

**Friday, Feb 23, 2018 (Memorial Union 202, Alumni Lounge)**

9:00-9:30 a.m.

**What Triggers *'imāla*: Focus on a Palestinian Variety with Phonological Implications**

Noor Abo Mokh and Stuart Davis

(Indiana University)

This study aims at examining the factors that trigger *'imāla* in Palestinian Arabic, specifically in the rural Palestinian dialect spoken in the triangle area in Israel (henceforth, PA-TA) and to discuss some phonological implications. The *'imāla* patterns are interesting since they provide evidence for the abstract representation of phonemes and opaque rule interaction. *'imāla* is a common feature of Levantine varieties of Arabic. It is mostly observed when the final suffix –a that typically indicates the singular feminine (or nouns of instance) is raised to –e or even to a higher vowel depending on the dialect (Shahin 2012). The PA-TA dialect under consideration is similar to the northern Palestinian variety described by Herzallah (1990) in that *'imāla*, when occurring in final position (where the feminine suffix is underlyingly /a/), normally raises the vowel, but is prevented from applying if immediately preceded by a consonant that is either a coronal emphatic /t<sup>s</sup> s<sup>s</sup> ḏ<sup>s</sup> z<sup>s</sup> r<sup>s</sup>/, a back velar /x ɣ K/, or a pharyngeal /ħ ʕ/. Instances of *imāla* in PA-TA include [d̤ʒa:d̤ʒ-i] ‘chicken’, [wirθ-i] ‘inheritance’, [ʕatab-i] ‘the house entrance’, [sitti] ‘six’, [siddi] ‘loft’, [naml-i] ‘ant’ [rasm-i] ‘painting’ and [ħad̤ʒd̤ʒ-i] ‘old lady’. However *'imāla* is not triggered in words that end in an emphatic sound including /r/, as in [ħur<sup>r</sup>-a] ‘free’, [be:ḏ<sup>s</sup>-a] ‘egg’, [furs<sup>s</sup>-a] ‘break’, [bat<sup>t</sup>-a] ‘duck’, a back velar [faxxa] ‘trap’, or a pharyngeal [sulħ-a] ‘reconciliation’ or [d̤ʒaru:ʕ-a] ‘a gift of sweets’. This paper will address several issues of phonology and morphology that relate to the dialect-specific patterns of *'imāla*. These include the interaction of *'imāla* with emphasis spread, the issue of the phonetic fronting of /q/ as [k], and the analysis of the exceptional semantic class of colors and mental/physical challenges that systematically fail to undergo *'imāla* in this dialect. With respect to the issue of emphasis spread, we have observed that a word final emphatic prevents *'imāla* (as in [ɣalt<sup>s</sup>-a] ‘mistake’). One interpretation of this is that the spread of emphasis to the vowel prevents the suffixal vowel from raising. However, this is not a correct interpretation because in this PA-TA dialect emphasis spread occurs rightward throughout the word as exemplified by [ʕaḏm-A:T] ‘bones’ (where capitalization indicates emphasis spread into the suffix), but *'imāla* still occurs in /ʕaḏm-a/ ‘bone’, realized as [ʕaḏm-i], since the emphatic consonant is not immediately adjacent to the suffix –a. The second issue in the PA-TA dialect relates to the pronunciation of the historic uvular /q/. In this dialect, the word /qalb/ ‘heart’ and the word /kalb/ ‘dog’ can be pronounced identically as /kaleb/ (and by some people as [t̤jaleb]). Nonetheless, when the historic uvular is in final position as in the word /waraq-a/ [waraka] ‘paper’, or /ʕami:q-a/ [ʕami:k-a] ‘deep’, *'imāla* is still prevented even though the sound is pronounced as a velar stop. This should be compared to the instance of /samak-a/ [samak-i] ‘fish’ (also [samat̤ʃ-i]) where *'imāla* occurs even though the last consonant can be pronounced as a velar /k/. This then argues that the /k/ that is historically a uvular is still underlyingly /q/. The third issue in this dialect relates to the exceptional semantic class of colors and mental/physical challenges. For example /sod-a/ [sod-a] ‘black, f.’ /ʕamj-a/ [ʕamj-a] ‘visually impaired/challenged, f.’ and /habl-a/ [habl-a] ‘simple-minded f.’ fail to undergo *'imāla*. We discuss two possible (synchronic) analyses for these exceptional words. One analysis is to note that these words constitute a separate morphosemantic class characterized by partial suppletion in the masculine singular (eg. [iswad] ‘black, m.s.’ not \*[sod], [iʕma] ‘visually impaired/challenged, m.s.’, and [ihbal] ‘simple-minded-m.s.’) and a broken plural having a specific templatic shape (CuCuC for words with strong consonants, e.g. [hubul] ‘simple-minded pl.’ and predictable variation for words with weak roots (e.g. [su:d] ‘black pl.’). This lack of *'imāla* can be viewed as part of the morphological construction of this class (in the spirit of Booij 2010). An alternative purely phonological account will also be discussed. Here, words of the morphosemantic class of colors and mental/physical challenges, can be analyzed having the feminine ending /-aʔ/ reflecting their diachrony. The PA-TA dialect deletes laryngeal consonants in word-final position (both /ʔ/ and /h/, [sama] ‘sky’; [wid̤ʒi] ‘face’). Within a rule-based framework, there is an ordering restriction such that *'imāla* precedes final glottal deletion; thus, from the underlying form of a word like

/habl-aʔ/ simple-minded, f.’, *’imāla* fails to apply since the suffixal vowel is not word-final; final glottal deletion subsequently applies resulting in the opaque [habl-a]. This phonological analysis assumes that *’imāla* applies early in the derivation. This is consistent with forms like [ʕaḏm-i] ‘bone’ from underlying /ʕaḏm-a/ where *’imāla* applies before emphasis spread. In conclusion, *’imāla* in PA-TA provides evidence for abstract phonological representation and opaque rule interaction.

**[Phonology]**

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9:30-10:00 a.m.

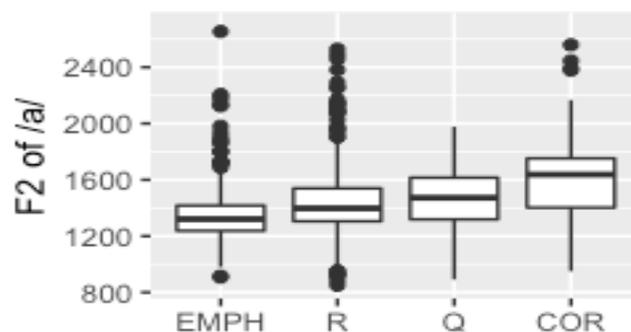
**Two Kinds of Emphasis Spread in Moroccan Arabic**

Aaron Freeman

(University of Pennsylvania)

An important articulatory difference exists between the pharyngeal consonants in Arabic and the pharyngealized coronal consonants known as emphatics. While the guttural pharyngeals are produced in the lower pharynx and involve little tongue root retraction, the secondary articulation of the emphatic coronals consists primarily of upper pharyngeal constriction involving the tongue root (Moisik 2013). This has led some scholars to consider emphasis as uvularization or even velarization (Zawaydeh & de Jong 2011), although the emphatic feature is generally still identified with pharyngeal place. In this paper, I present evidence from Moroccan Arabic that canonical emphasis is, in turn, phonetically distinct from the ‘marginal emphasis’ characterizing segments such as *r* and *q*, having different acoustic properties and different patterns of spreading to nearby segments. I suggest that a three-way structural opposition between lower pharyngeal, upper pharyngeal, and uvular place, such as that proposed by Sylak-Glassman (2014), may be the optimal analysis for Arabic post-velar articulations.

Using field interviews collected in Fès in 2016, I analysed patterns of emphasis spread by comparing the acoustic properties of vowels in a variety of phonetic contexts. Formant data from *i* and *a* indicate a raised first formant in vowels adjacent to guttural pharyngeals; a lowered second formant and slightly raised first formant in vowels adjacent to emphatic coronals; and a slightly lowered second formant and slightly raised first formant in vowels adjacent to *r* and *q*. Furthermore, speakers were inconsistent in treating rhotics and uvular stops as emphatic, while emphatic coronal obstruents had consistent, categorical effects. The general pattern of vowel effects is illustrated for F2 of *a* in the figure below.



While previous researchers such as Heath (2002) suggest that the intermediate effect associated with uvulars may be analysable as partial or fractional emphasis, I propose that it is a separate feature related to uvular articulation, which may also secondarily characterize *r*, as suggested by recent articulatory work (Zeroual et al. 2011). This analysis would expand our phonological framework for post-velar articulation, offering new explanations for distributional patterns in Arabic and other Semitic languages.

10:00-10:30 a.m.

### **Segmental Contribution to Speech Intelligibility in Arabic**

Yahya Aldholmi <sup>(a,b)</sup> & Anne Pycha <sup>(a)</sup>

(University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee <sup>(a)</sup> & King Saud University <sup>(b)</sup>)

Speech researchers have investigated the contribution of segment (consonants versus vowels) to speech intelligibility for both normal-hearing and impaired-hearing speakers of languages such as English (Cole et al., 1996; Fogerty et al., 2012; Kewley-Port et al., 2007), Spanish, Dutch (Cutler et al., 2000), and Mandarin (Chen et al., 2013). The findings show that, while consonants play a bigger role in the recognition of isolated words, vowels contribute more to the intelligibility of complete sentences. This conclusion emerged from experiments on non-Semitic languages, whose morphological systems do not crucially distinguish between vowels and consonants.

Therefore, the contribution of segment types to speech intelligibility may not be solely based on phonetic properties, but also on morphological characteristics. Hence, in the current study, we sought to answer the following question: *What is the contribution of consonants vs. vowels to word vs. sentence intelligibility in Semitic languages, specifically Arabic?* We hypothesized that, unlike in non-Semitic languages, consonants which primarily constitute the backbone of Arabic words will be the fundamental contributing segment to speech intelligibility in Arabic, for both isolated words and, crucially, for complete sentences. In addition, we hypothesized that consonant-to-vowel ratio, where consonants outnumber vowels, will produce better intelligibility.

To examine the hypotheses, we presented twenty Arabic-speaking participants with auditory Modern-Standard-Arabic stimuli (words versus sentences) in which consonants (vowel-only version) or vowels (consonant-only version) were replaced by silence, and asked them to record what they could comprehend. The stimuli included 24 nominal and verbal items, consisting of a balanced or imbalanced number of vowels and consonants (2C-3V, 3C-3V, or 3C-2V), which were presented as isolated words or as target words in 48 sentences. The sentences were constructed to contain 46 segments (23 vowels and 23 consonants), including the target words, which were placed sentence-initially in half of the stimuli and sentence-finally in the other half.

Based on the word percent-correct rates transformed into Rationalized Arcsine scores, the results exhibited a greater contribution of consonantal information to speech intelligibility, both in isolated words (64.03 correct for consonant-only versus 1.92 for vowel-only) and in sentences (64.09 correct for consonant-only versus 48.07 for vowel-only), and the differences were statistically significant (at the  $p < 0.001$  level). The results also showed that the participants were better able to recognize isolated words that contained a higher ratio of consonants to vowels (82.5 for 3C-2V versus 47.5 for 2V-3C). These two major findings confirm that vowel-to-consonant ratio is an important factor to speech intelligibility and, furthermore, suggest that the relative contribution of vowels versus consonants to speech intelligibility is moderated by their morphological roles.

