

THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF ARABIC LINGUISTICS

The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics introduces readers to the major facets of research on Arabic and of the linguistic situation in the Arabic-speaking world.

The edited collection includes chapters from prominent experts on various fields of Arabic linguistics. The contributors provide overviews of the state of the art in their field and specifically focus on ideas and issues. Not simply an overview of the field, this handbook explores subjects in great depth and from multiple perspectives.

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The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics is a much-needed resource for researchers on Arabic and comparative linguistics, syntax, morphology, computational linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, and also for undergraduate and graduate students studying Arabic or linguistics.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
AGT	Arabic Grammatical Tradition
AMAP	Asian Migrant Arabic Pidgins
ANA	Ancient North Arabian
apprec.	appreciative
asp.	aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
AsrtP	Assertive Phrase
Art.	article
Aux.	auxiliary
C	consonant
CA	Classical Arabic
cl.	clitic
ColA	Colloquial Arabic
comp.	complementizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase
d.	dual
dat.	dative
def.	definite
EA	Egyptian Arabic
ECA	Egyptian Colloquial Arabic
emph.	emphatic
excl.	exclamation
f.	feminine
FDG	Functional Discourse Grammar
FG	Functional Grammar
FT	Foreigner Talk

Abbreviations

fut.	future
GA	Gulf Arabic
gen.	genitive
ger.	gerund
GPA	Gulf Pidgin Arabic
HSR	Highest Subject Restriction
IA	Iraqi Arabic
imp.	imperfect
ind.	indefinite
Infl	Inflectional constituent
ingr.	ingressive aspect
IP	Inflectional Phrase
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
ipr.	imperative
JA	Jordanian Arabic
LA	Levantine Arabic
LbA	Lebanese Arabic
LitA	Literary Arabic
m.	masculine
MA	Maghrebi Arabic
MAVs	Modern Arabic Varieties
mir.	mirative illocutionary force
MoA	Moroccan Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
MT	Migrant Talk
NCI	Negative Concord Item
neg.	negator/negative particle
NegP	Negation Phrase
NM	Negative Marker
nom.	nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
NPI	Negative Polarity Item
NSI	Negative Sensitive Item
num.	number
obl.	oblique
OCP	Obligatory Contour Principle
P	Proposition
PA	Palestinian Arabic
part.	particle
PD	Personal Dative
pej.	pejorative
perf.	perfect
prfv.	perfective
pl.	plural
PM	Pidgin Madam
PPI	Positive Polarity Item
prog.	progressive
prs.	present

Abbreviations

pst.	past
Q	question marker
RL	Resource Language
S	Sentence
SA	Standard Arabic
sg.	singular
SL	Source Language
ST	Speech Time
tns.	tense
TP	Tense Phrase
V	vowel
voc.	vocative
VP	Verb Phrase
YA	Yemeni Arabic

Symbols

ʂ	(ص)	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
ʐ		emphatic voiced alveolar fricative
ɬ	(ط)	emphatic voiceless alveolar stop
ɮ	(ض)	emphatic voiced alveolar stop
ɗ	(ظ)	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
ɣ	(غ)	voiced velar fricative
x	(خ)	voiceless velar fricative
ʔ	(أ)	voiceless glottal stop
ʕ	(ع)	voiced pharyngeal fricative
θ	(ث)	voiceless interdental fricative
ð	(ذ)	voiced interdental fricative
j	(ي)	voiced palatal approximant
q	(ق)	voiceless uvular stop
ʒ	(ج)	voiced alveopalatal fricative
ʃ	(ش)	voiceless alveopalatal fricative
ħ	(ح)	voiceless pharyngeal fricative

Long vowels are indicated by doubling the symbol, for example [aa] for long [a].

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INTRODUCTION

Elabbas Benmamoun and Reem Bassiouney

The poet Hafez Ibrahim has a memorable line in his famous poem on the Arabic language. In that line, Arabic boasts that it is a sea whose depths contain treasures and then wonders whether the diver has been asked about them. For modern linguists, that line applies to all natural languages. Though there has been extensive research on many languages from many regions of the globe, there are still too many unanswered questions and still many depths to plumb. What makes research on natural language challenging is its inherently multifaceted character. Language is a human faculty that can be acquired by both children and adults, and can get impaired. Those attributes engage psychology and neuroscience. Language also reflects social stratification and the dynamics of social interactions and relations, properties that engage fields such as Sociology and Anthropology. Unlike other cognitive faculties, individual languages undergo change, some of which is due to contact with other languages. The latter properties depend for their analysis on knowledge of history, population movement, and intimate familiarity with the languages in the contact situation. Language can also be modeled computationally, and due to advances in information technology we now have tools that can, with varying degrees of success, recognize and produce language. However, the most obvious property of language is that it is a means for communication and artistic expression. The communicative function of language is carried out through sounds, signs, words, and longer expressions, such as phrases, sentences, and extended discourse. These overt manifestations of language can also vary between languages but may display properties that are similar, raising questions about their nature and what they reflect about human cognition. Unfortunately, research on languages has been uneven, mostly due to lack of resources and expertise. Some languages, particularly English, have received extensive attention and have been explored from the different angles mentioned earlier. Other languages, however, have not been as fortunate – and some, including some Arabic varieties such as Sason Arabic discussed by Akkuş in Chapter 25 – may never get that chance because they may become extinct in a few generations. The majority of Arabic varieties, including Standard Arabic, falls somewhere in between. Some aspects of the Arabic language have long featured prominently in linguistic research going back several centuries to the Arabic linguistic tradition. That research focused particularly on the sounds patterns of Arabic, word formation, some aspects of syntax and semantics, and dialectal/regional variation. Other aspects of Arabic have started getting the attention of the linguistic community only in the last century and early in this century. This handbook

aims to take stock of where the research stands in many of those areas. The chapters in this volume aim to provide the reader with an overview of the state of the research in various areas of Arabic linguistics, describe the results and the research that led to them, and point to future directions. We could not do justice to all the areas of Arabic linguistics but we have tried to focus on research that has enriched the debates on Arabic and its varieties while also contributing to larger questions about natural language in its different manifestations, either because Arabic displays some properties that shed further light on some complex general issues, such as subject verb agreement, negation, tense, syllabification, acquisition of heritage Arabic, etc., or where Arabic can highlight properties that are not as well-known crosslinguistically, such as diglossia, the role of the consonantal root in word formation, and experimental and computational approaches to a language with a root and pattern system.

The reader will also notice that many chapters devote significant attention to the variation that Arabic varieties display. We believe this is one of the most exciting areas of Arabic linguistics that can be critical to the debates about Arabic itself, its history and connections with other languages in its linguistic family or families, and to current debates, both theoretical and experimental.

The handbook contains five major sections that deal with historical, formal, and applied aspects of Arabic. Section I, entitled ‘Phonetics, phonology, and morphology’, focuses mostly on phonetics, phonology, and morphology. In Chapter 1, Mustafawi provides an overview of major aspects and issues in Arabic phonology and draws systematic comparisons between different varieties, including differences between Standard Arabic and major regional varieties from the Maghreb, Egypt, the Levant, and the Gulf with regard to their phonetic inventories, prosodic categories, and processes. While Mustafawi’s chapter provides a general state of the art of Arabic phonology, Broselow (Chapter 2) and Shosted, Fu, and Hermes (Chapter 3) take up more specific issues that have dominated the debate about Arabic phonology in the last four or five decades, namely syllable structure and the pharyngeal and emphatic consonants respectively. On one hand, Broselow provides a survey of the arguments that have been advanced to make the case for syllable structure in Arabic and how that structure is manifested in its different dialects and the issues that have preoccupied the field of Arabic phonology, and phonology in general, such as the internal structure of the syllable and the processes that seem to be sensitive to syllable structure such as stress and the distribution of vowels. Shosted and colleagues, on the other hand, provide an overview of the debate about the acoustic and articulatory properties of the so-called pharyngeal and emphatic consonants in Arabic. They start off with a discussion of the contributions of the Arabic linguistic tradition to the debate about this important and challenging class of sounds and end with a presentation of the latest research on these sounds using state-of-the-art imaging technology and thoughts about the wider implications of that research. Another issue related to Arabic phonology is the structure of words. There is a general consensus that the consonantal root plays a major role but there is no consensus as to how that role is deployed and how it interfaces with the phonology and lexicon of Arabic. These and other significant topics are discussed in the last chapter in this section, by Gafos. In Chapter 4 Gafos provides an excellent summary of the two major positions on the issue of how Arabic words are formed, namely the root-based position and the stem-based position. He contrasts the two positions and examines how they deal with key issues in Arabic morphology.

Section II, entitled ‘Syntax, semantics, and pragmatics’, focuses on syntax and semantic and pragmatic aspects that have syntactic dimensions. The syntax of Arabic varieties has fostered vibrant debates about various issues that have been critical to linguistic theory, particularly Generative Grammar. Chief among these issues are clause structure and its components

(such as tense, agreement, and negation), and long-distance dependencies and their properties. One of the major issues in the context of clause structure is the tense. Within both generative and non-generative, the nature of Arabic tense and its properties has been contentious. Ouali engages this issue in Chapter 5 by providing a historical overview of the issue, going over the different issues and approaches and concluding by discussing an equally difficult issue, namely the problem of complex tense, which has not received extensive attention, but is critical to any analysis of this important topic in Arabic syntax. In Chapter 6, Alqassas takes up the dependency relation between negation and other elements in the sentence, particularly the so-called negative sensitive items whose distribution is sensitive to that of negation. The chapters discuss how the dependencies are sensitive to the lexical properties of the different negative sensitive items and how it varies across dialects.

With the term *syntactic dependency*, the issue that immediately comes to mind is dependency at a distance which is manifested at a larger and dramatic scale in sentences that include questions, topics, focus, and relatives. For decades, Arabic has been at the center of these debates because of the variation it displays (for example, between wh-movement and wh-in-situ that is found in some varieties) and how the dependencies are manifested, either through gaps or resumptive elements, such as pronouns and clitics. The latter is the subject of Choueiri's chapter. In Chapter 7, Choueiri goes over the different constructions where resumption is found and how they are manifested in different dialects. She also overviews the theoretical and experimental approaches that have been put forward to handle their properties and the variation they display.

Syntax, however, interacts intimately with meaning, both narrowly and broadly. Compared to research on phonology, morphology, syntax, and sociolinguistics, the research in this area – particularly theoretical and formal research – is still relatively sparse. The two chapters in this section by Haddad and Hallman discuss research and constructions where syntactic, semantics and pragmatic rules and principles all play a role. In Chapter 8, Haddad shows how syntax and pragmatics interact in Arabic by using the distribution and interpretation of personal dative pronouns as a case study. These intriguing pronouns may look out of place syntactically, but their presence, which is constrained in significant ways, do have a communicative function in the discourse. Haddad delineates those communicative functions and interpretations. As mentioned earlier, research on Arabic semantics, particularly formal semantics, significantly lags research on other languages. However, recently there has been a pickup of research in this area. In Chapter 9, Hallman provides a much-needed overview of this research, the significant topics with which it has been dealing – such as degree constructions, quantification, definiteness, and the perennial problem of the meaning of Arabic morphological templates – and the results that have been achieved.

