Announcements

• ADAP presentations start on Monday May 7th and continue on Wednesday May 9th.

• Order of presentation will be determined at random now.

• Instructions for your presentation will be sent via e-mail.

• Today till 4:15 again 😊.

Today’s agenda

• Quick discussion of the news report in light of features from Chapter 8.
• Finish our discussion of the syntax and semantics of word order in Arabic.
• Discuss question-formation in CA and EA.
• Sociolinguistic issues from Chapter 9: Revisiting diglossia. Levels of language. Hybridization. Crossover between levels.

Summary of word order in CA

• Case morphology on nouns allows freedom of word order in CA sentences, at least in theory.
• In actual usage, two orders are the most common: VSO and SVO.
• Semantically, VSO is event-oriented, whereas SVO is entity-oriented.
• Morphologically, VSO is associated with gender, but no number, agreement on the verb, whereas SVO is associated with full agreement in person, number, and gender.

VOS and OVS orders

• Two other word orders that are possible in CA are VOS and OVS.

VOS

• CA also allows VOS orders, obligatorily when the object is a pronoun, and optionally when the object is a noun phrase:
  أخذ خالد سيارتي. (VSO)  
  أخذ سيارتي خالد. (VOS - optional)
  أخذها خالد. (VOS - obligatory)
• VOS is also typical when the subject is ‘heavier’ than the object:
  أخذ الطالب الألماني الطويل الشعر سيارتي. (VSO)
  أخذ سيارتي الطالب الألماني الطويل الشعر. (VOS)
OVS

- An object may occur initially in the sentence for contrastive emphasis, in which case it can be definite or indefinite.

Marking topics via dislocation

- CA, as well as today’s dialects, have topic-oriented structures, called dislocation in syntax (Holes calls it extrapolation.).
- The topic occurs at the front of the sentence, and is associated with a resumptive pronoun within the clause, typically in object position.

Emphasis via Clefting in English

- Clefting is a grammatical structure to emphasize a phrase. In English, it takes the form of

> 'It is [emphasized phrase] relative pronoun ...

It is John who broke the window.
It is this woman who John likes.
It is at this restaurant that Harry met Sally.

Clefting in CA

- In CA, clefting takes the form of

> [Emphasized phrase] huwa relative-pronoun ...

خالد هو الذي أكل البيتزا.
(It is Khaled who ate the pizza.)
مها هي التي يتكلم عنها.
(It is Maha who Khaled is talking about.)
- This is a list of relative pronouns in CA:

الذي التي اللغان اللتان اللائي اللاتي

Verbless sentences

- Both CA and the modern dialects are known for having verbless sentences, with

الطلاب في الصف الآن.

- The subject is always a noun phrase, but the complement can be a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, or an adjective/participle phrase.

Predicate fronting in verbless sentences

- As in verbal sentences, indefinite noun phrases may not appear in first position in verbless sentences. In such cases, the predicate which is typically a prepositional phrase in that case, has to be fronted.

فأر في الصف الطلاب.

- If is used, predicate fronting is not required.
Word order in the dialects

- With the loss of the case system from Arabic dialects, variation in word order is more restricted.
- SVO seems to be the unmarked (=normal) word order in many urban dialects today, with the VSO order being still in use, albeit less frequently.
- We discuss word order in EA here. In your ADAP project, you have to discuss the word order of your dialect in the syntax section of the report.

Word order in EA

- EA is for the most part an SVO language.
- VSO orders also occur, typically after certain adverbial particles like بعدما (after), قبلما (before), لمّا (when), إذا (if). When V is before the S, agreement in number is possible (unlike in CA).
- We discuss word order in EA here. In your ADAP project, you have to discuss the word order of your dialect in the syntax section of the report.

Dislocation in EA

- Like CA, EA makes extensive use of dislocation structures with resumptive pronouns.

الموضوع ده احمد كان يتكلم معايا عنه.
(This issue, Ahmad was talking to me about it)

The syntax of question-formation

- Human languages differ in the way they form so-called wh-questions (information questions about who, what, where, when, etc.).
- Some languages like English form a question by fronting the wh-word:
  
  [What] did you see _?
  [Which book] did you read _?