### **References**

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10:30-11:00 a.m.

**Vowel distribution in the Urban Hijazi Arabic root**

Honaidah Ahyad and Michael Becker  
(Stony Brook University)

11:00-11:15 a.m.      Break

11:15-11:45 a.m.

**Case and Agreement in the Arabic Predicational Copular Clause**

Bader Alharbi (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and Qassim University)  
& Hamid Ouali (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

In this paper we propose that predicates, in copular clauses, are like arguments in that they require case. This case is assigned via the same mechanism as argument case (see Bailyn, 2001; Lohndal, 2006; Maling & Sprouse, 1995; Matushansky, 2008). We propose a principled analysis that avoids appealing to the less explanatory mechanism of default case which should be available only for DPs that are not, for example, part of the argument structure such as Left-dislocated DPs and Topics.

In Standard Arabic (SA), a nonverbal predicate, namely the NP and AP, agrees in number, gender, and case with the subject DP of which it is a predicate, as shown in (1.a). However, in the presence of the complementizer (C) *?inna* or the copula *KWN*, the predicate fails to agree in case with the subject DP, as shown in (1.b) and (1.c) respectively. When both the C *?inna* and the copula *KWN* occur in a single clause, as shown in (1.d), the predicate agrees in case with the subject DP.

In the literature, most analyses propose that the nominative case, either on subject or predicates, is the default nominative case (cf. Alshamrani, 1994; Aoun et al., 2010, Benmamoun, 2000; Fassi-Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla, 1994). We find the default case assignment theoretically undesirable and empirically inadequate, and should be only used to explain case on DPs that are not part of the argument structure (e.g., Left-dislocated DPs and Topics). The previous analyses also suggest that the accusative case on predicates is assigned by the copula *KWN* and the accusative case on subjects is assigned by the C *?inna*, but were not very explicit about the exact mechanism that underlies the case assignment (see also Mohammad, 2000; Ouhalla, 2013). This type of analysis raises a question about cases such as (1.e.), where the DP subject clearly receives structural nominative case and not default case.

In this paper, we provide a new analysis of case and agreement in the predicational copular clause within the Minimalist Program. The key arguments of our proposal are that the case on subjects and predicates is obtained via Multiple Agree (see Hiraiwa, 2001) with T or  $\nu$  and that the case on subjects may change in the course of a derivation by other mechanisms, such as presence of the C *?inna* or by cyclic Agree.

Starting with the verbless sentences in (1.a-b), we argue that the nominative case on both subjects and their predicates is obtained via Multiple Agree with T as demonstrated in (2). However, the accusative case on subjects and their predicates in predicational clauses involving the copular verb *KWN*, as in (1.c-d), results from Multiple Agree with  $\nu$  as shown in (3). As a result of the Multiple Agree relation with T or  $\nu$ , the AP has its  $\phi$ -features valued.

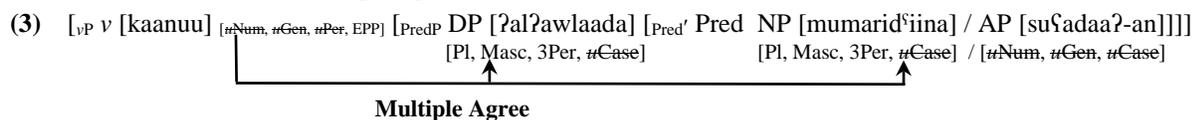
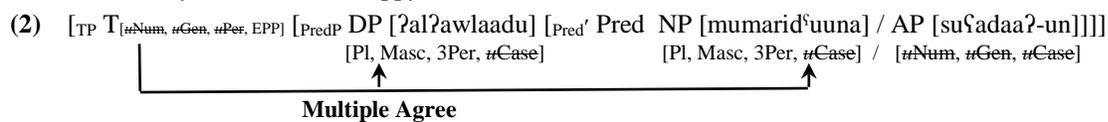
Then, we argue that the case on the subject DP is not always preserved throughout a derivation. As demonstrated in (4), the accusative case on the subject DP in (1.b) is a lexical case assigned by the C *ʔinna* upon merge. This process is called *Check-on-Merge* (see Bailyn, 2001 for the instrumental case on Russian predicates). Given the theory of Multiple Case (Bejar & Massam, 1999), which suggests that a DP in a lower position does not prevent further case assignment, the DP *ʔalʔawlaada* has multiple cases: nominative via Multiple Agree with T and accusative from the C *ʔinna*. Accusative case gets expressed at PF since morphology realizes only the latter case.

As for the nominative case on the subject DP in (1.c), it results from cyclic Agree between the DP located in Spec-*v*P (i.e., the phase edge given the assumption that all *v*Ps are phases (Legate, 2003)) and T as illustrated in (5). That is, the DP *lʔawlaadu* has multiple cases: accusative via Multiple Agree with *v* and nominative via cyclic Agree with T. Morphology realizes the latter case, which is normative. In light of this proposal, the subject DP *lʔawlaada* in (1.d) also has multiple cases: accusative via Multiple Agree with *v*, nominative via Agree with T, and lexical accusative case from the C *ʔinna*. Each of these cases is assigned to the DP in a different position, i.e., the first accusative case is assigned in Spec-PredP, the nominative case is assigned in Spec-*v*P, and the lexical accusative case is assigned in Spec-TP. Morphology realizes only the latter case, which is accusative.

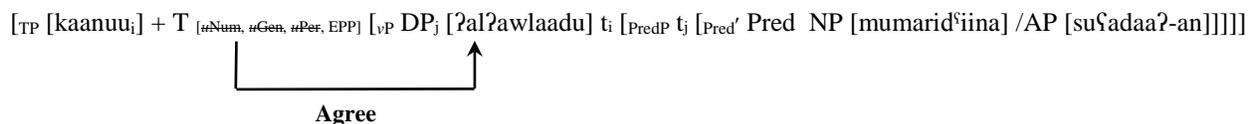
To conclude, our proposed analysis shows that agreement in  $\phi$ -features and case between subjects and predicates in the SA predicational copular clause can be explained via Multiple Agree with T or *v* without the assumption of further functional phrases. However, the case on subjects may change in the course of a derivation by other mechanisms, such as presence of the C or by cyclic Agree. It also shows that predicates are like arguments in that they require case and this case is assigned via the same mechanism as argument case. The case, either on subjects or predicates, is not the default case.

**Subfield: [Syntax]**

- (1) a. *ʔal-ʔawlaad-u*                      *mumarid<sup>s</sup>-uuna / suʕadaaʔ-un*  
the-boys-NOM                      nurse-Masc.PI.NOM / happy.Masc.PI-NOM  
'The boys are nurses / happy.'
- b. *ʔinna*                      *l-ʔawlaad-a*                      *mumarid<sup>s</sup>-uuna / suʕadaaʔ-un*  
That                      the-boys-ACC                      nurse-Masc.PI.NOM / happy.Masc.PI-NOM  
'Certainly the boys are nurses / happy.'
- c. *l-ʔawlaad-u*                      *kaan-uu*                      *mumarid<sup>s</sup>-iina / suʕadaaʔ-an*  
the-boys-NOM                      be.PST-3.Masc.PI                      nurse-Masc.PI.ACC / happy.Masc.PI-ACC  
'The boys were nurses / happy.'
- d. *ʔinna*                      *l-ʔawlaad-a*                      *kaan-uu*                      *mumarid<sup>s</sup>-iina / suʕadaaʔ-an*  
That                      the-boys-ACC                      be.PST-3.Masc.PI                      nurse-Masc.PI.ACC / happy.Masc.PI-ACC  
'Certainly the boys were nurses / happy.'
- e. *kaan-a*                      *l-ʔawlaad-u*                      *mumarid<sup>s</sup>-iina / suʕadaaʔ-an*  
be.PST-3.Masc.sg                      the-boys-NOM                      nurse-Masc.PI.ACC / happy.Masc.PI-ACC  
'The boys were nurses / happy.'



(5)



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11:45-12:15 p.m.

**Inherent Negation as a New Licensor of Negative Polarity Items in Arabic Dialects**

Mahmood Al Fkaiki

(The University of Texas at Austin)

12:15-2:00 p.m. Lunch

2:00-2:30 p.m.

**When you is you and me: Unselected dative you in Levantine Arabic**

Youssef A. Haddad

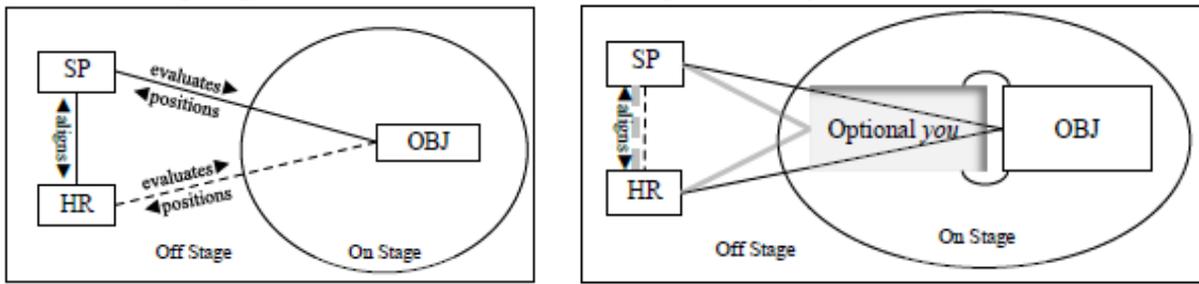
(University of Florida)

It is common in world languages for speakers to include their hearers in statements about specific situations (e.g., *You would be walking on campus minding your own business, and all of a sudden ...*) and in truisms (e.g., *You can't have it all*) in an attempt to solicit their empathy and to invoke their shared knowledge, experience, and membership (Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990; Stirling & Manderson 2011). The *you* in these utterances is normally labeled as an impersonal *you* that includes both the speaker and the hearer. By using such a *you*, the speaker "assimilates [her- or] himself to a much wider class of people, downgrading [her or] his own experience to incidental status in the discourse, phrasing it as something that could or would be anybody's" (Laberge & Sankoff 1979: 429). A similar *you* is licensed in Levantine Arabic (Jordanian, Lebanese, Palestinian, and Syrian) in the form of an optional dative *you* that may be inserted in utterances without altering the meaning of their main message. The Facebook post in (1) is an example.

- (1) btilbis-**lak** fi:zo:n biʒib-**lak** l-ruʔya 3D&HD w-btiḥki:-**lak** btiḥlam bi-l-zanne  
she.wear-**you.D** tights bring-**you.D** the-visibility 3D&HD w-she.say-**you.D** she.dream of-the-paradise  
'She wears [**you**] tights that provide [**you**] details that may be characterized as high definition, and yet she claims [**you**] that she dreams of heaven (that is she is very religious).'

