parallel to the verb-forms used as copulas, this active participle has an aspectual use, serving as a progressive (and sometimes continuous) auxiliary (Eksell, 1995). Its emergence as a copula makes a contingent/permanent (stagelevel/individual-level) type of distinction relevant to the grammar of non-verbal predication in Arabic. While the use of the participial form as a prog-marker is similar across different dialects, we will show that its employment as a copula differs in several respects, drawing on data from a range of dialects including Kuwaiti, Palestinian, Maltese and Libyan. Briefly, we will show that in Kuwaiti, the copula is restricted to temporary (contingent) locations, a subset of the stage-level type of predication, while in Palestinian, the copula can always alternate with a zero/null copula, and extends in use to permanent locations. In Libyan, usage extends to other cases of stage-level or contingent predication. Maltese takes the grammaticalisation to a potential end-point: the stage-level copula is in complementary distribution with the pronominal copula, which is limited to individual-level predication. Our discussion also suggests that a recent claim about prog marking in the core dialects would appear to be inaccurate (Akkuş, 2016).

Our presentation of the emergence and grammaticalisation of a third type of copula aims to contribute to our understanding of grammaticalisation in Arabic, as well as bringing attention to some novel data. The primary focus of our discussion will be on the following questions: (i) what is the nature of the distribution of this copula form in several dialects and its systemic interaction with other null and overt copula forms? (ii) what is the evidence for a particular direction of grammaticalisation? (iii) what theoretical machinery can help us capture/formalise the hypothesised diachronic processes? (iv) what is the significance of the observation that while some vernaculars have also grammaticalised other prog markers, namely *yālis/gālis* ‘sitting’ and *Qam(māli)* (Agius and Harrak, 1987), it is only the forms *gāqid/qāqid* that appear to have also grammaticalised further into a copula?

Diachronic aspects of agreement in Arabic

Luca D'Anna (University of Mississippi)

Arabic features a complex and rich agreement system, which has attracted considerable interest from scholars. In the last three decades, in particular, agreement with plural controllers has been the object of a number of studies, from both a dialectological and a historical perspective, especially after Ferguson (1989) used it as a counter-argument to Versteegh's (1984) pidginization hypothesis. Recent works (such as Belnap and Shabaneh 1992, Belnap and Gee 1994 and Belnap 1999) have shown that gender and number agreement in pre-Classical Arabic substantially differs from Classical Arabic, showing a closer similarity to the system observed in contemporary dialects. Belnap's survey of pre-Classical Arabic, however, is based on a very limited analysis of the pre-Islamic poetic corpus and leaves the question open as to what the similarities and differences between pre-Classical, Classical and dialectal Arabic are. Belnap, moreover, sketches a possible line of evolution from pre-Classical to Classical Arabic, consisting in the generalization of feminine singular agreement for non-human (irrational) nouns. His studies, however, abstain from hypothesizing what the original function of feminine singular agreement was. In this process of historical reconstruction, particular attention should be given to the actual distribution of agreement patterns in the linguistic material at our disposal (Ratcliffe 1998: 15).

The present study is the first stage of a larger research project, aimed at reconstructing the history of agreement in Arabic. It expands Belnap's analysis to the seven canonical odes (*al-muṣallaqāt as-sabʿ*), thus increasing the wealth of data at our disposal. Particular attention is given to the phenomenon of feminine singular agreement with plural controllers. This type of agreement became mandatory with non-human plural controllers in Classical Arabic. The analysis of human, animal and inanimate controllers, however, reveals a different distribution in pre-Classical Arabic. A very similar distribution, with different degrees of variation, seems to obtain also in contemporary dialects, suggesting that humanness was not the decisive factor in the first place. Feminine singular agreement, on the contrary, appears to mark non-individuated agreement, and it usually co-occurs with broken plurals or collective nouns. The frequent co-occurrence of broken plurals and feminine singular in targets depending on the same controller, moreover, suggests a possible role of the broken plural in the spread of the innovative feminine singular agreement. Given that humanness increases the individuation of the controller, feminine singular agreement tends to occur more frequently with inanimate and animal controllers, which might have led to the reinterpretation of the system that was later systematized in grammars of Classical Arabic. At the same time, feminine singular agreement also occurs with human nouns in our small pre-Islamic corpus, in contexts in which it is no longer allowed in Classical Arabic, thus suggesting that the standardization of feminine singular worked in both ways, i.e. making it mandatory with non-human nouns and non-available with human ones.

This study, in conclusion, maintains that feminine singular agreement evolved from an optional agreement choice marking non-individuated (or mass) reference to a mandatory choice for non-human nouns, based on the evidence drawn from the distribution of agreement patterns in pre-Islamic, Classical and contemporary dialectal Arabic.

An Amazigh Substrate in Maghrebi Arabic
Ahmed Ech-charfi (Mohamed V University, Rabat)

The presentation will deal with the contact between Amazigh and Arabic in North Africa with a particular focus on agentive nouns in Moroccan Arabic. While Amazigh varieties have borrowed heavily Arabic vocabulary, including elements of basic vocabulary, there are very few Amazigh lexical loans in North African varieties of Arabic. On the other hand, there is a lot of grammatical influence of the two languages on each other, though many aspects of Maghrebi Arabic ascribed to Amazigh are often disputed. In this presentation, I will try to reconstruct the sociolinguistic situation which gave birth to these Arabic varieties and shaped their structure by focusing on the category of agentive nouns. In Classical Arabic and many Middle Eastern dialects, agents are expressed by active participles, which can take two forms, depending on the root. When the root is trilateral, the active participle takes the pattern CāCiC, but when the root has more than three consonants, it takes the prefix “mu-”, plus other vowel insertions. In comparison, some agentive nouns in the Maghreb varieties (especially Moroccan Arabic) exhibit many differences from this general model, and these differences will be argued to result from the influence of Amazigh. Amazigh does not have related categories of active and passive participles like Arabic, but it has a category of agentives that, accidentally (or perhaps a common inheritance from Afro-Asiatic), take a prefix “m-”, not unlike the Arabic active participle prefix “mu-”. Apparently, this similarity was misinterpreted by Amazigh-Arabic bilinguals who developed a category of Arabic agentives that parallels in many ways that of their Amazigh counterpart. Four arguments will be provided in support of this hypothesis: 1- the extension of the “faʿʿāl” pattern originally devoted mainly to occupation nouns; the semantics of this pattern is very close to that of prototypical Amazigh agentives; 2- the use of the prefix “m-” in agentives based on trilateral roots (e.g. məzyan “good”, məhsad “envious”, mbyāḍ “white”), a behavior attested in Amazigh agentives; 3- the use of the same prefix with nominal roots (e.g. məzrab “leprous”, məʿlal “sickly”), also reminiscent of the behavior of Amazigh agentives; and 4- the existence of free variants one of which takes the prefix “m” and the other a different pattern (e.g. ʃəkkak / məʃkak “suspicious”; zəybi / məzγub “ill-fated”). In the spirit of Thomason & Kauffman (1988), these facts will be interpreted as indicating that Maghrebi Arabic agentives were developed by Amazigh speakers who were shifting to Arabic and, therefore, they are aspects of imperfect second language acquisition that were fossilized, probably because of the lack of adequate input and/or strict social monitoring. On the basis of this clue, it will be suggested that Maghrebi varieties of Arabic resulted essentially from the shift of a majority of Amazigh speakers toward Arabic, though many aspects of imperfect learning were later on corrected and only vestiges of earlier periods survived. The Amazigh substrate in agentives is a good indication of the Amazigh influence on Arabic that was halted at some pointed in time, probably as a result of the availability of more authentic Arabic input than was before.

Grammar or not grammar? Prosodic reflexes of information structure in Egyptian Arabic

Dina El Zarka (University of Graz)

In prosodic studies that investigate the influence of information structure on the prosodic shape of utterances in a specific language, it is commonly assumed that information structural notions such as topic or focus are universal linguistic categories that are "encoded" by a specific prosodic form. More recently, however, the assumption of universal information structural categories has been called into question (Matic & Wedgwood, 2013; Zimmermann & Onea, 2011). Calhoun (2010) offers an approach that the mapping of words onto metrical structure (i.e. accents) in English is probabilistic with information structure playing a decisive role in this mapping. I follow Calhoun in the assumption that information structure places strong constraints on the prosodic shape of utterances, assuming a two-dimensional approach to information structure with theme (topic) - rheme and focus - background as cognitive universals and not a priori as linguistic categories.

Based on the investigation of a large corpus of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech and controlled experiments (El Zarka 2013), I argue that in EA, which is a non-deaccenting language in the sense of Ladd (2008), the interpretation of theme and rheme is not guided by accent position or accent strength as in English, but rather by contour shape. I further argue that the individual prosodic features are not direct signals of information structural 'categories', but have more general denotations. Although prosodic prominence is a means of highlighting important information in EA, accent position is not structure-based in this language (El Zarka 2013). Neither does every IP exhibit an obligatory nucleus, nor is a rheme obligatorily more prominent than a theme. In accordance with its biological foundations (Ohala 1984, Gussenhoven 2002), rising pitch expresses uncertainty and thus questioning and falling pitch indicates finality and has an assertive flavour. Thus the frequent occurrence of rising themes, for instance, is not a matter of grammatical coding, but rather of the compatibility between speaker-intention and prosodic meaning. Similarly, the familiar pattern of a 'focus' accent on the only new constituent in a sentence with simultaneous downtoning of the background (1), is not a case of (obligatory) grammatical marking of "narrow focus", but rather the outcome of the optional, but preferred attenuation of given concepts and the highlighting of unexpected or contrastive elements. A speaker resorts to prosodic means to structure her contributions to discourse in order to facilitate the cognitive processing on the part of the addressee. I suggest that in EA the prosodic contribution to this structuring is accomplished by the interaction of two preferences: (a) to highlight important concepts (with concomitant downtoning of given ones) (Fig. 1) and (b) to establish coherence by connecting utterances via tonal contour (Fig. 2) or separating them by treating every concept as a separate assertion (Fig. 3), which is typical in emphatic renderings of presupposition-less utterances.

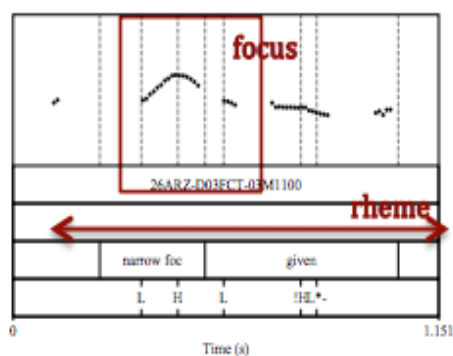


Fig. 1: The utterance *la?, ITNEEN fukulaat'a.* ('No, TWO chocolates.') correcting a prior question 'Do you have one piece of chocolate?', data from SFB 632, D2.