The majority of the chapters in this section focus on Generative and formal approaches. In Chapter 10, Moutaouakil, a leading figure in Functional approaches to Arabic linguistics, reviews an alternative approach to the Arabic language that draws heavily on Functional Grammar. Moutaouakil, who has been leading this effort, starts off with background on Functional approaches and their application to Arabic. He then summarizes the main issues and topics, both from diachronic and synchronic perspectives, that have figured in these approaches. These main issues include the status of various peripheral elements and how they relate to the rest of the clause and historical changes, both lexical and structural. The chapter concludes by looking at the wider relevance and application of the functional approaches to other fields, particularly Arabic language pedagogy, translation, and language disorders.

Section III, 'Experimental and computational approaches', is devoted to approaches to Arabic that are interdisciplinary in nature in that they address issues and use tools and methods

that are critical to research in other related fields, particularly psychology, neuroscience, and computer and information sciences. That research has in turn informed the debates in those fields, whether they concern cognition, speech disorders, natural language processing, speech recognition, or machine translation. Prominent among these is language acquisition. Though there has been important research that has focused on Arabic and its acquisition as a native language by children or a second language by adults, the quantity and scope of coverage are still inadequate relative to the language, the variation it displays, and the vast geographical space it occupies. In Chapter 11, Albirini provides a detailed survey of the research on the acquisition of Arabic as a first language and the main areas it has been concerned with, particularly phonology, morphology, syntax, and unbounded dependencies. The chapter also engages the important topic of the status of Standard Arabic relative to colloquial spoken Arabic and language impairment.

The chapter by Froud and Khamis-Dakwar has a more neurolinguistics bent. Chapter 12 reviews research that has used neurolinguistics methods, particularly Event-Related Potential methodologies to study diglossia and the related issue of how speakers of Arabic store and access the two main varieties, Standard Arabic and the spoken colloquial dialects. In Chapter 13 Albirini introduces the reader to the recent research on Arabic as a heritage language. The focus here is mainly on second generation speakers of Arab descent who started their childhood by learning Arabic (and in some cases also English) at home but then their exposure to Arabic and the opportunities to use become diminished. The research aims to investigate areas of loss and maintenance using various experimental methods and techniques. This research has the potential to impact research on first language acquisition, second language acquisition, and language pedagogy since many heritage speakers end up in language classrooms trying to learn the formal variety of their ancestral language. That in turn raises significant questions about course content and effective methods of instruction.

Keeping with the experimental focus, in Chapter 14, Idrissi somewhat goes in the same direction but focuses on Arabic morphology, where the main issue, from a neurolinguistics perspective, is the status of the root. Idrissi surveys the experimental research in this area and its results so far. He also discusses the implications for theoretical approaches to Arabic morphology and the debates about the role of the root and the stem.

The last chapter in this section takes up the topic of Arabic speech and language technology, an area that has been receiving intense attention from the information science industry, academic institutions, and governments. The reasons for that attention are obvious: the ability of computers and information science technology to access, process, and assist with information, in the form of text or speech, is what is driving the information revolution. Given the large number of speakers of Arabic and its role both as a first language (in the Arab World) and as a second language (in many non-Arabic-speaking majority Muslim countries), it is not surprising that significant efforts and resources are being devoted to Arabic. Those efforts are also trying to grapple with the diglossic and root and pattern nature of Arabic and its writing system, which is standard for Standard Arabic but not consistent for the colloquial spoken varieties. Hasegawa-Johnson, Elmahdy, and Mustafawi devote Chapter 15 to a survey of the history of the field and the areas that have been or are being investigated, particularly morphology, phonetics, diglossia, and syntax.

In sections IV and V there are seventeen chapters that not only provide an up-to-date overview of topics in the fields of historical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics, but also highlight new approaches and methods of studying language contact and variation in relation to Arabic. They also provide detailed examples, as well as succinct and informative overviews, for those interested in language variation, linguistic contact, anthropological

linguistics, diglossia and alternative approaches to diglossia, and pidgin and creole in Arabic. Language attitudes and belief systems in relation to teaching and assessment are also essential topics covered in this book, as well as the discourse approach to language ideology and political discourse.

Section IV, entitled 'History, contact, and variation', deals with topics related to these three fields of research. First, Al-Jallad in Chapter 16 provides a historical description of the different genetic classifications of Arabic. He also presents a clear overview of the available evidence that attempts to provide more specific dates for the earlier stages of Arabic and its geographical location. The chapter makes contact with the other chapters in this volume, which focus almost exclusively on the modern spoken dialects and Classical Arabic, by examining linguistic features attested in Old Arabic and how they mirror or contrast with their counterpart in Classical Arabic and in the modern dialects. That in turn raises the question of the relation between Old Arabic, Classical Arabic, and the modern dialects, which is a highly consequential question for Arabic and its history.

In Chapter 17, Mejdell provides a useful and relevant overview of the study of diglossia, starting with Ferguson and including the utilisation of intermediate levels, in order to understand diglossia, as well as the use of code-switching to comprehend and analyse diglossic data. However, Mejdell's chapter does not simply stop there; it also traces the development of diglossia in relation to both written and oral data and to the globalisation of the media and the 'online revolution', which provides new ways of communicating, as well as current domains for both standard and colloquial Arabic.

Bassiouney, in Chapter 18, complements Mejdell's chapter by providing a new approach to analysing diglossic switching as part of code-switching. Based on her data from Egypt, Bassiouney argues that a comprehensive understanding of diglossia must account for the process by which codes are attributed indexes, whether positive or negative. In order to account for this process, less-studied data such as movies, media interviews, and songs need to be examined in relation to talk about language and the performance of both standards and colloquials in the Arab World. Further, Bassiouney argues that codes carry associations or indexes and that these indexes are best understood in relation to performance, especially oral performance, and metalinguistic discourse, as well as by eliciting individuals' attitudes and ideologies through different direct and indirect methods.

In Chapter 19, Vicente provides an overview of current research on language variation in the Arab World by highlighting the theoretical approaches and patterns used to understand language change in Arab-speaking contexts. Vicente argues that linguistic variation needs to be studied in both oral and written contexts and that both linguistic and extralinguistic factors need to be considered when examining variation. She provides examples from Morocco to illustrate her argument. Theodoropoulou in Chapter 20 complements the overview provided by Vicente by focusing on variation in relation to social status. In her chapter, Theodoropoulou argues that social status is an essential factor in understanding sociolinguistic variation in the Arab World. She concentrates on the interaction between variation, ideology, and attitude in a globalised context.

As these chapters demonstrate, sociolinguistic variation in relation to the Arab World has mainly been associated with phonological variation and concentrates on oral mediums of communication. Caubet, in Chapter 21, examines a different medium of variation: the written form. She shows how new media have helped create different forums of variation and language change and increasingly aid promoting colloquials. Caubet argues that new means of communication, combined with new associations of different colloquial forms, have helped forge a contemporary status for writing in colloquial. In her chapter, she provides evidence from the Darija of Morocco.

Language contact between Arabic and other dialects/languages has scarcely been studied. Manfredi, in Chapter 22, argues that throughout history Arabic has been affected by contact with other languages. Manfredi utilises the principle of language dominance to discuss the outcomes of language contact involving Arabic as both a dominant and non-dominant language in different geographical and political contexts. Arabic-based content varieties such as Maltese, Juba Arabic, and Central Asian Arabic are discussed as well. The chapter also argues that the influence of Arabic is essential for a typological understanding of contact-based change.

In line with Manfredi's chapter, in which Arabic is discussed in a context in which there is no national standardisation policy in place and communities do not necessarily only speak Arabic, in Chapter 23 Bizri offers a fresh look at languages in contact. She focuses on Asian Migrant Arabic Pidgin (AMAP), which is used widely throughout the Middle East. She first describes the main features of this pidgin and then examines several examples from a sociolinguistic perspective – in particular, examples of female live-in housemaids' pidgin, represented by 'Pidgin Madam' in Lebanon and freelance pidgin in the Gulf area. This chapter highlights the essential role played by AMAP, as regards both Arabic studies and pidgin studies.

Schulthies's Chapter 24, on anthropological linguistics, is essential on multiple levels. First, it situates research on language variation in relation to anthropological linguistics; and second, it throws light on methods and data studied in the Arab World, both from a sociolinguistic and an anthropological perspective. The line demarcating sociolinguistics from anthropological linguistics is not always clear, and this challenge is essential for a better understanding of both. Schulthies provides an outline of linguistic anthropology theories and themes, with an emphasis on scholars working in Arabic-speaking contexts. She argues that many scholars working in Arabic-speaking contexts employ linguistic anthropology theories in their work, but tend to frame their research in relation to other disciplinary trends. Schulthies aims to show that linguistic anthropological approaches have been, can, and should be more fruitfully applied in studies of Arabic broadly understood. She reviews work on anthropological linguistics that tackles such issues as diglossia, gender indexicality, and nationalism, as well as examining more recent work that focuses on public discourse rather than nationalism (which is more abstract) and Arabic-speaking minority, rather than Arabic-speaking majority, contexts. Her chapter also sheds light on ethnographic studies of Arabic literacy language ideologies, practices, and political consequences.

Almost all the chapters in this volume deal with Standard Arabic or the dialects spoken in the different regions of the Arab World. However, in Chapter 25 Akkuş argues that Arabic, as a native language, is not confined to the countries that make up the Arab league. Due to population movement since the early Islamic conquests, Arabic has had a presence in central Asia, Europe, Anatolia, and Sub-Saharan Africa, to mention just the major regions where it is still attested. Research on many of those varieties has uncovered many properties of those languages that should be of significant interest to linguistics and sister fields such as History and Anthropology. Thus, it is not surprising that Arabic varieties spoken outside the Arab World, so-called Peripheral Dialects, look different from the well-known dialects. That is the topic of the chapter by Akkuş, who demonstrates how some of those varieties contrast with other Arabic dialects in their sound inventory, morphology, and syntax. Many of those differences are due to contact with languages that may have different word orders and functional systems of marking grammatical categories. Akkuş provides a relatively detailed description of one of those varieties, Sason Arabic, spoken in Southeastern Turkey where other languages with different properties, such as an object-verb order, and how that contact may have changed Sason Arabic over time.

The last section of the book, Section V, is entitled ‘Ideology, policy, and education’. This section opens with Walters’ chapter. In Chapter 26, Walters examines Arab nationalism as a political and language ideology over the last century and half, as well as in relation to the dichotomy between standard Arabic and colloquial. Walters argues that since those living in the Arab World do not share one ethnicity or religion, language is the unifying factor that unites all Arabs. In this chapter, Walters discusses the concept of Arab nationalism historically, focusing on language ideology and the concept of linguistic purism.