This type of unselected *you* serves two main functions: (i) an attitudinal function to express a stance toward the at-issue content or the main message of an utterance and toward any underlying values and beliefs, and (ii) a relational function to manage (affirm, maintain, challenge, etc.) relationships between social actors (Halliday 1970; Brinton 1996; Beeching 2016). These functions are crucially contingent on contextual factors. These include the sociocultural context and the values, beliefs and norms that the members of a given community live by and take for granted. They also include the situational context that encompasses the identities of the speaker/writer and her/his intended hearers/readers and the type of activity they are involved in.

The main purpose of this paper is (i) to present attested examples that illustrate the different uses of unselected *you* in Levantine Arabic; (ii) to show how these uses inform and are informed by elements of the context; and (iii) to present a sociocognitive framework in order to account for their social functions. The sociocognitive analysis draws on Langacker's (2000, 2008) Cognitive Grammar, Verhagen's (2010) approach to perspectivization, and Du Bois's (2007) Stancetaking Theory and puts forth a model that I label as the Stancetaking Stage Model, illustrated in the following schematic presentations:



The main claim is that social actors resemble actors in a play, and their utterances occupy the on-stage region or the spotlight. A speaker presents an object to her hearers in an attempt to have them accept the object as well as the evaluation she attaches to it and the way it makes her feel. An optional *you* serves as a filter that invites the hearer to look at the object from a specific perspective.

#### References:

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2:30-3:00 p.m.

***The Linguistic Phenomenon of Politeness in Trevor Le Gassick's  
Translation of Ibn Kathir's As-Sira Al-Nabawiyya***

Dina Hassan  
(University of Oklahoma)

3:00-3:15 p.m.

Break

3:15-3:45 p.m.

**Revisiting the Arabic Linguistic Situation in Light of Auer's (2005) Model  
and Discourse Markers in Spoken Arabic**

Abdelaadim Bidaoui  
(Ball State University)

In the field of Arabic sociolinguistics, diglossia has been an interesting linguistic inquiry since it was first discussed by Ferguson in 1959. Since then, diglossia has been discussed, expanded, and revisited by Badawi (1973), Hudson (2002), and Albirini (2016) among many others. While the discussion of the Arabic diglossic situation highlights the existence of two separate codes (High and Low), Auer's (2005) model acknowledged the significance of intermediate and exoglossic forms. Based on new data from *Al Jazeera* network and from two complementary studies and in light of discourse markers (DMs) in spoken Arabic, this paper shows how Auer's model fits well for the current Arabic linguistic situation. This paper provides three empirical pieces of evidence in favor of applying Auer's (2005) model to the Arabic linguistic situation. The first reason in favor of Auer's (2005) model is the new definition of standard forms and standard Arabic (SA) (Auer, 2005). SA is not seen as a static H variety but rather as a dynamic standard. This is seen in dialectal forms gaining prestige and becoming part of standard forms as is the case of *yaʕni*. The second reason for extending Auer's (2005) model to Arabic is its inclusion of exoglossic variants, *cela veut dire* "I mean", *parce que* "because". This means that the H and L codes should not necessarily be structurally and genetically related. With the structural-relatedness suggested by Ferguson (1959) as a requirement for the diglossic situation to take effect, it is impossible to capture the Arabic linguistic situation. The third reason for extending Auer's (2005) model to Arabic is its inclusion of intermediate forms between the Standard and dialectal variants. This claim captures the linguistic situation as it gives room to more than the two poles suggested by Ferguson (1959, 1996). At the theoretical level, the comparison of the two models shows that Ferguson's defining features of diglossia were essential to the understanding of the Arabic sociolinguistics situation; nevertheless, they may not reflect the overlap between the two codes and the insertion of exoglossic forms as it is happening in daily communication among speakers of Arabic.

3:45-4:15 p.m.

**A comparative analysis of heritage language development  
in two immigrant communities**

Kalyani Rai and Amal EL Haimeur  
(University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

This study explores how socio-cultural identities, goals and motivations are manifested in heritage language (HL) speakers within their language learning contexts and how identities are negotiated in two immigrant communities, including Nepali and Arabic HL speakers. Findings from in-depth interviews

and a survey suggest that the majority of the participants maintain the speaking level of HL proficiency. A pattern that emerged from the findings shows that HL declines at the early age then starts flourishing from high school to college. At the early age, the use of English language increases at the expense of their HL. In both ethnic communities, parents and community networks play a significant role in language maintenance. Participants employ a range of strategies and resources to learn and use their HLs. However, for the Arabic HL group, religion plays a critical role in preserving and maintaining the Arabic language. Implications of these findings in the context of education and acquisition of language research and practice will be discussed.

4:15-4:45 p.m.

**Relative clause formation in Palestinian Arabic: Between language contact and pragmatics**

**Uri Horesh**

**University of Essex**

[uri.horesh@essex.ac.uk](mailto:uri.horesh@essex.ac.uk)

Descriptive grammars of Arabic dialects (e.g., Cowell 1964 for Damascene) typically cite a grammatical rule that is ‘carried over’ from Classical Arabic, namely that relative clauses require an overt relative marker (e.g., *illi* in Levantine dialects) when the antecedent NP is definite, whereas relative clauses with indefinite antecedents are ungrammatical with such an overt relative marker.

Contrary to what this rule would suggest, the use of *illi* following indefinite NPs is widespread in the author’s corpus of recorded sociolinguistic interviews in Palestinian Arabic, especially among bilingual speakers whose second language is Modern Hebrew. Examples from the Palestinian Arabic data that illustrate this include sentences such as the following: (1) with an overt relative marker—which, e.g., for one speaker comprised 93% of indefinite-headed relative clauses—and (2) with a null relative marker, representing only 7% of the data from this speaker.

(1) ana insāne **illi** ḥaṣalet ‘ala laqab t̄ālīt  
I human-F **REL** obtained-1SG on degree third  
‘I’m a person who has obtained a doctorate.’

(2) biḥtāju la- mustašār mihni Ø ‘and-o ma’rife  
need-3PL DAT-advisor professional Ø at- 3MSG knowledge  
‘They need a professional counselor who has knowledge.’

Modern Hebrew, which is an active contact language for most Palestinians in the corpus, requires all relative clauses to be marked with the morpheme *še*, regardless of the definiteness of the NP preceding the clause. Thus we get:

(3) raiti yalda **še-** lovešet jins  
saw-1SG girl **REL** wearing-FSG jeans  
‘I saw a girl who was wearing jeans.’

(4) ze ha- seret **še-**siparti lax alav  
DEM-MSG DEF movie **REL**-told-1SG DAT-2FSG about-3MSG  
‘This is the movie that I told you about.’

It is therefore tempting to hypothesize, given the generalizations about Arabic dialects disfavoring overt relative markers following indefinite NPs, and the categorical use of such markers in Hebrew, that the overwhelming use of *illi* among bilingual Palestinians is a straightforward result of language contact. Nevertheless, non-contact varieties of Arabic allow overt marking of relative clauses with indefinite antecedents as well, under specific conditions. Brustad (2000) shows that the aforementioned rule is violable in at least four contemporary dialects, explaining this putative violation by positing a hierarchy of definiteness (based on Khan 1984 and others; also see Fodor & Sag 1982). Galal (2004) notes this phenomenon as well, though he critiques Brustad’s specific analysis. In both cases, the use of overt

relative markers with seemingly indefinite antecedents is seen as an exception to the general rule, one that needs to be explained semantically for each occurrence.

This paper takes into account that dealing with syntactic variation is a somewhat different enterprise from the kind of phonological microvariation that sociolinguists often engage in (see, e.g., Sankoff 1973, Lavandera 1978, Labov 1978). Cheshire (2005) explicitly incorporates in her analysis of syntactic variation theories of information structure (particularly, the principles of ‘given-ness’ vs. ‘new-ness’ of information, as theorized by Prince 1981). Therefore, the current study explains the high rates of *illi* as having to do with language contact, but in understanding their distribution, considers these and other pragmatic notions, such as accessibility (Ariel 1990) and Fodor & Sag’s notions of referential vs. quantificational indefinites.

The hypothesis that language contact may be involved is supported by two parallel facts. First, Maltese, another contact variety of Arabic, also exhibits high rates of the overt relative marker *li* following indefinite NPs (Camilleri & Sadler 2016), perhaps as a result of contact with Italian, which, like Hebrew has an obligatory relative marker (*che*) in all relative clauses. Second, an analogy is in order with another case of syntactic peculiarity in Palestinian Arabic – the disproportionate use of analytic rather than synthetic possessives, employing genitive exponents (*šēt* and *taba* ) in contexts where most dialects are attested to use the construct state. The case for contact is somewhat more easily discernable for this phenomenon, as the similarity to Hebrew is striking in the Palestinian Arabic data. Furthermore, as Thomason & Kaufman (1988) argue, the existence of multiple phenomena in more than one domain of the grammar, in which language A appears to be using features similar to language B, is necessary for any determination that the resemblance may indeed be a result of contact-induced change. These two syntactic similarities augment several other features in phonology and lexicon, reported by the author elsewhere.

**[Sociolinguistics, pragmatics]**

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4:45-5:00 p.m.            Break

5:00-6:00 p.m.            Keynote Speaker

**Performing Multiple Dialects**

Kristen Brustad

University of Texas-Austin

The twentieth century saw a fairly successful mapping of Arabic dialects, important theories about linguistic variation in Arabic (diglossia, registers, discourse function), and exploration of variation in Arabic as code-switching or code-mixing. At the same time, the results of the Leeds project headed by TF Mitchell have demonstrated that structural explanations of variation in spoken Arabic can only go so far. Meanwhile, the recent (internet- and social-media-enabled) explosion of sustained dialect contact among multiple Arabic varieties has given rise to a relatively new phenomenon: videos posted on the internet by speakers (especially, but not exclusively, residents of some Gulf countries) with the goal of displaying their knowledge of or performative proficiency in multiple dialects (e.g., Reem Nadar, Fahad Sal, SNL Arabi). Using the insights of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (*Acts of Identity* 1985), Blanc (1960) and others, we will examine the kinds of variation performed and the implications of these productions for describing language variation in the present, and thinking about the history of spoken Arabic.

**Saturday, Feb 24, 2018 (Memorial Union 202, Alumni Lounge)**

9:00-9:30 a.m.

**Making Connections between an Arabic Corpus and  
Selected Arabic Grammar Resources**

Mohammed Alquraishi

(Northern Arizona University and King Saud University)

9:30-10:00 a.m.

**The effects of collaborative writing on Language acquisition in Arabic classrooms**

Eman Saadah, Ph.D.