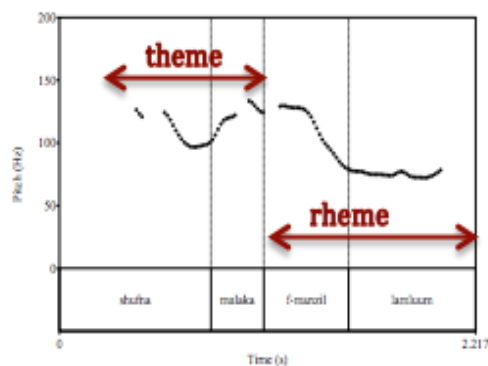


Fig. 2: The utterance *[ufna Malaka]theme [f-manzil Lamluum]rheme* 'We saw Malaka in Lamlum's house.' as a response to the question: 'Where did you see Malaka?'

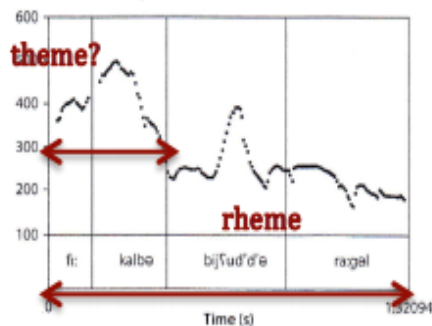


Fig. 3: The utterance *[fi kalb bi-j-udd raagil]rheme* 'There is a dog biting a man.' with no presupposed information and an existential construction introducing the referent *kalb* 'dog'.

Word-initial geminates in Maltese
Luke Galea (iLLT, University of Malta)

Introduction

Word-initial geminates are typologically uncommon (Kraehenmann 2011) and how they should be represented has been a bone of contention in phonology for numerous years (Davis 2011; Ringen and Vago 2011). Maltese consists of three language strata: Arabic (Semitic), Italian and English (non-Semitic). Word-initial gemination in Maltese operates as a morphophonological phenomenon which occurs in both Semitic and non-Semitic verbs. In Semitic verbs, word-initial gemination is obtained through the regressive assimilation of the prefix /t/ before [+ coronal - sonorant] word-initial verbs as in (1a). On the other hand, non-Semitic verbs (1b), do not usually fit the root-and-pattern template and undergo word-initial gemination (which can occur to all sounds in the language) as a process of integrating the verbs into the language (cf. Mifsud 1995).

(1) Word-initial gemination in Maltese

(1a) Semitic verbs

/t/ + /libbəs/ í /tlibbəs/ 'he put something on'

/t/ + /dəwwər/ í /ddəwwər/ 'he was turned around'

(1b) non-Semitic verbs

/ppərkjə/ 'he parked' from English 'to park'

/ffirmə/ 'he signed' from Italian firmare 'to sign'

However, descriptions of Maltese (cf. Azzopardi 1981; Mifsud 1995) show that word-initial geminates are not really word-initial, since they can be preceded by the epenthetic vowel [ɪ]. This suggests that the language has its own way to repair a very marked structure.

Experiment 1: In this paper, the production of word-initial geminates in 12 native speakers of Maltese is presented by looking at the duration of the geminate and the presence or absence of the epenthetic vowel before word-initial geminates is presented. The results show that word-initial geminates are almost always preceded by an epenthetic vowel (96%). Furthermore, the duration of word-initial geminates (\bar{x} =143ms) is comparable to that of word-medial geminates (\bar{x} =135ms), in fact a linear mixed effects model confirmed that the durational difference between word-initial and word-medial geminates is not significant.

Experiment 2: In addition, the perceptibility of the vowel was investigated. An AX discrimination task was carried out with 60 native speakers of Maltese. Participants listened to pairs of words and had to identify whether the words sound the same or different. Participants could easily identify that pairs of words were the same. In the test conditions, participants identified word-initial geminates with a vocalic insertion (e.g. [ɪssəbbər] 'to be consoled') as being different to singletons (e.g. [səbbər] 'to console'). However, participants could not perceive the difference between word-initial geminates without a preceding vocalic insertion (e.g. [ssəbbər] 'to be consoled') and a singleton (e.g. [səbbər] 'to console'). Therefore, it is concluded that the vocalic insertion before word-initial geminates is a crucial correlate for the perception of such segments in Maltese.

Discussion: Word-initial geminates in Maltese are not really word-initial as they always require a preceding epenthetic vowel. As a result, a whole new syllable is built. I consider word-initial

geminates in Maltese to be stray consonants and epenthesis allows their syllabification (Itô 1986). This process of syllabification in Maltese retains the geminates, however, making into a more unmarked (also linguistically more common) position, i.e. medial position. The phonetic durations show that the word-initial geminate is not deleted, which could show that the process of Stray Erasure (Itô 1986) does not operate in Maltese. Furthermore, this shows that a phonologically marked structure goes under restructuring to be interpreted and internalized as a less marked structure.

Jibbali and Arabic in contact: the case of color terminology

Fabio Gasparini (Università "L'Orientale" di Napoli)

This presentation illustrates the color labelling system, as adopted by speakers of Jibbali (also known as Šherēt) in the urban context of Salalah, Oman, and the way it is influenced by Arabic (both in its dialectal and standard varieties).

Jibbali is one of the six Modern South Arabian languages (henceforth MSAL), an endangered group of Semitic languages spoken in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula. MSAL and Arabic-speaking communities have been in contact for centuries in the area. The last decades saw a dramatic growth of the sociolinguistic power of Arabic (due to the massive social reshaping that Oman underwent after its unification), which led to the present situation of endangerment of the MSAL. Phenomena of language contact between MSAL and Arabic are well attested in the literature (Simeone-Senelle 2002; Lonnet 2009; Watson & Al Mehri 2017). Within language contact studies, the topic of color labelling is one of true interest due to its connections with wider studies of Anthropological and Cognitive Linguistics (Hardin & Maffi 1997; Kay & Maffi 1999).

While Arabic presents 11 basic color terms (Al-Rasheed et al. 2011), Jibbali shows a set of only 4 basic color terms: lūn for ‘white’, ḥor for ‘black’, ṣṣfər for ‘red’ (and warm colours in general, including brown) and šəžrór for ‘green’ (and everything from green to blue). A fifth colour term, šəfròr ‘yellow’ (Mehri šāfər), is most probably an adapted borrowing from Arabic already present at the common MSAL level (Bulakh 2004). A qualitative field inquiry conducted by the author with young speakers whose mother tongue is Jibbali and who are bilingual in Arabic revealed that Jibbali color terminology shows remarkable degrees of idiolectal variation (MacLaury 2000), with varying levels of interference from Arabic. It is shown that while the most “fundamental” Jibbali color terms for “white”, “black” and partially “red” – are commonly retained, the semantic spectrum of šəžrór is reduced by the introduction of the Arabic azraq and eventually replaced by axḍar. The rest of the Jibbali color system is actively reshaped by the introduction of the other, more peripheral Arabic color terms, according to typological borrowability scales (Haspelmath 2008).

Exploring the lexical abilities and language exposure patterns of Arabic-Swedish bilingual children (4-7) in Sweden

Rima Haddad (Uppsala University), Linnéa Öberg (Uppsala University) and Ute Bohnacker (Uppsala University)

In today's Sweden, Arabic, with its many varieties, ranks amongst the most spoken minority languages. Since the language characteristics of bilingual children have not been fully explored, Arabic-Swedish speaking children have a risk of being falsely over-diagnosed with language impairment (LI).

Children growing up bilingually are exposed to two languages; as a result, the amount of exposure to each of the languages is generally smaller than the amount of language exposure that a monolingual child receives. This may lead to a smaller lexicon in one or both of a bilingual child's languages (Bialystok et al., 2010). Furthermore, language exposure patterns affected by certain environmental factors, socio-economic status and age effects, may further impact the development of a bilingual child's lexical ability. These numerous factors contribute in making the bilingual population a considerably heterogeneous entity. For example, in one study, the average weekly exposure of bilingual children to the majority language ranged between 8% and 93% (Unsworth, 2013). Not taking these factors into consideration might lead to an unjust assessment of the child's vocabulary skills and as a result the risk of falsely diagnosing the child with LI. Children who do have LI, however, have often shown a slower rate of vocabulary growth and an overall delay in their language development. Moreover, the LI children's lexicon is believed to be less diverse than that of same-age peers. (Leonard & Deevy, 2004). However, prior attempting to disentangle the lexical characteristics of LI from those of bilingualism, it is vital to identify what is typical and atypical in the language traits of typically developing (TD) bilingual children whilst taking into consideration the language exposure patterns.

In our talk, we will present some ongoing work on the lexical knowledge of Arabic-Swedish speaking children (4-7) in Sweden. The presented results are from our joint PhD research ($n \approx 100$). The LITMUS Cross-linguistic Lexical Tasks (CLT), (Haman, Luniewska, & Pomiechowska, 2015) is used to measure lexical ability (vocabulary size). CLT is a picture-based vocabulary task that assesses the bilingual child's comprehension and production of nouns and verbs, allowing a comparison between lexical abilities in both of their languages. In the current study, we are mainly focusing on the Iraqi and the Levant varieties, since these are Arabic varieties that are mostly represented in Sweden. The Arabic version of the CLT is adapted into the dialect that the child speaks. For instance, when encountering a child who speaks an Iraqi variety, an Iraqi-Arabic speaking test leader would meet that child and use lexical items that the child is familiar with. Furthermore, we investigate language exposure patterns and age effects in children's lexical performance (CLT score results), using background information from parental questionnaires. Our aim is to collect and analyze reference data from a large group of Arabic-Swedish bilingual TD children, in order to identify what typical language development looks like, and to be able to tease apart the lexical characteristics of bilingualism from LI.