Strategies of question-formation

- In other languages like Japanese and Chinese, the wh-word appears where other nouns appear:
  
  Japanese
  John-ga dare-o butta ka?
  Who did John hit?

- This type of languages is called wh-in-situ languages.
Strategies of question-formation

- Human languages also use a third strategy for question-formation. We see that in Malayalam.

Malayalam (Dravidian)

\[ \text{aara aaNą nin-ne talli-(y)ata?} \quad \text{(ACC = accusative)} \]

\[ \text{Who is it that beat you?} \]

- This type of structure is called **wh-clefting**, and is also available in languages like English, as the translation of the example shows.

Question-formation in CA

- The three strategies of question-formation are attested in CA and Arabic dialects.
- CA uses wh-fronting as well as wh-clefting. In the latter strategy, a resumptive pronoun is used to refer to the wh-word.

\[ \text{ماذا أكلت المطعم؟} \]

\[ \text{What did you eat today?} \]

\[ \text{ما الذي أكلته اليوم؟} \]

\[ \text{Who did you eat today?} \]

\[ \text{من الذي تكلمت معه؟} \]

\[ \text{Who is it that you talked with?} \]

Lebanese

- Most modern Arabic dialects are like CA when it comes to question-formation. Consider Lebanese Arabic:

\[ \text{مين شفت بالمطعم؟} \]

\[ \text{(Who did you see at the restaurant?)} \]

\[ \text{مين يلبي شفته بالمطعم؟} \]

\[ \text{(Who is it that you saw at the restaurant?)} \]

EA, the odd dialect out

- Egyptian Arabic, however, is rather odd among Arabic dialects in disallowing wh-fronting. Instead, EA uses wh-in-situ and wh-clefting only.

\[ \text{ ministries} \]

\[ \text{من الذي تكلمت في المطعم؟} \]

\[ \text{(Who is it that you talked at the restaurant?)} \]

\[ \text{من الذي تكلمت في المطعم؟} \]

\[ \text{Who is it that you talked with?} \]

Wh-words in EA

- This is a list of wh-words in EA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>مين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what</td>
<td>أيه</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>أنةي/أني</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>إمته</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>فَين</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>كام</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>كَامَ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how much</td>
<td>بكَام</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntax issues for your ADAP

- Syntactic issues you **HAVE TO** address in your ADAP report:
- Does the dialect have a free state structure (like بتاع constructions in EA)?
- What is the range of word order variation? Which word order is unmarked? Is there agreement asymmetry between SVO and VSO orders?
- What is the negation system like?
- What question-formation strategies does the dialect utilize?
Diglossia (Ferguson 1959)

- Arabic-speaking countries are diglossic.
  Translation: There exist two varieties in the speech community, side by side, with a division of labor between them.
- One variety is the High variety (called H), and the other is the Low variety (called L).
- The two varieties differ in both their linguistic features as well as their contexts of usage.

H vs. L (in linguistic form)

(a) Phonologically, L is the basic system. The divergent features of H are a parasystem, which are often replaced by their L equivalents in the oral performance of H.
(b) Morphologically: the L system is simpler and more regular than the H system (e.g., verb paradigms are more symmetrical, and there is less allomorphy in general).
(c) Syntactically: there is a total loss of case and mood inflections in L, with retention in H; there are fewer categories of person and number in L; content is stricter in L than in H.
(d) Lexically: there are many paired lexical items, one H, one L, for everyday concepts, in which the range of meaning is roughly the same, but the use of one or other member of the contrasting pair immediately stamps the utterance or written sequence as H or L.

H vs. L (in context of usage)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seros in church or mosque</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructions to servants, workers, colleagues</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal letters</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech in parliament, political speech</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University lecture</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversation with family, friends, colleagues</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News broadcast</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio “soap opera”</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper editorial, news story, caption on picture</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caption on political cartoon</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetry</td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folk literature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BUT:

- Certain contexts of usage seem to allow both H and L.
- In fact, within the same utterance, speech can go from H to L, or vice versa.
- Positing two varieties is probably an oversimplification.
- Maybe we have more varieties than just 2. How about we call them ‘levels’ of language?