In a similar vein, Pereira, in Chapter 27, focuses on the history of Arabisation in North Africa and outlines the current correlation between Arabisation waves in North Africa and the different types of dialects. Pereira argues that Arabisation in a North African context is both complex – due to political, historical and ideological factors – and also incomplete.

Moving from language ideology and Arabisation to ideology and political discourse, in Chapter 28, Aboeizz explores the relation between language and political ideologies in the Arab World. Aboeizz argues that at a symbolic level, language serves as a proxy for ideology. She explores the mechanism by which language becomes politicised: when it is used as a proxy to maintain or challenge power relations, group identity, and (a particular) social order in society. Aboeizz first focuses on standard language ideology and then moves on to discuss language and nationalism. Standard Arabic as a national symbol is tackled with case studies drawing on Bourdieu. Following this, the role of Arabic in identity politics is examined, as well as how it has been deployed – or rejected – across a range of nationalisms in the Arab World. Again, several case studies are discussed. Finally, the role of language ideologies in interstate relations in the Arab World is discussed with examples from the Maghreb–Mashreq language ideology.

Abdul Latif, in Chapter 29, argues that the aim of political discourse analysis is to understand the mechanism behind political discourse and how this discourse could be employed to maintain and legitimise political power. Abdul Latif discusses semiotic structures of political discourse in the Arab World, as well as performance, distribution, reception, influence, and responses to that discourse. He provides contemporary theories and examples of political discourse, as well as referring to the historical heritage of Arabic political discourse.

In Chapter 30, Moustauoui offers a framework for the study of language policy in the Arab World that takes as its starting point ethnolinguistic and sociolinguistic factors. Moustauoui traces the language policy adopted by the Moroccan state since independence and the development of this policy. He shows how the morphing sociopolitical context in the Arab World, including the changes that took place both during and after the Arab Spring, have left an impact on language policy from the perspective of the state. Political, economic, and social factors have contributed to the widening diversification, both in terms of policy and the inclusion of previously marginalised languages and codes, including colloquial Arabic and amazigh.

Similarly, Amara, in Chapter 31, delineates the relation between political, social, economic, and demographic factors and language policy as reflected in education. By offering a closer look at the education system in the Arab World, Amara argues that given the challenges facing the Arab World, whether political or economic, the education system fails to implement a consistent and effective policy of teaching Arabic and literacy more generally. Amara provides possible reasons for this challenging situation, such as the continuing prestige of foreign languages – namely, English and French – globalisation, and economic and political instability. He argues that to understand the full picture of the impact of language policy on education in the Arab World, one needs to consider all of these factors.

The final chapter in this section sheds light on Arabic language teachers' conceptions of assessment and the hidden tension between accountability and improvement, with examples from Egyptian schools. While the influence of language ideologies on teaching has been widely researched and discussed, the influence of language ideology on assessment is an essential, yet largely unexplored, issue. In Chapter 32, Gebril argues that there is a strong relationship between teacher beliefs and instructional practices in public schools. He provides an overview of this field of study in the Arab World and then investigates teacher conceptions of assessment among a group of Arabic teachers in Egypt. He provides examples and professional guidelines for both teacher educators and school administrators. These guidelines could help in the design of teacher training materials and the implementation of assessment policies in schools. In addition, Gebril's research could add to the existing body of assessment literature by focusing on a region that has not received adequate attention as regards assessment beliefs research.

This handbook provides diverse and in-depth chapters, all focused on the field of Arabic linguistics. It is targeted for scholars immersed in the field, as well as graduate and undergraduate students interested in linguistics in general and Arabic linguistics in particular.

8

THE PRAGMATICS-SYNTAX DIVISION OF LABOR

The case of personal datives in Lebanese Arabic

Youssef A. Haddad

1 Introduction

“Pragmatics without syntax is empty; syntax without pragmatics is blind” (Huang 2014, p. 352). This generalization applies to a wide range of language phenomena, including reference and the function and structure of referring expressions, such as pronouns. Pronouns are an intriguing component of natural language and have posed a long-standing puzzle for linguistics. On the one hand, they are context dependent; for example, the semantic values of *I* and *he* in (1) may be fixed only by determining their reference in context. This makes pronouns – or at least some instances of pronoun use – extra-grammatical, and places them in the domain of pragmatics (Lyons 1977; Huang 2014). On the other hand, pronouns are encoded elements; this property places them in the realm of semantics and syntax (Ariel 2010). For example, we know that *he* in (1) refers to an individual that is [+human]; it also refers to the agent of the calling event. In addition, we know that the pronoun must be *he* rather than *himself*, at least in English.

(1) I was cooking dinner when he called.

Importantly, pronouns may have a clause-external referent. For example, *I* in (1) refers not only to a participant of the cooking event, but also to the speaker of the clause. In other words, it fulfills a clause-internal role that is linked to a clause-external referent. In this sense, pronouns “prove that grammar is not only about clause-bounded computation but also about clause-context relations” (Sigurðsson 2014, p. 71). Consider the sentences in (2) from Lebanese Arabic (hereafter, LbA). Both sentences mean ‘I am happy’. Gender agreement on the adjective indicates that the speaker of (2a) is male, while the speaker of (2b) is female. Note that the pronoun *ʔanaa* ‘I’ does not show gender distinction. Therefore, syntax cannot be responsible for gender agreement in this case, and the difference between (2a) and (2b) must be the outcome of pragmatic processing and clause-context relations (Sigurðsson 2014, pp. 91–92).¹ Observations like this have led many scholars to treat pronouns at the pragmatics-syntax interface; see Huang (2000) and Sigurðsson and Maling (2010).

- (2) a. ?anaa mabsuut
I happy.m
b. ?anaa mabsuut-a
I happy.f
'I am happy.'

The topic of pronouns becomes even more interesting when pronominal elements are employed as optional, unselected elements. Consider sentence (3a), licensed in Southern American English (Horn 2008). The boldface pronoun is an optional non-participant in the sense that it may be deleted without altering the reality of the sentence. That is, (3a) is truth-conditionally equivalent to (3b); the two sentences are true under the same conditions: if the speaker in fact baked a cake for her or his children.

- (3) a. I baked **me** a cake for my children.
b. I baked a cake for my children.

Nevertheless, the two sentences in (3) are neither syntactically/structurally nor pragmatically/use-conditionally equivalent. Sentence (3a) contains an additional participant on top of those selected by the verb *bake*. Syntactically, such structures are analyzed as involving an additional projection, an applicative phrase, that increases the valency of the verb, allowing it to accommodate the optional pronoun (see Pylkkänen 2008; Haddad 2014). Pragmatically, structures like (3a) are triggered by the speaker's need or choice, often a tacit one, to express an attitude toward the profiled event (Horn 2008).

Pronouns like *me* in (3a) have received different names in the literature; e.g., personal datives (Horn 2008), coreferential datives (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010), and subject-coreferential attitude datives (Haddad 2014). The use of the term 'dative' is motivated by the fact that these pronouns are usually case-marked dative in many languages that license them. I adopt the term 'personal datives' or PDs here to refer to similar pronouns in LbA. The main purpose of this chapter is to present a descriptive analysis of LbA PDs in terms of their pragmatic function and structural distribution (section 3). The overarching goal is to highlight the division of labor between pragmatics and syntax in relation to PDs. I will demonstrate that the interpretation of PDs relies crucially on contextual factors and the speaker's intentions. At the same time, I lay the groundwork for this interpretation in the syntax by identifying the structural and distributional properties of PDs that make them distinct from other pronominal elements. Section 4 places PDs in the larger context of non-argument datives in general and provides some further directions for study. First, however, some background.

2 Background and perspective

When speakers express a thought via a simple sentence, their utterance typically consists of a predicate and its participants. For example, the LbA speaker of sentence (4) describes a buying event and relates it to three participants, also known as 'arguments': Karim, the gift he bought, and Karim's wife. The roles that these arguments play in the event are called thematic roles or theta roles. In this case, *Kariim* plays the role of agent and source; *hdijje syiire* 'a small gift' is a theme – i.e., an argument that has undergone a change of state; and *mart-o* 'his wife' is a goal and a recipient. The indices on *Kariim* and *-o* 'his' signify that they both refer to the same person.²

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------|
| (4) | Kariim _i | štaraa | hdijje | šyiire | la-mart-o _i |
| | Karim | bought | gift | small | for-wife-his |
- ‘Karim bought a small gift for his wife.’

The arguments in (4) are important components of the meaning of the sentence. More specifically, they are important parts of the sentence’s truth conditions. That is, sentence (4) is considered to be true only if there is a buying event, Karim is the agent of this event, a small gift is its theme, and Karim’s wife is the recipient. Any change to the arguments of the depicted predicate alters the truth conditions of the sentence. For instance, if the agent in (4) is presented as *žamiil* instead of *Kariim*, as in (5), the result is a different sentence with different truth conditions. Note that *mart-o* ‘his wife’ in (5) also has a different referent in this case; it refers to Jamil’s rather than Karim’s wife.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|------------------------|
| (5) | žamiil _i | štaraa | hdijje | šyiire | la-mart-o _i |
| | Jamil | bought | gift | small | for-wife-his |
- ‘Jamil bought a small gift for his wife.’

As I mentioned in the introduction, languages may also license structures that contain non-participants in the form of dative pronominal elements. These are optional non-thematic arguments, also known as ‘non-core arguments’ or simply ‘non-arguments’. They are non-thematic in the sense that they are not linked to events via theta roles. For example, a speaker of LbA may say sentence (4) as (6), with *-lo* ‘him.dat.’ as an optional dative non-argument. Note that the dative is co-indexed with the subject.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------|--------|--------------|
| (6) | Kariim _i | štaree- lo _i | hdijje | šyiire | la-mart-o |
| | Karim | bought- him.dat. | gift | small | for-wife-his |
- ‘Karim bought **him** a small gift for his wife.’

As described in the introduction, PDs are optional in the sense that they do not alter the truth conditions of the utterances in which they appear. Both sentence (6) and sentence (4) describe a buying event that involves the same agent, theme, and recipient. Thus, they both have the same truth conditions. However, PDs make a pragmatic contribution; for example, in (6), the PD is used by the speaker to express the attitude that the buying event is insignificant or unimpressive.

PD constructions are a cross-linguistic phenomenon. They are licensed in different languages and in different Arabic dialects. Sentence (3a) is an example from Southern American English; sentence (7) is another. Sentences (8) to (11) illustrate the same phenomenon in French, Hebrew, Egyptian Arabic, and Moroccan Arabic, respectively.

- (7) Southern American English (Jimmie Rodgers, “T for Texas”; from Horn 2008, p. 169, [2a])

‘I’m gonna buy **me** a shot gun, just as long as I am tall.’

- (8) French (from Boneh and Nash 2011; p. 61, [3a])

Jeanne	s’est couru	trente km
Jeanne	her-ran	thirty km

‘Jeanne ran **her** thirty kilometers.’