Reading case in Arabic: preliminary findings from an eye-tracking experiment

Andreas Hallberg (University of Gothenburg)

Arabic case endings are syntactically superfluous and are largely absent in unpointed text. Proficient readers of Arabic are generally assumed not to maintain awareness of case endings when reading (Bateson 1967; Stetkevych 2006), and in effect to be parsing written Standard Arabic sentences with a "case-less" grammar, akin to that of the Arabic dialects. It is less clear how the case endings that do have a graphical representation and that are present in printed texts are processed. Two hypotheses can be postulated: either readers process them as marking case, or they process them as variant forms unrelated to syntactic position. Seeing to the superfluous nature of case endings in Standard Arabic, the latter would not lead to parsing difficulties or ambiguities. Testing these hypotheses through introspection is problematic seeing to the strongly prescriptive notions associated with the case system in Arabic that may cloud such judgments. An alternative method of testing these hypotheses is through eye-tracking techniques. Eye-tracking is a non-intrusive way of studying the cognitive processes associated with reading through the analysis of eye movements, with a high degree of temporal and spacial precision (Rayner 2009). In a planned experiment we will have participants read sentences that include either of the two most common types of orthographically marked case inflection: the nominative/non-nominative distinction in the sound m.pl. (نون/ين) and the accusative/non-accusative distinction in indefinite masculine triptotes (ل/∅). In sentences with the m.pl., the target word is a subject, and in sentences with triptote, the target word is a direct object. Each sentence is presented in either an unaltered or an altered condition. In the unaltered condition the target word has the prescriptively correct form (with the first suffix in the two pairs above) and in the altered condition it has the prescriptively incorrect form (with the second suffix) which corresponds to dialectal case-less syntax. There is a well established correlation between syntactic anomalies and immediate high rates of regressions (backtracking movement of the focal point to a previous part of the sentence, Ni et al. 1998; Pearlmutter 1999; Braze et al. 2002). Thus, if the altered condition shows increased rates of regressions from the target word, this would indicate that participants process the orthographic case endings as marking case, in that they react to their alteration as a syntactic anomaly. If the altered condition does not show an increased rate of regression, this would indicate that participants do not process these endings as marking case. The findings of this study has important implications for our understanding of the role of case in Standard Arabic. This will be the first time eye-tracking techniques are applied to investigate the processing of case markers in Arabic.

Why does she speak like an Orientalist? Metalinguistic comments on three varieties of Arabic in reactions to testimonies of violence against women

Nancy Hawker (University of Oxford)

The mediation of testimonies – witness accounts of violence, suffering and/or historic events, presented in the first person – is a productive ground for testing metalinguistic reactions and attitudes. In situations of testimonial injustice, voices that indicate marginalised social categories are suppressed (Fricker 2007), and the manner of speaking can be a part of the justification for the suppression (Bennett 2012). Human rights testimonies in Arabic in particular pose a heteroglossic challenge to the strict differentiation between the functional appropriateness of standardised writing and regionally differentiated, socially variable speaking of Arabic. Testimonies come in the form of reported speech, with quotation marks which are crucial to the testimonies' presentation of authenticity and credibility (Andrews 2014), raising the problem of how to write or report spoken Arabic basolect or mesolect in contexts such as human rights reports or political speeches where educated spoken Arabic or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) are expected (Albarini 2016).

Three focus groups and an online survey were conducted in 2017-8 to gauge attitudes of Arabic speakers to receiving testimonies in different Arabic varieties, and in written and aural modes. The participants in the focus groups came from Arab-majority countries in North Africa and the Middle East; the survey was disseminated through the Qualtrics service to an anonymous panel of 150 respondents in Kuwait, Palestine and Tunisia. The testimonies used in the experiments were drawn from the report 'Assaulted and accused: Sexual and gender-based violence in Tunisia' (Amnesty International 2015). Were the reactions to the testimonies – ranging from sympathy, solidarity, indifference, distrust and dismissal, to hostility – influenced by the delivery of the testimonies in educated spoken Arabic or MSA, in the urban Arabic of Tunis, or in urban Palestinian Arabic? In this paper, the answer will rely on the examination of all the participants' metalinguistic comments.

Intelligibility of related varieties tends not to be mutual due to both linguistic and ideological perceptions of difference (Haugen 1966), which is relevant also to the asymmetric accommodation of North African speakers of Arabic to Middle Eastern speakers (Hachimi 2013). This paper contributes to scholarship on the multivalent and changing discursive functions of different Arabic varieties, and beyond Arabic, to scholarship on entextualised mediation of authenticity and credibility, and its sociolinguistic reception.

Vestigial variants in sedentary Jordanian

Bruno Herin (INALCO)

The traditional dialects of Jordan, whether sedentary or Bedouin, are receiving a growing amount of attention. Since Cleveland (1963) and Palva (1984), the varieties now spoken in Jordan have been classified into four types: bi'ūl, bikūl, bigūl and yigūl. While only the last two are indigenous, the bi'ūl and types bikūl originated from Palestine in the aftermath of the 1948 ethnic cleansing and the massive influx of Palestinian refugees into Transjordan. It is now recognised that the bigūl dialects (1) belong to the sedentary southern Levantine group with distinctive features acquire through contact with Bedouin varieties (Palva 2008) and (2) are most closely related to Ḥōrāni dialects rather than Palestinian dialects (Herin 2013). The dialect of Amman, while still exhibiting considerable variation, is stabilising (Al-Wer 2007). It presents features traceable to its two main sources (urban Palestinian and sedentary Jordanian) and forms found in neither source (Al-Wer 2014). Unlike Ammani Arabic, which is an emerging variety, the traditional Jordanian varieties are undergoing dialect levelling. This can be captured by what Trudgill (1996) termed "dedialectalization" a process by which dialectal variants gradually vanish and whose end-product is dialect death. During this process, some common features are demoted, while other rare features are promoted, these are respectively vestigial variants and embryonic variants (Trudgill 1999). The goal of this presentation is to provide an account of the changes that are occurring in one of these sedentary dialects and highlight the descriptive challenges posed by vestigial variants. Due to the paucity of occurrences, even in large corpora, it is often impossible to fully grasp the grammar of these variants, even with the help of elicitation which often brings along additional conflicting data.

Quantifying contact through regionality and education: Examples from variationist studies of Arabic dialects

Uri Horesh (University of Essex), Enam Al-Wer (University of Essex) and Najla M. Alghamdi (Taif University)

In recent studies of language variation and change in Arabic, contact has been proven to be a significant sociolinguistic factor. Such are the studies of the Jordanian dialect of Sult, the Palestinian dialect of Jaffa and the dialect of the Ghamdi dialect in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, which form the basis of this paper.

We use 'contact' as an umbrella term for a number of related phenomena, such as dialect contact and language contact, which can occur with or without mobility, often involving multiple opportunities for daily interactions with speakers of other varieties, including supralocal ones (see Milroy et al. 1994).

Studies and theoretical formulations of contact (e.g., Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Matras 2009) have dealt meticulously with qualitative aspects of this phenomenon. Few works, however, have dealt with contact quantitatively. Nagy's (1996, 1997) work on contact between Faetar and standard Italian was one of the first attempts to incorporate-and challenge-the qualitative aspects of contact with an attempt to formally include them in a quantitative study of LVC.

The first known quantification of (dialect) contact was carried out by AlEssa in 2008 for the dialect of Jeddah, and this paper follows suit. In each of our three studies, some measure of contact has been considered, and found to be statistically significant. Eckert (2012) posits that there is a "relation between language use and the kinds of social moves that lead to the inscription of new categories and social meanings." The more such new categories we have, the more challenging it is to quantify them for statistical modeling.

For the Mecca community, we devised a Regionality Index, based on migrant speakers' self-identification as 'Indigenes' or 'Interlopers,' following Chambers's (2000) formulation of regionality as a social factor. For Jaffa, a number of components in the sociolinguistic interviews were devoted to eliciting information that is indicative of levels of contact between the speakers' L1-Arabic, and their L2-Hebrew. These were later converted into factor groups, which were considered individually. Among these factor groups, was that of Language of Education. This focus on type of education rather than mere level of education correlates with our evaluation of education as a proxy variable, which is manifest in the study of Sult. Similar to Prichard & Tamminga's (2012) study of types of higher education institutions attended by Philadelphia speakers, we include Jordanian and Palestinian students who have a wide range of public, private and parochial schools they can attend, resulting in different levels of both dialect- and language contact.

In the Jordanian case, the linguistic variable studied is the historic voiceless interdental fricative (θ), which variably merges with its alveolar plosive counterpart /t/ as a result of contact with Amman speakers; in Palestine we look at the voiced pharyngeal fricative (\aleph), which is variably lenited or deleted in direct relation to contact with Hebrew; and in Mecca we examine the gradual monophthongization of the traditional 'wide' diphthongs (aw) and (ay) - [aʊ] and [aj] - to [ɔ:] and [ɛ:], with intermediate 'narrow' diphthongs [ɔu] and [ɛi].

Visual word recognition in Arabic: Do vowel diacritics matter?

Ali Idrissi (Qatar University), Leen Hasso (Qatar University), Sarah Al-Alami (Qatar University) and Michael Grosvald (Qatar University)

The role that diacritics play in the processing of written Arabic is relatively understudied (cf Abu-Rabia 1996, 1997, 1999; Abu-Rabia & Taha, 2006). Moreover, to our knowledge, no previous work has explored the contribution of vowel diacritics to the processing of orthographically ambiguous word-forms outside a disambiguating sentence context. Using a lexical decision task, the present study explores the influence of written vowel diacritics on word recognition and sets out to investigate the influence of diacritics on the recognition of ambiguous word-forms presented in isolation.

In the light of earlier work by Mountaj et al (2015) and Hermana et al (2015), we hypothesize that diacritics should be largely superfluous in most contexts and that when faced with an ambiguous form presented in isolation, readers will automatically revert to the default, most common reading of the word. We also expect that diacritics should have an overall taxing effect, irrespective of word-form ambiguity.

A set of 40 Arabic word-forms were chosen as stimuli for this lexical decision experiment. Of these, 20 were categorized as ambiguous and 20 as non-ambiguous; this was validated by conducting a pre-test on a group of 18 native Arabic speakers, who did not take part in the main experiment. The web resource Aralex (Boudelaa & Marslen-Wilson, 2010) was used to ensure that word frequencies were balanced between the ambiguous and non-ambiguous conditions. The final set of 80 stimuli consisted of 40 real words, evenly balanced between ambiguous and non-ambiguous items as discussed above, as well as 40 pseudo-words.

Data was collected from 41 native Arabic speakers, who viewed the 80 word and pseudo-word stimuli on-screen one by one in a randomized sequence. For each stimulus, the participant needed to decide whether the item was a word or a pseudo-word, indicating their decision by button press. Each stimulus was presented with or without diacritics with a 50 percent probability, determined at random for each trial. When ambiguous items were shown in the vowel context, the form used was the most common or ‘default’ reading, as determined by the pre-test described above.

Analysis of the resulting accuracy and reaction time data yields three main findings. First, and as expected, response times to words were faster than those to pseudo-words. Second, and most significantly, despite the fact that diacritics provide additional information which might be expected to facilitate access to the target lexical entry, their presence greatly slowed response times. This suggests that the presence of vowel diacritics leads to increased visual crowding, given that everyday Arabic text contains either no or very few vowel diacritics. Finally, our results did not show any facilitatory effect of the presence of vowel diacritics in the accessing of orthographically ambiguous words, suggesting that in cases of ambiguity, readers fall back on the default reading and do not benefit from diacritics.