(University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

The use of wikis encourages collaboration, continual revision and reflection on writing (Purdy, 2009) as well as examines the nature of peer interactions during the writing processes in second language (L2) language classrooms (e.g., Bradley, Lindström & Rystedt, 2010; Li & Kim, 2016). These benefits indicate that technologies have impacted the way L2 learners develop and subsequently improve their writing abilities (Kessler & Bikowski, 2010; Zheng and Warschauer 2015). In light of these findings, a pilot study is carried out to examine the effectiveness of using computer-mediated communication technologies in an L2 setting, namely, Arabic language classes. We focus on examining data by four small groups of L2 learners of Arabic. Participants are asked to perform four writing tasks. In specific, these tasks will help us answer the following questions: 1) What are the learners' views about the effectiveness of using wikis to improve their writing?, 2) What are the qualities of the wiki-mediated writing products that the small groups produced?, 3) What are the strategies learners use and patterns of interaction they employ during their collaborative writing tasks? The participants are enrolled in full 16-week courses and are required to

compose four 1-page essays, which should be typed and double spaced. Three of these essays are assigned as homework whereas the fourth essay is completed in class during a 50-minute period. The writing tasks are assigned throughout the course. In the first two assignments students are asked to write freely about the topic they are provided with and in the third and fourth essays students are provided with more information regarding the certain morphological features/structures that they need to pay attention to. These are subject-verb agreement, noun-adjective agreement, and construct state. . The writing products were rated based on certain criteria put by the course instructor. Furthermore, we look at the multiple stages of the essay writing which include planning, drafting, revising and we examine peer interactions during each stage. In addition, we report on the scaffolding strategies these groups have used. Similar to prior findings, preliminary results from the pilot study indicate that group interactions and peer corrective feedback have improved the quality of the writing products (Sippel 2017; Sheen 2017). The pedagogical implications for foreign language teaching and instruction are discussed.

**Subfields: language acquisition**

10:00-10:30 a.m.

**The L2 Perceptual Development of Arabic Plain and Emphatic Sounds  
by American English Learners**

Zafer Lababidi

(Florida State University)

With the rapid growth in learning Arabic in the United States, many learners of Arabic often experience difficulties in learning some Arabic sounds. Among these are the Arabic plain sounds /t, d, ð, s/ and their emphatic counterparts /tʕ, dʕ, ðʕ, sʕ/. Many studies have proposed that these difficulties are related to the relationship between sounds in learners' first language (L1) and those in the target language (L2) (Flege, 1987 and 1995; Best, 1995 and 1999; Best, McRoberts, & Sithole, 1988; Best & Tyler, 2007). Previous studies have examined the perceptual patterns of these sounds by relying solely on the articulatory differences between them and the English categories (Al-Mahmoud, 2013).

An earlier study was able to establish the categorical representations of the plain and emphatic Arabic sounds in the minds of monolingual native speakers of American English in order to establish accurate category mappings between the two languages following. Following the sound categorization of the Speech Learning Model (SLM) (Flege, 1995), the results show that the Arabic consonants /t, d, ð, s, sʕ/ are considered "similar" sounds to the English categories, Arabic /tʕ, ðʕ, dʕ/ are considered "new" sounds.

This study examines whether the L1-to-L2 mappings found earlier differ between naïve monolingual English listeners and L2 Arabic learners. In addition, the study investigates the perceptual development of the plain and emphatic Arabic sounds over time with more L2 exposure. Fifty L2 Arabic learners with varying proficiency levels participated in an L1 labeling task, an L2 labeling task, and goodness-of-fit rating tasks. Listeners were asked to label each one of the Arabic consonants they heard in the stimuli by identifying the consonants according to a provided list of English consonants (L1 Labeling Task) and according to a provided list of Arabic consonants (L2 Labeling Task). Listeners were also asked to determine how similar they think their selections are by clicking on one of seven provided number choices on a Likert scale (goodness-of-fit rating task).

First, the results show L2 perceptual development for the emphatic sounds but not for the plain sounds. Second, the results show no difference between L1-to-L2 mappings between the naïve monolinguals and experienced L2 learners at the labeling level. However, the results show differences at the goodness-rating level, suggesting subtle L2 perceptual development.

The study also investigates the degree of reliance on L1 in order to predict the accuracy of L2 identification by following Park and de Jong's (2008) quantitative analysis. The results show that it is not clear to what extent L2 learners are using and facilitating their L1 categories in order to perceive L2 sounds. However, the observed accuracy results are successful at showing how L2 exposure affects the overall learnability of L2 emphatic sounds. The study concludes that the perceptual developmental pattern

of the emphatic sounds matches the description of SLM's "new" categories, while the pattern of the plain sounds matches the description of the "similar" sounds.

10:30-10:45 a.m. Break

10:45-11:45 a.m. Keynote Speaker

**Investigating Arabic Communication Sciences and Disorders: the promise and potential of interprofessional approach to clinical linguistic research**

Reem Khamis Dakwar  
(Adelphi University)

The profession of speech-language pathology is a developing field in the Arab world and new studies in communication sciences and disorders (CSD) in Arabic are emerging at a rapid pace. The CSD research in Arabic to date has mainly examined developmental milestones in the acquisition of Arabic morphology and phonology with a specific focus on phonological awareness. This approach has been helpful for investigations of various foundational issues, including neurobiological bases of reading and writing in Arabic-speaking children with dyslexia, and developments or adaptations of language comprehension and production assessments in Arabic.

In this talk, I will first define communication disorders and give a brief overview of the roles and responsibilities of speech-language pathologists, together with a summary of developing clinical and research trends in the field. I will then argue for the need to expand collaborative, clinically-based studies of Arabic in order to inform theoretical debates in the fields of linguistics and communication sciences, as well as for enhancing the quality of education and healthcare services provided to Arabic-speaking individuals, within the Arab world as well as in the diaspora.

With the centrality of English language and Western culture in CSD studies, authentically impactful research in Arabic CSD is not only contingent on interprofessional and rigorously-designed approaches, but also on a detached, decolonized standpoint that recognizes English and Western perspectives are not the only base for knowledge production. To illustrate this point, I will discuss several current, collaborative research undertakings in Arabic CSD, examining the clinical implications of diglossia in aphasia recovery, speech production in Autism Spectrum Disorders, emergent literacy development, and dysfluency markers in Arabic. These studies exemplify the creative advantage and theoretical and applied contributions of authentic CSD research in Arabic. This approach stands in contrast with CSD studies of Arabic that have capitalized on the Western academic perspective while excluding the specificities of Arabic language structure and use.

In closing, I will emphasize the challenges and promise of interprofessional, clinically-relevant, theoretically-driven Arabic linguistic studies. I will discuss the developing nature of CSD studies in Arabic, the silo approach that has characterized more traditional research, and the potential effects of implicit cultural imperialism on scientific query and interpretation. I will emphasize the need for fruitful research that bridges the silos and provides greater authenticity in our CSD investigations of Arabic, with the aim of enhancing our general theoretical understanding of the nature of language as well as elucidating specific communication disorders and relevant assessment and treatment services provided to Arabic speaking individuals who have communication disorders.

11:45-1:30 p.m. **Arabic Linguistics Society Business Meeting**

1:30-2:30 p.m. Plenary Poster Session

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of Twitter Posts on The Perspectives of Women Driving in Saudi Arabia**

Rayya Aljarallah  
(Arizona State University)

The issue of women driving remains a highly debated one in Saudi Arabia. Recent developments on its legalization have sparked conversation and discourse, particularly in social media sites like Twitter. Several hashtags have been used to indicate either support or criticism towards the movement. Examining Twitter tweets and hashtags, this study explored how the discourse on women driving had been executed, particularly in between genders. The study analyzed a sizeable number of tweets as well as their context via linguistic corpora analysis. Following Norman Fairclough's framework, the two opposing perspectives were investigated both at a level of textual analysis. The selected tweets were representative of the three hashtags that emerged on the heat of the discourse regarding the issue of women driving in Saudi Arabia: #Women\_car\_driving, #I\_will\_drive\_my\_car\_June15, and #I\_will\_enter\_my\_kitchen\_June15.

The analyzed data showed that tweeters communicated linguistically their ideologies through several means including naming, predication, and intertextuality. Results also showed among others, that tweets with the hashtag #Women\_car\_driving presented a tremendous support towards the movement. On the other hand, strong opposing reactions emerged from the hashtags #I\_will\_drive\_my\_car\_June15 and #I\_will\_enter\_my\_kitchen\_June15.

### **Length of residency in a language contact setting and its influence on the production of Arabic vowels by immigrant speakers: Acoustic Analysis**

Mohammad Aljutaily ([mfjutaily@gmail.com](mailto:mfjutaily@gmail.com))

(University of Georgia, USA & Qassim University, Saudi Arabia)

The study explores the possible effect of the length of stay in an Arabic-speaking country (i.e., Saudi Arabia) and/or L1 on the realization of the Arabic monophthong vowels /i, i:, a, a:, u, u:/ and their allophonic pharyngealized ones as produced by 20 male immigrant speakers from India whose L1 is Malayalam, using 3 speakers of Arabic as a control. The immigrant speakers were divided into two groups depending on their length of residency (LOR): short-stay and long-stay. Acoustic parameters, including spectral and temporal structures of the Arabic vowels, were measured and analyzed. The values of each group of immigrant speakers are compared to the values of the control group to determine similarities and differences in vowel production, both between the immigrant-speaking groups themselves and between them and the local norm. The results indicated that both groups of the immigrant speakers similarly realized most of the Arabic vowels /i, a, a:, u, u:/ with values much like those of native speakers, regardless of their LOR, except for the Arabic /i:/, which could be only realized by the immigrant speakers of the long stay group. As for Arabic durational patterns, the results also reported that both the short and long stay groups take advantage of the existence of the length feature in their L1, which in turn, facilitates their performance in Arabic duration. However, the long stay group is superior to the short stay group in approximating the duration of the Arabic vowels to the local norm. The immigrant speakers from the long stay group succeeded in realizing the duration of every long vowel /i:, a:, u:/ and short Arabic vowel /i, u/, except for /a/, while the speakers from the short stay group realized only the duration of the following Arabic vowels: /i:, u, u:/. As for the pharyngealized vowels that follow the fricative /s<sup>h</sup>/, the results showed that the vowels in the pharyngeal context have lower F2. The immigrant speakers who have stayed longer in Saudi Arabia succeeded in realizing the pharyngealized vowels /i, i:, a:, u/ with similar F2 values to those of the control group, while the speakers from the short stay realize only the following pharyngealized vowels: /i, i:, u/. However, the LOR played a role in the realization of the pharyngealized vowels that follow the pharyngeal stop /t<sup>h</sup>/. The immigrant speakers in the long stay group, but not those in the short stay group, could realize the pharyngealized vowels following the stop /t<sup>h</sup>/. I argue that the disparity in realizing the pharyngealized vowels after /s<sup>h</sup>/ and /t<sup>h</sup>/ across the two groups of immigrant speakers comes from the strength of pharyngealization, in that /t<sup>h</sup>/ is stronger than /s<sup>h</sup>/. Overall, the long stay group shows superiority over the short stay group in most performances, and particularly in the Arabic pharyngealized vowels and durational patterns. Only the long stay group tended to more often achieve native-like performance, supporting the argument of the Speech Learning Model (SLM) (Flege, 1995).