- (9) Modern Hebrew (from Zahre and Boneh 2010; p. 2, [2])

Salma	rakda	la
Salma	danced	her.dat.

‘Salma danced **her.**’

- (10) Egyptian Arabic (Usama Soltan, personal communication)

Mona	naamit- lahaa	talat	saʕaat	baʕd	l-ʔadaa
Mona	slept- her.dat.	three	hours	after	the-lunch

‘Mona slept **her** three hours after lunch.’

- (11) Moroccan Arabic (Hamid Ouali, personal communication)

Mona	nəʕsaat- lha	wahəd	nəʕsa	ʔwiila	mur	ləyda
Mona	slept- her.dat.	one	sleep	long	after	lunch

‘Mona slept **her** a long sleep/took **her** a long nap after lunch.’

Cross-linguistically, PDs share a number of characteristics in terms of their function and distribution. As suggested earlier, all PDs make non-truth-conditional pragmatic contributions to utterances, and they all must be pronominal. At the same time, cross-linguistic differences exist. For instance, in Southern American English, a PD expresses the speaker’s belief that “the action expressed has or would have a positive effect on the subject” (Horn 2008, p. 181). Similarly, the Hebrew PD construction in (9) may express the speaker’s belief that Salma indulged in dancing with some delight (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010, p. 2).

In LbA, the PD is used by the speaker to express an evaluative attitude toward an event as either unimportant or unexpected. This evaluation may be made in general terms, based on the speaker’s expectations of and experience with events of the same type; e.g., in (6), the speaker may evaluate the event of buying a small present for one’s wife as insignificant no matter who the buyer is (see Al-Zahre and Boneh 2016). Alternatively, the evaluation could be made based on the speaker’s knowledge and expectations of the subject as an individual (e.g., Karim) or as a type (e.g., a husband).

Differences may also exist at the level of distribution. For example, unlike LbA PDs, Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic PDs may not co-occur with recipients or beneficiaries; compare (6) with (12) and (13). In Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic, a PD in a transitive sentence seems to entail that the subject is necessarily a beneficiary. In this sense, the distribution of PDs in LbA differs from the distribution of PDs in Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic.

- (12) Egyptian Arabic (Usama Soltan, personal communication)

Ahmad	ʔiʕtraa- luh	ʔamiis	gediid	(*l-ʔibn-u)	ʔimbaarih
Ahmad	bought- him.dat.	shirt	new	(*for-son-his)	yesterday

‘Ahmad bought **him** a new shirt yesterday.’

- (13) Moroccan Arabic (Hamid Ouali, personal communication)

ħməd	ʕra- lu	qamiʕa	ʕdida	(*l-bənt-u)	lbarəħ
Ahmad	bought- him.dat.	shirt	new	(*for-daughter-his)	yesterday

‘Ahmad bought **him** a new shirt yesterday.’

Examining PDs cross-linguistically helps us tap into their universal properties in order to see what they can tell us about pronouns and referential dependencies in general. Equally important is the study of such arguments in individual languages, which helps us establish a more detailed understanding of the phenomenon’s language-specific behavior. To date, with the exception of Al-Zahre and Boneh’s work and my own, very little research has been done on PDs in Arabic.

In addition, given the nature of PDs as primarily pragmatic tools used to express attitudes toward events, studying them within a specific language helps us learn more about the culture they are licensed in. As Sherzer (1987, pp. 296–307) maintains, “in order to study culture we must study the actual forms of discourse produced and performed by societies and individuals.” Sherzer places special emphasis on the cultural salience of optional grammatical categories, as these “provide speakers with conscious and unconscious decisions, choices, [and] ways of expressing meaning.” PDs qualify as such cultural tools.

Having introduced PDs and defined them in general terms, I turn to a more detailed description of LbA PDs in section 3.

3 Critical issues and topics

This section focuses on three issues pertaining to PDs: their interpretation and function as pragmatic contributors (section 3.1); their status in relation to the truth conditions of utterances (section 3.2); and their distributional or structural properties in terms of the positions they occupy in sentences and how they interact with other elements in the same sentence (section 3.3).

3.1 *The pragmatic function of PDs*

In section 2, I characterized LbA PDs as non-arguments used by speakers to express an evaluative attitude toward an event as unimportant or unexpected. This section spells out the details of this statement, starting from the general – arguably cross-linguistic – definition in (14).

(14) PDs are conventional implicature markers of intersubjectivity.

An implicature is a meaning implied but not entailed by an utterance; it is “a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is meant in a speaker’s utterance without being part of what is said” (Horn 2006, p. 3). For example, the statements in (15) and (16) comprise the truth-conditional meanings or what is said in (15a) and (16a), and the implicated meanings or what is meant in (15b) and (16b).

(15)	Mahaa	ʔeesje	bas	ʔalb-aa	ʔajjib
	Maha	tough	but	heart-her	sweet
	‘Maha is tough but kindhearted.’				
a. What is said:	Mahaa ʔeesje	–	Mahaa ʔalb-aa ʔajjib		
	‘Maha is tough.’	–	‘Maha is kindhearted.’		
b. What is meant:	ʕaadatan	l-ʕaxʕ	l-ʔeesii	maa	bikuun
	normally	the-person	the-tough	neg.	is
	ʔalb-o	ʔajjib			
	heart-his	sweet			
	‘Normally, a tough person is not kindhearted.’				

- (16) Kariim bjeekol ktiir bas maa bjınřah
 Karim eat a.lot but neg. gain.weight

‘Karim eats a lot but he doesn’t gain weight.’

- a. What is said: Kariim bjeekol ktiir – Kariim maa bjınřah
 ‘Karim eats a lot.’ – ‘Karim doesn’t gain weight.’
- b. What is meant: řaadatan l-řaxř lli byeekol ktiir bjınřah
 normally the-person who eat a.lot gain.weight
 ‘Normally, a person who eats a lot gains weight.’

The implicatures in (15) and (16) are known as conventionally implicated meanings, borne by the conjunction *bas* ‘but’, a conventional implicature contributor. Conventional implicature is an integral part of the conventional meaning of a lexical item; when that lexical item is deleted or changed, the conventional implicature it contributes is deleted or changed also (Grice 1991 [1975]; Karttunen and Peters 1979; Horn 2006). In (15) and (16), if *bas* is canceled, the implicature associated with it is also canceled.

Now consider the situation in (17) and the two sentence variants in (17a) and (17b). Both sentences depict the same event, but with different subjects. The event is evaluated as surprising/unexpected in (17a) and as insignificant in (17b).

- (17) Context: Karim and Jamil are car salesmen. Karim normally sells two or three cars a month, while Jamil sells at least ten cars a month. This month, however, the sale numbers were a little different.

- a. Kariim bař-lo (řii) xams sajjaaraat ha-l-řahar
 Karim sold-**him.dat.** (some) five cars this-the-month

What is said: ‘Karim sold five cars this month.’

What is meant: Given his sales history, Karim was not expected to sell five cars this month. The event is surprising.

- b. řamiil bař-lo (řii) xams sajjaaraat ha-l-řahar
 Jamil sold-**him.dat.** (some) five cars this-the-month

What is said: ‘Jamil sold five cars this month.’

What is meant: Given his sales history, Jamil was expected to sell more than five cars this month. The event is insignificant.

The evaluations expressed via the PD *-lo* ‘him.dat.’ in (17a) and (17b) are based on the speaker’s knowledge and expectations of Karim and Jamil either as individuals with their own sales histories or as salespersons who are required to perform in accordance with certain standards. Usually, context and common ground – i.e., shared knowledge, including cultural knowledge and beliefs – are sufficient to help the hearer tell which meaning the speaker intends. Often, however, speakers use PD constructions in tandem with two types of intonations to express their attitude toward a given event or behavior: (i) a falling intonation with a dismissive tone implicates that the event is insignificant/not worth mentioning; (ii) a rising intonation with a surprised tone implicates that the event is surprising/unexpected. Tone, context, and common ground provide the measure, while the PD provides the measuring stick, as Figure 8.1 schematically illustrates.

Personal datives in Lebanese Arabic

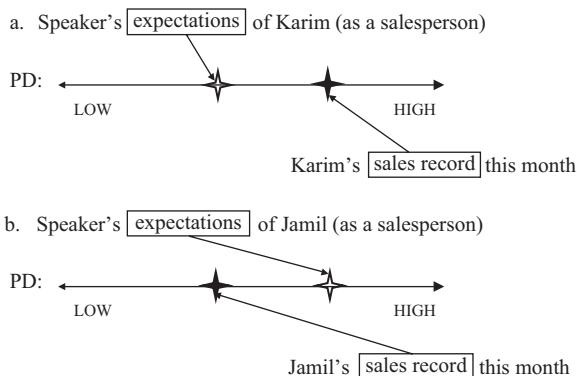


Figure 8.1

The speaker in (17a) and (17b) may thus use the PD construction in an equivalent structure to perform two different pragmatic tasks: to praise Karim for outperforming himself and to criticize Jamil for not living up to his own standards. The sentences may also have the opposite effect. Sentence (17a) may be used as a derogatory remark implying that the speaker did not expect such good performance to come from Karim, while (17b) may be used to tacitly praise Jamil by implying that Jamil's insignificant performance is not representative of him and that he is normally better than that.

To illustrate this point further, consider (19) and (20), two attested examples taken, respectively, from Assad Fouladkar's Lebanese movie *When Maryam Spoke Out* and from an interview carried out on the Lebanese social program *Tahqiqiq* (or *Tahkik*, as the TV station MTV.com.lb presents it). Example (19) is part of a conversation between two co-workers, a woman and a man, during their lunch break. The man asks the woman to make some tea. She responds rather indelicately that she is not his maid. In his response in (18), the man implies that women in general should have *nuṣuume* 'gentleness/softness'; he further implies that the addressee, as a woman, should have at least a little *nuṣuume*, an insignificant amount that may be considered barely enough for her to find a husband. The second part of example (18) is a clear indication that the speaker's stance toward his co-worker's blunt response is anchored to his expectations of her as a woman . . . probably even as a single woman who would like to get married one day.

(18)	daxlik	šuu žifša.	tʃallamii-lik	šwajjit	nuṣuume.
	how	blunt.	learn-you.dat.	some	Gentleness
	bukra	kiif	baddik	titʒawwazii?	
	tomorrow	how	you.want	marry?	

'How blunt/rough. Learn **you** how to be a little gentle. Otherwise, how can you expect to get married?'

Now consider (19). In this case, the speaker anchors his evaluation of the event to his own identity as a man. Sentence (19) is taken from an episode about marital disloyalty.³ The speaker, we find out a few minutes later, is in a unilateral open relation with his wife. That is, he is allowed to have relations with other women, but his wife is not allowed to have relations with other men. Both he and his wife are OK with this agreement. In (19), the speaker

tells the interviewer that he travels to Ukraine for fifteen days every year for sexual tourism. Importantly, he uses a PD twice in order to trivialize the gravity of his behavior. He later tells the interviewer that the fifteen-day trips are presents he gives to himself, just like a man might give his girlfriend a watch or a cellphone as a present. Importantly, the speaker's evaluation of the event as trivial is anchored to the subject's identity – in this case, the speaker himself – as a man. Later in the program, when the speaker is asked how he would react if his wife cheated on him, his response is that he would divorce her.