The semantics and pragmatics of the Tunisian Arabic discourse marker *ʔama*

Amel Khalifaoui (University of Oklahoma)

This paper uses a relevance-theoretic approach (Blakemore 87, 1992, 2002; Blass 1990; Sperber and Wilson 1995) to propose a procedural account of the Tunisian Arabic discourse marker (DM) *ʔama*. The distribution of *ʔama* in a corpus of naturally occurring discourse indicates that this DM signals four different meanings: ‘contrast’, ‘cancellation’, ‘correction’, and ‘denial of an assumed implication’. This paper shows that *ʔama* does not encode these four conceptual representations as part of its semantic meaning, and proposes a unified account for this DM. I argue that *ʔama* encodes one general procedure, which guides the hearer to see an ‘INCOMPATIBILITY’ between two properties or two propositions as shown in the examples given in (1-4).

- (1) illi ji-ksib l-maʔrfa j-sallik-ha
REL 3M-earn the-knowledge 3M-make-it
ʔama illi ma ju-sil-f li-l-maʔrifa saʔd-u makkū
ʔama REL NEG 3M-arrive-NEG to-the-knowledge luck-his upside.down
‘Those who gain knowledge will make it; *ʔama* those who do not have enough knowledge are down on their luck’.

- (2) muʔ kan l-ʔadmiya illi qaʔda t-hizz *ʔama* l-ʔadmiya bima.ʔann-hum ʔadmiya
NEG only the-brains REL PROG 3F-leave *ʔama* the-brains since-they brains

l-qdar w l-muāmalāt hija ḥāzāt sʔīb bāʔ ja-lqā-ha ʔand l-qawm mtāʔna
the-respect and the-treatments are things difficult FUT 3-find-it at the people ours
‘Not only the intelligent people who are fleeing [the country], *ʔama* intelligent people, since they are intelligent, it is difficult for them to find respect and [nice]treatment, among our people’

- (3) manīʔ ndāfiʔ ʔla n-nahḏa *ʔama* na-ʔti fi wiʔhat naḏar-i
NEG 1-defend on the-nahdha *ʔama* 1-give in point view-mine
‘I am not defending [the political party] Ennahdha; *ʔama* I am giving my point of view’.

- (4) selim rjāhi beʔ jfuz fi l-ʔintixabāt
Selim Riahi FUT win in the-elections

na-ʔrif ʔlāʔ *ʔama* ma n-qūl-f
1- know why *ʔama* NEG 1-tell-NEG
‘Selim Riahi will win the elections. I know why *ʔama* will not say’.

In (1), *ʔama* indicates that those who gain knowledge and those who do not are incompatible with respect to the level of success they achieve in life. In (2), the *ʔama* indicates that the proposition about educated people communicated by the second conjunct is more important than the one communicated by the first one; and that it has to cancel and replace it. In (3), *ʔama* indicates that the *ʔama*-introduced clause is a correction to the proposition communicated by the previous one. In (4), *ʔama* indicates that the *ʔama*-introduced clause is relevant as a denial of an expected implication (that the speaker was going to tell the reason why Selim Riahi was going to win the

elections). The implementation of the general procedure that ?ama encodes into one of these four meanings results from the hearer's combining linguistic content and accessible contextual assumptions. Further, the data analysis reveals that the role of ?ama is not to contribute to the truth conditional side of utterance interpretation, but to serve as an explicit linguistic marker that guides the hearer to achieve relevance. That is, to recover the interpretation intended by the speaker with the least processing effort.

Lexical and phonological development by Lebanese-Arabic-speaking children

Ghada Khattab (Newcastle University)

This study examines lexical and phonological development by Lebanese-Arabic-speaking children. Lebanese Arabic has been in contact with French and English for several decades, but the resulting impact on the degree of multilingualism in children's language development is understudied. In a rare study on the early expressive vocabulary of Lebanese children, overall vocabulary size of bilingual and monolingual Francophone children was found to be intriguingly larger than that of monolingual Arabophone children (Zablit and Trudeau, 2008), but no control for socio-economic status (SES) was applied. Given the suggested link between SES and vocabulary size on the one hand (Hart and Risley, 1995) and phonological development and vocabulary advance on the other (Vihman, 2009), this study set out to investigate sound and vocabulary acquisition in one 100 Lebanese children aged 1-3 and balanced for sex, religion and SES (parents' occupation and education, housing/environment, nursery attendance). The aim was to look at the relationship between children's emerging phonological system(s) and vocabulary, and to gauge the influence of multilingualism and SES. The children were recruited from Greater Beirut and recorded in half-hour spontaneous interactions with their caretakers. The speech of both children and mothers was transcribed using Phon. An examination of vocabulary size, consonant and vowel inventories, and target-like segment realization was carried out using mothers' input as the reference variety. Multilingualism was evident across all social backgrounds, but French use was higher in children of Christian families and of higher educated mothers. Segment frequency and accuracy shows high correlation with vocabulary size, supporting existing literature on this matter. When words from all three languages are included, age is the strongest predictor for vocabulary size, phonological inventory and segment accuracy. While mothers' education and nursery attendance contribute to segment accuracy, this study calls for a closer scrutiny of the presumed effect of SES on the quantity and richness of lexical development.

An exploratory study of MSA use in Arabic-speaking children with Autism Spectrum Disorders

Reem Khamis-Dakwar (Adelphi University), Hanan Asaad (Hanan Asaad clinic) and Iman Salam (Adelphi University)

Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) are neurodevelopmental disorders characterized by qualitative deficits in (1) social interaction, (2) communicative ability, and (3) restricted interests and repetitive behaviors (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The linguistic abilities of children with ASD show great heterogeneity, with some children presenting as nonverbal while others may be verbal but demonstrate varied patterns of language use. Most studies of ASD and bilingualism have focused on parent reports to investigate a range of topics, such as attitudes towards bilingualism (e.g., Hampton, Rabagliati, Sorace & Fletcher-Watson, 2017) or children's linguistic abilities (e.g., Reetzke, Zov, Sheng & Kastos, 2015). A growing number of studies are investigating social and linguistic abilities of children with ASD raised in bilingual versus monolingual settings (for review see Lund, Kohlmeier & Durán, 2017). These studies suggest that bilingual children with ASD do not show significantly greater delays in receptive-expressive language development than those raised in monolingual settings (Lund et al., 2017). Moreover, there could be benefits of bilingualism in ASD; for example with respect to vocabulary (Peterson, Marinove-Todd & Mirenda, 2012). One study, examining the pragmatic functions of code-switching in a child with ASD, even showed that there could be systematic use of codeswitching for different pragmatic functions – an unexpected finding for a set of disorders characterized in part by pragmatic deficits (Yu, 2016).

Similar investigations may be informative in Arabic, since the Arabic-speaking community is diglossic, integrating the use of spoken dialects and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Anecdotally, several parents and speech pathologists from different Arab countries have reported that Arabic-speaking children with ASD exhibit frequent use of MSA and/or atypical development of MSA prior to spoken Arabic. Such reports have been dismissed as cases of echolalia, but it may be that there is some enhanced accessibility of MSA for children with ASD in comparison to their spoken dialects. This could be due to MSA's unique social status as a formal language, typically learned through schooling, which therefore bypasses ASD's core deficits in social communication and interaction. To date, however, there have been no reported formal investigations into the use of MSA, and codeswitching between MSA and spoken dialects, in children with ASD in Arabic or other diglossic communities.

We present an exploratory analysis of MSA use and codeswitching in the daily interactions of a child aged 6 years with high-functioning ASD. We applied conversational analysis to explore pragmatic functions served by MSA in speech samples drawn from routine interactions with parents at home (breakfast, play), professionals in therapy (storytelling, guessing games, show and tell), and self-play (symbolic play).

Turn-taking, adjacency and repair analyses reveal that instances of MSA are not echolalic but are used mostly for self-talk and changes in participant roles. These findings suggest that children with ASD, like other members of diglossic speech communities, develop competence and use for all systems accessible to them, for different functions. For this particular child, MSA codeswitching may have an important part to play in adjacency and repair.

Language Game in Arabic Internet Memes

Alina Kucherenko (Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv)

In such multilingual communities as social networks, language is considered a means of self-expression and self-identification (Pütz, Robinson & Reif 2014). The phenomenon of language game can serve to achieve the aforementioned purpose. Since it enables the creativity (Sharp 2016), language game is frequently applied online and, in particular, to Internet memes. As Gawne & Vaughan (2011) note, memes imply the creative manipulation with a language. This paper deals with innovative linguistic means provided in Arabic memes. The author analyzes phonetic, graphic, lexical and semantic mechanisms of language game utilized on the web. In the present study, we also examine the sociolinguistic aspect of online language involving Modern Standard Arabic, Colloquial Arabic and Latinized Arabic (Arabizee).

A visual representation of Arabic script affords a myriad of options for the language creativity. As a semantic means, homographs are utilized in the juxtaposition of standard and colloquial forms of Arabic. Considering that colloquial Arabic is not officially recorded, there are no orthographic rules for colloquialisms. A colloquial word ‘water’ (mey) and a girl’s name ‘May’ are written similarly. However, obvious orthographic errors are used to create a comic effect: a missed letter l of the article al in a colloquial variant of a word ‘net’ (al-net) puts it in the same form as a pronoun inta (you); thus, a message ‘li-annū an-net ibnu-l-ḥarām’ (because the net is a bastard) is perceived as an offense ‘li-annū inta ibnu-l-ḥarām’ (because you are a bastard).

A series of memes ‘The Syrian Frog’ is based on punning (see Figure 1). A colloquialism ‘karmālak’ is used in the onomastic wordplay: ‘karmālak yā marām ḍarabū-nī wilādu-l-ḥarām’ (because of you, Maram, some bastards beat me up). In the pun ‘karmālak yā bent širt dahḥin kENT’ (because of you, girl, I started smoking kENT) the wordplay is conjugated to the graphic play. The word ‘kENT’ is typed in the Latin script with an enlarged ending ‘ENT’ to emphasize the rhyme ‘bent – kent’. Graphic means involve removed spaces between words: ‘šnūrāyakhbīh’ (what do you think about it) when asked to tell an opinion in one word.

Nonce words may appear as a result of a morphological play in the Internet slang: a noun ‘ḥamrana’ (stupidity) from ‘ḥimār’ (donkey) (see Figure 2), ‘sarbaza’ (a verb ‘surprise’) from a loan-word ‘surbrāyz’ (a noun ‘surprise’) and other.