Diglossia as a continuum: Badawi’s 5 levels of ‘Arabic’

- El-Said Badawi proposed the following five levels of the ‘Arabic’ used in Egypt:
  - (Classical Arabic) فصحي النزقل (Fuschi an-Nazil)
  - (Modern Standard Arabic) فصحي الأصر (Fushi al-Almustasir)
  - (Educated Spoken Arabic) عامية المثقفين (Gama’iyya al-Mutakfin)
  - (Semi-literate Spoken Arabic) عامية المثقفين المتدربين (Gama’iyya al-Mutakfin al-Mutadimin)
  - (Illiterate Spoken Arabic) عامية الأميين (Gama’iyya al-Amineen)

Field, tenor, and mode

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Field(s)</th>
<th>Tenor</th>
<th>Mode(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Islamic/Classical Arabic</td>
<td>student/highly written/prepared spoken</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nonreligious series (e.g., journalism, law, politics, news)</td>
<td>formal</td>
<td>nonprofessional/reading aloud/written/reading aloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Same as Level 2</td>
<td>semiformal</td>
<td>temporary speech/professional/conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nonprofessional (e.g., discussion of television programs, sports, job matters)</td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Professional, domestic, connected by contact with modern civilization</td>
<td>informal</td>
<td>conversation (e.g., with children/illiterate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of usage for every level

Level 1: Recitation of the Koran; dramatic recreation of events in Islamic history
Level 2: Political speech to the nation; read from a prepared text; news bulletins; voice-over commentary on serious documentaries
Level 3: Studio discussion on any serious topic; for example, literature, the environment; impromptu interview with government minister, scientist, writer
Level 4: “You pop” interviews in the streets with ordinary people; “ordinary people” depicted in television/radio plays, serials, soap operas; discussions; interviews on nonserious topics, especially if involving women (e.g., cooking, fashion); game shows; sport commentary
Level 5: Rarely represented except by speech of stereotypical working-class characters (doormen, porters, menagers, cleaners) in comedies and soap operas.

You can go ‘up’ and ‘down’ between levels

• In actual language usage, Arabic-speakers will alternate between the different levels, depending on the situation, the topic, and who they are talking to.
• That creates a fascinating spectrum of variation in language usage that sociolinguists have been trying to understand, [COMMERCIAL ALERT], a topic for my next Spring’s class on Arabic sociolinguistics.

Examples

• Nasser’s speech: See handout
• Cross-dialectal conversations: “classicizing” and “leveling”.

Hybridization is rule-governed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSA form</th>
<th>EA form</th>
<th>Hybrid</th>
<th>Impossible</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ﺛَﺤِيَانْ ْنِ</td>
<td>ﺛَﺤِيَانْ ْنِ</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to protect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺛَﺤِيَانْ ْنِ</td>
<td>ﺛَﺤِيَانْ ْنِ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺧَرْبَﺎُ</td>
<td>ﺧَرْبَﺎُ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﻋَرْفَ</td>
<td>ﻋَرْفَ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﺮَأَيْ</td>
<td>ﺮَأَيْ</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hybridization is rule-governed

- Selecting the [b-] aspect/mood particle in EA, is compatible with both the MSA [ja-] or the EA [ji-] prefix.
- By contrast, selecting the future morpheme سـ or سوف requires MSA [ja-] prefix. Using the EA [ji-] prefix in that case is not possible.

Hybridization across word boundaries

- The MSA form for ‘to be able’ is يستطيع. The EA form is بقدر. Two hybrid forms would be يستطيع بقدر. Which form is used determines the language level of what comes next.

Crossover mechanism

- An example from the Leeds University corpus (discussed by Holes, pp. 371-373).
- In response to a question whether he had any comments, an Egyptian army officer replied:

> هناك حاجة على ما يبدو.

Hybridization is rule-governed

- Certain dialectal features are incompatible with ‘elevated’ MSA grammatical features.
- For example, the EA verb قد ‘to sit’, pronounced [ʔaad], may not occur in the dual or feminine plural, since these categories are absent in EA, as we discussed a couple of weeks ago.

Sudden shifts between levels

- Sudden shifts from one level to another without a crossover site also occur, typically for emphasis purposes.

Next class agenda

- PRESENTATIONS ON ARABIC DIALECTS.
  Looking forward.