- (19) ?anaa bseefir . . . bruuh ʕa-ʔukraanjaa
 I travel . . . I.go to-Ukraine
 biʔʕid-**lii** xamstaʕʕar Joom
 I.stay-**me.dat.** fifteen Day
 brih-**lii** xamstaʕʕar joom binbisit-un
 I.go-**me.dat.** fifteen day I.enjoy-them
 'I travel . . . I go to Ukraine; I stay **me** fifteen days; I go **me** fifteen days, and I enjoy them.'

In their article on similar constructions in Syrian Arabic, a dialect closely related to LbA, Al-Zahre and Boneh (2016) dismiss the idea that the speaker's evaluation of events in PD constructions (which they term the 'Coreferential Dative Construction') may be anchored to her or his expectations of the subject. I believe this dismissal is too hasty. Examples (18) and (19) present attested evidence that speakers may in fact anchor their stance about an event to the subject as a type (e.g., as a woman in [18] and as a man in [19]).

Sentence (20), taken from Ziad Al-Rahbani's play *bi-l-nisbe la-bukra šuu* 'What About Tomorrow?', shows that speakers may also anchor their evaluations of an event to the subject, not only as a type, but also as an individual. In this case, two men are gossiping about a rich acquaintance, Mr. Adnan, who keeps on buying houses for women he means to seduce. Eventually, one of the interlocutors utters the sarcastic sentence in (20) in which he wishes Mr. Adnan would buy him and his friend a house each. He implies that two additional houses would not be a burden to Mr. Adnan, as a wealthy individual who seems to generously buy houses for people he knows. The same sentence would be infelicitous if Mr. Adnan were not rich or 'generous'.

- (20) law bjiftah-**lo** ši beet laʔil-i w-laʔil-ak
 If.only he.open-**him.dat.** some house for-me and-for-you
 'If only he would buy **him** a house for me and a house for you.'

As I pointed out in relation to (17), LbA speakers may evaluate an event as either insignificant (failing to meet expectations) or as surprising (exceeding expectations). During fieldwork in Lebanon in summer 2015, I had a conversation with three woman about a female acquaintance who had been divorced for about five years. When I asked if she was in a relationship, one woman responded:

- (21) ʕaarit heekjit-**laa** maʕ ši xamsa w-sittiin waahad
 she.has.spoken-**her.dat.** with some five and-sixty individual
 'She has gone out **her** with about sixty-five men.'

The number sixty-five is not exact. It signifies a large number of men. When I asked the three women if they would do the same, I received two responses: (i) they explained that they were not as brave as she is; and (ii) they protested that a woman should not go out with

so many men. It was thus clear from our conversation that the three women viewed the dating event in (21) as surprising rather than insignificant. This observation contradicts (at least for LbA) Al-Zahre and Boneh's (2016) generalization that Arabic PDs may only be used to express a dismissive stance toward an event.

Al-Zahre and Boneh's generalization may not be completely accurate for Syrian Arabic either. Consider (22) from the Syrian TV series, *baab l-haara* 'The Neighborhood Gate' (Season 1, Episode 2).⁴ The sentence is part of a more elaborate gossip event. The speaker, a street vendor, tells an acquaintance, a garbage collector, about a recent robbery in the neighborhood. The suspect is a poor guard known as Abu Samo. Some residents believe that Abu Samo broke into one of the houses in the neighborhood and stole fifty Ottoman gold coins. The number of coins is exaggerated in (22). Importantly, here, the street vendor uses a PD to evaluate the event as surprising – even shocking – rather than insignificant. This interpretation is confirmed by the idiomatic expression *leera tīṭaḥ leera* 'one pound pokes another', which is used when speakers make reference to (subjectively) large amounts of money.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------|-------|-------------------|
| (22) | ʕam-biʔuuluu | kamaan | ʔinno | ʔabuu Samʕo . . . |
| | prog.-they.say | also | that | Abu Samo . . . |
| | haafif- lo | miit-een | leera | dahab |
| | snatched- him.dat. | hundred-d. | lira | gold |
| | leera | tīṭaḥ | leera | |
| | lira | poke | lira | |
- 'I heard that Abu Samo . . . stole two hundred gold coins, a king's ransom.'

That said, it is certainly more common for an LbA PD to express insignificance than surprise. For example, it is more usual for PDs to imply insignificance when they are linked to an offer or a suggestion. Sentences (23) and (24) are examples. In offers like (23), the speaker implies that the offering event is insignificant and that the hearer deserves better, as Figure 8.2 illustrates. Note that this utterance is not a statement about how insignificant the offer is (the speaker may in fact have prepared an elaborate feast for the hearer); rather, it is an attempt to praise the hearer and to make her or him feel welcome and less obliged.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|--------|-----|-------|-------|-----|------------|
| (23) | kili-lik | liʔme. | maa | fii | ʕii | min | ʔiimt-ik |
| | eat- you.dat. | bite. | neg | there | thing | of | value-your |
- 'Eat **you** a bite. It is a simple meal and not a match to how important you are to us.'

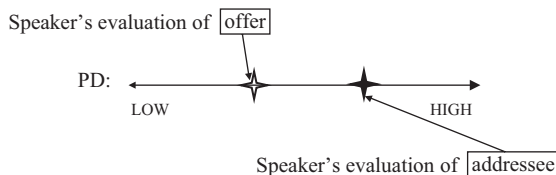


Figure 8.2

Similarly, in (24), the speaker tries to make her or his suggestion more convincing by implying that the hearer should find the event feasible and not too costly compared to the potential gain, as the schematic presentation in Figure 8.3 shows.

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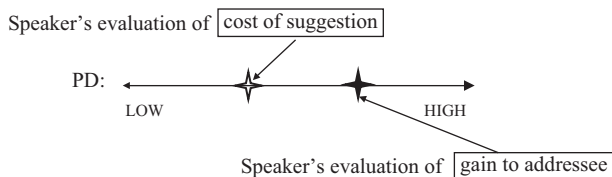


Figure 8.3

- (24) leeš maa bitseefir-**lak** sint-*een* tištiyil barraa
 why neg. you.travel-**you.dat.** year-d. work abroad
 ‘Why don’t you travel **you** for a couple of years and work abroad.’

PD constructions may also be employed in a context where the subject has done something wrong. In this case, the purpose is either to mitigate the seriousness of the situation or to aggravate it; the former effect is more common. (25) and (26) present two possible situations in which such an utterance might arise.

- (25) Context: The speaker addresses Layla’s mother, who is furious because Layla has not been doing well at school.

l-binit	saʔit- laa	bi-ʔimtihaan- <i>een</i>	ʔaw	tleete	ha-l-sine
the-girl	failed- her.dat.	in-exam-d.	or	three	this-the-year
(maa	xilʃit	l-dinee)			
(neg.	end	the-world)			

What is said: ‘The girl failed in a couple of exams this year. (It is not the end of the world.)’

What is meant: As a student, Layla should be expected/allowed to have a few bad performances; the fact that she only had a couple of bad performances this year is not a big deal.

- (26) Context: The speaker addresses Samir’s wife. Samir is diabetic, but he has not been watching his diet. His wife is very worried about his health.

l-zalame	bjeekil- lo	ʔitʃa	ʔaw	ʔitiʃt- <i>een</i>	baʔleewa	marra
the-man	eat- him.dat.	piece	or	piece-d.	baklava	once
bi-l-šahar	(maa	ha-jiʔitlu-u)				
in-the-month	(neg.	fut.-kill-him)				

What is said: ‘The man eats a couple of pieces of baklava once a month. (They won’t kill him.)’

What is meant: Even as a diabetic, Samir is entitled to some indulgences. His wife should not be too worried or too hard on him.

The sentences in (25) and (26) are likely to be said with a dismissive tone. Alternatively, they may be said with a surprised tone – and without the parenthetical parts – in order to aggravate the situation and to incite the hearer to take action. In this case, the speaker implies that Layla, as a student, is not supposed to fail in any exam, and that Samir, as a diabetic, should categorically avoid foods that may harm him.

In these examples, the speakers' evaluations are contingent on their (tacit or explicit) familiarity with the subject as an individual or as a type. For example, in (22), the speaker may evaluate the robbery event as shocking based on (i) his expectation that guards like Abu Samo should protect the neighborhood rather than violate it, or (ii) his personal familiarity with Abu Samo as a poor man to whom two hundred gold coins means a lot of money. However, it is also possible for the evaluation to target an event even when the speaker has no reference to, knowledge of, or assumptions about the subject (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2016). In this case, the evaluation may be based on the speaker's expectations of and experience with similar events. For example, the robbery event in (22) may be evaluated as shocking regardless of who committed it. In a similar vein, if someone comments 'It rained today' to describe what is normally considered as a brief shower, a speaker might reply with (27), implying that the rain event was insignificant compared to her or his expectations of rain events in general; this is shown schematically in Figure 8.4.

- (27) *šattit-**laa**⁵ xams dʔaajiʔ. miš mihirze tʔuul šattit*
 it.rained-**her.dat.** Five minutes neg. worth you-say it-rained
 'It rained **it** for five minutes. It is not worth saying that it rained.'

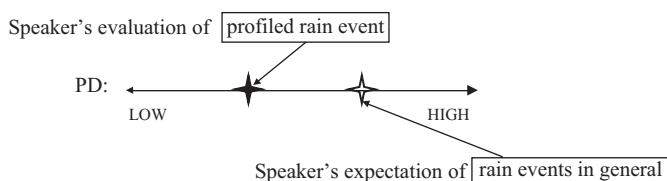


Figure 8.4

Example (28) was produced by a speaker in a YouTube video. Here, the speaker comments on the bad traffic and road conditions in Lebanon; he exaggerates his point by declaring that more casualties may be witnessed on a given day than one would expect.⁶ In this case, the event is surprising regardless of the subject. Following Al-Zahre and Boneh (2016), I posit that (28) has a particularized conversational implicature. The speaker in this case is certainly not presenting facts; in fact, there is no evidence that anyone was hurt during the video. Rather, the speaker conversationally implicates that something needs to be done about the chaotic traffic and bad road conditions in Lebanon.

- (28) *tfarraž hallaʔ birih-**lo** ũišriin žariih w-ũišriin ʔatiil*
 watch now go-**him.dat.** twenty wounded and-twenty killed
 'Watch! Now some twenty people may get **him** wounded and another twenty killed
 (because of the chaos).'