Onomatopoeia is also utilized: ‘bīf bāf’ (bang bang) instead of a word ‘qatl’ (killing) with an irrelevant modifier ‘lāsilkiy’ (wireless) creates a humorous effect (see Figure 3).

The provided herein study indicates that the language game in Arabic memes is represented with various lexical, semantic, graphic and other means which can be frequently mixed. The language of the examined samples reflects the peculiarities of colloquial Arabic and the Internet slang. It is expressed with nonce words based on the linguistic interference, the usage of obscene lexicon, rethinking of traditional idioms, etc. envisioned in the language game. Many aspects (sociolinguistic, linguo-semiotic, communicative, etc.) need the further investigation of Arabic language varieties on the Internet.

Figure 1. The Syrian Frog meme using the *karmālak* pattern.



Retrieved

from:

<https://www.facebook.com/Syrianfrog/photos/a.815690045219184.1073741826.815684391886416/1468761059912076/?type=3&theater>

Translation: Because of you, Maram, some bastards beat me up.

Figure 2. Meme using a nonce word.



Retrieved

from:

<https://www.facebook.com/syria.hajez/photos/a.562175523895551.1073741829.559036830876087/1526498524129908/?type=3&theater>

Translation: An effective anti-stupidity [cure].

Figure 3. Meme using an onomatopoeia.



Retrieved

from:

<https://www.facebook.com/682668528504939/photos/a.749610491810742.1073741829.682668528504939/1390696294368822/?type=3&theater>

Translation:

- Honey, I am so scared.
- Why, sweetheart?!
- There is a cockroach in the room, and I am at home at the moment.
- Turn on the speaker, let this animal hear my voice and die.

Yes, gentlemen. We represent you a wireless bang bang.

The indefinite marker /fard/ in the Arabic Dialects of Iraq and Khuzestan

Bettina Leitner (University of Vienna) and Stephan Procházka (University of Vienna)

One of the few striking features that is shared by all layers of Iraqi Arabic including the varieties spoken in the Iranian province of Khuzestan (Ingham 2007: 575) and in Central Asia (Seeger 2013: 314, 316) is a reflex of the noun *fard* ‘individual’, which is used to mark indefiniteness (Jastrow 2007: 419–420). Its usage in Iraq is already documented for the 14th century (Levin 1975: 271–272) and seems to be an areal feature that shows similarities to the Turkish, Persian and Neo-Aramaic system of indefiniteness marking (Blanc 1964: 119; Ingham 1994: 109–110).

In Baghdadi Arabic *fadd* occurs in combination with singular, dual, and plural nouns as well as with some other items such as *šī* ‘something’ and *šwayya* ‘(a) little’ (cf. Erwin 1963: 355–358). In the first case it often corresponds to the English indefinite article *a/an*, e.g. *‘indak fadd qalam zāyid?’* ‘Do you have an extra pen?’ (Erwin 1963: 355).

However, indefiniteness is not always marked by /*fard*/ but can be expressed by the unmarked noun alone, e.g. *kitabnā-la maktūb.* ‘We wrote a letter to him.’, and *tzawwağ ibnayya abūha zangīn.* ‘He married a girl whose father is rich.’ (Iraqi Arabic).

In spite of being a prominent feature that is mentioned in all grammars on Iraqi Arabic, there is no in-depth study investigating the exact functions of /*fard*/, particularly the contrast between unmarked and marked nouns. Where the subject is treated (e.g. Edzard 2006: 189) the authors mainly rely on the concise remarks in Blanc (1964: 118–119) who already mentioned that the “details of usage are obviously complex”. In the Arabic varieties investigated by us the use of the indefinite marker is optional and conditioned by several factors, one of them being the discourse prominence of the referent. Above all, /*fard*/ seems to have a cataphoric function, i.e. it often occurs when a newly introduced indefinite noun continues to be mentioned in the subsequent discourse (see also Dryer 2013).

However, under certain circumstances /*fard*/ may also be used to express singularity, less emphatic than by using the cardinal number ‘one’ but more specific than with a completely unmarked noun (cf. Abu-Haidar 1991: 111), e.g. *w-aḍbaḥ-le farəd diğāğē* ‘And I kill a chicken for him [i.e. the sultan].’ (Khuzestan Arabic, own data).

Our paper aims at shedding more light on the mechanisms underlying the presence or absence of the indefinite marker /*fard*/ by analysing two corpora (one urban, one rural) of Iraqi and one corpus of Khuzestani Arabic. The data extracted from the corpora will be complemented by elicited data from native speakers.

How and why to test lexicon in LADO for Arabic

Christopher Lucas (SOAS, University of London) and Hanadi Ismail (SOAS, University of London)

Growing interest in LADO (language analysis for the determination of origin) for Arabic (Detaillieur 2010; Lucas 2016; Spotti 2016; Rosenhouse 2017), prompts the research presented here into the viability of new, lexically-based approaches to the problem.

In international law “the burden of substantiating a claim lies with the [asylum] claimant, who must establish [...] that they qualify for international protection” (UK Home Office 2015). It is therefore curious that, with LADO, governments typically themselves assume the burden of finding linguistic evidence that a claim is fraudulent, especially given the known pitfalls of this approach (Patrick 2012). The ideal LADO test would instead offer genuine claimants a means of providing credible linguistic evidence for their claim, while denying fraudulent claimants this possibility. Here we provide theoretical and empirical evidence that a suitably-designed lexical elicitation test can achieve this desideratum.

The theoretical justification centres on the notions of FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE and DEGREE OF IMITABILITY. All utterances in a given dialect provide evidence of the phonological and morphosyntactic rules of that dialect. Such features are highly frequent in this sense, so it is possible in principle – though difficult – for a skillful imitator to reproduce them, and they are therefore useful only for revealing poor imitators. The risk of reliance on features of this kind is that the analyst mistakes unfamiliar native variation for poor imitation. We suggest, therefore, that scrutiny of such features in spontaneous speech should be complemented by elicitation of lower-frequency elements. Most content words fall into this category. For example, plum(s) occurs ~4 times/million words in the British National Corpus, whereas now occurs roughly 350 times more often. Elicitation of, e.g., halla? for ‘now’ is therefore worth little in establishing the veracity of someone’s claim to come from Damascus. But elicitation of multiple Damascene terms approximately as (in)frequent as xōx ‘plums’ is worth far more. Lexical items are, given exposure, much easier to imitate than phonology. But without (sufficient) exposure, their successful imitation is impossible.

To what extent native-like content words can be elicited from Arabic speakers in a non-native dialect is an empirical question, which our ongoing research addresses as follows. Native Arabic speakers of known origin, who have been resident in London for at least one year, are asked to name images depicting 45 meanings known to be lexicalized differently in different dialects of Arabic (Behnstedt & Woidich 2010–2014; BW). They are then asked to name a relevant subset of those images in the dialect of a country of their choosing. We aim to collect this data from approximately 100 participants. As of February 2018, we have data from 14 non-Syrians who attempted the Syrian subset, and 4 non-Iraqis who attempted the Iraqi subset. The former group supplied an item that accorded with BW-based expectations in 90% of their answers to the 45-item test on average, and 51% on average for the subset. The latter group’s figures were 88% and 35%, respectively.

**Media narratives around the « fake news » issue on the recent Gulf Crisis : a Corpus
Semantic analysis of the conflict representations in the Arab media sphere**
Nadia Makouar (INALCO)

Since June 2016, the Gulf region faces an unprecedented diplomatic crisis that has spread to the world media and social networks. Indeed, Qatar has been isolated diplomatically and economically by Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Bahreïn and Egypt and several articles in Arab media questioned the spread of « fake news » and its responsibility in this crisis.

We assume that many arguments (especially political and religious ones) resonate between media through various expressions. In that perspective, our study aims to : i) highlight the different types of arguments put forward by the media in favour or disfavour of Qatar's isolation and ii) to observe the emergence of terminological and semantical neologisms, as well as lexical loans regarding the « fake news » issue in Arabic language. Many studies have showed that media are at the crossroads of contradictory « tensions » that build language by maintaining norms and taking into account lexical and phraseological evolutions.

Our corpus consists of news articles in Arabic from :

Al-Masry al-Youm, Al-Ahram (Egypt)
Al-Wasat (Bahreïn)
Al-Sharq al-Awsat, Al-Arabiya (Saudi Arabia)
Al-Jazeera (Qatar)

We will use Corpus Semantics (a combination of the interpretative semantics theory and corpus linguistics tools) as a theoretical framework in order to analyse and compared the texts. Interpretative semantics, founded by François Rastier (French linguist, CNRS) is a structural approach to language. It focuses on constraints on language and its use in the text considered for establishing different levels of readings. It emphasises the notion of difference in the context of the signified (or content of a sign). The theory states that no text is only written “in a language”: it is written in a genre within a discourse, obviously taking into account language constraints. Corpus semantics can identify regularities and differences in a corpus; a process that can be longer and more difficult with a linear reading. Statistical calculations integrated in Lexico 3 software (corpus analysis tool designed by SYLED team, Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle) contain many features, such as concordances and statistical calculations. The software can also help target exploration by the identification of language elements. The textometry tool brings out regularities and disparities between texts and investigates “language facts” and compares them in each corpora. Through specificity calculations (hypergeometric test), co-occurrences, and concordances, the tool could confirm or invalidate assumptions that justify corpus building. The statistical results can help in the identification and exploration of language ideologies within corpora. The approach therefore consists of a contrastive analysis of corpus. Thanks to this process, the sense of a unit comes up in contrast with other units.

After a brief explanation of the regional context, we will justify the choice of the corpora. Then we will explain the Corpus Semantics theory for media analysis and his potential to bring out the complexity of media narratives and ideologies. Finally we will show the discursive strategies by proposing a first map of the different position-taking of Arab media regarding this crisis.

Arabic in LADO: UK asylum applications of Syrian refugees

Yaron Matras (The University of Manchester)

The paper examines current LADO (language analysis for the determination of origin) practice as documented in a sample of recent reports that assess the Arabic speech of Syrian asylum seekers. The corpus includes around thirty reports in cases in which the Home Office rejected the applicants' narrative on the basis of the language analysis, and the original audio recordings on which those reports were based. In a number of cases I have also had access to court decisions made in response to an appeal by the applicants. The discussion is framed in light of critical discussion of LADO practice (Blommaert 2009, Eades 2005) and recent work, which, with special reference to Arabic, pointed out the need to take complex repertoires into consideration (Rosenhouse 2017, Spotti 2016). I first examine the report structure and procedure. I then consider issues of data contextualisation such as the localisation of variants, in particular with reference to potential free variation and style shifting. Attention is finally given to seemingly inconsistent patterns, where the LADO reports suggest that speakers are mixing, usually, Syrian and Egyptian features. I show the importance of repetitions, self-repairs and hypercorrections need to be taken into consideration

I show how a method that purports to ensure transparency of data and contextualisation of the analysis in published research presents certain problems by framing the question of linguistic background as two juxtaposed hypotheses. I suggest that this approach risks biasing the results by excluding the possibility that speech can be varied and multi-layered. At the same time, points of concern around LADO procedures raised by researchers, such as analysts' inadequate qualifications and failure to take variation into account, are resonating with the judicial system via arguments presented in counter-expertise reports. I conclude by introducing an inductive approach to language analysis that draws on a holistic dialect-geographical assessment while giving consideration to sociolinguistic and discourse analytical dimensions.