### **Emphasis spread in two Palestinian dialects of Arabic**

Israa Al-Rantisi & Vladimir Kulikov  
(Qatar University)

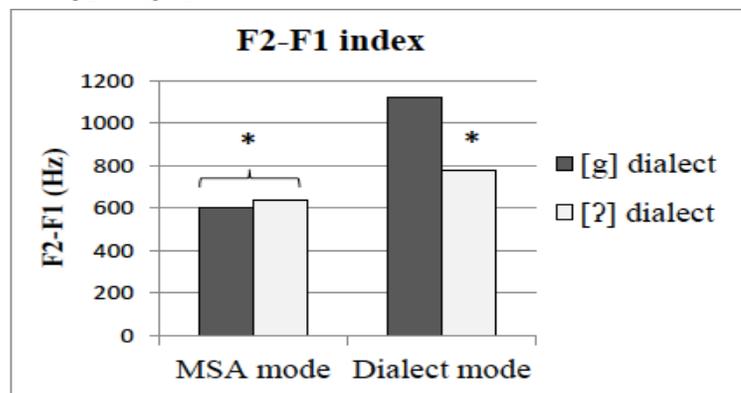
Emphasis in Arabic can spread from an emphatic consonant to a neighboring vowel. In phonology, the emphasis spread is typically represented as spreading the [RTR] feature from the consonant to the adjacent vowel (Davis, 1995; Watson, 1999). The set of consonants that can trigger emphasis spread includes not only coronal emphatic obstruents [t, d, s, ð] but also the uvular stop [q] (McCarthy, 1994). Most noticeable manifestation of emphasis spread on a vowel is back articulation of the low vowel [a] next to emphatic consonants. Acoustic studies show that emphatic vowels are characterized by higher F1 and lower F2 frequencies (Jongman, Herd, Al-Masri, Sereno, & Combest, 2011).

Previous research shows that emphasis spread is often gradient in phonetics. Vowels in Jordanian Arabic have weaker emphasis when they occur farther from the initial emphatic consonant (Jongman et al., 2011). Weakening of emphasis can also result in loss of the contrast in consonants: e.g. the emphatic /q/ phoneme is often realized as non-emphatic [g] or [ʔ] in Levantine and Gulf Arabic (Watson, 2002); the coronal emphatic [d] is lost in some Gulf Arabic dialects (Johnstone, 1967). However, the effect of the consonant category on gradience in emphasis has not been studied.

This study investigates the effect of a consonant on a vowel when the original MSA (Modern Standard Arabic) emphatic consonant /q/ is replaced with a non-emphatic consonant in a dialect. We recorded 15 speakers from two vernacular dialects of Palestinian Arabic: the Bedouin dialect, in which word-initial /q/ is realized as the velar stop (hence, the [g]-dialect), and the urban dialect, in which /q/ is realized as the glottal stop (hence, the [ʔ]-dialect). All participants were females raised in Palestinian communities in Qatar. Each speaker produced (read) 30 target words in two modes: in their native dialect and in MSA. Formant frequencies were measured at the midpoint of the vowel [a] following the initial stop in 900 target words. The F2-F1 difference index was then calculated as a single measure of vowel emphasis, with lower numbers indicating higher degree of emphasis.

The results show (see the chart below) that vowels after [q] in the MSA mode were produced as emphatic, with no significant difference in emphasis between two groups ( $p = 0.441$ ). The degree of emphasis differed significantly in the Dialect mode. The index was higher in the dialect mode for both dialect groups ( $D[g]\text{-dial} = 520 \text{ Hz}$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ;  $D[ʔ]\text{-dial} = 134 \text{ Hz}$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) suggesting emphasis on a vowel was weaker in both dialects. This difference was gradient, though, as vowels in the [ʔ]-dialect had stronger emphasis than vowels in the [g]-dialect ( $D = 349 \text{ Hz}$ ,  $p < 0.0001$ ).

The findings suggest that degree of emphasis in Arabic dialects might be the result of consonant-vowel interaction. Sound changes that lead to loss of emphasis on a consonant may not fully affect emphasis on the adjacent vowel. Loss of emphasis in vowels is a gradient process that depends, among other factors, on the category of the adjacent consonant.



### Investigating Arabic PMs in Teacher Talk: A Case Study in The U.S.

Yaseen A. Azi

(University of New Mexico & Jazan University)

English Language Institute

Studies on pragmatic markers (PMs) in pedagogical settings have concluded that such linguistic elements have obvious impacts on classroom interactions and students' learning. However, "little attention has been paid to the use and functions of (PMs) as one essential interactional factor in classroom teacher-student conversation" (Yang, 2011, p. 96). Moreover, there is a tendency in the literature to analyze the uses and functions of PMs in teacher talk only according to researchers' interpretations and not incorporating teachers' perspectives of their uses into the framework of analysis (e.g. Lau, Cousineau & Lin, 2016). Studies on PMs in classroom contexts are a topic that has not yet been explored in Arabic educational linguistics. Similarly, the term *pragmatic marker* is relatively new in previous research on Arabic, instead, terms like *particles*, *connectives* and *discourse markers* were extensively used in limited studies in Modern Standard Arabic and other Arabic varieties. Likewise, *the relevance theoretic approach* that is known as the less compatible approach to the study of PMs (Aijmer, 2013) has been the main analytical approach on the phenomena in Arabic linguistics.

The researcher of this study contends that understanding the uses and functions of Arabic PMs in classroom interactions requires a multi-layered analytical approach that takes into consideration important perspectives related to the uses of PMs in teachers' actual productions and perceived use. Therefore, the current study proposes a descriptive qualitative case study of three native speaking Arabic teachers in an L2 Arabic classroom context in the U.S. This study adopts a multi-layered analytical approach that will be conducted in a four-stage analysis: functional analysis (stage 1), interactional and pedagogical analyses (stage 2), attitudinal analysis (stage 3) and concluding with triangulating findings of the previous three stages in one stage analysis (stage 4). The study will be designed to investigate four research questions that are related to a) the functional uses of Arabic PMs in an L2 Arabic pedagogical setting, b) the interactional and pedagogical uses of Arabic PMs in teacher talk of an L2 classroom context, c) teachers' perceptions of the uses of Arabic PMs in their classroom talk, d) teachers' perceptions of the impact of their L2 classroom context on the uses of Arabic PMs in their classroom talk.

**Keywords:** (pragmatic markers, teacher talk, Arabic L2 classroom context)

**Research Subfields** (Educational Sociolinguistics & Discourse Analysis)

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'You may have to go to court'						(epistemic > obligation: ✓)
(Context: a lawyer telling a client about the possibilities he has)						
b.*yajibu	ʔan	yumkin-a	ʔan	t-aḏhab-a	ʔila	al-maḥkamat-i
must	SM	may-SUBJ	SM	2ms-go-SUBJ	to	the-court-GEN
(*'You must may go to court')						(obligation > epistemic: ✗)

The structural differences of modality assume that epistemic modals are high (above TP) and root modals are low (below TP) as evidenced in (3). The ambiguity of modals is also established as in (1a) above. Interestingly, however, there is a construction where ambiguity disappears. This is given in (4). Notice that (i) the subject is realized inside a PP, and (ii) only the root reading is available (i.e., the ambiguity in (1a) disappears). This brings previously unnoticed observation about modality in SA. I argue that the structural differences between epistemic and root modals is crucial here. In particular, any interaction between the modal and the complement (by selecting a particular PP, for example) is evidence that the modal is low; thus, only root readings are possible. On the contrary, epistemic modals being high cannot interact with the internal structure. This discrepancy also reflects the distinction between epistemic modals being speaker-oriented and root being subject-oriented (Hacquard,2006).

(4)	yumkinu	li-ʔali-in	ʔan	yaḏhab-a	
	may	to-Ali-DAT	SM	go-SUBJ	
	'Ali may leave'				(Root reading only; epistemic reading is not available)

In conclusion, the restructuring analysis pursued here does not only account for the modality facts in SA (ambiguity, extraction compatibility, Cinque's diagnostic, among others) but also for the modal construction where ambiguity disappears. It is not clear how previous bi-clausal language-specific accounts would explain these facts. Furthermore, the restructuring analysis not only conforms to the cross-linguistic assumptions, but also provides insights into them (Jackendoff, 1972; Wurmbbrand, 2001; Cinque, 2006, among many others).

3:15-3:45 p.m.

### Sprouting in Jordanian Arabic

Juman Al Bukhari

(University of North Georgia)

Sprouting in (1) is an interesting construction, and it has striking similarities with sluicing in (2). However, it is still different in that the wh-word in sprouting does not have an overt correspondent in the antecedent clause as in (1), while the wh-word in sluicing corresponds to an indefinite element, like *something* in (2).

- 1) John was reading, but I do not know what.
- 2) John was reading something, but I do not know what.

To our knowledge, elliptical structures, as in (3), are understudied in Arabic, Thus I will analyze the example in (3) in order to answer the question of whether Jordanian Arabic (JA) exhibits sprouting ellipsis, and what controls the acceptability of sprouting in JA. In order to do so, I will test the properties of sprouting towards the example in (3), which resemble sprouting in (1).

3)	ḥasan	b-ji-qraʔ	bs	ma	b-a-ʔraf	ʃu
	Hasan	Asp-3ms-read.IMP	but	NEG	Asp-3ms-know.IMP	what
	'Hasan read, but I do not know what.'					

The properties of sprouting constructions (Ross, 1969; Chung et al, 1995; Lasnik, 2001; Merchant, 2001; among others) can be summarized as follows. Property 1 (Albert's generalization): unlike sluicing in (4b), sprouting fails to repair syntactic island violations; this was noted by Chris Albert and reported in Chung et al. (1995), and is shown in (4a).

4)*a.	ʃuf-it	l-vi:djo	ʔilli	bibajjin	ḥasan	b-ji-qraʔ	bs	ma	b-a-tzakkar		
	ʃu	saw-1p.PER	the-video	that	show.IMP	Hasan	Asp-3ps-read.IMP	but	NEG	Asp-1ps-remember.IMP	what

‘I saw the video that shows Hasan reading, but I do not remember what.’

b. *fufi l-vi:djo ?illi bibaj:in hasan b-ji-qra? ifi bs ma b-a-tzakkar*  
fu

saw-1ps.PER the-video that show.IMP Hasan Asp-3ps-read.IMP something but NEG Asp-1pa-remember.IMP what

‘I saw the video that shows Hasan reading something, but I do not remember what.’

Property 2 (Chung’s generalization): sprouting does not allow the object of a preposition to be sprouted (Chung, 2005) as in (5a), while sluicing allows that as shown in (5b).

5) \*a. *hasan ra: h ?a-l-zim bs ma b-a-?raf mi:n.*

Hasan go.3ms.PER to-the-gym but NEG Asp-1p-know.IMP who

‘Hasan went to the gym, but I do not know who.’ (intended interpretation: with who)

b. *hasan ra: h ?-al-zim ma? hada bs ma b-a-?raf mi:n.*

Hasan go.3ms.PER to-the-gym with someone but NEG Asp-1ps-know.IMP who

‘Hasan went to the gym with someone, but I do not know who.’

Property 3: the subject in (6a) cannot be sprouted despite the availability of null subjects in this language, while sluicing in (6b) is grammatical with an overt indefinite correspondent.

6) \*a. *?alat lazem j-zi:b-ha min l-mat?a;r bs ma ba-t-zakkar*  
min

say.3fs.PER must 3ms-bring.IMP-her from the-airport but NEG Asp-3ms-know.IMP who

‘She said that he should pick her up from the airport, but I cannot remember who.’

b. *?alat lazem hada j-zi:b-ha min l-mat?ar bs ma ba-t-zakkar*  
min

say.3fs.PER must someone 3ms-bring.IMP-her from the-airport but NEG Asp-3ms-know.IMP who

‘She said that someone should pick her up from the airport, but I cannot remember who.’