Sentence (29), from an interview with Charbel Nahas, a Lebanese politician, exemplifies a similar usage. Nahas addresses the issue of Internet service in Lebanon and how unregulated it is. One of the problems, he postulates, is that the government has little access to subscription information. By using a PD, Nahas implies that not reporting two to ten Internet subscriptions would be insignificant from the government's perspective, regardless of who the Internet provider is. Hiding three hundred thousand subscriptions, however, is a big deal.⁷ The implicature

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here is that the Internet subscription problem in Lebanon is no trivial matter and that something needs to be done about it.

(29)	ʔaal	ktaʕafoo	...	ʔinno	fii	tlet miit ʔalf
	they.said	they.discovered	...	that	there	three hundred thousand
	muʕtarik	bi-libneen		maa hadaa	seemiʕ	fijj-un
	members	in-Lebanon		no one	heard	about-them

tlet miit ʔalf	muʕtarik!	...	ʔinno	waahad	fii	jharrib-lo
300,000	members!	...	that	one	he.can	smuggle/hidden.dat.

tneen	tleeete	ʕaʕra,	tlet miit ʔalf	muʕtarik?
two	three	ten,	300,000	member?

‘They said that they found out that there are three hundred thousand members in Lebanon that no one had heard of. 300,000 members! I would understand if one was able to hide **him** the memberships of two, three, or even ten members, but how could anyone hide 300,000?’

In all the PD constructions presented so far, speakers have expressed their awareness of their own feelings, expectations, attitudes, and beliefs, as well as their familiarity with their hearers’ expectations, attitudes, and beliefs. This awareness, along with the speakers’ ability to express it via language, is referred to as ‘intersubjectivity’ (Lyons 1982; Traugott 2003). Intersubjectivity follows from our ability to view ourselves as intentional and mental beings with goals, beliefs, and thoughts, and our ability to perceive others as intentional and mental beings who may have different goals, beliefs, and thoughts (Tomasello 1999, pp. 14–15; Verhagen 2005, pp. 3–4). In this sense, PDs go beyond pure referential meaning and become conventional implicature markers of intersubjectivity, as the general definition in (14) states. By using a PD construction, the speaker puts the hearer in a position of having to interpret, not only what was said, but also what was meant. The hearer may then choose to accept or challenge the implicature. As we will see in the next section, conventionally implicated meanings may be challenged independently from truth-conditional meanings.

3.2 PDs and truth-conditional meaning

I demonstrated in section 1 that PDs are optional pronominal elements, in the sense that they do not alter the truth conditions of the utterances in which they appear. Thus, for instance, the PD construction in (30) and its non-PD counterpart in (31) are true under the same conditions. They are both considered as true only if there is an eating event, Maha is the agent of this event, and an apple is its theme or patient.

(30)	Mahaa	ʔakalit-laa	tiffeeha
	Maha	ate-her.dat.	apple
	‘Maha ate her an apple.’		

(31)	Mahaa	ʔakalit	tiffeeha
	Maha	ate	apple
	‘Maha ate an apple.’		

Further evidence of the independence of conventional implicatures from sentential truth conditions comes the fact that the truth conditions of a sentence may be questioned without questioning its conventional implicature, and also vice versa: a hearer may challenge the conventional implicature of a sentence while accepting without question its truth conditions. In the same vein, it is interesting to note that PDs have no effect on conditional sentences; see Bosse, Bruening, and Yamada (2012).

Observe the PD constructions in (32) and (33). As the translations show, only the truth conditions (or what is said) may be questioned. The conventional implicatures of the PDs fall outside the scope of the questions.

(32) Context: The speaker knows/believes that Maha has been sick for two weeks and has not been eating well. She asks:

?akalit- laa ate- her.dat. What is said: What is meant:	Mahaa Maha ‘Has Maha eaten anything today?’ – Even if Maha had something to eat today, the prediction is that the event would be insignificant; e.g., the size of the meal would be very small when measured against her needs. – * The speaker asks if the meals that Maha has been eating have been very small when measured against her needs.	li?me bite	lyoom ? today ?
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(33) Context: The speaker knows/believes that Nadia is a student with a poor academic record. She asks:

ni?hit- laa passed- her.dat. What is said: What is meant:	Naadja Nadia ‘Has Nadia passed an exam this semester?’ – If Nadia in fact passed an exam, her achievement would be unexpected/surprising. – * The speaker asks if Nadia’s achievement was unexpected.	bi-?imtihaan in-exam	ha-l-?a?el ? this-the-term ?
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When (32) and (33) are uttered, the hearer may accept the truth conditions of these sentences but decide to challenge their conventional implicatures. For example, a response to (33) may look like (34). In this case, the hearer isolates the grammatical component that functions as the conventional implicature contributor and challenges the meaning it expresses by using the following template: *PD? What do you mean PD?* (Potts 2011). Since PDs in LbA must be attached to a verb, as we will see in the next section, the verb appears in the challenge as well in this language.

(34) ni?hit- laa ?! she.passed- her.dat. ?! kil all ‘Passed her ?! What do you mean passed her ?! She always passes.’	?uu what	bti??ud you.mean ?imr-aa life-her	ni?hit- laa ?! she.passed- her.dat. ?! btin?ah she.pass
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Unlike PDs, thematic arguments may be questioned, as (35) and (36) illustrate. (35b) and (36b) are answers to the questions in (35a) and (36a). The speaker in the (a) examples may be

aware that Karim was the agent of the cooking and buying events; she is inquiring about the referents of the dative arguments.

- (35) a. *ṭabax-laa* Kariim (la-Mahaa) ?
 cooked-**her.dat.** Karim (for-Maha) ?
 ‘Did Karim cook for her (for Maha)?’
- b. *la?*, *ṭabax* *la-haal-o*
 no, he.cooked for-self-his
 ‘No, he cooked for himself.’
- (36) a. *štarea-laa* Kariim *hdijje* (la-Mahaa) ?
 bought-**her.dat.** Karim gift (for-Maha) ?
 ‘Did Karim buy a gift for her (for Maha)?’
- b. *la?*, *štaree-lii* *hdijje* *la?il-ii*
 no he.bought-**me.dat.** gift for-me
 ‘No, he bought a gift for me.’

Finally, if a PD is added to the if-clause of a conditional sentence, it makes no difference to the main clause or the conditions under which that clause obtains. Consider sentence (37) as an example; the conditions under which the main clause applies are the same regardless of whether the if-clause contains the PD *-lo* ‘him.dat.’.

- (37) *ʔizaa* *bjidris(-lo)* Kariim *kilimt-een* *la-l-ʔimtihaan*
 if study(-**him.dat.**) Karim word.d. for-the-exam
Mahaa *bitkuun* *ktiir* *mabsuuṭa*
Maha is very happy
 ‘If Karim studies (**him**) a little for the exam, Maha will be very happy.’

The same is not true of sentences that contain regular (non-personal) datives. Consider (38). The if-clause in (38a) does not contain a dative, while the if-clause in (38b) contains *-laa* ‘her.dat.’ as an argument dative. Consequently, the conditions under which Maha will be happy are not the same in the two sentences. In (38a), Maha will be happy if Karim buys a new car. In (38b), Karim must have bought *her* a new car for her to be happy.

- (38) a. *ʔizaa* *bjištirii* Kariim *sajjaara* *ʒdiidi*
 if buy Karim car new
Mahaa *bitkuun* *ktiir* *mabsuuṭa*
Maha is very happy
 ‘If Karim buys a new car, Maha will be very happy.’
- b. *ʔizaa* *bjištirii-laa* Kariim *sajjaara* *ʒdiidi*
 if buy-**her.dat.** Karim car new
Mahaa *bitkuun* *ktiir* *mabsuuṭa*
Maha is very happy
 ‘If Karim buys **her** a new car, Maha will be very happy.’

The examples in this section are evidence that PDs contribute a non-truth-conditional, conventionally implicated meaning that is independent of the truth-conditional meaning of each sentence. Evidence like this has led researchers to argue that optional dative constructions like the ones under examination here are semantically and syntactically distributed on two tiers or planes (Bosse, Bruening, and Yamada 2012, drawing on Potts 2005). I turn in the next section to a consideration of the structural behavior of PDs.

3.3 *The distribution of PDs*

At first blush, PDs may seem to structurally resemble thematic arguments, such as recipients or goals. Sentence (39), for example, demonstrates that the same structure may have both a thematic and a non-thematic reading: in (a), the dative is interpreted as a non-thematic argument; in (b), the same dative is interpreted as a recipient.

- (39) Kariim tbarraṣ-lo bi-ṣiṣriin ʔalf liira
 Karim donated-**him.dat.** in-twenty thousand pounds
 a. [Kariim_i . . . lo_i] = PD reading: ‘Karim made **him** a donation of twenty thousand pounds.’
 b. [Kariim_i . . . lo_k] = thematic dative reading: ‘Karim donated twenty thousand pounds to **him**.’

Sentences like (39) may give the impression that PDs syntactically have the same distribution as thematic datives, differing only in their non-thematic interpretation. Closer examination, however, shows that the syntactic distribution of PDs differs from that of thematic datives in a number of ways. The rest of this section highlights four properties that can be used to tease apart LbA PDs from thematic datives (see Horn 2008; Jouitteau and Rezac 2007).

Property 1: PDs in LbA must be pronominal clitics attached to verbal elements. Cross-linguistically, PDs are realized as weak pronouns – i.e., unstressed and, where possible, conjoined or cliticized pronouns (Horn 2008, p. 172). In Southern American English, this property may translate into using a shorter form of a pronoun when possible; e.g., using *’em* instead of *them*. In LbA, PDs must be pronominal enclitics, attaching to the end of a verbal element. Thus, for instance, only *-laa* ‘her.dat.’ in (40) but not *laʔil-aa* ‘for her’ is grammatical under the PD reading. The free-standing prepositional phrase *laʔil-aa* ‘for her’ may only be interpreted as referring to an argument. This argument must be an individual other than Maha, as the indices indicate. By the same token, if the dative in (39) above were realized as *laʔil-o* ‘for-him’, the sentence could no longer be interpreted as a PD construction.

- (40) Mahaa_i baṣtit-**laa**_i yaraḍ-een **laʔil-aa**_{*i/k}
 Maha sent-**her.dat.** object.d. **for-her**
 ‘Maha sent **her** a couple of things to her (e.g., Layla).’

The verbal element that a PD cliticizes to may be perfective, depicting a completed action, (40). It may also be imperfective, depicting a habitual or ongoing event, (41–42).

- (41) Mahaa_i deejman btiṣṣrii-**laa**_i yaraḍ-een lamma tiʔbaḍ maṣaaš-aa
 Maha always buy-**her.dat.** object.d. when earn salary-her
 ‘Maha always does **her** some shopping when she gets her paycheck.’

- (42) Mahaa_i Ŝam-btištria-**laa_i** yaraḍ-**een**
 Maha prog.buy-**her.dat.** object.d.
 ‘Maha is doing **her** some shopping.’