Manīš nfadlak! The use of “nominal” negation with Tunisian verbs
Karen McNeil (Georgetown University)

In Arabic we commonly teach our students that one form of negation (verbal negation) is used when negating verbs and a different form (nominal negation) is used when negating non-verbal predicates, such as nouns and adjectives. However, in Tunisian Arabic nominal negation is used quite regularly in verbal sentences. In this study, I used a one-million-word corpus of Tunisian Arabic to examine how often nominal negation is used in verbal sentences, and in what contexts. I discovered that 11% of nominal negation forms appeared with verbs, and that this usage was often related to the aspect of the sentence: sentences that were progressive in meaning—even if not explicitly marked—were negated with nominal negation. In this way, nominal negation itself functions as a marker of the progressive aspect.

Blend formation tendencies, from English to Arabic

Ekhlas Mohsin (Newcastle University)

Blending in English is one of the widely applied and recognized means of forming new lexemes. Blends are generally formed by joining two, or more, other existing words in a way where at least one of them is shortened (Algeo 1991: 10), for instance, brunch is formed from breakfast and lunch, slanguage from slang and language, and chortle from chuckle and snort (Algeo 1977: 49). There are general tendencies for blend formation in English, for instance: 1) the biggest proportion of graphemic/phonemic contribution is from the shortest source word, and 2) the cut-off point in the source words occurs at syllable boundaries or at syllabic constituents.

The main research question for this study is: Can the English blend formation tendencies account for blending in Arabic?

The blend formation tendencies in Arabic will be arrived at from investigating the structure of existing Arabic blends. To achieve this aim, all attested Arabic blends will be analysed to arrive at the blend formation tendencies in Arabic. Examples of Classical Arabic blends are *ʿabsham*(iy) ‘someone belongs to the family of *ʿabdi shams*’ < *ʿabd shams* ‘a famous name for an Arab tribe by the 6th Century AD’, and *jalmad* ‘rock’ < *jald* ‘hard’ and *jumd* ‘solid’, and *rakmaj* ‘surfing’ < *rakab* ‘rode’ and *mawj* ‘wave’. There is a general tendency for Arabic blends to be formed by joining the first two root letters from the source words which assumes the vocalic pattern CaC.CaC, whether nominal or verbal ('Al-Shihābi 1959: 546; 'Al-Mūsā 1966: 65-7; 'Al-Farāhīdi 1988: 60).

A survey has been designed to collect data for this study. Arab native speakers were asked to form blends from a list of word pairs. The invented blends were analyzed according to the prevailing English blend formation tendencies mentioned above to find out if there are any points of convergence between them. The primary results showed that there was a general tendency for the shortest source word to be the bigger contributor to the blend and that the cut-off point to be between the onset and rime of the only/ first syllable or at syllable boundary in disyllabic words. Since no detailed linguistic study has investigated in depth the structure of Arabic blends, the results of this study may contribute to understanding the structure of Arabic blends in particular and of Arabic words in general.

Non-word repetition tasks as a screening tool for Language Impairment: Effects of non-word items, age and exposure patterns in typically developing Arabic–Swedish speaking bilinguals (4–7)

Linnéa Öberg (Uppsala University), Rima Haddad (Uppsala University) and Ute Bohnacker (Uppsala University)

Bilingualism is steadily increasing in Sweden, and Arabic is one of the most widely spoken languages. Despite this, the language characteristics of Arabic and Swedish speaking children are still largely unknown. At the same time, there is great confusion about what should be considered ‘typical’ bilingual language development relative to Language Impairment (LI).

Non-Word Repetition (NWR) requires the child to repeat a series of phonological nonsense forms. NWR is a potentially reliable method of screening for LI in bilinguals with limited exposure to one language, since performance on NWR tasks is less dependent on language proficiency than other language tasks such as sentence repetition (Thordardottir & Brandeker, 2013) and vocabulary (Thordardottir, 2011). At the same time, some evidence suggests that children are better at repeating non-words that share the phonological rules of real words in their language. Chiat & Roy (2007) found that prosodically structured non-words with complex segmental structure were particularly accurate at separating children with LI from their typically developing peers in English speaking children aged 2;6–4. They also found effects of length, with more errors present with increasing item length. However, lexico- phonological features manifest differently in different languages. Therefore, comparisons between languages regarding which types of non-word test items do best identify LI is needed. Cross-linguistic non-words provide an opportunity to test children’s performance on a similar set of non-word items across a range of typologically different languages (Chiat, 2015).

In our talk, we will present some work in progress regarding different sets of NWR tasks in Arabic–Swedish speaking bilinguals age 4–7 years ($n \approx 100$) with typical language development. Four different sets of non-words are being used, varying in item length, segmental complexity, and word stress patterns. The first set of non-words contains items of 2–5 syllables with language specific properties pertaining to Swedish phonology, including complex segmental structure, variable word stress, and low frequency phonemes (Radeborg, Barthelom, Sjöberg, & Sahlén, 2006). The second set of items contains 1–3 syllables targeting segmental complexity, and consists of phonemes adapted to Lebanese Arabic (dos Santos & Ferré, 2016). The two last tasks used are the Swedish and the Arabic versions of the crosslinguistic LITMUS non-word repetition task, containing items of 2–5 syllables with simple segmental structure and quasi-neutral prosody (Chiat, 2015). For all of these different sets of non-words, we will look at effects of age and exposure to Swedish and Arabic respectively. The aim is to collect reference data for a large group of children with typical language development, in order to be able to compare the performance on these different NWR tasks to children with diagnosed LI.

Moroccan Rappers and Street-Conscious Language: Comparing Casual Speech to Performance

Sarah Schwartz (The University of Texas at Austin)

This study seeks to understand what constitutes “street-conscious” language in Moroccan Hip-Hop: is the language of the streets localized or does it level to a pan-urban Moroccan standard (Miller 2012)? Following Alim’s (2003) study on the construction of a street-conscious identity in American rap, as well as my prior work on Moroccan rappers’ usage of geographically marked variants of the phoneme /t/, this study compares the production of a marked phonetic variable in both casual speech and performance speech to determine whether they lean more heavily on their local dialect or if they level to a standard Moroccan koine.

Alim (2003) claims that American rappers consciously cultivate a “street style” in their lyrics in order to maintain credibility within the African-American community. He compares the usage of copula deletion in lyrics from and interviews with rappers Eve and Juvenile, and finds that there is a significant increase in the usage of copula deletion in the rappers’ lyrics, compared to the rappers’ speech in interviews. Essentially, the rappers were engaging in referee design (Bell 2001) in their lyrics to express solidarity with the African American community. I argue that the concept of street language is just as important to the Moroccan Hip-Hop community – most of the informants in this study describe the language of rap as *lughat az-zenqa*, the language of the streets. But what does this mean? One could argue that a pan-urban street culture exists in Moroccan rap: it rap began in the 1990’s strictly localized to individual cities, but following the liberalization of the media in the early 2000’s the Moroccan rap scene became more globalized (Caubet and Hamma 2016: 26), and the Casablancon dialect is increasingly representative of a broadly urban Moroccan koine (Miller 2012: 11). On the other hand, my interviews with Moroccan rappers have yielded one non-Casablancon who claims to sound “more Casablancon”, some who fervently deny this, and one who claimed that Moroccan rappers may intentionally exaggerate their local dialectal features to “rep” their cities.

This study is an expansion of a previous case study I conducted of Casablancon, Slaoui, and Meknassi rappers, in which I focused on the realization of the phoneme /t/ (a geographically marked variable in Moroccan Arabic) in casual speech alone, and found that the rappers maintained their local pronunciations – with the Casablancon and the Slaoui producing the local [tʃ] and the Meknassis producing the local [ts]. While that study focused on geographical location as a factor in pronunciation, this study incorporates geographical location as well as speech type – casual speech versus performance speech – in a sociophonetic study of affricated realizations of /t/, focusing on spectral moments and temporal measurements. Analysis is based on four hours of data collected during field trips in Morocco between 2016 and 2018, as well as music videos collected from YouTube. Comparing the realization of this phoneme in casual speech to that in performance speech should indicate whether these rappers perform *az-zenqa* in their rap as a localized space or as a globalized space.

Beyond Essentialist Ideals and Binary Confinements: Translation as a Queer Encounter

Roula Seghaier (Intersectional Knowledge Publishers)

Translation is either governed by professionalism, or less frequently, by specialization. In a time when globalization processes take place through mainstreaming gender in academic institutions and NGOs, or by activists struggling to gain a foothold on respectability, neither professionalism nor specialization challenge the imported notions governed by the binary frameworks of West/East, authentic/inauthentic, or heterosexual/homosexual, simultaneously falling short from challenging Arabic as a gendered language. Loyalty to the “original” text remains core to any translation effort, thereby creating instances of complicity with inaccurate frameworks and neoliberal agendas, at times recreating the same discursive reasons contributing to gender injustice and the oppression of queers in the Arabic speaking regions. The problematic of translating works around gender and sexuality to Arabic is thus two-fold: It imports decontextual notions ahistorically on one hand sous-pretext of loyalty to the original semiotics, and it further burdens the terminology due to the seemingly unescapable gendered nature of the Arabic language.

Disclosing my positionality in the academe and the ways in which global and local feminisms influence knowledge production in Arabic and focusing on empirical translation data, this paper explores the practice of translating works related to body and gender research to Arabic. It envisions the possibilities of non-homogenous communities’ recreation of language, asserting that “loyal” translation falls into essentialist traps. Language is never innocent, and neither is translation. Building on previous works on queering translation, this paper considers the act of translation as a queer encounter between a confined symbolism and multitudes of possibilities, whereby “encounter” itself, as suggests Sara Ahmad, is methodology.