With a wh-PP in Arabic, sluicing in (7) shows optionality in the preposition; it either strands as in (7a) or pied-pipes as in (7b).

7) a. *?umar haka ma? hada, bas ma b-a-?raf mi:n; [-?umar haka — ma? t<sub>i</sub>]*

Omar talk.3ms.PER with someone, but not Asp-1s-know.IMP who Omar talk.3ms.PER with ‘Omar talked with someone, but I do not know who [ ~~Omar talked with~~ ]

b. *?umar haka ma? hada, bas ma b-a-?raf ma? mi:n; [-?umar haka t<sub>i</sub>]*

Therefore, the question that arises here is “does JA permit sprouting a prepositional phrase (PP)?” And if so, does JA stand a sprouted preposition?” Examining (8), JA seems to allow sprouting a PP, but the sprouted preposition cannot be stranded as shown in (8a); otherwise the resulting construction is ungrammatical under the intended meaning. The preposition in (8) has to pied-pipe in order to have a grammatical sprouting construction, which allows the complement of *ma? mi:n* ‘with who’ to elide as in (8b).

8) \*a. *?umar haka, bas ma b-a-?raf mi:n; [?umar haka ma?-o ]*

Omar talk.3ms.PER but not Asp-1s-know.IMP who Omar talk.3ms.PER with-him

‘Omar talked, but I do not know who talked with him.’

b. *?umar haka, bas ma b-a-?raf ma? mi:n; [?umar — haka]*

### Subfields: Syntax.

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3:45-4:15 p.m.

### The Complementizer Layer in Standard Arabic Revisited

Salem Albuhayri (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, King Saud University)

Hamid Ouali (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

This work revisits the analysis of the left periphery in Standard Arabic (SA), and addresses two issues. First, we show some distributional facts which exhibit that different complementizers assume different positions in the complementizer system. Two complementizers are investigated: *?inna* and *?anna*. In his analysis of the CP layer in SA, Shlonsky (2000) focuses, for the most part, on *?anna*, and ends up proposing the structure below, where the asterisk denotes a recursive projection.

- 1) ForceP > TopicP > Agr $\mathcal{R}$ P >  $\mathcal{R}$ P > TopicP\* > FocusP...

His account is that *?anna* originates as head of  $\mathcal{R}$ P, and raises to Agr $\mathcal{R}$ P, and then may further move through TopicP to Force<sup>0</sup>. He argues that the specifier position of Agr $\mathcal{R}$ P is an A-position. First, this is theoretically undesirable in that it assumes an agreement projection and an A-position within the discourse domain of the structure. Moreover, it follows from (1) that *?anna* can appear flanked by two Topics, a prediction that is not borne out as the ungrammaticality of (2) shows.

- 2)\* sami $\zeta$ -tu                      l-ixtibaar $_i$ -u                      ?anna    Aliyy-an                      ?id $\zeta$ taaz-a-hu $_i$   
hear.PERF-1sg.masc            the-exam-NOM            that    Ali-ACC                      pass.PREF-3sg.masc-it  
'I heard, the exam, that Ali passed it'

The illicitness of (2), coupled with the fact that the other complementizer *?inna* can appear in a structure like (2) as displayed by the grammaticality of (3), suggests that Shlonsky's proposal is in a way accurate but for the wrong complementizer.

- 3) ?ar-risaalat $_j$ -u    ?inna    Aliyy-an     $\zeta$ at $^{\zeta}$ aa-haa $_j$                       li- Mohammed-in  
the-letter-NOM    COM    Ali-ACC    give.PERF.3sg.masc-it                      to- Mohammed-GEN  
'The letter, verily, Ali gave it to Mohammed'

The facts presented in (2) and (3) corroborate to suggest that *?inna* originates lower in the structure, as opposed to *?anna* which originates in Force<sup>0</sup>. Semantically, *?inna* is most likely a Verum element whose contribution is to dismiss from the common ground the question "whether P?". So, the proposal advanced in this work is that SA has two different CP structures based on the complementizer. CPs headed by *?inna* has the structure in (4a), and CPs headed by *?anna* has the structure in (4b).

- 4) a. ForceP>TopP\*> VerumP *?inna* >TopP\*>FocP>FinP>TP .....  
    b. ForceP *?anna*>TopP\*>FocP>FinP>TP .....

(4) accounts for the facts and maintains the generalization that Focus must be adjacent to the verb in SA (Ouhalla, 1997; Shlonsky, 2000). In addition to (4), this work reexamines the ban of extraction across preverbal DPs (cf. Soltan, 2007). Data on the positions of wh-questions and focus, (5), as well as extraction patterns from embedded CPs headed by *?anna*, (6), point in the direction that the existence of this ban is dubious. An argument is made then to the effect that preverbal DPs are Topics base-generated in the left

periphery in a position higher than wh-question and focus positions, and therefore the ban of extraction is an inaccurate rendition of a fixed hierarchical order in the left periphery, namely Topic > Wh-questions/Focus. Supportive evidence comes from the grammaticality of long-distance extractions from embedded clauses headed by *ʔanna*, which take place across preverbal DPs in embedded clauses, as in (6). Such extractions can only be ungrammatical when they target positions higher than a preverbal DP in the matrix clause, as in (7).

- 5) a. Mohammad-un qaraʔ-a kitaab-an  
Mohammed-NOM read.PERF-3sg.masc book-ACC  
'Mohammed read a book'
- b.\* maaḏaa Mohammad-un qaraʔ-a  
what Mohammed-NOM read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'What did Mohammed read?'
- c.\* kitaab-an Mohammad-un qaraʔ-a  
book-ACC Mohammed-NOM read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'A BOOK, Mohammed read'
- d. Mohammad-un KITAAB-an qaraʔ-a  
Mohammed-NOM book-ACC read.perf-3sg.masc  
'Mohammed, a BOOK, he read'
- e. Mohammad-un maaḏaa qaraʔ-a  
Mohammed-NOM what read.perf-3sg.masc  
'Mohammed, what did he read?'
- 6) a. ḏʕanan-ta ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a kitaab-an  
think.PERF-2.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc book-ACC  
'You thought that Mohammed read a book'
- b. maaḏaa ḏʕanan-ta ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a  
what think.PERF-2.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'What did you think that Mohammed read?'
- c. kitaab-an ḏʕanan-ta ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a  
book-ACC think.PERF-2.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'A BOOK, you thought Mohammed read'
- 7) a. Aliyy-un ḏʕann-a ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a kitaab-an  
Ali-NOM think.PERF-3.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc book-ACC  
'Ali thought that Mohammed read a book'
- b.\* maaḏaa Aliyy-un ḏʕann-a ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a  
what Ali-NOM think.PERF-3.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'What did Ali think that Ali read?'
- c.\* kitaab-an Aliyy-un ḏʕann-a ʔanna Mohammed-an qaraʔ-a  
book-ACC Ali-NOM think.PERF-3.sg.masc that Mohammed-ACC read.PERF-3sg.masc  
'A BOOK, Ali thought that Mohammed read'

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4:15-4:30 p.m. Break

4:30-5:30 p.m. Keynote Speaker

**On the grammar of correlation: Evidence from Egyptian Arabic**

Usama Soltan (Middlebury College)

Human languages can utilize a variety of syntactic strategies to express correlation between two properties or two situations (e.g., via the use of *if*-conditionals or *when*-subordination, among a number of other possible structures). Quite interestingly, however, every language seems to have a syntactic structure that is specifically designed to express correlation in degree between two properties or two situations. The structure has come to be known in the relevant literature as the *comparative conditional* or the *comparative correlative* (among a few other names), and is illustrated in English by examples such as ‘*The more you read, the more you understand.*’ In this talk, we discuss how comparative correlatives are expressed in Arabic, with data primarily drawn from Egyptian Arabic (EA). More specifically, we discuss how EA expresses multiple types of semantic correlation via two main comparative correlative structures: One is marked by *kull mā*, while the other is marked by *ʔalā ʔadd mā*. Often cited for some idiosyncratic grammatical properties, these structures have typically sparked debate, both in the Arabic grammatical tradition (e.g., over the status and properties of *kulla-mā* as a subordinating particle; cf. Sībawayh (ca. 765-796), Al-Zamakhšari (1075-1144), Abu Ḥayyān (1256-1344), Ibn Hishām (1306-1360), to name a few), and in modern linguistic analysis (e.g., over the putative status of such structures as ‘constructional’ primitives within the grammar; cf. Fillmore 1987, McCawley 1988, Culicover & Jackendoff 1999, Borsley 2004, den Dikken 2005, Taylor 2006, 2013, Alqurashi & Borsley 2014, among several others). The description and analysis of comparative correlatives in Arabic dialects thus promises to deepen our understanding of the range of typological syntactic variation in the expression of correlation in human language, and the ways in which these empirical facts bear on general issues pertaining to our theory of grammar.

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**Social Dinner:** (Memorial Union 202, Alumni Lounge. 5:30-9:00) (Purchases are made on the registration link)

**Sunday, Feb 25, 2018 (Memorial Union 202, Alumni Lounge)**

9:00-9:30 a.m.

**The Pragmatic Analysis of Discourse Markers in Twitter Communications  
among Najdi Arabic Speakers**

Ibrahim M. Alaswad  
(Arizona State University)

With the rise of social media platforms, linguistics pragmatists have become more curious to explore the linguistic behavior of speakers in social networking sites, such as Twitter . Therefore, a number of pragmatic studies have been conducted to shed light on various linguistic phenomena, including politeness and humor. Nevertheless, discourse markers remained an area of research understudied in social media sites by pragmatists in the past two decades. It is worth noting that the majority of Arabic discourse markers studies focused on spoken discourse, such as Libyan Arabic (Ahamd, 2014), and Jordanian Arabic (Al-Harahshed & Kanakri, 2013). Thus, this study explores the pragmatic functions of three discourse markers (DMs) in Najdi Arabic (NA), *elzibda* , *min jid* , and *maʕ nafsak* , in Twitter conversations among NA speakers to understand how NA speakers decode their meanings in various contexts.

This study draws on a discourse and conversation analysis framework to analyze the data gathered from Twitter. The study shows that these NA discourse markers have a number of different discourse functions depending on the context in which they occur. Here is one example for each one of the three NA discourse markers to get a sense of some their pragmatic functions:

Discourse Marker “ Elzibda”

Starting a conversation

- (1) A: elzibda keif kan el-video  
DM how was the-video  
'Hey, how was the video?'
- B: ya-.ʔahik  
Impf.3msg-funny  
'It was funny.'

In example (1), the discourse marker is used to start the conversation and grab the other person' s attention. Clearly, speaker A has posted a video for her friend and wanted to check if she liked it. Speaker B respond by saying the video was hilarious. In this sentence, the discourse marker has a meaning similar to 'Hey' or 'Yo' in American English slang.