In addition, PDs may cliticize to participle forms that describe a state of affairs; such forms, not unlike the present perfect in English, usually describe a completed/past state, as (43) shows. See Boneh (2010) and Hallman (2015) for a detailed analysis of participles in Syrian Arabic.

- (43) Mahaa_i ḡaaryit-**laa_i** šī miit kteeb Ŝan ha-l-mawḡuuŝ
 Maha reading-**her.dat.** some hundred book about this-the-subject
 ‘Maha has read **her** tons of book about this subject.’

We saw in (39) that not only PDs, but also thematic arguments, may be realized as clitics. However, unlike PDs, arguments may also be stand-alone prepositional phrases. Arguments may even be realized as both a clitic and a preposition phrase in the same structure, as (44) illustrates. The phenomenon in (44) is referred to as clitic-doubling. Note that the thematic argument in this case may be non-pronominal (e.g., *la-ḡibn-aa* ‘for her son’). PDs, conversely, must be pronominal.

- (44) Mahaa štarit-**lo** yaraḍ-**een** **laḡil-o / la-Kariim/la-ḡibn-aa**
 Maha bought-**him.dat.** object.d **for-him/for-Karim/for-son-her**
 ‘Maha bought a couple of things for him/for Karim/for her son.’

Because PDs are necessarily clitics, they take priority over thematic arguments when competing for the same clitic position. For instance, in (44), the thematic argument may be realized as a dative clitic or a prepositional phrase; however, if a PD is added to the same sentence, as in (45), the thematic argument is demoted to a prepositional phrase, (45a). The opposite order (thematic argument = clitic, PD = prepositional phrase) leads to ungrammaticality, as (45b) illustrates.

- (45) a. Mahaa_i štarit-**laa_i** yaraḍ-**een** **laḡil-o**
 Maha bought-**her.dat.** object.d. **for-him**
 ‘Maha bought **her** a couple of things for him.’
- b. * Mahaa_i štarit-**lo** yaraḍ-**een** **laḡil-a_i**
 Maha bought-**him.dat.** object.d. **for-her**
 Intended meaning: ‘Maha bought **her** a couple of things for him.’

Property 2: PDs occur where reflexive pronouns are expected. The distribution of ordinary pronouns (e.g., *she, him*), reflexives pronouns (*herself, himself*), and full noun phrases (e.g., *John, her son*) is not random; it is subject to syntactic constraints. Observe the sentences in (46). Sentence (46a) is grammatical only if *John* and *him* refer to two different individuals – say, John and Tom. Sentence (46b), conversely, is grammatical only if *John* and *himself* refer to the *same* individual; i.e., if *himself* takes *John* as its antecedent. In (46c), the pronoun *he* precedes the full noun phrase *the teacher*; consequently, *he* and *the teacher* may not refer to the same individual. By contrast, when the full noun phrase precedes the pronoun in (46d), *he* may optionally take *the teacher* as an antecedent.

- (46) a. John loves him.
 b. John loves himself.
 c. He said that the teacher was busy.
 d. The teacher said that he was busy.

Within the generative tradition of linguistic theory, the constraints that govern the distribution of referents in the sentences in (46) are captured by Conditions A, B, and C of the Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981). The two conditions that are relevant to this chapter are Condition A and Condition B, articulated in (47) and (48). (In reality, the conditions are more complex than shown here, but the simplified definitions provided in [47] and [48] will suffice for present purposes).

- (47) Condition A: A reflexive pronoun (e.g., *herself*) must have an antecedent within the simple sentence or clause it occupies. Sentence (a) satisfies Condition A, since the reflexive pronoun *haal-o* ‘himself’ has an antecedent, *Karim*, within its clausal domain. Sentence (b) does not satisfy Condition A, and thus is ungrammatical. These observations apply to both the LbA sentences and their English translations.

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| a. | Kariim _i
Karim | šeef
saw | haal-o_i
self-him | bi-l-mreeje
in-the-mirror |
| | | | | ‘Karim saw himself in the mirror.’ |
| b. | * Kariim _i
Karim | šeef
saw | haal-aa_k
self-her | bi-l-mreeje
in-the-mirror |
| | | | | * ‘Karim saw herself in the mirror.’ |

- (48) Condition B: An ordinary pronoun (e.g., *her*) may not have an antecedent within the simple sentence or clause it occupies. Sentence (a) satisfies this condition, since the ordinary pronoun – *aa* ‘her’ is not co-indexed with any element in the sentence; ‘her’ refers to an individual mentioned earlier in discourse. In sentence (b), however, a violation of Condition B occurs: *Kariim* and –*o* ‘him’ are co-indexed and thus refer to the same individual; thus, (b) is ungrammatical. These observations also hold true of the English translations of sentences (a) and (b).

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| a. | Kariim _i
Karim | bihibb-aa _k
love-her | ‘Karim loves her.’ |
| b. | * Kariim _i
Karim | bihibb-o _i
love-him | * ‘Karim _i loves him _i .’ |

How do PDs fit into Binding Theory? We have seen that PDs are pronominal elements that corefer with the subject of the simple sentence they occupy. As such, according to Binding Theory, PDs are expected to be reflexive pronouns – but they aren’t. Yet, despite this violation of Condition B, PD constructions are grammatical in LbA, as well as in many other languages. Thematic arguments in the same position, by contrast, must respect Condition B: they may only corefer with the subject as reflexive pronouns. In other words, for Maha in (45) to be

interpreted as a recipient, the sentence must look like (49). For an analysis of apparent PD binding violations, see Haddad (2011, 2016b).

- (49) Mahaa_i štarit **la-haal-aa_i** yarad-een
 Maha bought **for-self-her** object.d.
 ‘Maha bought a couple of things for herself.’

Property 3: PDs may occur where thematic datives cannot. An LbA sentence may contain multiple verbs or verbal elements, as (50) illustrates.

- (50) Kariim bikuun ʔeeʕid ʕa-l-balkoon ʕam-bjišrab
 Karim could.be sitting on-the-balcony prog.-drink
 finʕeen ʔahwe w-ʕam-bidardiš šwaj maʕ ʔašhaab-o
 cup coffee and-prog.-chat little with friends-his
 ‘Karim is probably sitting in the balcony, drinking a cup of coffee and chatting a little with his friends.’

If a thematic dative is involved in a sentence like (50), it must be conjoined to a main verb that causes its referent to undergo an action or change. For example, in (51), ‘Maha’ is a recipient that is affected by the action of the verb *jištrii* ‘buy’. Thus, the dative referring to ‘Maha’ must cliticize to ‘buy’, as shown in (51a). Sentences (51b) and (51c), in which the clitic conjoins to ‘could-be’ and ‘went-out’, are ungrammatical under the designated readings.

- (51) a. Kariim bikuun ɗahar jištrii-**laa_i** hdijje la-Mahaa_i
 Karim could.be went-out buy-**her** gift for-Maha
 b. * Kariim bikuun ɗahar-**laa_i** jištirii hdijje la-Mahaa_i
 c. * Kariim bikin-**laa_i** ɗahar jištirii hdijje la-Mahaa_i
 ‘Karim probably went out to buy a gift for Maha.’

PDs are less restricted than thematic datives; they may cliticize to any or all of the verbal elements in a sentence, as (52) shows. It is important to note, however, that sentences like (52), with all the PDs pronounced, are not common. Speakers judge such sentences to be grammatical, but consider them exaggerated. Sentences like (53) are judged as more natural.

- (52) Kariim bikin(-**lo**) ʔeeʕid(-**lo**) ʕa-l-balkoon
 Karim could.be(-**him.dat.**) sitting(-**him.dat.**) on-the-balcony
 ʕam-bjišrab(-**lo**) finʕeen ʔahwe w-ʕam-bidardiš(-**lo**)
 prog.-drink(-**him.dat.**) cup coffee and-prog.-chat(-**him.dat.**)
 šwaj maʕ ʔašhaab-o
 little with friends-his
 ‘Karim is probably **him** sitting **him** in the balcony, drinking **him** a cup of coffee and chatting **him** a little with his friends.’
- (53) ʔaʕad-**lo** niš seeʕa bi-l-ʔuuɗa daras-**lo**
 he.sat-**him.dat.** half hour in-the-room he.studied-**him.dat.**
 kilimt-een w-ʕiliʕ

word-d. and-he.came.out
 ‘He spent **him** a half-hour in the room, studied **him** a little, and came out.’

Property 4: PDs must co-occur with quantified material in the predicate. In his analysis of PD constructions in Southern American English, Horn (2007, p. 172) notes that PDs “always co-occur with a quantified (patient/theme) direct object.” A similar observation is made by Al-Zahre and Boneh (2010, p. 10) concerning Syrian Arabic. They observe that the predicates in PD constructions obligatorily contain an indefinite object or an adverb in the form of a vague measure, such as *kam tiffeeħa* ‘some apples’ or *šwaj* ‘a little’, which “denote small quantities of the lower part of a scale.” Both observations are on the right track. However, at least as far as LbA is concerned – but see also the Syrian Arabic example in (22) – the quantified material does not have to take the form of a vague measure or denote a small quantity. It does have to be indefinite, however. As we saw in the previous sections, the most appropriate characterization in LbA is that the quantified material falls short of or exceeds the speaker’s expectations.

To illustrate, observe sentences (54) and (55). The parenthetical material here is optional. The asterisk outside the parentheses means that the parenthetical material is mandatory for the sentence to be grammatical. As sentences (54a) and (55a) demonstrate, *ʔakal* ‘eat’ and *nižiħ* ‘succeed’ in LbA may stand alone or may be followed with additional material. Once a PD is added, however, the verb must necessarily be followed with some indefinite quantified material, as (54b) and (55b) show; the sentences would be ungrammatical without one of the options in parentheses. (54c) and (55c) show that inclusion of a definite object in this case leads to ungrammaticality.

- (54) a. Kariim_i ʔakal (l-baʔleewa/šwaj/xams ʔiṭaṣ baʔleewa miħirziin)
 Karim ate (the-baklava/a.little/five pieces baklava sizeable)
 ‘Karim ate (the baklava/a little/five big pieces of baklava).’
- b. Kariim_i ʔakal-**lo**_i *(šwaj/xams ʔiṭaṣ baʔleewa miħirziin)
 Karim ate (a.little/five pieces baklava sizeable)
- c. * Kariim_i ʔakal-**lo**_i l-baʔleewa
 Karim ate the-baklava
- (55) a. Kariim nižiħ (bi-l-ʔimtiħaan/bi-ʔimtiħaan/bi-ʔarbaṣ
 Karim succeeded (in-the-exam/in-exam/in-four
 ʔimtiħaneet šaṣbiin)
 exams difficult)
 ‘Karim passed (the exam/an exam/four difficult exams).’
- b. Kariim_i nižiħ-**lo**_i *(bi-ʔimtiħaan/bi-ʔarbaṣ ʔimtiħaneet šaṣbiin)
 Karim succeeded (in-exam/in-four exams difficult)
- c. * Kariim_i nižiħ-**lo**_i bi-l-ʔimtiħaan
 Karim succeeded in-the-exam

Note that other types of dative clitics do not need to satisfy this property. For example, the datives in (56a) and (56b) are not PDs; here, no adverbs or indefinite quantified objects are required.