The paper asks how can Arabic translation benefit from transnational feminisms and decolonial theory, and whether it can be a tool of ideological reconfiguration. To that extent, the paper is divided into three main sections exploring the grand theoretical dilemmas or instances of complicity in translating gender and sexuality materials to Arabic. First, it explores the loaded potentials of gender-mainstreaming at a time of globalization, and the ways in which violence is diluted when translation parachutes a historical configuration into an alien context. Second, it explores the ways in which identity politics and the politics of representation are reductive and reproduce ahistorical notions preserving the status quo on who gets to speak, or what knowledge is “worthy of knowing” at times, and discourses of purity in terms of authentic voices at others. Finally, the paper closes on a note on the politics of respectability found in literary Arabic and how they play out in a context of multitudes of different dialects, that perhaps provide a window of opportunity for reclaiming terminologies away from the elitism of the academe.

Translation plays a role of ideological reconfiguration, as the act of translation is not tasked with mere reproduction, but rather is an engine for the creation of value. I conclude with lessons learned from the vulnerability that comes with queer translation, and the ways in which giving up the standard of objectivity, professionalism, and even specialization, is an act of feminist dissent.

When language doesn't meet religion: Language Transitions among the Christian, Arabic-speaking, Lebanese community in Israel

Ori Shachmon (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

This paper discusses a unique constellation, in which an Arabic-speaking Christian community copes with an increasing language gap, which drives it into writing its liturgical texts - originally in both Classical and colloquial Lebanese Arabic - in vocalized Hebrew letters.

The community discussed consists of former soldiers of the "South Lebanon Army" (hereafter: SLA), who have taken refuge in Israel with their families since the year 2000. They are all native Arabic speakers, a language which they prefer to call "Lebanese", implying their view of it as an independent language. Due to the circumstances of their arrival in Israel, following many years of collaboration with the Israeli army against the Palestine Liberation Organization, they were not welcome into Arabic speaking communities in Israel, and therefore settled in Jewish cities. Their children thus attend Hebrew-speaking schools, where they gain full command of the Hebrew language. And so, while they continue to speak Arabic, they are not taught to read and write in it, and are in effect incapable of doing so.

The great majority of the SLAs are Maronite Christians, yet now, the ever increasing language gap affect their children's ability to take active part in religious activities at church, which are still held in Arabic. Seeking measures to bridge the gap, the community - supported by Lebanese clergymen - has been experimenting with various solutions, among which are recurring attempts to transliterate the liturgical Arabic texts into vocalized Hebrew letters. In their new format, these texts are more accessible to the children, who can now follow the ceremony in Church, and also prepare for it in advance. In addition, semi-liturgical texts in colloquial Lebanese Arabic are also transliterated, using Hebrew letters. The result of all these attempts is a fascinating series of hybrid texts, which, while striving to remain close to the actual pronunciation, exhibit much incoherence, frequent alternations and deviations from the Classical case system.

Although Arabic and Hebrew are two Semitic languages, both using consonantal alphabet, the transition between them forces the writer to make conscious decisions and choices, as, for example, in the case of the tanwīn or the representation of Auslauts. Most interestingly, several spelling inconsistencies may be traced to the interference of the spoken Lebanese dialect. Prominent examples are the treatment of OA qāf, and its rendering as either ק or כ, or the refection of forms pronounced with ə, the central reduced vowel which results from the merger of OA i and u in some Lebanese dialects.

In my talk I will present and analyze samples of such transliterated Classical and colloquial Arabic texts. I will demonstrate their unique orthography, point out various types of interfering elements, examine the influence of normative Hebrew spelling, and discuss several colloquial features, which may be traced even in the most classical and canonical texts, such as The Lord's prayer. A broader view will also be offered, to show that - despite the apparent switch to Hebrew - it is the Arabic language that is conceived - and employed - as means to strengthen the sense of religious identity and communal affiliation.

The use of the verb to say in Jordanian Arabic context

Eqab Shawashreh (Yarmouk University), Marwan Jarrah (University of Jordan) and Malik Zuraikat (Yarmouk University)

Grammaticalization of speech verbs has received much attention in many languages (see, e.g., Bybee 2002; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Traugott 2010; Traugott & Heine 1991). The quotative verb ‘to say’ has been reported to grammaticalize as a modal or stance marker (Aikhenvald 2004, 2011; Cruschina 2015; Deutscher 2011; Hsieh 2012; Onodera 2011; Wang et al. 2003), as well as a complementizer (Hopper & Traugott 2003; Hsieh 2012; Miller 2000; Saxena 1988). Inspection of related literature, though, demonstrates clearly that grammaticalization of these verbs is accorded sparse attention in Arabic varieties (Jarad 2014; Miller 2000). To bridge this gap, this research investigates the functions of the grammaticalized forms of the verb *yaqul* ‘to say’ in Jordanian Arabic discourse.

Relying on 250,000-word corpus collected by Jordanian Arabic speakers, we argue that some forms of the verb to say, i.e. *qaal*, in Arabic may be used as a hear-say evidentiality particle as well as an epistemic marker as is shown in (1-2) respectively. We also provide evidence that a specific grammaticalized form of *qaal* may be used as a modal particle that expresses the speaker’s grudge towards the propositional content of the accompanying utterance as in (3). Within this use, *qaal* appears typically at the end of the utterance.

(1)
 Biquul-u fiih ijtimaa’ bi-lmidrasah youm ilkhamiis
 Say-3PL is meeting in-the school day Thursday
 ‘It is reported that there is/will be a meeting in the school on Thursday.’ (JAC/9/15:10)

(2)
 Ana baquul lmaal ‘umruh maa rabaT insaan
 I say money never NEG forbid human
 ‘I think (that) money has never forbidden any human.’ (JAC/2/17:20)

(3)
 Talab ‘ashar leiraat ‘ashuxul saa’ah qaal
 Ordered ten dinars work hour say-3SGMAS
 ‘To my derision, he wanted ten dinars for a one-hour work!’ (JAC/54/13:17)

Additionally, we provide evidence to the effect that a grammaticalized form of the verb to say, *qaal*, is developed to function as a main clause complementizer as in (4); *qaal* introduces declarative clauses and is disallowed to introduce other sentence (i.e. force) types, including interrogative, imperative and exclamative.

(4)
 Qaal bukraH l-jaw raH-ykuun Hilu kteer
 Comp/that tomorrow the-weather will-be nice much
 ‘The weather will be very nice tomorrow.’ (Literally, that the weather will be very nice tomorrow.’ (JAC/22/39:13)

We suggest that there are two forces that lead to the grammaticalization of the speech verb in JA. On the one hand, it is the force of morpho-syntactic reanalysis that leads to the grammaticalization of the speech verb into a complementizer where the verb *yquul* is phonetically reduced to a fixed form, *qaal*, that is not inflected to the argument structure of the utterance. It loses its lexical content as a speech verb and is used to introduce main clauses. On the other hand, it is (inter)subjectification force that leads to the semantic extension of the speech verb in JA from a verb that denotes speech acts to denoting abstract mental state where the speaker can both report information and add his/her subjective judgements or evaluation of the reported information.

Stylistically Vowel-Rounding in “Bo7rain”

Navdeep Sokhey (The University of Texas at Austin)

Social factors that contribute to identity-making have performative power, allowing their meanings to be constantly re-negotiated moment-to-moment by speakers and listeners alike (Eckert 1989, Bauman 2000, Butler 2010). The assignment of certain social values to linguistic features is thus often interaction-specific (Eckert 2008, Sharma and Rampton 2011, 2015). To date, few sociolinguistic studies within Arabic explore stylistic variation based on interaction type, and no work of this nature exists within the literatures surrounding the dialects of Bahrain. This paper examines the variation of vowel-rounding, namely of the long vowel alif [aa] → [ɔɔ], in the speech of Bahraini university-aged speakers when interacting with other Bahraini interlocutors of various perceived communal and socioeconomic backgrounds. Previously, this feature was noted to be a regional marker of the old Bahraini city of Muharraq and exhibited mainly in the speech of Muharraqi women (Holes 1987, 2015). It has also been observed to be a feature of the socially dominant dialect of Sunni Bahrainis and is present among a number of school children of both Bahraini (Sunni) and Bahraani (Shiite) backgrounds (Al-Qouz 2009). However, the complex usage of this feature in daily interactions is left uninvestigated. This paper thus examines the process of meaning-making via adoption of the saliently Muharraqi rounded /aa/ variant by speakers from various regions and ethnic communities within Bahrain.

The present study traces the social life of vowel-rounding in present-day city dwellers of Bahrain via two main experiments. The first experiment involves an elicitation task which targets production of token words containing the long-vowel /aa/ across multiple speakers of Bahraini (Sunni) and Bahraani (Shiite) backgrounds. Participants listened to 60 short, “yes or no” questions produced in either a Bahraini or Bahraani dialect, each sentence containing one test word with either a rounded or unrounded /aa/. Upon hearing each question once, participants responded by restating the entire question, thus reproducing the target tokens containing the /aa/ vowel, alongside other phonetic markers of communal affiliation (i.e. Bahraini or Bahraani), further testing for patterns of accommodation towards any particular community. The second, matched-guise experiment selected 30 of the naturalistically produced responses by various participants from the first elicitation task, and utilized them in a further perception survey. This survey asked a new set of participants to listen to each speaker and provide their social evaluations based on a set of qualifiers using a 6-point scale.

The current implications suggest that rounded /aa/ holds prestige values demonstrating “authenticity” and “feminineness,” while at the same time is stigmatized as a feature of “heavily accented” or unrefined speech. Separating out interactional and interlocutor type alongside communal identity deconfounds these seemingly paradoxical social valuations. This study not only sheds light on the process of identity-making in the context of present-day Bahrain, but also encourages the use of an interactional, stylistic approach to gaining a more comprehensive picture of meaning-making within a particular language community.

**Rhetorical Structure of the Methods Section in English and Arabic Research Articles: A
contrastive genre analysis**

Ahmad Tawalbeh (University of Huddersfield)

Genre analysts have conducted contrastive studies on research articles (henceforth RAs) written in different languages giving primary attention to the introduction section. The Methods section has not been given similar attention although it is an essential part of empirical RAs. There are no contrastive studies, to the best of my knowledge, which have dealt with the Methods section of Arabic and English RAs. This study, therefore, aims at showing the cross-cultural similarities and differences in the rhetorical structures (i.e. moves and step, Swales, 1981-2004) of the Methods section in Educational RAs written in English and Arabic. The linguistic devices that realize these rhetorical features will be described. This study also aims to identify the presupposition about what the reader already knows. To achieve these goals, two sets of English and Arabic Method sections in the field of Curricula and Methods of Instruction were analyzed. Each set consists of 30 Method sections selected from RAs in prestigious English and Arabic journals. To identify the rhetorical features, the Method sections of these RAs were analyzed using Swales' (1990) move analysis approach and bottom-up processing. This type of processing was used in combination with Schema theory (i.e. schematic knowledge of the world) to identify the presupposed shared knowledge between writers and readers. The results show some differences in the steps of the English and Arabic Methods and in identifying the assumed shared knowledge. This study provides insights about English and Arabic academic cultures and how they differ.