**Discourse Marker “Min Jid”**

*Showing disagreement*

- (2) A: hæ-l-film ʔk.ər min raʔəʕ ɪstæmtəʕ-t ʕaleh  
This-film more than awesome like.1.SG it  
'This movie is more than awesome. I enjoyed watching it.'
- B: min jid-ik ana nim-t fi nus el-film  
DM-2.SG I slept.1SG through half the-film  
'Are you kidding me? I slept through half of the movie.'

In the example (2), the discourse marker *Min Jid* was used to express total disagreement with speaker' s statement. Speaker A thinks the movie is really enjoyable, but speaker B has a different opinion. In this

sentence, the discourse marker *Min jid* has a confrontation tone to it, and it shows a complete disagreement.

**Discourse Marker “Maḥ nafsak”**

*Indicating Surprise*

- (3) A:      Ḥənd-I      dəwam l-saḥa Ḥafara bas mə-ʔdri      eʃ      səhani      min elhin  
                  Have-1.SG work O'clock ten      but NEG-know.1SG what wake-1SG right now  
                  ‘I have work at 10 O'clock, but I have no idea what woke me up right now.’  
       B:      maḥ nafsak qaim-ah nami bas  
                  DM Woke up.3fSG sleep.IMP only  
                  ‘Are you serious? Go back to sleep!’

In example (3), the discourse marker *maḥ nafsak* is utilized by speaker B to show a surprise. Speaker A tells speaker B that she woke up earlier than usual since her work starts at 10 a.m. Speaker B did not believe what she heard and thus used this discourse marker to show that she was astonished. From the above examples, it is evident that NA discourse markers have no meaning by their own, but they contribute to the coherent of the sentence. These DMs pose a challenge for Non-Najdi Arabic speakers who might not be fully aware of their pragmatic functions; thus, it is recommended to take causation before utilizing them in the conversations.

9:30-10:00 a.m.

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

Amel Khalfaoui

(University of Oklahoma)

Within Relevance Theory (Blakemore 87, 1992, 2002; Blass 1990; Sperber and Wilson 1995) discourse markers (DM) such as *but* and *so* are procedural linguistic expressions, which guide the addressee to derive the intended interpretation of a discourse segment by combining linguistic content of the utterance and context. This paper uses a relevance-theoretic approach to propose a procedural account of the Tunisian Arabic DM *ʔama*. The distribution of *ʔama* in a collection of authentic texts indicates that this DM occurs in different syntactic positions to conjoin two phrases, two sentences, or even to introduce a new utterance. Further, *ʔama* 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 (i.e., ‘contrast’, ‘cancellation’, ‘correction’, and ‘denial of an assumed implication’) as part of its semantic meaning, and proposes a unified account for this DM. I argue that *ʔama* encodes one general procedure (i.e., inferential route) which guides the hearer to see an ‘INCOMPATIBILITY’ between two properties or two propositions as shown in the four examples given in (1-4).

- (1) hasīlu illi baʃ ji-ksib l-maʃrfa haḏāka huwa illi beʃ j-sallik-ha  
                  anyway REL fut 3M-earn the knowledge that he REL FUT 3M-make-it  
       **ʔama** illi ma ju-sil-ʃ li-l-maʃrifa wa li-lmaʃlumāt saʃd-u makhbūb  
       ʔama REL NEG 3M-arrive-NEG to-the-knowledge and the-information luck-his upside.down  
                  ‘Anyway, those who will gain knowledge, no matter what type of knowledge it is, are the ones who will make it; **ʔama** those who do not have enough knowledge and information, are down on their luck.’
- (2) muʃ kan l-ʔadmiʃa illi qaʃda t-hiʒʒ **ʔama** l-ʔadmiʃa bima.ʔann-hum ʔadmiʃa  
                  NEG only the-brains REL PROG 3F-leave ʔama the-brains since-they brains  
                  l-qdar w l-muāmalāt hija hāʒāt sʃtb bāʃ ja-lqā-ha Ḥand 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) w marra uxra hna manīʃ ndāfiʃ Ḥla n-nahḏa **ʔama** na-ʃti fi wiʒhat naḏar-i

and time other here NEG 1-defend on the-nahdha *ʔama* 1-give in point view-mine  
'One more time, I am not defending [the political party] Ennahdha; *ʔama* I am giving my point of view'.

(4) mufāʔaʔat l-markaz l-θāni fi l-ʔintixabāt  
surprise the-place the-second in the-elections

sa-taʔti min hizb selim rjāhi na-ʕrif ʕlāf *ʔama* ma n-qūl-f  
FUT-come from party Selim Riahi 1- know why *ʔama* NEG 1-tell-NEG

The surprise of the second place in the elections will come from the party of Selim Riahi.  
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 DM *ʔama* instructs the hearer to see 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* instructs the hearer to see the *ʔama*-introduced clause as a correction to the proposition communicated by the previous one. In (4), by the end of the first segment, the hearer might derive the assumption that the speaker was going to share the reason why the party of Selim Riahi will win second place in the elections. However, the use of *ʔama* signals to the hearer that the *ʔama*-introduced clause is relevant as a denial of this expected implication. The specific implementation of the general procedure that *ʔama* encodes into one of these four meanings results from the hearer's combining linguistic content and accessible contextual assumptions. Further, the 'INCOMPATIBILITY' that *ʔama* signals does not contribute to the truth conditions of the utterance that contains it. For example, in each one of the four examples discussed above, the utterance is true only if the two conjuncts of *ʔama* are true. Thus, the role of *ʔama* 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.

**linguistic subfields:** pragmatics, discourse analysis

10:00-10:30 a.m.

**A Study of the Place of Articulation of the Arabic Voiceless Dorsal Fricative in Six Different Varieties**

Noor Abo Mokh, Abdullah Alfaifi, Sarah Robinson, Sherman Charles, Steven Lulich,  
and Kenneth De Jong  
(Indiana University)

This study investigates the variations in different dialects of colloquial Arabic of the place of articulation of the dorsal fricative (خ). This study uses state-of-the-art 3D/4D ultrasound, digitized 3D palate impressions, and audio recordings to analyze the dorsal fricative of Arabic speakers ranging from Morocco to the Levant and Saudi Arabia. Previous descriptions of the place of articulation of the dorsal fricative /χ/, which were mostly impressionistic, suggest that it ranges from velar to uvular. Sibawayh's traditional description classifies the dorsal fricative the same as /ʁ/ and /q/, leading to its typical transcription as the voiceless uvular fricative /χ/ (Al-Nassir, 1985). Watson (2002) and Zawaydeh (1997) describe the standard Arabic voiceless fricative /χ/ as either velar or post-velar, depending on the dialect. In Najdi Arabic, the dorsal fricative is described as post-velar (Abboud, 1978), and as uvular by Ingham (2008). Saiegh-Haddad (2003) describes this fricative as uvular in Modern Standard Arabic, but McCarus (2008) describes it as velar /x/. This variation is also recorded for regional varieties spoken within the same dialect. 3D/4D ultrasound data were collected from six native speakers of different varieties of Arabic, one each of Moroccan, Algerian, Egyptian, Syrian, Palestinian, and Faifi. To provide comparative standards for various points of articulation, the corpus included productions of palatal, pharyngeal, and contrasting velar and uvular stops. The results show a general tendency toward uvular articulation or pre-uvular articulation across dialects for the articulation of خ, with some variation in some speakers. For example, the Moroccan speaker showed consistency in the fricative constriction as being very similar to the production of uvular

stops. For the Algerian speaker, by contrast, there was a wide range of variation, with most articulations of  $\text{ħ}$  being very anterior to those of the uvular stop. To quantify this variation, we estimated the relative distance between the tongue posture to the uvular and velar stop articulations, verifying the general observations from the images themselves. We further explored how these articulation differences were apparent in the acoustics of the fricatives. The fricatives consistently showed a spectral formant peak at a frequency that is higher than what was found with the uvular stop, and these peak frequencies were related to the articulatory differences found with the ultrasound system. Thus, the articulatory variation is readily detectable in the acoustics. These results show conclusively that dorsal fricatives tend to be articulated as pre-uvulars, but with considerable variation from individual to individual. Taken together, we believe the results indicate an effect of the fact that the dorsal fricative does not contrast between velar and uvular, as do the stops. Given the lack of contrast, the dorsal fricative is free to encroach upon the velar region, and does so regularly. The stops, by contrast, are extraordinarily different, perhaps indicating the presence of the guttural/non-guttural contrast.

**[phonetics]**

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10:30-11:00 a.m.

**Stress Assignment and Foot Construction in a Southwestern Saudi Arabian Arabic Dialect**

Musa Alahmari

(Indiana University)

This paper aims to present and analyze some aspects of the stress system of a Southwestern Saudi Arabian Arabic (SAA) dialect spoken in the area of Tihama (Northern Tihama), south of the Makkah region, east of the Hali valley. The dialect is interesting in many aspects including issues related to stress assignment and foot structure (the focus of this paper), such as geminate and long vowel effects on stress assignment, pre-antepenultimate stress, and foot extrametricality. With respect to the role of geminates and long vowels in stress assignment, Watson (2002) has provided a comprehensive description and analysis of the stress system in San'ani Arabic (SA) in which geminates and long vowels have special properties in that they will always attract a stress even when there is another heavy syllable in the word. For example, in SA the words ['daw.wart] 'I searched' and ['saa.fart] 'I travelled' have stress on the initial syllable (because of the presence of the geminate and long vowel, respectively), which seems unusual given that the final syllable is superheavy and so should attract the stress. However, this pattern is not unique to SA but also occurs in SAA where geminate consonants and long vowels have the same stress attracting properties. Another interesting stress property of SAA that is also found in SA is that in words with four light syllables, stress is word initial (pre-antepenultimate), for example ['ra.ga.ba.ti] 'my neck'. Nonetheless, SAA differs from SA in that stress in SA is observed to have a three-syllable stress window

involving closed syllables (in words lacking a geminate or long vowel). For example, in SA, stress in the four-syllable word [maktábat] 'my library' in SA is located on the antepenultimate syllable since the initial closed syllable is outside of the three syllable window, whereas stress would be on the closed antepenultimate in a word like [katábtaluh] 'I wrote for him'. SAA, though, does not have such a three syllable window for such CVC syllables. In SAA both the words [máktabati] 'my library' and [katábtaluh] 'I wrote for him' have stress on the (non-final) closed syllable even though in [máktabati], the closed syllable is in pre-antepenultimate position.

The analysis of the stress facts observed in the dialect of SAA is presented in light of the Metrical Stress Theory (Hayes 1995). In an Optimality Theoretic framework, our analysis focuses on issues related to how feet are constructed in this dialect as well as how stress is assigned in the language under the effect of geminates and long vowels. In the presented analysis, we argue that the stress pattern of SAA is a moraic trochee binary stress system in which ternary effects arise as a result of Weak Local Parsing (WLP) that is responsible for the pre-antepenultimate stress in the language (Hayes 1995). For example, the foot structure of [máktabati] in our proposed analysis would be [(mak). ta. (ba.ti)]. We also argue that the analysis of stress assignment under the effect of geminates and long vowels is prominence-based in such a way that stress is assigned to the heaviest syllable in the word in a scalar quantity-sensitivity stress system that gives priority to syllables that are inherently bimoraic (i.e. those containing geminates or long vowels, which are underlyingly bimoraic). The analysis seeks a unified account that interacts with other aspects of the phonology in the investigated dialect such as high vowel deletion.