- (56) a. Kariim raʔaṣ-**laa**
 Karim danced-**her.dat.**
 ‘Karim danced for her.’
- b. Kariim Ṣajjaṭ-**laa**
 Karim called-**her.dat.**
 ‘Karim called for her.’

I posit that quantified material is required in PD constructions because the evaluation that the speaker passes on about the event needs to be measurable – either against her expectations and knowledge of the subject as an individual (Maha, Karim, etc.) or a member of a specific group (e.g., as a student, a teenager, or a female), or against her expectations of and experience with events of the same type. Consider sentence (57), which concerns a baby who, the speaker believes, has taken a rather long afternoon nap. As the schematic presentation in Figure 8.5 indicates, the speaker has expectations of the baby in relation to napping events. These expectations are measurable; for example, she knows and/or expects this baby to sleep for one to two hours in the afternoon. This expectation may be based on her familiarity with this particular baby and his napping history or her familiarity with babies in general and how long they normally nap. The described event needs to include quantified material – in this case, *tlet seeṣaat* ‘three hours’ – so that the sentence as a whole can indicate whether the subject has fallen short of or exceeded the speaker’s expectations. The subject in (57) exceeded the speaker’s expectations, as Figure 8.5 shows.

- (57) l-bebee nam-**lo** tlet seeṣaat baṣd l-ḍiḥir lyoom
 the-baby slept-**him.dat.** three hours after the-noon today
 ‘The baby slept **him** three hours this afternoon.’

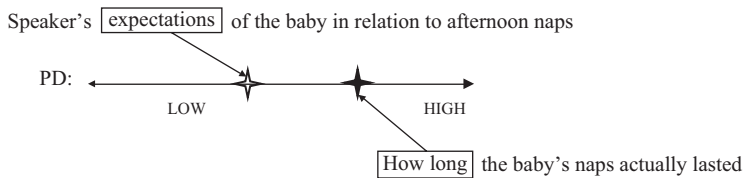


Figure 8.5

The role of the PD *-lo* ‘him.dat.’ in (57) is to explicitly anchor the speaker’s evaluation of the event to her knowledge and expectations of the subject. Therefore, if the hearer of (57) wishes to agree with the speaker, she may utter (58a) or (58b). Note that the replies focus on the subject as an individual or as a member of a larger group.

- (58) a. maa ʔil-o bi-l-ṣaade
 neg. for-him in-the-habit
 ‘It’s not like him. *He doesn’t normally sleep this long.*’

- b. ?leel l-bebejeet lli bneemo ha-l-?ad
 few the-babies who sleep this-the-much
 ‘Few babies sleep this long.’

4 Further directions

This chapter has provided a descriptive overview of PD constructions in LbA. LbA PD constructions contain optional dative non-arguments. The discussion in this chapter has shown that PDs do not belong to the thematic grid of predicates. Rather, they are non-truth-conditional elements that play a pragmatic role as evaluative tools; speakers use them to express a stance toward an event based on their familiarity with the subject as an individual or as a member of a specific group. Speakers may also evaluate events against other events of the same type that they consider standard or normal, and thus expected. Importantly, this evaluative stance is prepared for in the syntax, where PDs are licensed with special properties that make them distinguishable from other pronominal elements; in other words, we witness a division of labor between pragmatics and syntax.

In the introduction to this chapter, I mentioned briefly that similar structures are licensed in Egyptian and Moroccan Arabic, although the focus of the present document has been primarily on LbA. Cross-dialectal work is needed to determine how prevalent PD constructions are in other varieties of Arabic, whether they have the same pragmatic functions, and whether they share similar syntactic distributions.

PD constructions are not the only structures with optional datives in LbA. Four additional types of optional dative constructions are licensed in this variety of Arabic, each with its own properties. These various optional-dative constructions are exemplified in sentences (59) through (62). A more thorough understanding of the structure and function of non-arguments requires a close examination of optional dative constructions both within and across dialects.

(59) Speaker-Coreferential Dative Construction

Mahaa bit?aððii-**lii** kil wa?t-aa ?a-l-facebook
 Maha spend-**me.dat.** all time-her on-the-facebook
 ‘Maha spends all her time on Facebook. *I think this is unacceptable.*’

(60) Hearer-Coreferential Dative Construction

Kariim biddo jsaffir-**lak** bint-o tidrus barraa
 Karim want send-**you.dat.** daughter-his study abroad
 ‘Karim wants/plans to send his daughter abroad to study. *I believe this is laudable behavior, and I am sure you agree with me.*’

(61) Affectee-Coreferential Dative Construction

Kariim,_i ?ibn-o bjiðhar-**lo_i** kil lajle
 Karim,_i son-his go.out-**him.dat.** every night
 ‘Karim, his son goes out **on him** every night. *This is driving him crazy.*’

(62) Possessor-Coreferential Dative Construction

Mahaa waşşalit-**lo** l-şabii/?ibn-o ?a-l-madruse ljoom
 Maha took-**him.dat.** the-boy/son-his on-the-school today
 ‘Maha took his son to school **for him** today.’

A brief elaboration about sentences (59) through (62) is in order. Sentences (59) and (60) contain non-thematic datives that are anchored to the speaker (and, intersubjectively, to the hearer) as an attitude holder, as the italics in the translations show. The judgments in these sentences are based on the speaker's and hearer's values and beliefs and what they consider culturally laudable or reprehensible. In sentence (61), the non-argument *-lo* 'him.dat.' refers to *Kariim* as an affectee, while in (62) *-lo* 'him.dat.' is anchored to the possessor (the boy's father), presenting him as a more salient topic and probably as an affectee.

Like PDs, the non-arguments in (59) through (62) are optional, in the sense that their presence or absence does not alter the truth conditions of the sentences. Compare the dative non-arguments in (59) through (62) with the dative argument *-lak* 'you.dat.' in (63). The dative in (63) is part of the truth condition of the sentence; it is thematically linked to the predicate as a recipient. If *-lak* 'you.dat.' were to be replaced by *-lii* 'me.dat.' (and, by association, *la?il-ak* 'for you' were replaced by *la?il-ii* 'for-me'), then the speaker, rather than the hearer, would be the person sent greetings by Maha.

- (63) Mahaa baʕtit-**lak** saleem xʂuʂii la?il-ak
 Maha sent-**you.dat.** greeting especially for-you
 'Maha sent her regards especially to you.'

By comparison, if *-lo* 'him.dat.' in (61) were replaced by *lii* 'me.dat.', as in (64) – that is, if the affectee-coreferential dative construction were transformed into a speaker-coreferential dative construction – the truth conditions of the sentence would not change; Karim's son would still be going out every night. What would change in this case is the pragmatic contribution of the dative; unlike in (61), where the speaker depicts Karim as an affectee who is aggravated by his son's behavior, in (64), the speaker expresses an evaluative attitude toward the event as culturally unacceptable.

- (64) Speaker-Coreferential Dative Construction

Kariim , ?ibn-o bjiðhar-**lii** kil lajle
 Karim, son-his go.out-**me.dat.** every night
 'Karim, his son goes out every night. *This is unacceptable.*'

The various datives illustrated in (59) through (62) are similar to PDs in that they are all optional. At the same time, each type has its own unique distribution, interpretation, and pragmatic function; thus, each deserves individual attention. Some work has been done on these types of datives in Syrian Arabic (Al-Zahre and Boneh 2010, 2016) and in LbA (Haddad 2014, 2016a). However, there is virtually no research on optional dative constructions in other Arabic dialects. Just as PD constructions differ cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally in terms of their structural properties and pragmatic contributions, so do the other types of optional dative constructions.

To illustrate, possessor-coreferential dative constructions like the one shown in (65) – also known as *possessive dative constructions* – are licensed in both LbA and Egyptian Arabic (among other dialects), but they are subject to different structural constraints. In LbA, they may be realized as clitic-doubling constructions, with the possessor pronounced as both a dative (*-lo* 'him') and a clitic-doubled element (*la-Kariim* 'for Karim'); see Haddad (2014, 2016a) for further discussion. The same is not possible in Egyptian Arabic, in which either the dative *-lo* 'him' or *la-Kariim* 'for Karim', but not both, may be pronounced (Usama Soltan, personal communication).

(65) Possessor-Coreferential Dative Construction

Mahaa	waṣṣalit- lo	l-ṣabii	Ṣa-l-madrase	ljoom	la-Kariim
Maha	took- him.dat.	the-boy	on-the-school	today	for-Karim
‘Maha took Karim’s son to school today.’					

These observations call for further studies that investigate the properties of optional dative constructions in individual Arabic dialects. They also make these constructions intriguing for comparative research across dialects.

Finally, PDs, as well as other optional datives, constitute a very interesting case study for investigating the interaction of syntax and pragmatics. In terms of their distribution, PDs are typical pronominal clitics that need to be hosted by verbal elements; in this respect, they adhere to clitic-placement rules. However, the distribution of these elements as pronouns is in clear violation of Condition B of Binding Theory. As we saw in section 3.3, PDs take the subject of their host verb as an antecedent. Thematic arguments may not do the same without being realized as reflexive pronouns. It appears that the non-thematic character of PDs contributes, extra-syntactically, to their existence and coreference. At the same time, as stated in Haddad (2011), PD constructions like the ones presented in this chapter – as well as the interplay between syntax and pragmatics in such constructions – may be used in future work to inform Binding Theory and the locality constraints it has in place.

Notes

- 1 Abbreviations: d = dual; dat = dative; f = feminine; fut = future; m = masculine; neg = negative; prog = progressive
- 2 A note about the glossing of verb-agreement morphology: Arabic, including LbA, is a subject pro-drop language with rich verbal agreement. In the examples provided in this chapter, if the subject is present, verbs are glossed only as verbs; e.g. *Naadya ?akalit* ‘Nadia ate’. If the subject is dropped, the gloss includes agreement in the form of subject/nominative pronouns; e.g., *?akalit* ‘she ate’.
- 3 www.youtube.com/watch?v=T2NCsmVt6Bg (00:20:40) – last retrieved on February 1, 2016.
- 4 www.youtube.com/watch?v=ENxoY2JHP1c (00:37:00) – last retrieved on June 29, 2016.
- 5 Arabic does not have neutral pronouns. The ‘it’ describing the weather in Arabic is feminine.
- 6 www.youtube.com/watch?v=38Xf-8wRDNA – last retrieved on February 15, 2016. Note the singular agreement on the PD in (29). This is not uncommon in LbA when the subject is post-verbal, indefinite, and non-specific.
- 7 www.youtube.com/watch?v=SGTKnUeiW8o (00:19:40) – last retrieved on February 15, 2016.

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Further reading

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This article situates PD constructions in Southern American English within the literature on double-object constructions.