Linguistic Representations and Dialect Contact: the Palestinian Refugees in Beirut

Nina van Kampen (INALCO)

While linguistic practices can be measured by analysing speech, representations can only be discovered from an analysis of speakers' (metalinguistic) discourse. These representations are important in the study of language contact, as they underlie linguistic practices. Thus, linguistic representations play a fundamental role in the construction of language, as well as in the construction of social identity.

This paper discusses the linguistic representations in relation to Lebanese- Palestinian Arabic dialect contact in Beirut. More specifically, it explores how Palestinian refugees in Beirut perceive linguistic variation. How do they perceive their own - individual or collective - linguistic variety, and what are the linguistic representations of the (Lebanese) 'other'? In addition, the study addresses speakers' attitudes towards linguistic accommodation and leveling. Drawing on research considering sociolinguistic variation as a social practice rather than as a structure and emphasising the agency of speakers in constructing their own identities (Eckert 2000; 2012), the paper seeks to understand the "meaning of the variants to those who use it" (Hachimi 2005: 4) and the role of linguistic representations in constructing identity.

The data is comprised of sociolinguistic semi-structured interviews and spontaneous conversations collected in January 2018 from Palestinian refugees in Beirut. Metalinguistic talk formed a major part of these recordings. Most of the interviewees, both men and women from different age groups, were Palestinians living in the Chatila or Burj al-Barajneh refugee camps. In addition, some Palestinians living outside of the camps were interviewed.

The Palestinian refugees' issue has been extensively studied by social scientists over the past decades, paying attention to its legal, historical and geographical aspects (Sayigh 1994; Dorai 2006; Puig 2014). However, its linguistic dimension has been examined only very briefly (Hennessey 2011). This paper is part of a larger doctoral study focusing on this linguistic dimension. Looking at the linguistic variation induced by contact between Palestinian Arabic and Lebanese Arabic, the project explores the interaction between internal and extra-linguistic factors in explaining linguistic accommodation.

The analysis of linguistic representations in this context shows linguistic variation from speakers' perspectives. In addition to demonstrating stereotypes attached to 'Palestinian' and 'Lebanese' Arabic, it gives an insight into speakers' perception of concepts such as authenticity and masculinity or femininity in speech. Furthermore, it shows the influence of forced migration, conflict, marginalisation and social segregation on speakers' linguistic representations and attitudes, and reveals how these representations construct individual, ingroup and out-group identity.

A Historical Account of the Restructuring of the Urban Arabic Verb

Marijn van Putten (Leiden University)

The Classical Arabic verbal system, with its alternation of vowels between the perfect and imperfect, closely resembles other Semitic languages. Verbs with a thematic vowel a in the perfect have a vowel u or i (and next to gutturals, a) in the imperfect, whereas those with a thematic vowel i have a in the imperfect. These two groups are largely distributed along semantic lines, where the former group contains dynamic verbs while the latter mostly contains stative/medial verbs. As shown by Holes (2004: 125-9), the Egypto-Levantine city dialects show a significantly different verbal system, where the dynamic versus stative/medial distinction is further expanded and verbs that appear to belong to the ‘wrong’ category in Classical Arabic are assigned to the correct type, hence yielding Cairene *ʕamal* ‘make’ (CAR. *ʕamila*) and Cairene *sikit* ‘be silent’ (CAR. *sakata*).

This accounts for many of the disagreements of the perfect vowels in Cairene and many Levantine dialects, but it does not account for the reconfiguration of the imperfect stem. Where the i-perfect in Classical Arabic could only have an a-imperfect, in the Egypto-Levantine city dialects it can have all three vowels: *liʕib/yiʕlab* ‘play’; *sikit/yiskut* ‘be silent’; *nizil/yinzil* ‘descend’ (forms taken from Hinds & Badawi 1986). These exceptions are not accounted for in the current model. Moreover, the suggestion that the distinction between a/i/u-imperfections is conditioned by emphatic consonants appears to be incorrect: the vast majority of emphatic a-perfects have an u-imperfect (e.g. *rabatʔ/yirbuʔ* ‘tie’, *ʔaraʕ/yiʔruʕ* ‘sting’, etc.) whereas only a tiny minority of the emphatic a-perfects have an a-imperfect (e.g. *xatʔaf/yixʔaf* ‘grab’).

No explanation as to why dialects like Cairene have reconfigured their verbal systems to match a- and i-perfects with a-, i- and u- imperfections has yet been proposed. This paper re-examines the data from Cairene Arabic and proposes a new model: The i-perfects that have i- and u-imperfections were originally a-perfects, and (non-guttural) a-perfects with a-imperfections were originally i-perfects; The original imperfect vowels have simply been retained. Moreover, the paper shows that this model of reconfiguration can be used to explain the system of other Egypto-Levantine city dialects and that traces of it can be found in pre-Hilali Maghrebi dialects. As such, this reconfiguration can be seen as an important morphological innovation of this dialect bundle.

Adjectives and Optional Definite Marking in Maltese

Lindley Winchester (Georgetown University)

This paper argues that optional secondary definite marking in Maltese is an example of definite determiner spreading (DDS), which has been described for languages such as Greek and Swedish (cf. Alexiadou & Wilder 1998; Campos & Stavrou 2004; Alexiadou 2005, 2006; Leu 2007). Through this approach, the paper accounts for the distinct patterning of adjectives in regards to this phenomenon and its contrastive effect (cf. Plank & Moravcsik 1996; Fabri 2001; and Gatt 2017).

In Maltese, definite DPs display both an obligatory and secondary definite marker. While the obligatory definite marker appears prefixed to nouns or the leftmost element of the DP (to the exclusion of demonstratives), the secondary definite marker appears only on attributive adjectives. This secondary marking is seemingly optional in that it does not consistently appear on adjectives present in definite DPs. (1) below shows a definite noun phrase with obligatory definite marking on the noun *programm*. (1a) shows secondary definite marking on the attributive adjective *ġdid* while (1b) lacks this secondary definite marking. Regardless, both (1a) and (1b) are interpreted as definite.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) a. <i>il-programm il-ġdid</i>
DEF-program DEF-new
‘the new program’ | b. <i>il-programm ġdid</i>
DEF-program new
‘the new program’ (Maltese, Fabri 2001, p.160) |
|---|---|

The optionality of this secondary definite marking does not affect all adjectives equally. Plank & Moravcsik (1996) and Gatt (2017) note that certain adjectives prefer the marking over others. For example, within a definite DP, *ieħhor* ‘other’ is 483 times more likely to occur as definite than indefinite (Gatt 2017, p.17). This contrasts with denominal adjectives, like *amerikan* ‘American’, which strongly disprefer the marking in the same context.

This secondary definite marker’s behavior mirrors DDS in Greek in many ways. Like Maltese, the use of DDS in Greek is dependent partially upon the adjective. Only restrictive adjectives that can have contrastive interpretations may carry DDS (Alexiadou 2006). This not only parallels the seemingly “optional” nature of secondary definite marking in Maltese but also explains why using contrastive adjectives increases the likelihood of secondary definite marking. Further, DDS can only appear on attributive adjectives that may also appear predicatively (Alexiadou & Wilder 1998). Preliminary data from *Korpus Malti* indicates this is the case for Maltese. For example, the non-predicative adjective *ewlieni* ‘main’ only appears in the corpus without secondary definite marking in attributive position, like in (2).

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| (2) <i>l-aspett ewlieni</i>
DEF-perspective main
‘The main perspective of the campaign...’ | <i>tal-kampanja</i>
of.DEF-campaign | (MLRS: <i>Korpus Malti</i> , culture 872) |
|--|--|---|

Finally, as a syntactic phenomenon, DDS is predicted to have semantic effects. In Greek, this surfaces as familiarity while in Maltese it provides a contrastive effect. Overall, this paper investigates optional secondary definite marking in Maltese as an instantiation of DDS. In its evaluation of the phenomena, the paper addresses the syntactic and semantic

behavior of adjectives, the semantic effects of the secondary definite marker, and the distinction between predicative and attributive adjectives in the language.

ḍarabûh ‘alqa melyḥe: Semantic change in Cairene Arabic

Liesbeth Zack (University of Amsterdam)

This paper discusses semantic change in Cairene Arabic, focussing on a set of words with the positive connotations of ‘good’, ‘well’, ‘beautiful’ and ‘pretty’, which shifted and took over each other’s functions. The words under discussion are ṭayyib, kuwayyis and milīḥ. The word ṭayyib is used nowadays with the meaning of ‘good of character’, e.g. da rāgil ṭayyib ‘he’s a good man’, as an adverb/interjection meaning ‘all right, ok’ (also shortened to ṭab), and in fixed expressions such as kulle sana w-inta ṭayyib ‘may you be well every year’ (Badawi & Hinds 1986, Woidich 2006). However, until the first quarter of the twentieth century, the word ṭayyib used to have the meaning of ‘good’, ‘well’ in general and could be used as an adjective or an adverb, e.g. ána mâ fahímsh thájjib ‘I did not understand it well’ (Hassan 1869). The word kuwayyis used to have the meaning of ‘pretty’ or ‘beautiful’. As the word ṭayyib lost its general meaning of ‘good’, its role was taken over by the word kuwayyis, and this is the only meaning of kuwayyis in use in Cairo nowadays; the meaning of ‘beautiful’ has become obsolete. Moreover, with this semantic shift, kuwayyis lost its relative akwas in favour of aḥsan. The word milīḥ used to have the meaning of ‘good’, ‘well’ and ‘nice’ and could be used both as an adjective and as an adverb. The attributive use is demonstrated in the title of this paper: ḍarabûh ‘alqa melyḥe ‘they gave him a good beating’ (Spitta 1880). milīḥ is not in use anymore in modern Cairene Arabic, and is now associated by Cairenes with Levantine Arabic.

Schematically put, the semantic shift is as follows:

kuwayyis ‘pretty’, ‘beautiful’ > ‘good’, ‘well’ (broadening)
 ṭayyib ‘good (in general)’, ‘well’ > ‘good (character)’ (narrowing)
 milīḥ ‘good’, ‘well’, ‘nice’ > ∅ (disappeared)

milīḥ already had a rather weak position in the second half of the nineteenth century: as an adjective, it was mainly used in combination with the weather (‘nice’), while as an adverb, it had the same meaning as ṭayyib ‘well’, which was used much more frequently.

This paper looks at the processes of semantic change based on data from a large corpus of primary sources in Cairene Arabic from the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, and attempts to reconstruct a timeline for these changes.