Short high vowels in this dialect are deleted when they occur in an unstressed open syllable. For example, /faahim-a/ 'understanding (fem.)' and /muškila-ti/ 'my problem' are realized as [faa.hma] and ['muš.kla.ti] after high vowel syncope. However, syncope does not apply to ['mu.da.ra] 'managers' because of the stressed high vowel but it also (unexpectedly) does not apply to the second syllable of ['ku.tu.bi] 'my books'. Our analysis under WLP accounts for syncope in the language such that when foot construction results in an unparsed light syllable with a high vowel then that high vowel is prone to deletion, while a parsed high vowel is not deleted. For example, /muškila-ti/ is parsed under WLP as [(muš).ki.(la.ti)] while /kutubi/ is parsed as [(ku.tu).bi]. Syncope applies for the former example since the unstressed high vowel occurs in an unparsed (i.e. unfooted) position while syncope is blocked in the latter example (i.e. [(ku.tu).bi]) because the unstressed high vowel in the second syllable is parsed by the foot. The proposed analysis provides an original account of foot construction in SAA and makes accurate predictions on which unstressed high vowels undergo deletion.

11:00-11:15 a.m.      Break

11:15-11:45 a.m.

**The grammaticalisation of a stage-level copula in vernacular Arabic**

Maris Camilleri and Louisa Sadler  
(University of Essex)

11:45-12:15 p.m.

**The Grammaticalization Path of the Arabic Verb /ʔalaʕ/**

Estefania Valenzuela Mochon  
(The University of Texas at Austin)

Motion verbs have been shown to follow stable paths of grammaticalization that can be found cross-linguistically with significant regularity. Arabic is not an exception to this linguistic phenomenon and the diachronic development of motion verbs in this language has followed similar directions to those observed in many other languages. Abdulrahim (2013) presented a comprehensive study of seven deictic motion verbs semantically related to the verbs 'to go' and 'to come' in Modern Standard Arabic. Regarding

literature in dialectal Arabic, Jarad (2014) examined how the Syrian verb /rāh/ ‘to go’ has grammaticalized into a prospective future particle. While the evolution of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’ has attracted the attention of most research on grammaticalization, other verbs that similarly encode motion as their original meaning remain largely overlooked by the literature.

Therefore, this study contributes to the body of knowledge of the grammaticalization framework by analyzing the motion Arabic verb /ṭalaʕ/ ‘to come out’ (typically glossed in dictionaries as ‘to appear’ or ‘to rise’). Overtime, this verb has experienced a significant semantic development from its original meaning linked to a motion event (1) to more abstract contexts where this notion of motion is metaphorical in nature (2), i.e. ‘to come out’, or has been completely lost (3).

1. طلعت الشمس.  
/ ṭalaʕat al-shams/  
The sun **came out** (lit. ‘appeared’).
2. قلبي طلع من مطرحة.  
/ qalbī ṭalaʕ min maṭraḥu/  
My heart came out of my chest (lit. ‘its place’).
3. بنهاية المحكمة هي طلعت بريئة.  
/bi-nihāyat al-maḥkama hiya ṭalaʕat barīʔa /  
At the end of the trial she **turned out** to be innocent.

In this paper, I reconstruct the grammaticalization path that this verb has followed by classifying its semantic meanings as found in contemporary dialects of Arabic. The corpus used in this study was obtained from the social media platform ‘Twitter’. To extract the data, I used ‘Tweetsmap’, a powerful tool that allows us to analyze and visualize Twitter networks. A total of 670 tweets from six different Arabic speaking regions (Saudi Arabia, Bahrein, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, and Palestine) were collected.

The preliminary results of my study suggest that in its original meaning the Arabic verb /ṭalaʕ/ designated the action of ‘moving from an unknown or invisible place to a known or visible place in a rapid manner’. Gradually, the concrete meaning of motion weakened and the verb developed a resultative meaning, that is, the verb came to denote a change of state as the result of an event completion. I argue that the main trigger of the grammaticalization process this verb underwent is precisely the notion of ‘change of state’, embedded in the original meaning of the verb /ṭalaʕ/. The implications of this study are particularly relevant since the grammaticalization process of verbs such as ‘to come out’ has not been previously recorded in the literature and it could open the door for future research with similar verbs in other languages.

**Subfields: Historical Linguistics, Grammaticalization**

12:15-12:45 p.m.

**Investigating negative marking in Palestinian Arabic as a site of contact-induced syntactic change**

William M. Cotter

(University of Arizona)

As Lucas (2007, 2010) notes, many Arabic varieties construct negation through the use of a discontinuous, bipartite construction. Palestinian Arabic (henceforth PA) is one such variety. This construction utilizes a preverbal *ma:/ma* element, itself a common Arabic negator, and the enclitic post-verbal *-š* (Lucas 2010): e.g. *ma-ruḥt-iš* ‘I didn’t go’. However, in PA, negation also occurs through the sole use of the post-verbal *-š*: e.g. *ba’araf-iš* ‘I don’t know’, which Lucas (2010) has argued arose through the phonetic reduction of *ma-* in high-frequency verbs, then generalized to all imperfect verbs. Based on judgements from informants living throughout historic Palestine, Lucas describes that post-verbal *-š* negation in perfect-aspect verbs is ungrammatical. However, in almost all other contexts, post-verbal *-š* is well-formed. Drawing on Abu El-Haija’s (1981) analysis of negation acquisition in Jordanian Arabic, Lucas describes a potential future for PA that results in the application of negative post-verbal *-š* across all verb contexts, reflecting a potential process of language change.

This paper investigates this hypothesis through a quantitative examination of negation within two communities of PA speakers. Specifically, I examine this feature in two communities in the Gaza Strip: indigenous Gaza City residents and Palestinian refugees originally from Jaffa who have lived in Gaza since 1948. In doing so, I argue that while preliminary results lend initial support to Lucas' hypothesis, given the complex history of migration into Gaza, analyzing negation through the lens of contact-induced change may provide a more grounded analysis of the phenomenon than a purely acquisition-based account. To pursue this hypothesis, this study draws on sociolinguistic fieldwork conducted by the author in Gaza City in 2013 and a corpus of 39 interviews. Of these 39 speakers, 32 are indigenous Gaza City residents, while the remaining 7 are refugees originally from Jaffa. In reanalyzing Salonen's (1979/1980) texts, de Jong (2000) notes that Gaza City favors preverbal *ma-* negation, aligning it with Bedouin varieties from the Negev (Shawarbah 2012) and Sinai (de Jong 2000). This positions Gaza City as unique among urban PA dialects, like Jaffa, which are of the type described by Lucas (2010): favoring bipartite and post-verbal negation, reflecting the potential that these two varieties treat negation in different ways. Coding and analysis of the full corpus of data is ongoing. However, qualitative results from a subset of 9 indigenous Gaza speakers (3 elderly, 3 middle aged, 3 young) from the corpus lend initial support to Lucas' hypothesis. For older speakers within this subset, negation is overwhelmingly constructed through bipartite, e.g. *ma-šuft-iš* 'I didn't see', *ma-naxud-iš* 'We don't take' (perfect/imperfect) and post-verbal negation, e.g. *ba'araf-iš* 'I don't know' (imperfect), in line with Lucas (2010). However, middle aged speakers show considerable variation in their forms of negation, with both bipartite and post-verbal negation appearing in identical contexts (in both perfect/imperfect aspects) within the speech of the same speakers, including evidence of at least limited generalization of the post-verbal form to the perfect, e.g. *ša:r-iš* 'He didn't become'. While Lucas describes change in negation as the potential result of acquisition, this variation is reminiscent of the situation in Amman (Al-Wer 2007), wherein second generation Ammani residents showed extreme variation for a number of features, which was attributed to the effect dialect contact and new dialect formation (Trudgill 1986, 2004). Finally, younger speakers in this subset show limited, but notable use of solely pre-verbal *ma-* negation across verbal contexts, e.g. *ma-ruht* 'I didn't go', the form noted by de Jong (2000) as predominant in Gaza City. Pre-verbal *ma-*, while common in Arabic dialects, runs counter to the hypothesis described by Lucas (2010), with post-verbal *-š* generalizing across contexts in PA. However, the use of pre-verbal negation is in line with the patterns prevalent in dialects surrounding Gaza (de Jong 2000, Shawarbah 2012). Upon the completion of coding, data from the full corpus of 39 speakers will be subjected to Linear Mixed Effects analysis (Bates et al 2015) in R, with Aspect (perfect/imperfect), Verb Status (regular/pseudo), Age (continuous), Speaker Sex (male/female), and Dialect Background (Gaza/Jaffa) as fixed-factors, and Speaker and Lexical Item as random-factors. Given the variability evidenced in the middle generation and negation patterns for younger speakers that resemble those of neighboring dialects, if these findings hold across the full corpus, they suggest that contact may represent an important influence on the directionality and extent of syntactic change within PA varieties like those spoken in Gaza as a result of the territory's unique sociopolitical history and legacy of migration.

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12:45-1:15 a.m.

### **Overt/Null Subjects in Algerian Arabic: A Quantitative Approach**

Osama Omari (Yarmouk University) & Amina Madani (Sidi Bel Abbes University)

Although the pro-drop phenomenon has received much attention in the previous literature of Arabic (Eid 1983, Parkinson 1987, Moutaouakil 1989, Schulte-Nafeh 2005), only a few studies have examined this phenomenon using quantitative methods (Owens et al 2010, Omari 2016, Al-Shawashreh 2016). The present study aims to fill in this gap in the literature by investigating the potential influence of a number of sociolinguistic factors on the choice of subject form (null/overt) in Algerian Arabic using the variationist framework (Labov 1972). The factors coded in the study include co-referentiality, topicality, tense form, grammatical person and number, transitivity, semantic class of the verb, animacy, clause type, gender and the bilinguality level (Arabic & French).

The data for this study are based on a spontaneous speech of 22 bilingual speakers obtained through recorded interviews. All the participants acquired Algerian Arabic as their first language; however, they differed in the age period they acquired/learned French. Accordingly, the participants are stratified into two social groups: early and late bilinguals. Early bilinguals (8 females; 3 males) are identified as those who acquired French at home before going to school. The late bilingual group (8 females; 3 males), on the other hand, did not acquire/speak French at home. They started learning French as a school subject at the age of 10.

A total of 2139 tokens were extracted and then analysed in Goldvarb. The multivariate analysis of the data shows that the choice of subject form in Algerian Arabic is constrained by co-referentiality, topicality, tense form, person, the semantic class of the verb. However, none of the extra-linguistic factors was selected as significant for determining subject form. These results reveal that external- social factors do not play a role on subject choice. Only linguistic factors are found to constrain the choice of subject form. Algerian speakers under the influence of L2 French do not seem to undergo attrition, thus encouraging further studies questioning the interface hypothesis (Tsimpili et al. 2006).

**Subfield: sociolinguistics, pragmatics.**

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The 32nd Annual Symposium on Arabic  
Linguistics

32<sup>nd</sup> ASAL

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1:15-1:30 p.m.            Closing Remarks